ANDERS OHLSSON, BREWER

AND POLITICIAN: 1881-94.

An extended research essay submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the B. A. (Honours) Degree in History at the University of Cape Town.

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University of Cape Town,

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ANDERS ÖHLSSON (K.N.S., K.W.O.)
Consul-General for Sweden and Norway.

From: Men of the Times, 1908, p.120.
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My interest in the history of Ohlsson's Breweries and hence the story of the life of Anders Ohlsson was aroused by J. Whittingdale's study of early Cape industries. Nothing of a truly historical nature has been written either about Ohlsson or about the various breweries which he controlled in the area near Newlands Avenue. By 1889 it was the largest manufacturing industry in South Africa.

This essay attempts to fill at least part of the gap, by examining Ohlsson's political career, his contribution to the beer industry, and his service on a host of organizations and companies in the years 1883-94, when he was most active.

The introductory chapter deals with Ohlsson's early life and work in Cape Town as a background to his industrial and political career beginning in 1881 and 1884 respectively.

The essay traces the progress of Ohlsson's Breweries from its small beginnings of one brewery in 1881, through the process of expansion and absorption of its competitors, to the formation of a limited company based in London in 1889. It also demonstrates how closely the fortunes of the company and those of its founder were tied.

The 1885 beer controversy over the excise on beer, and the subsequent brewer's petition presented to the House of Assembly

and Ohlsson's role in the affair are examined in Chapter IV. This chapter includes a commentary on the state of the beer industry in Cape Town and details some of the problems it faced. For example, raw material supply of hops and barley, and the state and extent of the beer market in the Colony in the 1880's and 1890's. Chapters IV and VI contain much hitherto undiscovered information on the history of beer brewing in Cape Town in the period 1881-94.

In chapter II there is a description of the manner in which elections were conducted in nineteenth century Cape Town and how various pieces of legislation changed this established practice and affected the outcome of the 1894 election in which Ohlsson was defeated.

The essay tries to supply some answer to the following questions:

What role did his company play in the history of beer in Cape Town between 1881-94? What was his role in the company?

Was Ohlsson in parliament to protect his own interests? If not, whose interests did he represent? Who voted for him and why?

Did he receive support from the Malay community? To what extent did his connections with the liquor trade aid or retard his progress and standing in the political and business world?

When in parliament, did he ably represent his constituency's interests? Why was he returned to parliament in 1884 and 1888 and then defeated in 1894? What was his greatest contribution to legislation in the decade 1883-94? What issues interested him in parliament? Who were his opponents?

What views did he hold in regard to liquor, colonial
industries, farmers, labour, education, Blacks, game preservation etc.; were they progressive, enlightened or prejudiced?

What part did he play in Cape Town's social and business life? To what extent did his increased social standing after his appointment as Swedish and Norwegian Consul-General in 1886 assist him in his business life?

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Mr. D. Cloete for permission to examine the records of Ohlsson's estate at Syfrets; to Professor M. A. Arkin, Director-General of the South African Zionist Federation and Ohlsson's biographer in the D.S.A.B., for a photocopy of D. Barclay's, Notes used for a talk to Brewery personnel, 4. 4. 1961; to Mr. J. Walton for his time and interest; to Mr. X. Behr of the U.C.T. Cartographic Unit for photographing certain documents and letters; to Mr. H. Soinike for translating various works and letters from Swedish to English; and to Mr. S. Johnson for information on St. Andrew's Church, Newlands.

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The Cape Times Library, Cape Town.
The Argus Library, Cape Town.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Argus ---- The Cape Argus.
C.G.H. ------ Cape of Good Hope.
C.G.H. Govt. Gazette. ------ Cape of Good Hope Government Gazette.
CMA. ------ Cape Mercantile Advertiser.
CT. ------ The Cape Times.
C.T. ------ Cape Town.
DSAB. ------ Dictionary of South African Biography.
H. of A. Debs. ---- Cape House of Assembly Debates.
O.C.B. ------ Ohlsson's Cape Breweries.
SA. ------ South Africa.
S.A.B. ------ South African Breweries.
S.C. ------ Select Committee.
S.W.A. ------ South-West Africa.
T.B.H.B. ------ Table Bay Harbour Board.

All manuscript sources referred to in the footnotes are from the Cape Archives, unless otherwise stated.
Anders Ohlsson was born at Christiana (now Oslo), Norway, in 1841. It is likely that at that time his Swedish parents were working in Norway, for Norway and Sweden were a dual monarchy. Ohlsson was brought up and educated at Malmo in Sweden where he worked in a hardware store. He has been referred to as both a Norwegian and a Swede, for though technically the former, it would appear more correct to refer to him as being Swedish. This view is supported by the fact that besides his Swedish upbringing, education and accent, he retained the Swedish Consul-Generalship after relinquishing the Norwegian one, when the political union between the two kingdoms was terminated in 1905.

He was short and stout, sported a blonde moustache and walked with a rolling gait, and his ability to get on well with others appears to have been because he was "free and genial in manner", while also being a strict disciplinarian. He possessed "an irresistible manner of working with men which will elicit from them at once confidence and admiration." His many interests and hobbies

1. DSAB, II, pp. 52-3.
2. Ibid, p. 524.
included farming, shooting, hunting, fishing, collecting guns and African curios, keeping a Swedish prehistoric stone collection, natural-history specimens, antique silver, and a vast library of old and new books. 4

He was also "an enthusiastic supporter of the drama", and was partly responsible for the construction of a new £40 000 Opera House in Cape Town which seated over 1000 persons. 5 It was opened in August 1893 by J. Woodhead the mayor of Cape Town at the time, who in his speech, commended the role played by Ohlsson who was chairman of the Grand Parade Buildings Company responsible for the construction of the theatre, and D. P. Graaff (an ex-Cape Town mayor) because they

"... put (this building) into practical shape with the help of a number of public-spirited fellow citizens." 6 The theatre was the finest in South Africa at that time and boasted the most up-to-date gaslighting, seating and interior decorations, and possessed a stage that was exceeded in size by only four theatres in England. 7

It was through his involvement in public concerns of this nature that Ohlsson, who also served in parliament and on many other organizations, became a well-known and respected figure in the Cape Town public, business, and social scene in the late nineteenth century. However, in his early years

4. Mooc 7/1/938, no. 2495, Ohlsson's will, pp. 3 - 5.
6. Argus, 1. 9. 1893; See also D. Edwards (ed.), Cape Town Guide, 1897 (Cape Town, 1898).
The Opera House was opened on 31 August 1893. It had a seating capacity of about 1,000 and was the most modern in South Africa in its day.

at the Cape his interests were directed elsewhere.

Ohlsson arrived in the Cape Colony in 1864 at the age of twenty-three, and established himself as a merchant specializing in the importation of Swedish manufactures and timber. He first came into prominence five years later when he began trading to Damaraland (South-West Africa) via Walfish Bay. With a fellow-Scandinavian - A.W. Eriksson he formed a partnership, A.W. Eriksson and Company, with headquarters at Omaruru and stores and property at various other places in South-West Africa, including Walfish Bay and Rehoboth.

Eriksson had been sent to Damaraland in 1866 as an apprentice to the famous explorer and hunter, C.J. Andersson, and knew the area very well. He managed the affairs of the partnership in Damaraland, while Ohlsson took charge of affairs in Cape Town. During the 1870's the Company flourished being capitalised at about £200 000. By 1876 about twenty whites were in its employ, and two years later, about forty.

Sometime between 1869 and 1872 Ohlsson purchased his own schooner, the Louis Alfred, with which he traded goods and transported passengers directly to and from Walfish Bay and Europe. According to an early biographer he was the first to do so. It should be borne in mind that at that time there was no control or tax on goods imported to and exported from Walfish Bay, nor was there an excise tax on goods traded from Cape Town to Walfish Bay, except for that on guns and ammunition. The Damaraland trade could consequently be highly lucrative.

Ohlsson's claim that his firm never exported liquor to Damaraland because they were opposed to it does not appear to be true. In a memorandum to Eriksson, Ohlsson listed the various items they had exported to Damaraland during 1877, which included; 600 gallons brandy, 1000 rifle-barrels, 20,000 lbs. gunpowder, 39,000 lbs. coffee, 51,000 lbs. sugar. These items were traded for ivory, animal skins, curios, and ostrich feathers. A typical example of the type of cargo exported from Damaraland in the Louis Alfred and unloaded in Cape Town is:

"4 cases feathers; 31 tusks ivory; 1 bundle skins; 6 ox-hides; 1 box horns; 7 live sheep."  

The Damaraland trade, although appearing perfectly legitimate and justified to the men of the times, has been severely criticized by modern historians as exploitative.

Although Eriksson and Co. enjoyed a substantial share of the Damaraland trade, they were by no means the only businessmen with trading interests in the territory. Because of the increase in the number of traders and the need for some authority in the area a commissioner (W. C. Palgrave) was despatched to Damaraland in 1874. According to Ohlsson,

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I2. A. I4 - '81, p. 21  
I4. CT, 3.9.1871.  
I5. See for e.g., Richard Moorson, 'Underdevelopment and Class Formation: The Origins of Migrant Labour in Namibia 1850 - 1915' p. 15, censuring the "... wholesale monopolies in Hereroland (Damaraland) started by C.J. Andersson in 1860 and continued by Eriksson and Ohlsson...".  
once the local Damaras and Namas heard that the colonial government was levying a tax on wagons and warehouses through Palgrave, the various chiefs began demanding taxes too. The latter's insistence on traders paying very high prices for water during the long droughts and for permission to pass through their territory led to much friction and discontent. Moreover, with the arrival of a government Commissioner expectations and false promises and beliefs had confused the state of relations that had existed between the indigenous population and the trader. It is also possible that with the increase in the number of traders and volume of trade in the area, the various chiefs and petty chiefs of smaller polities were able to play one trader off against another to their own advantage.

The worsening political situation between the Nama of the south and the Damara of the north made the situation more complex. The old conflict between the two peoples erupted into war in August 1860 ending the unprecedented ten years of peace in the region. The resulting confused state of the country made it once again unsafe for the white trader and hunter to continue his work. Ohlsson claimed that by 1861 his firm had lost something between £10 000 - £20 000, although he did not indicate whether this was the loss of potential earnings or the value of merchandise and property actually destroyed in the war. Tabler estimates the loss to the Company resulting from the depressed state of trade

I7. A. I4 - '81, p I3.
and the inability of traders and hunters to pay their debts at £40,000. I9

Meanwhile, following the pattern established by missionaries and traders during the turbulent 1860's, a petition had been organized in the late 1870's by Eriksson (with the encouragement of Palgrave), signed by numerous white traders and hunters requesting the Cape government to annex the area. 20 Walfish Bay and its environs had been annexed in March 1878. However, in February 1878 a new Ministry under Sir G. Sprigg had taken office and they were not well-disposed to the idea of further expansion in Damaraland. 21

The whole question of the annexation of the territory had assumed international proportions because of the existence of the Dorsland Trekkers in the north of the region. The first group arrived from the Transvaal in January 1876. 22 To aid them in their plight a relief committee in Cape Town collected money and despatched provisions to Walfish Bay in 1878. The Governor Sir Bartle Frere, warned the Secretary of State of the possible implications of this:

"The political bearing of every question had at least as much interest for them (people in Cape Town) as its charitable aspect and the possibility of establishing beyond the Colonial boundary a Dutch-speaking Republic with the capacity to form engagements with foreign powers,

was not the least of their motives for interesting themselves in the expedition ... and the whole question seems to me to deserve the early attention of Her Majesty's Government ... " 24

The new Scanlen - Merriman Ministry (May 1881) was even more opposed to expansion than the Sprigg Ministry had been, and it made known its lack of interest in annexing the area. The Imperial government sent out two despatches to the Colony; the latter, phrased like an ultimatum, was to the effect that unless the Cape government decided on annexation, the territory would be annexed by the Germans who maintained (via their missionaries and traders) a large presence in the area. 25 The Imperial government stated its willingness to annex the area, on condition that the Colonial government bear the administrative costs of this action.

The Colonial government failed to annex the area and the German government did so in August 1884.

Notwithstanding the future of the rest of his trading interests, Ohlsson was particularly concerned with his fisheries at Sandwich Bay. These he had established in partnership with the Natal firm De Pass, Spence and Co. In July 1884 De Pass had urged the Colonial Office to annex the coastal area as far as Walfish Bay; but to no avail. 26 Ohlsson need not have worried, for the Germans recognized that the sites on which the fisheries were situated were their lawful possessions. 27

24. G.H. 27/2, pp. 432, 343, Frere to Sir M. Hicks Beach, Secretary of State for the Colonies, 12. I. 1880.
25. Arkus, 10.9.1912.
27. Ibid, p. 62.
Eriksson was so disgusted with the failure of the British to annex the area that he wound up the partnership with Ohlsson and moved north into Angola in the mid-1880's.28

The enormous capital which Ohlsson was able to accrue both from the Damaraland trade and his activities as a merchant in the European and South African coastal trade, made it possible for him to diversify his business interests on an ever-growing scale.

In the late 1870's he interested himself in one of the important Colonial industries, viz, glass-making. He was one of the fifty-six original shareholders of the South African Glass Co. Ltd., Woodstock, which was provisionally constituted in October 1878.29 In view of the excellent state of the Damaraland trade it is doubtful whether Ohlsson envisaged building a brewery at that time. This view is borne out by Ohlsson's small investment of £5 in the glass enterprise.

Although the factory started functioning about August 1879, the quality of the glass produced at the Woodstock factory as well as labour problems caused grave concern to the Directors. In March 1880 a special committee of the shareholders proposed that since the Company appeared to be under-capitalized, a further 500 shares of £10 were to be issued, and that there would be two more directors. Both proposals were accepted and Ohlsson was elected as one of the seven directors of the Company. He purchased ten more shares, bringing his investment in the Company to a meagre £15, while the brewing firm of

Letterstedt and Co. held thirty shares. The Company continued to struggle on, but because of the great expense of importing skilled workmen and machinery from England and the difficulties involved in making the industry economically competitive with imported glass, the Company was placed under provisional liquidation in mid-1882.

Why did Ohlsson, who by 1881 had already decided to embark upon his own brewing industry because of the disruption of the Damaraland trade, not come to the rescue of the Glass Co. which could have proved useful to his brewing business? It is possible that he saw that the industry could not be made viable without huge investments which at that time he could not afford to divert from his own brewing concern. Moreover, he was still able, as a merchant, to land glass bottles imported from Britain and Belgium reasonably cheaply. Added to this was the fact that the bulk of the beer produced by his brewery was distributed in wooden casks and not bottles; glass was thus very much of secondary importance on the list of priorities for his new brewery.

Ohlsson's decision to embark upon beer-brewing is significant in view of the fact that at that time there were about seven other brewers in the vicinity of Cape Town. His biographers have all stated that he knew little or nothing about brewing itself, yet he was a shrewd enough businessman to have calculated that his resources would be profitably deployed in the beer trade. His decision to start a brewery can be seen partly as a means of his investing his surplus capital, and partly as a result of the disruption of the Damaraland trade and the resulting need to broaden his base of financial investment and risk.

The fact that he purchased the land for his brewery only in January 1881 appears to support this argument. Certain writers have claimed that Ohlsson named the Anneberg brewery after his hometown. This would appear to be incorrect, for the land and surrounding estate when purchased for £3 000 in 1881, was already known as 'Anneberg'. In the same year Ohlsson moved residence from Cape Town to Montrose House in Newlands which was situated near his new brewery. (See Appendix A.)

There must have been complete confidence in the future of the beer industry in Cape Town in the early 1880's, for not only did Ohlsson have a new and modern brewery constructed with the most up-to-date machinery, but during 1881 Letterstedt and Co. had their Mariedahl brewery at Newlands modernised and enlarged "on the most recent European models ...". The task of increasing and altering the brewery without interfering with the usual brewings, was entrusted to A.W. Ackermann, a Colonial engineer and architect of Cape Town. Ohlsson on the other hand employed the firm of Pontifex of England to

32. T. 29/5.I 1881, Deeds Office, Cape Town. Sale of land called 'Anneberg ' from one David Ireland to Ohlsson. Ireland, who was a miller, also sold his Anneberg Mill to Ohlsson, but retained the Anneberg House.
34. CT, 7.9. 1881.
35. Ibid.
design and equip his new Anneberg brewery. This lack of faith in colonial ability and enterprise appears ironical, for during his time in the political arena and at numerous public functions between 1883 - 1894, Ohlsson stated his belief in the need to encourage and foster all types of colonial industries. It is likely that Ohlsson's experience with the teething problems of the South African Glass Company as well as his experience as a Director of the Company, made him more qualified to tackle the task of establishing his own colonial industry.

Two contemporary accounts give the date of the construction of the Anneberg brewery as 1883. Yet it was probably already functioning by the end of 1881, or at least very early in 1882 as the following advertisement placed repeatedly from January - April 1882 bears out:

"The Anneberg Brewery, Newlands. A. Ohlsson and Company have pleasure in announcing to the Public that their New Brewery is now in full working order. Also that they are prepared to receive and execute orders for their Superior Ales, Stouts and Porter, either at the Brewery Newlands or at their Branch stores, No 28 Long Street."

By March of the same year, the beer from the Anneberg brewery was available in Wynberg for the same price as that charged at Newlands. Beer was also delivered to Wynberg free of charge. Moreover at Cape Town's "Grand Show" of crops, animals and

36. Hodgkiss, Glass, p. 31.
39. Ibid., 4. 3. 1882.
produce held early in February 1882, Messrs. Ohlsson and Co. won the £1 first prize "for the best hogshead of Cape-made draught ale" and second prize for Cape-made stout. 40

As one of the leading and most respected Cape Town merchants Ohlsson was elected to serve on the Table Bay Harbour Board which consisted of three elected members and four persons nominated by the government. The new Board that took office in September 1881 was the first to have elected members. 41 They were elected for three years by a constituency of importers and exporters of merchandise in Cape Town, with voting powers allocated according to the amount of dock-dues paid on a pro rata basis of one vote per £100 of dues. 42 Besides the obvious advantage to his mercantile interests of being in a position to have some say in the running of harbour matters, Ohlsson made himself known, and in some cases important to get to know for certain merchants.

Ohlsson was not merely an astute and extremely capable businessman. He was an active participant in a wide variety of sports particularly shooting, horse-racing, and football. He had a fairly well developed sense of social responsibility, as is evidenced by his enlightened views on subjects such as the 'colour-blind' franchise; 43 the ballot; 44 the use of the Dutch language in the civil service and courts; 45 the poor working conditions of convict labour, 46 and concern with

40. CT, 3. 2. 1882.
41. TBHB: "A Short account...the Harbour Works, 1656-1895", (Cape Town, 1895), p. 21; (hereafter "Harbour Works").
labour in general; and the plight of lepers and lunatics. These views show Ohlsson to have been a man sensitive to, and appreciative of, the need for basic human rights.

It is against this background of basic humanitarian concern that Ohlsson's presence on the Cape Town Distress Relief Committee in 1883 should be viewed. The aims of the Committee were to give some relief to people (of all races) who were out of work, or find, and in some cases provide shelter for those who were homeless. Since a depression affected Cape Town from 1882-9 resulting in many skilled workmen being without employment, the work of the Committee was even more significant and valuable. To carry out their business the Committee, which consisted of interested businessmen and ministers of religion, called for subscriptions and donations of bread and clothing from the general public. With the co-operation of the press and various companies, as well as large concerns such as the Town Council, Railways, and Harbour Board, employment was found for various people. In short, it fulfilled the function of a modern Department of Social Welfare. It is most likely that Ohlsson was of particular use to the Committee because, notwithstanding his considerable personal wealth, he possessed many excellent business contacts and was a direct link with the Harbour Board.

49. CMA, 1890, pp. 18, 223.
50. Ibid.
51. From report of the Relief Committee for year ending Sept. 1883: Total of 175 applicants for employment—excluding inter alia; 4 blacksmiths, 23 carpenters, 4 masons, 3 tinsmiths, 5 clerks, 2 wheelwrights. See Ibid.
It would have been easy for Ohlsson to have donated a sum of money to the Committee, but the fact that he sacrificed his extremely valuable time to attend regular committee meetings is indicative of his sincerity in this regard.

It is clear that from an early stage Ohlsson moved in the upper circles of Cape Town society. Besides joining the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce in 1874, he was one of the sixty-six founder members of the City Club, which was opened in April 1878. Many of the other founder members of this club, were important and influential members of the late nineteenth-century Cape social scene. For example, Thomas Upington (later Prime Minister), J.C. Molteno (ex-Prime Minister), H.M. Arderne (Ohlsson's lawyer), A. Bell (manager of Letterstedt's estates), J. Noble (Clerk to the House of Assembly), and L. Wiener and T.E. Fuller (with whom Ohlsson was to serve on the Harbour Board and in the House of Assembly).

Although too much should not be read into Ohlsson's association with the wealthy and the influential people of his day, his social and business connections in Cape Town were undoubtedly of considerable value to him in his electoral struggle and ultimate victory— in 1884; they enabled him to muster support from a financially powerful group of people, while at the same time earning him the attention of the general public.

By 1883 Ohlsson's name was appearing more and more often in the press—having attended this or that meeting, or his ships having imported this or that article, or his brewery having made great strides in the quality of their beer which it should be remembered, carried his name on its casks, on the labels of its bottles, and in advertisements in newspapers. In short, he was becoming more and more identified with the Cape Town business and social scene. Little wonder then that Ohlsson who had already demonstrated his ability in these and other undertakings should receive and accept an invitation to enter politics as well.

To be able to later understand the significance of the 1894 election when the accumulative voting (plumping) system was changed and the franchise raised, and to appreciate the voting patterns in Cape Town during the 1884, 1886 and 1894 elections, it is necessary briefly to describe the manner in which elections for the House of Assembly were conducted at the time.

A candidate was requested to offer himself as a candidate for election by a number of registered voters who presented a 'requisition' to him, pledging their support. In most cases the requisition and the candidate's reply would be published together in the local press. The reply was sometimes short and sometimes a printed speech. If a candidate indicated his willingness to stand, an election committee would be formed from among his supporters and their names would often also appear in the press. I

An official nomination day was decided upon and nominations called for by the returning officer. Candidates would then be proposed and seconded by the audience of registered voters present. A show of hands would decide the result and this would be declared. If there was an objection from anyone of the candidates, a poll could be demanded provided that all the candidates for that polling district agreed to accept his share of the cost to the government of holding a poll. If anyone refused he was automatically excluded from the poll. A day for the poll would then be fixed by the returning officer.  

Because of the method of open voting on polling day, intimidation and bribery very often occurred and it was also "possible for the state of the poll at the various polling stations to be announced hourly."  

It is for this reason that many voters withheld their votes till late in the afternoon. This was known as a 'reserve', and hence the need and practice of constantly producing electioneering pamphlets during the day as the situation of the candidates changed.  

Each registered voter in the Colony was allowed the same number of votes as the number of Members of the Legislative Assembly which his polling district returned. Unlike the position in the rest of the Colony where a voter could cast a maximum of one vote per candidate, in Cape Town voters could cast all four of their votes for one candidate. This

5. See Appendix B and C for examples of election pamphlets.
was known as the 'plumping system'. It had the effect of discouraging blocks of candidates.  

A numerically small but nevertheless important section of the Cape Town vote consisted of Malays and a few Blacks who qualified for the Cape's colour-blind franchise. It would appear that Ohlsson received a number of votes from this quarter, as is evidenced by the fact that his requisition was signed by a number of Malays - among them Abdol Lalie and Abdol Cassiem - and at least one Black, Thomas Matomba, and that at least three Malays served on his Parliamentary Election Committee: Jaliep Mohmoed, Gatiep Tallep, and A.B. Effendi. The latter who ran an Arabic school, was responsible for the Arabic version of Ohlsson's election pamphlets. In 1894 he became the first non-white to have contested an Assembly election in South Africa.

Ohlsson enjoyed a broad base of support from the more than 1500 voters who signed his requisition. This figure represented about 28 percent of the total number of registered voters in Cape Town - 5535. It is significant that Ohlsson enjoyed the support of at least three of the other brewers of the day - D. Cloete (Newlands), E.H. Martienssen (Cape Town), J. W. van Ryn (Salt River). Other supporters were from a variety of callings including workers, traders, merchants, lawyers, and prominent politicians - amongst whom were Thomas Upington (later Prime Minister) and James Murison, a member of the Legislative Council.

7. CT, 21. 11. 1883, Ohlsson's requisition.
8. CT, 8. 12. 1884. See Appendix D.
9. See Chapter 7 below.
Ohlsson returned the favour for the latter by requisitioning for, and serving on the General Working Committee for, his election to the Legislative Council as a member for the Western Province. II

It is significant that Ohlsson, in his own words, "hesitated considerably" before stating his willingness to stand for election in his reply to the requisition (in November 1883). I2 The reasons for this are not clear, but it is probable that, besides the obvious need to weigh very carefully the effects of his possible election to the Assembly on his business responsibilities and interests, when the requisition was presented to him in September 1883 his personal life was still very unsettled following the death of his wife in 1883. I3 In addition, election to the Cape Parliament would seem to imply the loss of his Scandinavian citizenship.

In the Assembly election Murison took the liberty of playing the part of a 'generous godfather'. I4 to all six candidates by taking the chair at some of their meetings. Murison in introducing Ohlsson at an election meeting referred to the fact that the latter had not brought a fortune with him when he arrived in the Colony twenty years previously, but that he had made a comfortable living and had ploughed-back his profits and invested his money in the Colony. I5 In short, his future and interests were inextricably bound up with those of the Colony, and hence by extension the Colony's (and Cape Town's) interest would be well served because of the need for

II. CMA, 17. II. 1883.
I2. Ibid, 20. II. 1883, Ohlsson's reply to his requisition.
I3. DSAE, II, p. 524.
I4. CT, 25. I. 1884, Leading article.
Ohlsson to ensure a prosperous business climate for his investment.

Because of the poor state of the Colony's finances caused by the general depression and partly by mismanagement of finances on the part of the Scanlen Ministry (I88I-4), matters of taxation, finance and the state of the Colony's industries were being discussed and commented on. Little wonder then that these became political issues during the I883/4 election campaign. The seriousness of the depression and the resulting falling-off of trade may be judged by the fact that the revenue of the Harbour Board dropped from £85 652 in I88I to £55 889 in I886 which represented a drop in income of 35 %. I6

Although issues such as the 'native question' (that is the high administrative costs of the Transkei) and the Colony's relations with its neighbours were bandied about in the press and at political meetings, the stress of the programmes of all the candidates fell on the need to rectify the Colony's economy. This included discussion of taxation, the excise, customs tariff, retrenchment, labour difficulties, irrigation and incentives to the farmer, protection, prohibition and the encouragement of colonial industries.

It is significant that Ohlsson's requisition left him "free to act in all measures", but they hoped that if he was elected he would do his "utmost to promote Colonial Industries". I7 The debate over the need to encourage colonial industries was heightened in part by the number of jobless

I7.CMA , 20.II.I883, Ohlsson's requisition.
skilled workmen because of the depression, and in part by the Scanlen Ministry's having awarded the contract (estimated at £150,000) to construct and supply the timber for the proposed new Houses of Parliament to non-Colonists, as well as the contract for the importation of railway carriages to the value of £500,000. 18

The question of the fostering of Colonial Industries had received attention from a Select Committee in 1883 19 which examined such industries as wagon-making, shoe and boot-making, carpentry, beer-brewing, jam-making, printing coal-mining, wine-making and others. It reported as follows:

"Your Committee find that most of these industries are in anything but a flourishing condition. ... (because of a) ... want of a sufficient demand for their manufactures at remunerative rates. ..." which results in skilled workmen being discharged.

"This unsatisfactory state of things is to a considerable extent owing to the existing widespread commercial depression, coupled, in some instances, with labour difficulties, but to a far greater extent to the competition of imported goods which are sometimes preferred to the colonial articles ... on account of long established prejudice." 20

A memorandum signed by two of (J.X. Merriman and L. Vincent) the nine members disagreed with the report on the subject of prejudice and pointed to the brewing industry to substantiate

20. Ibid, pp. III-IV.
their view:

"We do not believe ....that there is any prejudice against Colonial Beer, the demand for which is increasing, and as the quality improves, is likely to increase and to hold its own in any competition with the imported article." 21

Ohlsson, when asked why the consumption of his brewery's better class beer was so limited, replied as follows:

"There are several reasons; one of which is, that hitherto no superior kind of beer has been produced in the Colony, and there is a great prejudice against it. Now, however, people are beginning to find out that it is good, and the sale is improving...." 22

In short, it was not fashionable to place colonial beer on the table. To rectify this situation the report recommended a 12% duty on imported beer. 23

On the question of the Colony's poor financial situation, Ohlsson lamented the fact that the tax had been removed from brandy, and stated that if a general Excise were introduced he would not object to a 'reasonable' duty on beer. He estimated that from an excise on brandy, molasses and beer the colony might earn £300-400 000. He also recommended a 1% tax on exported diamonds as well as a tax on copper-ore; an income tax as opposed to a poll-tax because the latter was not fair to poorer classes, a property and land tax aimed at farmers who never utilised their land to full potential; and as light a duty as possible on the necessities of life, while increasing the

23. Ibid, p. IV. The objection of the brewers in 1885 to the government-imposed excise on lower class ticeky-beer, as well as the state of the beer industry generally, is discussed in Chapter 4 below.
duty upon luxuries. To aid the farmer and make the Colony self-sufficient in cereals and hence save foreign exchange, Ohlsson advised government-supported schemes of irrigation and cheap railway rates to allow the farmer to transport his agricultural implements and produce cheaply.

Although some of the five other candidates contesting the election shared many of Ohlsson's views, two supported the Scanlen government - T. E. Fuller and P.J. Stigant, while Ohlsson, T.J. O'Reilly, L. Wiener and J.L.M. Brown opposed it in varying degrees. O'Reilly enjoyed the support of the Irish League and portrayed himself as 'the working man's candidate'. This obviously made many employees of labour wary of him and caused him to lose many votes. Wiener who at that stage enjoyed the support of the German League, concentrated his substantial energies on highlighting and criticizing the government's poor state of finances and over-extended railway system. Brown was rumoured at the time to have enjoyed the support of the Afrikaner Bond: the Dutch newspaper De Zuid-Afrikaan supported his candidature.

In addition, Fuller, Stigant, Brown and Wiener had the support of the Cape Town Political Association. Ohlsson on the other hand prided himself on being "a thoroughly independant man" who never had to court favours from anyone, and who espoused an all-embracing policy of commercial protection and was thus able to draw support from the merchant

25. Ibid, 12. 2. 1884.
26. Ibid, 8. 2. 1884, letter to the editor.
27. CT, 1. 2. 1884.
and trading class as well as from the working class, farming
community and civil service. The latter because of his opposi-
tion to the idea of retrenchment and a reduction of their
salaries. Because of his obvious interest in the beer trade
and its distribution he enjoyed considerable support from the
Licensed Victuallers Association.

Yet Ohlsson did suffer from certain disabilities.
The most painfully obvious was the fact that he was not an
eloquent speaker. This he openly conceded. While Ohlsson
spoke with a Swedish accent, Wiener spoke with a German. But
as the Lantern noted:

"Mr. Ohlsson and Mr. Wiener suffer, in addressing an
English audience, from an accent which, however, soon
loses its power for distraction when the solid power of
the speaker is recognized."

The Evening Express, too declared that Ohlsson
"... expressed his views with a clearness and lucidity,
and, with her conciseness that others would do well to
imitate. There was no uncertainty about his views."

It is needless to add that the support or opposition of
a newspaper or newspapers was a very decisive influence
during the Cape Town elections in the late nineteenth-century.

28. CT, 1.2.1884.
29. At a meeting of the Association in Cape Town the day before
polling, Ohlsson and O' Reilly were elected to be the
candidates for which the Association would vote: CT, 2.2.1884.
32. Evening Express, 25.1.1884, leading article.
The *Argus* which supported the Scanlen Ministry and which openly campaigned for Fuller's re-election to the Assembly, declined to support Ohlsson's candidature because "...we do not know that he has shown that general aptitude for and devotion to public affairs in times past which would entitle him now to be placed in the same rank as the above candidates..." (in descending order Fuller, Stigant, Wiener, Brown). A more specific objection to Mr. Ohlsson is that he necessarily represents the beer interest. The making and selling of beer are lawful and necessary callings; but there is the greatest objection to any candidate returned as the delegate of a trade, especially a trade with which social questions are connected. Even in the legitimate interests of licensed victuallers, it is not well that their mouth-piece in Parliament should be one whose every utterance would be discounted by his close commercial interest in the trade of which he would be champion."

This identification of Ohlsson as a 'beer man' and liquor candidate made him the target for attack by organizations such as the Temperance Alliance and their various associated bodies such as the Blue Ribbon Army. It is safe to assume that Ohlsson did not receive support from this quarter. 34

The *Cape Times*, on the other hand, supported Ohlsson declaring that "...the more independent men we have in Parliament the better..." They also viewed Ohlsson as:

"A man of good common sense, of extensive commercial

33. *Argus* 12. 2, 1884, leading article
34. During the 1886 and 1894 Assembly elections in Cape Town, the campaign against Ohlsson as a 'liquor man' was more intense and better organised. The debate on liquor was somewhat subdued in 1884, probably because of the seriousness of the economic situation.
experience, and successful in the management of his own affairs. Mr. Ohlsson has sound working qualities..." 35

Ohlsson was referred to as a 'humbug' because of his criticism of foreigners being awarded the contract for the construction of the new Houses of Parliament, while he himself, still technically a foreigner, 36 applied for letters of naturalization only in November 1883, shortly before he made known his willingness to stand for election. 37

The letter continued:

"Is the Mr. Ohlsson who objects so strongly to workmen being imported the Mr. Ohlsson who recently imported (and all credit to him) a lot of Swedish brewers." 38

Although there is no evidence to prove that Ohlsson did in fact at this stage import brewers or workers from Europe, there is evidence to suggest that he did so at a later stage (in 1894). 39 The Lantern observed that:

The Argus was also "...equally incorrect in stating Mr. Ohlsson has imported Swedish brewers. If he has done, we wouldn't see much harm in it. But as he has not, the miserable lies of the Argus deserve exposure." 40

35. CT, 25.1. 1884. It is interesting to note that during the more bitterly contested election of 1894, the situation was reversed: the Argus fully supported Ohlsson, while the Cape Times supported 'the ticket of four' which excluded Ohlsson. See Chapter 7 below.
37. C.G.H. Govt. Gazette, 16. II. 1883, p. 1048. See Appendix E.
38. Argus, 26.1. 1884, letter to the editor.
40. Lantern, 2.2. 1884.
Notwithstanding these disabilities and criticisms, Ohlsson fared very well on polling day - heading the poll at one stage. In the final hour of voting however, the 'reserves' of the various candidates counted heavily. The final result of the poll was announced from the steps of the Town House on 16 February: Wiener 2771 votes; Stigant 2623; Fuller 2530; Ohlsson 2417; O'Reilly 2396; Brown 1274. The first four candidates were declared elected by the returning officer. Only 14054 votes were cast out of a possible 21140 which represented a percentage poll of 66.5%.

Although O'Reilly was rumoured to have objected to the alleged intimidation of workers by Fuller, and to have accused Ohlsson of treating, no formal charges were made. The Argus, who it should be remembered opposed Ohlsson's candidature, commented:

"That all the candidates' friends... worked hard for their men, and used every endeavour allowed by law to get them in is true, and that the consumption of Ohlsson's beer on an unusually thirsty day was copious cannot be denied, but we do not believe that the law was broken..." The result of the election in Cape Town favoured the Scanlen Ministry, because its experienced and stalwart supporters Fuller and Stigant were returned to the House. With them went two very capable opponents however. The Evening

41. CT, 13. 2. 1884.
42. CT, 18. 2. 1884.
43. The free supplying of food and/or drink as a bribe to voters on election day.
44. Argus, 14. 2. 1884.
Express commented:

"...Mr. Wiener and Mr. Ohlsson... are poemen to be feared. Mr. Wiener when financial measures are before the House will be a thorn in the side of the Ministers whilst Mr. Ohlsson on all general subjects, and especial on such questions as the Customs Tariff and the Excise, will meet theories with practical knowledge and sound common sense." 45

45. Evening Express, 13. 2. 1884.
Although Ohlsson never interested himself directly in the debates on the major political issues of the day, such as the annexation of Bechuanaland, he did not limit his attention in parliament to a few subjects, but entered debates on a wide range of subjects. In the years between 1884 and 1888 he was most active and consistent in debates on issues related particularly to railways, farming, the civil service, colonial industries, game preservation, liquor laws, and the beer excise.

During his election campaign Ohlsson had criticized the railways for over-extension. A host of branch lines had been constructed, especially in the Eastern Cape, which were not economical. In parliament his concern about the railways focused partly on the local suburban line in the Peninsula, and partly on the main lines out of Cape Town. On the subject of the former, Ohlsson considered that

"...the Kalk Bay extension (completed in 1882) was of little use unless the line was continued to Simon's Town..." ¹, because, it would be a remunerative commercial undertaking and would in addition, be invaluable for defence purposes. ² In 1886 Ohlsson firmly

¹. H. O. A. Debs., 1885, p. 98.
². Ibid, 1888, p. 250.
opposed any increase in the daily rail fare on the line and was successful in helping to persuade the government to agree to reduce the rates, arguing that by doing so, increased passenger traffic would develop. He held similar views in regard to the rates levied by the government on main lines:

"It was of the utmost importance that colonial produce should be carried cheaply... The present rates were prohibitive, and stopped the slightest encouragement to the Western Province farmer. If they could not compete with the bullock-wagon what was the use of having railways?"

He was strongly in favour of a line to the north of Kimberley to secure the trade of the Transvaal goldfields, while he was extremely critical of the fact that the railways transported the goods of their employees from Cape Town to Kimberley and from Port Elizabeth to De Aar free of charge and to the detriment of the licensed trader. Yet he gave praise when it was due—"regarding it as a matter for much satisfaction" that the railways had paid their own way and even earned a profit by 1888.

As part of his general scheme to improve the situation in which the Colony found itself, Ohlsson believed that preferential railway rates should be made available to the wine and wool

farmers and to merchants. He was particularly sympathetic to colonial farmers because it was their duty to render what support and assistance they could to what was the backbone of this country. If the farmers were successful, the merchants and everyone else would be successful . . . .”

He repeated his election call for government-sponsored irrigation schemes, stating that "he felt very strongly on the matter", and that if irrigation works were started using rivers such as the Breede, Olifants and Orange, the Colony might save half-a-million a year in the importation of breadstuffs. Ohlsson was particularly concerned about the loss to the farmer because of poor quality wool and in lambing as a result of the effects of scab on sheep. As a merchant dealing in wool, Ohlsson had had "a great deal to do with wool", and therefore felt qualified to speak on the subject. However, he was taken to task by Warren and Barry the members for King William's Town and Riversdale respectively, and both wool farmers, because he had spoken on the subject of sheep and wool when he had no practical experience of wool-farming.

Ohlsson also supported other progressive policies in farming: For example, in 1887 he spoke in favour of £300 per annum being set aside for the importation of horses to improve the quality of the breed in the Colony.

8. Ibid, 1885, p. 455. (9. Ibid, 1887, p. 50. It should be noted that Ohlsson himself was a farmer and owned extensive farms in the Ceres and Swellendam districts, although the success or extent of his operations as a farmer have not been established by this writer. D3AR, II, p. 524. (10. Ibid, 1884, p. 113. (II. Ibid, p. 25. (12. Ibid, p. 45. (13. Ibid, 1887, pp. 235-6.
and he supported the idea of a tobacco expert being brought out to aid farmers with its cultivation in the Colony. 15

In the same vein, he successfully opposed the proposed increased taxation on salt - a necessary element for the farmer to maintain healthy stock. 16

Ohlsson repeated his opposition, expressed during the 1884 election campaign, to a reduction in the salaries of civil servants. 17 When the matter was raised again in 1886 as a matter of urgency, he successfully persuaded the House to accept his suggestion of a mere ten percent reduction for those civil servants with annual incomes of £1000 or more. 18

It would appear as if Ohlsson was the parliamentary spokesman for the Cape Town Colonial Industries Association. 19 It is likely that it was from the members of this Association that he gained considerable support during the 1884 election. Significant evidence to support this view is the fact that his requisition specifically requested him to promote the interests of colonial industries, while leaving him free to decide his course in all other matters.

Ohlsson styled himself "neither a protectionist nor a free trader" and "he was inclined to go in for moderate protection". 20 In 1886 the question of colonial industries was raised once again and after a long debate including

17. Ibid, p. 194.
18. Ibid, 1886, pp. 345-7. (Ibid, 1884, p. 64. Ohlsson presented a petition to the House signed by 700 of the Association's members requesting protection for colonial industries in any revision of the customs dues.
discussion on the making of such commodities as candles, butter, wheat, and beer, the motion for protection of certain colonial industries was lost and the matter was once again dropped. 21

Various pressure-groups throughout the Colony attempted at various times to get the matter of protection before the House. One such pressure group - the South African Manufacturer's Association - was founded in January 1888. Its first meeting was held at Grahamstown to coincide with the Queen's Jubilee Exhibition which had attracted many manufactures and manufacturers to the town. The aim of the Association was to strive for protection, and a revision of the customs tariff. 22 Ohlsson was elected (in absentia) to the Permanent Committee of the Association as the chief representative for Cape Town. Other members included G. Jones, and J.D. Logan (later involved in the 'Logan contract' political row) and others. 23

Thus, Ohlsson was primarily interested in colonial industries and matters associated with it, and represented in particular the interests of the mercantile, manufacturing and industrial groups. However, as has been seen, he never concerned himself solely with these matters, entertaining progressive views on a wide range of other subjects. 24 One of these subjects was game preservation, something which

21. Ibid, 1886, pp. 60-3. The voting was 18 for and 21 against the motion.
24. See Chapter 6 below.
Ohlsson, as a keen hunter and sportsman, held dear to his heart. His Game Bill, introduced as his private bill in 1886, was his greatest contribution to the legislation of that decade. The significance of his contribution is not appreciated today because the protection of animals and the idea of game preservation is accepted policy. But to the conservation-conscious people of the day, the effects of the Bill were momentous. Prior to its introduction very little effective legislation had been adopted to force people to observe the 'closed periods' of shooting, or the protection of certain species of animals which were threatened with extinction.

A clear barometer of the impact of the promulgation of the Game Bill into law, was the large number of government proclamations appearing in the Government Gazette after 1886 dealing with game preservation, shooting seasons, protected game and similar problems. Proclamations dealing with game and game legislation being virtually non-existent in preceding years.

A motion was passed during the 1885 session requesting Ohlsson and M. Bergh (member for Malmesbury) to take in hand the matter of introducing a new Game Bill the following year. 25

Ohlsson, in introducing the Bill, referred to the fact that there had been no amendment in the Colony's Game Laws since 1823. Provision was made in the new Bill for the Governor to proclaim a closed season during certain periods of the year. He could also prohibit the destruction of certain eggs and the

wholesale catching of pheasants and partridges. Payment of
a small gun licence could be enforced, and permission was to
be obtained from the Governor prior to any specially clas-
sified game being shot - including elephant, bontebok,
hippopotamus, gnu, buffalo, and hartebeest. 26

The bill met with stormy criticism from some farmers who
were opposed to the provisions of the Bill being enforceable
on their private property. 27 Certain concessions had to be
made in order to make the passing of the Bill possible. For
example, the provision for an increased gun licence was
withdrawn, as was the exclusion of migratory springbok which
caused immense damage to farmers.

In December 1886 the Western Districts Game Protection
Association was founded, its aim being "... to promote the
interests of sportsmen in South Africa, and to prevent the
unlawful, unseasonable, and unnecessary destruction of game ..." 28
Ohlsson remained vice-president and chairman of this Association
almost until his death in 1912. The Association included
many influential people, such as W. G. Fairbridge (prominent
Cape Town attorney), M. Melok, E.M. Twentyman, and the
v.d. Byl brothers and many others. It acted as a forum for
new ideas on game preservation and was a pressure group and

27. Ibid, pp. 439, 444. An amendment to this effect was
narrowly defeated by 17 votes to 19. At a later stage
a new clause to this effect was introduced and adopted by
26 votes to 25. This threatened to wreck the Bill and was
later expunged by 41 votes to 13. A new clause that 'no
landowner shall require a game licence for the purpose of
shooting game on his land' was adopted and the Bill passed.
28. I/CT, 12/76, pamphlet "Game Protection", reprinted from
CT, 3. 9. 1900.
game lobby which ensured that the spirit and intention of Ohlsson's original 1886 Game Bill and its subsequent amendments were put into practice.

As a brewer himself and as the elected candidate of the Licensed Victuallers Association, Ohlsson's views on liquor legislation deserve scrutiny.

His views on closing hours were practical and fair. He maintained that "eight o'clock at night was quite late enough for bottle-stores to keep open." He also held that club licenses should be the same price as retail licenses, so as to prevent the multiplication of clubs, which had occurred at Kimberley - the mining companies running a total of sixty-nine canteens under club license.

The question of serving liquor on Sundays, and the debate on the matter was one which occupied the attention of the House periodically during the decade that Ohlsson was in parliament. It is not appropriate at this stage to go into the details of the debate, but it is worthwhile to note Ohlsson's views on the subject: He approved of the sale of intoxicating liquors on Sundays within prescribed hours, but believed that this privilege should be granted "to the respectable houses only." He pointed to the report of the Commissioner of Police which stated that Sunday restrictions on the sale of liquor had led to an increase of

drinking on that day, and to an increase in illicit trade.

During the 1884 session, Ohlsson fulfilled his election promise not to oppose a reasonable excise on beer. However, he did try to persuade the government to reduce their proposed tax on beer from 4d. to 3d. per gallon; arguing that when the increase in the beer excise was originally proposed by Sprigg (Treasurer-General), it was suggested that hops, malt, corks, and bungs should be admitted duty free. These items, however, were made subject to an ad valorem duty of ten percent. Although he was unsuccessful in this, he was instrumental in getting the percentage allowed for waste and sour beer raised from the proposed 7% to 10%, and the Bill was passed in that form.

It is important to note that when in parliament, Ohlsson fulfilled many of the promises and proposals made during electioneering, especially in regard to the railways, civil service, irrigation and farming, colonial industries, and the beer excise. He was also an important spokesman on liquor, and understandably, on beer, and was thus able to protect some of his own interests. This is also true of the trade in ostrich feathers — his firm being major dealers in and exporters of ostrich feathers.

34. Ibid, 1886, p. 145.
35. Ibid, 1884, p. 266. The excise on brandy was originally 2. s. per gallon, but was reduced to 1. s. per gallon.
36. Ibid, p. 295. The voting for the 10% allowance was close 33 for and 30 against.
Nevertheless, Ohlsson cannot be lightly dismissed as a politician merely looking after his own interests. He remained active in debate on other matters - the ballot, lighthouses, convict labour, public works, etc; and especially on matters affecting his constituency - such as municipal rates, water supply, house-duty, etc, and his enormous contributions to game preservation in the Colony deserve special praise.
Although the beer excise of 1884 was passed in the House and became law; dissatisfaction by Cape Town brewers over the combined effect of the increased excise coupled with a general depression, showed itself in a brewer's petition presented to the House in 1885 praying for relief to prevent their ruin. Moreover in 1886 the excise on brandy was lifted, while that on beer was maintained. This lead to much bitterness on the part of the brewers, and the burden of getting the legislation altered fell to Ohlsson as a representative of their cause in the House. The beer excise was eventually repealed in 1887 after considerable debate. Thus the subject of beer remained in the political spotlight from 1884 until 1887, resulting in bitterness between the wine-farming representatives in the House and Ohlsson.

Before following the debate and examining the issues involved, it is necessary briefly to describe Cape Town's brewing industry in general, and Ohlsson's share of the beer market and stake in the brewing industry in particular.

The basic ingredients for brewing beer are clear water, hops, and malt (which is obtained from barley). Ohlsson's Anneberg brewery had a regular supply of fresh spring water, as did the other six breweries situated in or near Cape Town: In Newlands there were the breweries of J. Letterstedt and Co. (Mariedahl brewery), Dr. J. Hiddingh (Cannon brewery), D. Cloete (Montebello/Top brewery); in Cape Town those of
E. H. Martienssen (who also had a wine business) and D. G. Cloete; and in Salt River that of J. H. and J. van Ryn (who were also distillers and spirit merchants and who had converted part of their distillery into a brewery).

Neither large nor regular supplies of barley were available in the Colony, and the malt (barley which has been germinated in water and dried) and barley were imported into the Colony from England, San Francisco, and Valparaiso in large quantities. Ohlsson, for example, imported barley to the value of over £20 000 during 1882.

The cost of imported barley was about 11-12. s. per muid, while the only colonial barley of comparable quality - that grown in the Hex River Valley - sold at 15. s. per muid, the difference thus being 3. s. to 4. s. per muid. Although barley was grown in the Malmesbury, Robertson and Montagu districts it was not suitable for brewing, because it contained too much acidity. The Colony's climate, however, was the most important determining factor, for if a barley crop, fit for cutting, was affected by rain, it would turn yellow and thus be spoilt for brewing purposes.

The reason for colonial barley not being suitable for malting was that it gave 20% less extract than English

2. A. 3 - '63, p. 164, evidence of P. Anhelt, p. 27. (manager of Anneberg brewery).
barley because it was grown in a sub-tropical climate where it grows very fast and contains a very large proportion of husk, and owing to the drought becomes hard and steely and will not readily take water. Nevertheless, malt made from imported barley never produced a superior quality beer to colonial malt, but produced a larger yield only.

Ohlsson's, as did other brewers, imported barley seed and distributed it to farmers to encourage them to grow barley. Their efforts appear to have been rewarded, for Ohlsson's purchased some 4,000 bags of colonial barley during 1886. They continued to import barley seed and pay a higher price for good colonial barley as incentives to the farmer.

The extremely sensitive hop plant which needs three to four years to acclimatize before yielding a crop, never stood a chance against the 'south-easter' in the Peninsula. The first attempts by the brewers to grow their own hops was made by Cloete in 1884 when half of the crop was destroyed by insects. Letterstedt's set aside a very small area for the cultivation of hops, while Ohlsson's were prepared to pay

7. A.24-'83, p. 47, evidence of W. Manson (Cloete's).
good money for good quality hops grown in the Colony. 9

The bulk of the hops, however, had to be imported —
Ohlsson's obtaining theirs from England. In September 1883,
the hops price in England was £8 per cwt. for first grade
hops, and £6 and £6. 6s. for second grade hops. The brewery
would place their orders and purchase their supplies of hops
on a yearly basis. 10

The types of beer brewed by Cape Town brewers in the
second half of the nineteenth century can be divided into two
categories: lower class ale (of weak strength) or tickey beer
as it was called, and higher class beer (and more strengthened)
consisting of pale ale, export ale, porter, and stout. II

9. A. 8- '55, p. 38, evidence of J. Spence (Cloete's). It was not
until World War I and the resulting difficulty in obtaining
imports that O.C.B. and S.A.B., in a combined effort,
established the Union Hop Growers Ltd., based at an experi­
mental hop farm at George. The first limited supplies of hops
grown at George were received by the respective
brewe ries
in
1920. Today the hop crop from the region supplies the huge
S.A.B. group (amalgamated in 1956) with all their hop require­
ments. See J. R. Shorten, Johannesburg Saga, (Jhb., 1970),
p. 909. ; "Early Days", pp. 13-15. ; A. C. Bagnall, "100 years
of brewing in S.A.", supplement to S. A. Hotel Review, Feb. 1953,
Rosenthal, Tankards, p. 121.
II. Although lager beer — a bottom-fermenting beer as opposed
to the top fermenting ales — was imported from Germany and
was also manufactured locally by A. Krawenh at his small
Kloof St. brewery (later taken over by Cloete, D. G.) from 1882,
it was not until Ohlsson's built their new 'Lager Brewery'
in 1901, and introduced a 'modern' pasteurization and filt­
ering process in 1905, that it was produced in large enough
quantities and at a price cheap enough for people of the
average income group to drink it. However, tickey beer
continued to be brewed until about 1932. See T. Barclay,
Notes used for a talk to Brewery personnel, 4.4.1961, p. 3 ;
A. 8- '55, pp. 62-3, evidence of A. Krawenh. ; CT, 18.5. 1942. ;
see Appendix F.
All the brewers depended on the sale of tickey beer for their livelihood, the brewing of which formed a large percentage of the total output of the various breweries: It formed 80% of Cloete's total output, and varied between 65-80% of Ohlsson's output. I2 (See Appendix G.)

Tickey beer left the brewery in a flat condition after having been stored there about seven days. Because the Malays, dock-workers, labourers and others who consumed the beer would not drink it in a flat condition, it was necessary for canteen-keepers to top-up the beer with sugar to make it effervesce. In the same manner, they could add water to weaken the beer and thus make it go further. I3 The enormous quantity of materials used in brewing is shown by the fact that to produce a barrel of tickey beer required 67lbs. of malt, and to give it a head 3lbs. sugar and 1 gallon of syrup. It was not possible to send beer "in a brisk condition" any distance, for it was probable that within two or three days "the heads of the casks would be blown out". I4

Tickey beer was not meant to be kept for any length of time, but was brewed for quick consumption. Depending on the temperature it would keep from two to eight days, although Manson claimed that he had on one occasion kept it for four to five months. I5

Beer that 'went-off' because of the temperature, or through age, never went sour as such, but the malt produced more saccharine which made the beer undrinkable on its own. It would then either be destroyed or sold to a distiller. I6

There was a lot of waste in the filling of casks and bottles inside the brewery due to fermentation and the resulting foam spilt. Moreover, during storage the loss due to burst bottles could be very high depending on the strength of the brew and the air temperature. The total loss on tickey beer in the brewery, for breakages in transport, and beer turning sour was about 15%.

More hops were added to the better class beer. Export ale was stored for six to eight weeks, and stout about four weeks. The average loss during storage, in transit and from sour beer for this class of beer was about 8%. I7

However, as Ohlsson stated:
"... when I built my brewery I did so with the intention of doing a local trade in the lower class of beer...". I8

Although by 1883 the better class of colonial beer had "... wonderfully improved, and the consumption of it ... very much increased..." and Cape beer had " already overtaken the low class of English beer " I9 in Cape Town, the market for good quality colonial beers was limited and remained small in comparison with that of tickey beer.

By 1885 quantities of export beer from the three larger breweries - Cloete, Ohlsson's and Letterstedt's - and to a lesser extent Martienssen, were sold at such places as the Diamond Fields, East London, Queenstown, Beaufort West,

I8. A. 8 - '85, p. 31.
King William's Town, Grahamstown and Port Elizabeth.\(^{20}\) However, in some cases they were unable to compete with imported beer (which carried a tax of 4 d. before July 1884; after that date it was increased to 1 s. 3 d. per gallon\(^{21}\)) in the coastwise trade at places such as Port Elizabeth, partly because of prejudice against colonial beers, and partly because importers of beer were prepared to sell their imported beer below cost rather than be cut out of the market.\(^{22}\)

The Brewer's Petition, signed by all of the afore-mentioned Cape Town brewers, praying for relief, was presented to the House in May 1885. It noted that the brewers had a large amount of capital invested in their trade in the form of landed property, water rights, expensive buildings, machinery and so on.\(^{23}\) For example, the cost of the building and plant of the Anneberg brewery was £28 000,\(^{24}\) while the total capital invested in Ohlsson's brewery (by August 1883) was about £70 000 which included the cost of the Anneberg property, water rights, purchase of horses, mules and carts, and of wooden casks.\(^{25}\) It is not clear whether this amount also included the cost of Ohlsson's store at no. 28 Long Street in Cape Town or the Company's offices which were originally at 3 St. Georges Street and which later (in 1883) moved to 10 (later 16) Adderley Street in Cape Town.

In 1887, Ohlsson stated that he had an investment of £200 000 in the brewing industry.\(^{26}\) This sum is likely to

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have included the total cost of his Anneberg brewery, offices and store in Cape Town, as well as the construction, or lease of, outlets for his beer such as canteens, hotels, and pubs. Cloete on the other hand, by mid 1885, had £ 40 000 invested in his establishment and plant, and a further £60 000 invested in hotels and public houses. 27

The petition also complained of the fact that the manufacture of beer was not very remunerative because of "... the heavy duties imposed on malt, hops, sugar, staves, bottles, casks, corks and fuel ( coal ) ... which have to be imported and are heavily taxed for customs and dock-dues, besides paying the cost of freight... " . 28

These high running costs, when seen in the light of the excise of 4d. per gallon in force from July 1884 on colonial made beer, the new canteen licenses paid by the brewers from April 1885, and the general economic depression, meant that the brewers were forced to increase the price of their tickey beer from a tickey ( 3d. ) to 3½ d., and in some cases, 4d. a bottle. ( See Appendix H. ).

Ohlsson commented;
"... the maximum price the people will give and what the beer is worth is 3d. ... " ,

and stressed that
"... there is not sufficient consumption of the better class ( beer) to keep the establishment going... it is the

27. A. 8- '85, p. 4, evidence of J. Spence.
28. A. 3 - '85, p. I.
tickey beer we entirely depend on...". 29
The other brewers agreed with this, and Spence maintained
that unless some relief was granted, Cloete and Hidding
would have to sell-up. 30
Various owners and keepers of pubs and canteens testified
to the fact that their beer sales had slumped badly, some
blaming the increased excise, some the 'bad times' and others,
a combination of the two. 31
A wine merchant gave evidence that there was no increase
in his trade, but a falling-off due to the depression. 32
Various Cape Town importers of English and German beer
in bottles showed examples of the fall-off in their trade.
This they blamed on the general depression over importation,
and competition. 33
Imported beer in bulk (that is, in casks) however,
ever fared so well with good quality colonial beer in Cape
Town, for as Ohlsson noted:
"In Cape Town we can compete with the English beer in
bulk, because we have no freight to pay... but coastwise
we cannot compete... because of high freight charges." 34
It should be noted that English beer in bottles and in
casks was able to compete with colonial beer so far from
England because of its cheap production cost - 50% cheaper
than the Colony's. The reasons for this were the ready
availability of cheap barley and hops; the small excise of
2d. per gallon on beer in England, and the cooler climate

33. See Appendix H.
34. A. 8-'35, pp. 104-5.
there which allowed brewing to take place all the year round and prevented uncontrolled fermentation and the resulting loss of beer.

It is usually the case that during a depression the poorer classes are hardest hit. Bearing in mind that it was this class which consumed the tickey beer in Cape Town, it is not surprising that the labourers, dock-workers, Malays and others who had had their wages reduced or who had been dismissed from work, were not in a position to afford the luxury of consuming beer. When this argument was presented to Dell, he replied that in previous depressions, the sale of tickey beer had never dropped to the level of turnover in 1884/5. This he attributed to the burden of the excise and the consequent hike in the price of tickey beer. 35

Because of the slump in the beer trade the breweries were forced to dismiss employees. This occurred at the breweries of Cloete, Ohlsson and Letterstedt. 36 By June 1885 fifteen men had been laid off by Cloete's. 37

It is interesting to note that in 1883 Ohlsson employed about forty labourers at his Anneberg brewery, 38 and, according to the average wage received at the time, men employed in the Colony's breweries earned 4s. 6d. per day and boys 2s. 3d. per day. 39 It does not stipulate whether these wages were for unskilled, semi-skilled or skilled workers.

Although Malays as such were prohibited from drinking any form of intoxicating liquor, some of them drank tickey

35. A. S-'85, p. 68.
37. Ibid, p. 4, evidence of Spence.
beer, because it was light. But as Burns noted:

"... a man is not looked upon as a respectable Malay if he takes liquors." 40 However, he did state that the Malays who drank beer, drank less because of the depression and increase in price. 41

Crowe, the Chief Inspector of Excise for the Colony, argued that:

"The reduction of the price of materials, in conjunction with the fact that brewers have reduced the strength of their beers, and also increased the selling price, are the grounds upon which I base my statement that they have lost nothing by the excise, except that the consumption has fallen off through the depression of trade generally." 42

He cited examples of the price of materials as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Material</th>
<th>Feb. 1884</th>
<th>Feb. 1885</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>malt</td>
<td>23-24s.</td>
<td>21-22s. 6d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hops</td>
<td>Is. 4d.-2s. 6d.</td>
<td>Is.-Is. 3d.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sugar</td>
<td>27s.-27s. 6d.</td>
<td>25s.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ohlsson disagreed with Crowe's argument and pointed to the fact that the price of materials for his brewery had remained the same and cited examples from various invoices.

40. A. 8- '85, pp. 69-70, evidence of Abdol Burns (a Malay cab-driver).
41. Ibid, p. 69.
42. Ibid, p. 84.
43. Ibid, p. 83.
from London which he presented to the Committee:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Before Excise</th>
<th>After Excise</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(before July 1884)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>malt per quarter</td>
<td>4Is. (grade I)</td>
<td>44s. (grade I)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hops per cwt.</td>
<td>£8</td>
<td>£8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>£6 and £6.6s.</td>
<td>£6.5s.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corks per gross</td>
<td>Is.</td>
<td>Is.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If it were true that Ohlsson's were brewing beer of lower strength than before and thus getting more beer from their materials and were benefiting by the increased price of the beer, then Crowe's argument would be sound. However, his argument about brewers reducing the strength of their beer was not conclusive, for he based his deductions on a quantity of Ohlsson's tickey beer which he purchased for testing purposes from a canteen. The strength of Ohlsson's beer before the excise was, on average, 48°, while the strength of the beer he tested was 34°. Ohlsson's brewer (Thompson) strongly objected to his calculation at the time, and the Select Committee accepted that the canteen-keeper had probably watered down the beer purchased by Crowe.

Moreover, as far as Ohlsson's better class beers were concerned, Crowe's argument that the brewers brewed beer of lower strength was untrue, for as he himself stated, the

44. A. 8-'85, pp. 101-2.
45. Ibid, p. 87.
strengths before and after the excise remained about the same, although the brewer did benefit from the increased price he charged for his better class beers. 46

Nevertheless, with a mass of convincing evidence based upon invoices relating to sales of both tickey beer and better class beer before and after the excise to various hotels in Cape Town, East London and Port Elizabeth, Ohlsson was able to demonstrate that even with the increased price he charged, the burden of the increased excise was such as to cause him a loss in many instances. 47

The Select Committee reported favourably for the brewers noting that although

"...the small brewers who have few expenses may continue to manufacture, to a limited extent; ... there seems no reason to question the very positive statements made that the brewers who have invested largely in the industry, will be quite unable to continue without some relief... Taking into account that wine pays no excise and brandy only one shilling per gallon, the Committee are of opinion that the present Excise is inequitable, both to the brewers and to the consumers who prefer light beers to heavier drinks...

The Committee... suggest that the duty on all beer under a strength of 10.40, be reduced to one penny per gallon, the Excise duty on all beers above that strength remaining as at present" (4d. per gallon). 48

46. Ibid, pp. 87-8. The strengths were: pale ale (60°), porter (60°); and after the excise: 66°, 62°, and 59°.
47. Ibid, pp. 102-3.
When the Report was submitted to the House by T.E. Fuller, who had been chairman of the Committee and who actively supported Temperance and thus had no interest in the beer trade at all, members from the wine-growing districts (whose farmers were affected by the Is. excise on a gallon of brandy) were delighted:

A. du Toit, the member for Swellendam stated that:

"... he was glad to see that some of the strongest supporters of the excise on brandy were converted by reporting that the excise on beer meant ruination..."49

The Treasurer-General (Sir. Gordon Spriggs) argued that with a differentiated excise for different strengths of beer, "a great deal of inferior beer would be brewed". 50

Nevertheless, a Bill on the lines of the recommendation of the Committee, reducing the excise to Id. per gallon on beer of a strength less than 10.40⁰, was passed by the House with the support of the wine-growing lobby.

Early in the 1886 session, J. Marais (the member for Paarl) obtained leave to amend the Excise Spirit Duty Act of 1884 which had fixed the excise on brandy at Is. per gallon. The amendment to the Bill was supported by the members from the farming districts - Paarl, Riversdale, Graaf-Reinet, Swellendam etc. 51 Rhodes also spoke in favour of abolishing the excise on brandy because he argued, the tax was unfair as it fell on

49. H.of A.Debs.,1885, p. 475. J. Marais (Stellenbosch) and Theron (Richmond) aired similar views.
50. Ibid,1885, p. 478.
the producer and not the consumer and was expensive to levy. 52

Ohlsson recorded his vote against the amendment, but spoke in favour of the government giving a rebate on stocks of brandy which had paid excise, if the excise on brandy was to be abolished. 53 A clause to this effect was inserted and the Bill narrowly passed by 29 votes to 27. 54

Ohlsson later claimed that during discussion on the repeal of the brandy excise, he was approached by the wine farmers and asked to lend his support to the amendment in return for which he would receive their support in the repeal of the excise on beer. 55

A possible explanation for Ohlsson not supporting the amendment is that, given his obvious interest in the liquor trade, and bearing in mind his 1884 election promise to support the excise and the need to remain consistent, he could not be seen to be leading the crusade against the excise which in all events he probably approved of as a legitimate tax. By publicly recording his vote against the repeal of the excise on brandy, and then appealing on grounds of 'fair play' for the repeal of the excise on beer later in the session, Ohlsson ensured for himself a powerful political weapon in future elections - 'the liquor man who voted for the excise when other liquor men wanted it repealed'.

52. H. of A. Debs., I886, p. 221.
53. Ibid, p. 305.
55. CT, 12. 10. 1888.
As Ohlsson commented in introducing his motion for the repeal of the excise on beer:

"This year (1886) that excise (on brandy) had been taken off, and he thought that that on beer ought also to have been removed. 56

It might be said that it was not right for him to come forward and advocate his own interests, but had he not a very good precedent for it? Did not the wine farmers advocate their own interests?" 57

While some of the wine farmers twitted Ohlsson for asking for the beer excise to be taken off, after he had opposed their efforts earlier in the year, others stated that their objection to colonial breweries was that they, unlike the wine farmers, never made enough use of colonial-grown produce, and therefore never qualified as a colonial industry per se. 58 Ohlsson repeated his view that colonial barley was of a poor standard for brewing purposes and that the breweries employed colonial labour, used colonial wagons, horses, and oasthays.

Sprigg, speaking for the government, stated that it was too late in the session to introduce a new Bill or to introduce new taxation legislation to make up for the loss of revenue if the beer excise was abolished. 59

J.X. Merriman criticized the government for removing the brandy excise, arguing that "... the Government had simply purchased another year of office by the sacrifice of the Excise Act. " 60

56. H. of A. Debs., 1886, p. 417. The excise on spirits distilled from materials other than the grape remained at its 1884 level of 4s. a gallon. 57. Ibid, p. 416.
59. Ibid, p. 419.
60. Ibid, p. 420.
Ohlsson referred to 'force' having been brought to bear against Sprigg both inside and outside the House. He concluded that:

"After the repeal of the Excise on spirits the Government ought to have introduced a Bill to reduce the excise on beer, and not have left it to a private member." 61

The following year (1887), the government did introduce a Bill to repeal the excise on beer. After some debate which raised the same issues of colonial barley and the use of imported articles, the Bill was overwhelmingly passed by 47 votes to 8. 62 Ohlsson was prevented by the Speaker from voting on the Bill because of his £200,000 investment in colonial breweries. 63

Ohlsson was thus able to secure for the brewing industry the lifting of the burden of the beer excise while at the same time enhancing his personal prestige vis-a-vis his constituents, to whom, in 1888 and 1894, he could demonstrate his consistency in matters affecting liquor legislation in parliament.

63. Ibid, p. 275.
CHAPTER V.

INCREASING SUCCESS: THE 1888 ELECTION AND

THE LEASE OF LETTERSTEDT'S.

During the period 1884-8, Ohlsson enjoyed increasing success both in his business and public life: He was re-elected to the Harbour Board in 1884 and 1887; served as the Director of the Cape Town and Districts Waterworks Company from 1888; was commissioned as Swedish and Norwegian Consul-General in Cape Town in 1866; re-elected as a Member of the Legislative Assembly in 1888; and successfully concluded the takeover of Letterstedt's brewery on lease in 1888 which was the Company's first step towards gaining the monopoly of the beer trade in Cape Town.

Ohlsson was unanimously re-elected to the Harbour Board for a further three years by the merchants of Cape Town in August 1884, and again in August 1887. It is interesting to note that among the companies which requisitioned for him were the most important and influential of the day. These included Heynes Mathew and Co. (wholesale chemists and druggists); Fletcher and Co. (merchant); Thorne, Stuttaford and Co.; Anderson and Murison (shipping merchants); J. Sedgwick and Co. (wine merchant); Darter and Sons (music warehouse); J. D. Cartwright and Co.; Poppe, Roussouw and Co., etc.

1. C. G. H. Govt. Gazette, 2. 9. 1884, p. 600.
2. Ibid, 30. 8. 1887, p. 442. Of the total of 43 members who served in the period 1848-95, only 11 others served longer than Ohlsson: Wiener and Fuller both served for 14½ years but as government nominees. See "Harbour Works", pp. 31-2; C. G. H. Civil Service List 1889, p. 110.
3. Argus, 27. 8. 1887.
It is likely that his re-election to the Harbour Board the year before he was due to contest the Cape Town seat again, contributed to his image of 'the man serving the public', and more significantly, got him votes from both the merchant classes in Cape Town and the dock-workers. 4

Of more importance to his personal prestige and status was the commission he received in October 1886 from King Oscar II of Sweden and Norway appointing him Consul-General for Cape Town and all coastal ports as far as Natal. 5 In December 1886 he was provisionally recognized as Consul-General in the Colony, pending the arrival of Her Majesty's Exequatur. 6 Although it was signed by Prime Minister Salisbury in February 1887, 7 it was only officially made known in the Colony in April 1887. 8 Nevertheless the date of Ohlsson's official appointment as Consul-General may be taken as the date of the Exequatur - viz. 28 February 1887.

The previous Consul-General for Sweden and Norway, C. G. Akerberg (K. N. S., K. W. O.), (who had also been Consul-General for Venezuela from 1870) had died in 1885 after holding the former position for twenty years. 9

Ohlsson's appointment as Consul-General opened further avenues for social and official contact with the government and public, and generally increased his stature. For example, he was

4. Although O'Reilly again stood as 'the working-man's candidate' in 1886, Ohlsson still received a significant number of votes from the dock-workers who could spare some of their votes for him.
5. See Appendix J.
7. See Appendix K.
eligible for honorary membership of the Civil Service Club in Cape Town on payment of five guineas per annum. Although he already moved in high society because of his position in the House of Assembly, membership of the Harbour Board and City Club, as chairman of the Game Association, and as an up-and-coming Cape merchant and industrialist, the increased prestige of the appointment, and the raising of the level of his offices in Cape Town to include a consulate, gave both Ohlsson and his firm increased respectability and status in Cape Town and other parts of the Colony. It also later helped to earn him honorary positions of office on various societies and clubs. For example, he became vice-President of the Western Province Football Association, which in turn had the effect of increasing his standing even more.

Ohlsson was awarded two decorations by the Swedish and Norwegian King (King Oscar II) for his services to the kingdom: Knight of the Northern Star in 1892 (see Appendix L) and the Royal Order of Wasa.

Ohlsson was a Director of the Cape Town and Districts Waterworks Co. which was floated in 1888. The Company which obtained the right to water from the many springs and streams in the Newlands/Rondebosch area, supplied the purest water which, according to a contemporary account

"... has been of incalculable benefit to all the suburbs with the exception of Wynberg, which has its own water supply ... Prior to this ... there had been a regular

IO. Argus Annual ... and Directory, 1894, p. 629.
water famine every summer, as the residents had to depend on their water-supply from contaminated wells.... (which) .... naturally caused a great deal of diptheria and typhoid fever every year." 12

Commenting on the effect of the supply of pure water to the area it was stated that:

"The benefit resulting from this enterprise initiated by Ohlsson may be judged when we state that tracts of land in the suburbs, which owing to lack of water could not be utilized, because valuable building sites on its introduction." 13

During the severe drought in the summer of 1894, Ohlsson, as Director of the Co, was approached by his neighbour in Adderley Street - J. Garlick, who was also a Town Councillor and served in the Council's Water Works and Fire Brigade Committee, and asked whether he would be prepared to supply the Cape Town system with water from his Company's springs in Newlands. 14

Ohlsson agreed to the proposal and in March 1894 a sub-committee from the Town Council negotiated with a delegation from the Waterworks Co. made up of Ohlsson, E. Pilgram, C. Robertson and Rudd as Directors of the Company, and its secretary C.H. Heath, and engineer Bennet. The final terms of the agreement were that the Council was to bear the cost of

13. Ibid. See also, Hartmann, Skandinaver, p. 13.
connecting the Company's mains

"which are laid to the boundary of Woodstock ....... with the mains of the Town Council which are laid... to the boundary of Cape Town." I5

The cost was to be £1 000 for the first 5,333,000 gallons after which the rate would be 3s. 9d. per one thousand gallons. It was also agreed that the Council would supply the necessary water metres and that a supply of about 200,000 gallons per 24 hour period would be maintained. I6

Indicative of the future severity of the drought were the numerous letters to the press in January and February 1894 from residents in Cape Town complaining of water rationing and enquiring why relief from the Suburban Water Co. was not obtained. The editor of the Argus replied to one such letter as follows:

"... people are on a short allowance in some of the suburbs also. The present local drought has been beyond all expectations." I7

It should be borne in mind that the Town Council was at that time involved in construction of the Woodhead Tunnel and Reservoir on Table Mountain, and that the Table Bay Reservoir was also under construction. Supplies of water from the Council's springs in 1893 and 1894 reflect the severity of the drought and the shortfall for which the Council had to cater by introducing water rationing and purchasing extra

I5. Ibid, p. 113, Ohlsson to J. Garlick, 10.2. 1894.
supplies of water from Ohlsson's Waterworks Co:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Supplies</th>
<th>Shortfall</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>592 947 gals./24 hrs.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feb.</td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>507 656</td>
<td>85 291 gals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>487 080</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>445 311</td>
<td>41 769 gals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>1893</td>
<td>513 825</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1894</td>
<td>398 648</td>
<td>115 177 gals.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Company supplied the Council with water from 10 March to 4 April 1894. The following year the Company supplied water to Districts 5 and 6 on the same conditions. By 1896, the Council was able to supply its districts with enough of its own water and Ohlsson's Waterworks Co. continued to supply water to the suburbs until 1898 when it was transformed into the Suburban Municipal Waterworks by the municipalities of Claremont, Rondebosch and Mowbray.

It is not surprising that Ohlsson, who by the mid 1880's had accumulated a considerable fortune, should try his hand in investing in the various gold mining companies that were being established at various places. The number of advertisements appearing in the Cape Town press calling upon the public to take up shares in this or that company is indicative of the 'gold-rush fever' of the times. Because gold mining companies and

20. DSAB, II, p. 524; Men, I906, p. 322.
miscellaneous syndicates sprang up overnight, they sported an assortment of weird names, amongst which were the 'Golden Slipper Syndicate' and the 'Lily Main Reef Gold Mining Co.'.

Ohlsson was elected to the steering committee (along with Wiener, Thorne and others) of the 'Millwood Central Quartz Milling Co.' whose aim it was to float shares so that stampers could be purchased with which to crush the quartz at the Knysna goldfields. 21

He also held shares in, and attended the meetings of, the 'Highland Reef Gold Mining Co.'. Other shareholders in the Company were T.J. Anderson (prominent Cape Town merchant), J.H. Hofmeyr, and others. 22

One of Ohlsson's ventures into the sphere of gold mining was in Damaraland. In June 1887 six Australian miners landed in Table Bay and visited the German Consul-General to obtain permission to enter South-West Africa. One of them then informed the Consul-General that his father had discovered a rich gold reef near Walvis Bay. The German was very sceptical on hearing their story and sent them to the firm Poppe, Roussouw and Co. (representatives of the 'Deutsche Kolonialgesellschaft') who then granted them permission to prospect in a section of their territory in South-West Africa. But, because the Australians had no money to pay for their voyage, they approached Ohlsson for aid. The firm Poppe, Roussouw and Co. then concluded an agreement between Ohlsson and the Kolonialgesellschaft on the one hand, and between Ohlsson and the Australian diggers on the other hand. These parties then

22. Ibid, IO. I. 1888.
established the 'Australian Prospecting Syndicate', the profits of which would be divided on a pro rata basis between the three. Ohlsson had to pay for the diggers' passage to Walfish Bay, while the Kolonialgesellschaft was to provide them with mining equipment. These negotiations were kept secret and the diggers left for Damaraland on board the Louis Alfred at the end of July 1887. 23

After gold alleged to have been discovered in the area had been examined by Dr. Hahn, a scientist in Cape Town, and certified to be 'real', arrangements by the South-West African administration for the supervision of the 'goldfields' went ahead. By August 1888 mining areas had been proclaimed, companies established in Germany and elsewhere and many claim licenses issued. 24

Indicative of the excitement engendered by the discovery and its potential is this press report which appeared in early September 1888:

"Several gentlemen representing various syndicates, left by the Louis Alfred yesterday afternoon for Walfish Bay. Their destination is Damaraland where they will search for gold deposits. Among the goods on board - a wagon, a house in pieces... so the prospectors would seem to have made up their minds that there will be something worth staying for for some time." 25

By the end of September 1888, with no notable gold strike having been made, many diggers began to leave. Later it turned

24. Ibid, pp. 125, 133.
out that the Australian diggers had in fact 'salted' the mine, and Ohlsson's Damaraland venture into gold mining and the Syndicate thus came to nothing. 26

In 1888 Ohlsson was re-elected to the House of Assembly. Although it was rumoured at the time that he was going to transfer his allegiance from Cape Town to Swellendam (the district in which some of his farms were situated) for the 1888 election, he did in fact accept the numerous signed requisition (1443 voters) requesting him to stand for re-election for one of the Cape Town seats. 27 The preamble to the requisition read:

"We the undersigned electors of the City of Cape Town, having viewed with feelings of satisfaction the truly independent, and... consistent course you have adopted in respect to the different measures which occupied the attention of Parliament ...." 28

Requisitions were presented to six candidates – Stigant, Fuller, Wiener, Ohlsson, O'Reilly, and D. de Villiers Graaff. However, the latter declined to accept nomination because of business commitments, and the election battle for the four Cape Town seats was therefore contested by five candidates. 29

The main issues of the election were railway expansion northwards, the debate on protection and free trade, and the excise. The various views of the candidates on these principal

27. Argus, 1. 9. 1888; and, 3. 10. 1888.
29. Ibid, 28. 8. 1888; and, 8. 9. 1888.
issues were summarized by the *Argus* as follows:

Fuller, T.E. - independent - northward extension - excise - 'A dash of protection'.

Ohlsson, A. - ministerial - northward extension - excise - protection.


Wiener, L. - independent - northward extension - excise - free trade.

O'Reilly, T.J. - ministry - northward extension - excise - protection.  

It is interesting to note that Ohlsson, who had entered Parliament in 1884 as an independent candidate, declared that he was "proud of supporting the Government" because of the manner in which they had set the Colony's finances in order after the mess the Scanlen Ministry had left it in. However he still clung to his independent image, for as Sir Thomas Upington (Prime Minister) stated when taking the chair at one of Ohlsson's election meetings:

"He has been no strong party man, he has opposed the Ministry when he thought it desirable that they should be opposed...".  

In giving an account of his stewardship for the period 1884-8, Ohlsson stated that

"... he had oft-times sacrificed his business and his

own personal comfort ... " in attending to his Parliamentary duties

"... and he had the satisfaction of knowing that he had not been absent from one single division in the House... "33

He also demonstrated to the meeting his consistent action in regard to the slat act, excise, colonial industries, ballot act, railway extension etc. He again concentrated the force of his campaign on the protection and fostering of colonial industries. He quoted statistics during his speech-making which demonstrated the saving to the Colony in the form of foreign exchange because of the fall-off in the value of imports, partly due to the depression, and partly due to the encouragement of an improvement to colonial industries:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Value of Imports</th>
<th>1883</th>
<th>1887</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Cereals and flour</td>
<td>£507 363</td>
<td>£74 873 (saving £450 000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ale and beer</td>
<td>£131 757</td>
<td>£80 135 (&quot; £50 000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butter</td>
<td>£97 648</td>
<td>£24 297 (&quot; £70 000)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gunpowder</td>
<td>£10 830</td>
<td>£3 370 (&quot; £7 000)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ohlsson received support from the Argus in so far as the fostering of colonial industries was concerned;

"Mr. Ohlsson we are delighted to see sound on one point--

33. CT, 12. 10. 1888.
34. Ibid.
he intends to do all he can for the fostering of colonial industries. Mr. Ohlsson being a man who has 'planked down' his money boldly for colonial enterprises may be trusted to mean something practical when he talks of fostering colonial industries.\footnote{Argus, 3. IO. 1888, leading article.} and "... we confidently look to Mr. Ohlsson to be one of our leaders" in the fostering of colonial industries.\footnote{Ibid, 12. IO. 1888, leading article.}

When addressing the largely working class voters in District numbers 5 and 6, Ohlsson was greeted with cheers when he stated that he would do as he had done in the past; viz. "... support the interests of the labouring classes and the artisans of this Colony..." through his support for colonial industries.\footnote{CT, 30. IO. 1888.}

Ohlsson urged that the voters support him because:

"He had a large stake in the country, and in looking after his own interests he was looking after the interests of his fellow-colonists at the same time."\footnote{Ibid.}

By adopting this stance, and by stressing his continued support for protection and the fostering of colonial industries, Ohlsson was able to appeal for the influential support of wealthy merchants and traders as well as the labourers and artisans, by assuring the former protection from outside competition and reasonable customs duties on their exports, and the latter the creation of better job opportunities. At the same time he was best able to look after his own considerable stake in the Colony.

35. Argus, 3. IO. 1888, leading article.
36. Ibid, 12. IO. 1888, leading article.
37. CT, 30. IO. 1888.
38. Ibid.
Ohlsson attacked two of his fellow contestants, criticizing the low tariff and free trade principles as expounded by Wiener, and criticizing Fuller because he "... was a Free Trader and he did not blame him, it suited him, no doubt and it suited the Union Co. (cheers)." 39

Although Ohlsson's criticism of Fuller probably also applied to himself, and although it could be said of Ohlsson that he favoured protection because it favoured his own interests, he could argue that his interests were the Colony's interests, while Fuller's was that of a foreign-based company.

Nomination day was held on 1 November 1888 when a poll was demanded by Wiener and Stigant; 5 November being set down as polling day by the returning officer.

O'Reilly who had been narrowly defeated in 1884 did very well in the 1888 election, finishing second to Fuller, followed by Ohlsson, Wiener and Stigant. 40 Ohlsson led the poll in the morning, mostly through the votes from the docks.

Temperance once again voted as a block: "A Committee of the Alliance quietly engineered the Temperance vote all day." Two for Fuller, one each for Stigant and Wiener until Fuller was safe - then two for Stigant and two for Wiener. 41

39. CT, 12. 10. 1888. T.E. Fuller was chief agent in S.A. for the Union Steamship Co.

40. Argus, 6. II. 1888. Fuller 3156; O'Reilly 3058; Ohlsson 3760; Wiener 3690; Stigant 2314. Total of 13976 out of a possible 25636= 54.5% poll. The low percentage poll is indicative of the lack of interest in the election, partly because the Colony's economic problems had been satisfactorily settled.

41. Argus, 6. II. 1888.
On polling day Ohlsson was referred to as "an assiduous patron of the printing press" and one of his pamphlets referred to as "a splendid specimen of election liberality." It read as follows:

"It has come to the notice of our Committee that the Cape Alliance has over 4000 votes at their disposal, and which will be recorded, after 3 o'clock, in favour of Messrs. Fuller, Wiener and Stigant. Intelligent and Independent Electors - Put an end to such manipulation of votes by recording yours early; in fact, at once, in favour of Ohlsson, if you wish to see colonial industries protected, and desire to be represented by a man having his only interest - which is a large one - in this colony. Remember, he is one of us, and the Working Man's Friend." 43

The day after polling, Ohlsson, in a letter to the editor of the Argus complained of an electioneering squib aimed at him and issued by the Argus Co., steadfast supporters of Fuller, who they referred to as "the candidate who has ever held the first place in our affections." Ohlsson claimed that the squib lost him a number of votes. The Cape Times commented:

"Mr. Ohlsson is not likely to have lost any votes by the trick " which Ohlsson had referred to as "ungentleman-like ". 45

It read as follows:

"Mr. Ohlsson being full up, full to the very bung, desires

42. Argus, 6. II. 1888. 43. Ibid.
44. Ibid, 6. II. 1888, leading article.
45. CT, 6. II. 1888, leading article.
THE "ARGUS" SAYS MR. OHLSSON IS SAFE.
HE IS NOTHING OF THE SORT.
HE REQUIRES
Every Plumper,
THE POLITICAL ASSOCIATION AND OTHERS ARE BAKING THEIR VOTES.
CONTINUE
Plumping for Ohlsson,
OR HE WILL FALL OUT.
his friends to throw away no more votes, but to plump for Fuller. " 46

The managing director of the Argus Co. F.J. Dormer (who
had requisitioned for Ohlsson in the 1884 election,) replied
that he thought Ohlsson "determined to prove himself an
ill-conditioned sort of person" by not taking the squib
in the right spirit. He admitted that the election card was
his idea of "enlivening the proceedings on a very dull day". Dormer went on to threaten Ohlsson with "missiles from a
quite different piece of artillery" (if he) "prefers to
be taken seriously" at any future election. 47

The previous day, the editor of the Argus had referred
to the squib as part of the generally expected "rough humour
and license on election day". He had also pointed to the fact
that 4 COO men in buckram were created 'to keep Ohlsson out'
and that Ohlsson therefore never disapproved of election
squibs as such, but only when they were directed against him. 48

The result of the election was interpreted as indicating
Cape Town's desire for protection, as both Ohlsson and O'Reilly
were staunch protectionists, while Fuller was in favour of
a 'dash of protection'. 49

The signing of a lease between Messrs. Letterstedt and Co.
and Ohlsson and Co. on 7 November 1888 represented an important
step in the growth of Ohlsson's beer interest. The terms of the

46. Argus, 8. II. 1888. 47. Ibid.
48. Ibid, 7. II. 1888. It is interesting to note that, notwithstanding these threatening words, the Argus fully supported Ohlsson in the 1894 election.
49. Ibid, 6. II. 1888, leading article.
This building is on the site of Olsson's Cape Breweries off Main Road, Newlands.
lease were that Letterstedt agreed to lease their Mariedahl brewery, connecting buildings, railway siding, water rights, and a number of properties, four Cape Town hotels, as well as their interest and monopolies for supplying beer to the cricket field, football ground, and certain public-houses, to Ohlsson for a period of ten years. The rent for the hotels was to be £2100 per annum for the first five years and £2000 per annum for the remaining five years. 50

The Mariedahl House and gardens and a daily supply of 75 000 gallons of pure water from the Newlands Spring were exempted from the operations of the lease.

Ohlsson was given the right to purchase at any time all the leased properties, including those exempted from the clauses of the lease and the 75 000 gallons of water, for the sum of £36 000. He was also given the right to purchase other water rights belonging to the Mariedahl Estate for the sum of £4 000.

Ohlsson's were also found to buy at cost price all materials in the Brewery such as casks, bottle-baskets, bottles, wagons, carts, harnesses, and other moveables used in the brewery business. 51

The absorption of Letterstedt's brewery represented a significant step forward for Ohlsson's brewery: 52 It meant the acquisition of valuable water rights and an important railway siding, as well as an up-to-date brewery with modern

50. I/XCD, 520/32, no. 2366, lease between Letterstedt and Co. and Ohlsson and Co. 51. Ibid.
52. The properties and brewery were eventually purchased by C.C.E. in 1896 and the ground is more or less where Ohlsson's Brewery is situated today at Newlands. See T. 2757/12.5.1896 Deeds Office, Cape Town.
machinery. After this takeover, Ohlsson's established themselves as the largest and most important brewers in Cape Town and the Colony. 53

News of this takeover and signing of the lease came two days after Ohlsson had been re-elected to Parliament. The lease came into effect on 15 November and the end of Letterstedt's signified the end of an era: The following two notices announcing the takeover appeared in the press:

"Notice. Cannon Brewery, Newlands. (Hiddingh's brewery.) The proprietor of the above brewery has purchased the stocks and machinery of the firm J. Letterstedt and Co. and have engaged their Brewer and will continue to supply the same superior quality of Ales, Stout and etc."

"Messrs. Letterstedt and Co. having leased their Brewery to Messrs. Ohlsson and Co. from this date beg to thank all those who during so many years have granted them their kind support." 55

53. Prior to the takeover, the combined output and turnover of the two Cloete breweries was more than that of the Anneberg brewery. See Appendix C.

54. Argus, 15. II. 1889.

55. Ibid.

56. The Lantern, new year number, 1889, this is how Ohlsson's lease of Letterstedt's brewery was seen.
CHAPTER VI

ROUGH RIDING: 1889 - 94.

The period 1889-93 witnessed two ministerial crises: That of 1890 brought about the failure of the Sprigg government to get their railway proposals passed, and that of 1893 over the 'Logan contract'.

It is evident from the tone of many of Ohlsson's speeches during this period that, probably because of the second mandate he had received from the Cape Town voters, his attitude and manner were more confident and in some cases even aggressive. This is particularly true in regard to the debate on the general subject of liquor which remained an important issue in this period. The debate over the liquor laws raged on for four years 1890-3 with Bills and motions constantly being bandied about.

The various members representing temperance movements constantly attacked Ohlsson and he equally determinedly defended himself and the interests of the trade for which he spoke.

Following representations from various groups in 1889, a Liquor Commission was appointed and reported in 1890 and an amended Liquor Bill based on the recommendations of the Commission, was introduced in 1891. This Bill included a revision of the opening hours of bottle stores and hotel bars, the principle of local option, the 'local option' was the right of the local population within a stipulated radius from a public-house to object to the existence of such a public-house.
sale of liquor between prescribed hours on Sundays with a meal only, a definition of 'Kafir beer' as an intoxicating liquor, provision for inspectors of licenses to be appointed, and various miscellaneous clauses.  

The House received a host of petitions in favour of the Bill; from the Good Templars of King William's Town, Cape Town, Caledon, Victoria West, Paarl, and other places; while Ohlsson presented a petition from 150 licensed victuallers in Cape Town against the proposed amendment in the liquor laws. As J. Wood (member for Grahamstown) noted: "... no question which had ever come before the House had caused such excitement throughout the country. ..."  

Ohlsson objected very strongly to the principle of local option because, if implemented, it would usurp the powers of the licensing courts "and put them in the hands of Good Templars and parsons." He also demanded compensation for a publican if he was forced to close through two-thirds of the voters of the district voting for such a move. He noted too, that hotelkeepers paid very high licences - £45 for licence, £10 to keep a billiard table, and £3 for a cigar licence, and therefore deserved a fair deal and earlier opening hours. It was also proposed that the Divisional Council voters' list be used instead of the parliamentary role. The former which excluded some Malays,
Blacks and poor Whites, had a higher property qualification (£75) than the normal parliamentary role (£25). Ohlsson was against this proposal "because it smacked of class legislation". 7

J. C. Molteno (former Prime Minister), a member of the Temperance movement, was particularly critical of Ohlsson:

"... Ohlsson reminded him of a hen cackling over an egg. He was sorry indeed that Ohlsson had opposed the ... (Bill) ... with such evident motives ... ". 8

Ohlsson retorted:

"It was said that he (the speaker) should retire to his comfortable home and enjoy the gains he had scored. This was a very personal remark. He made a wholesome beverage and was not ashamed of it." 9 Earlier he had stated that:

"He represented a large constituency containing many publicans (hear, hear) and he was not ashamed to say so, nor that he was interested in the liquor trade. All he asked for that trade was fair play." 10

However, opposition to the Bill was fruitless and it was read a third time and passed in August 1891. 11

Ohlsson was unable to attend the 1892 session because of illness and O'Reilly, the other parliamentary representative of the Licensed Victuallers Association introduced an amended liquor bill. He presented the House with a petition signed by 4,000 voters and ratepayers from Cape Town, requesting an

8. Ibid, p. 236.
9. Ibid, p. 239.
alteration in the liquor law. Counter-petitions from the
Good Templars of Sea Point, Cape Town, Claremont, Kimberley
and Beaconsfield were also presented to the House. O'Reilly
withdrew the Bill in favour of a Select Committee being
appointed to investigate the subject.

In 1893 Ohlsson obtained leave to introduce a new liquor
Bill. He stated that he had been asked to do so by the Central
Committee of the Licensed Victuallers of Cape Town who repre-
sented almost all the licensed victuallers of the Colony. Hutton, the member for Fort Beaufort attacked the
proposed new Bill:

"Was the House going to brand itself with the name of
hypocrite by refusing to allow the sale of the necessities
of life and permitting the sale of liquor on Sundays... the appearance of the thing was that... (Ohlsson) ... wished to promote his own interests and those of the
business in which he was engaged... he urged Ohlsson
to withdraw the Bill."

Ohlsson defended himself as follows:

"As far as he was concerned, there was no man in the
House, even the supporters of total abstinence, who
abominated drunkenness more than he did, and yet he was
constantly getting personalities from the other side of
the House. The very men in the House who opposed the
sale of liquor, voted for money to be spent in eradicating
the phylloxera to preserve the wine industry in the

country. Was that consistency? ... if the Bill were not passed, it would not break his heart, he would have done his duty.  

The Bill was hopelessly lost by 7 votes to 49.  

It is interesting to note that the Temperance Alliance had formed the Law and Order League in March 1893 to fight any revision in the liquor laws. O'Reilly referred to it as 'another product of temperance fanaticism'. What is important, is that the League had as its vice-president Cape Town's two remaining members (Wiener and Fuller), as well as such influential figures as Molteno and Rose-Innes, and was extremely powerful both inside and outside the House.

Another interesting feature is that of Ohlsson's changed position: in 1884 he had one brewery and a few public-houses and canteens, but after 1888 and the absorption of Letterstedt's brewery and hotels, and the discontinuation of brewing at the Cannon brewery at the end of 1888, Ohlsson had a larger vested interest in the increased number of properties and hotels which he owned and which served as outlets for his brew. Added to this was the fact that, by 1893 Ohlsson's enjoyed the lion's share of the beer market in Cape Town and thus the publicans needed Ohlsson as much as he needed them. Thus, he was liable to be under increased pressure from the increased number of publicans whom he served.

18. Ibid, p. 64.
Ohlsson might well have been pursuing his own interests in regard to liquor questions, although this was not so in general, for as was the case during his first five years in parliament, he spoke on numerous wide-ranging topics which had no connection with his own interests at all. The following examples will demonstrate this point: He repeated his encouragement for the farmer to be given incentives and reduced railway rates to increase production. 20

As a protectionist and as one who favoured the fostering of colonial industries, Ohlsson was instrumental in having the Fish Protection Bill passed. It was aimed at American fishing vessels which were capable of fishing in deeper waters while using a net with a small mesh net. During debate on the Bill, Ohlsson stated that

"It would be a hardship for the native fisherman to have these larger vessels competing against them, because they were not of a class who had the means to purchase boats of a large size." 21

In the commercial sphere, besides campaigning for cheaper telegraphic rates and debating the demerits of having an overseas mail contract monopoly, Ohlsson (in 1890) gave his full support to the idea of erecting a new post office on the site of the old Commercial Exchange in Cape Town:

"They had been waiting a long time to get proper postal offices at Cape Town in the interests of the country at large." 22

After the site had been expropriated there was some debate over whether to make the building a three or four-storey building. Ohlsson was instrumental in having the latter suggestion adopted and catered for in the Estimates of 1893, so that the building would be able to house government offices. 23

Ohlsson later claimed that it was through his effort that Saldanha Bay stone was used in the construction of the post office. It was originally intended that stone would be imported from England, but he had approached the Public Works Department and requested the appropriate people to inspect the new Garth Castle Hotel on the corner of Long and Waterkant Streets in Cape Town which he had had built out of Saldanha Bay stone, and they changed their plans accordingly. This saved the Colony considerable foreign exchange and encouraged a colonial industry. 24 Ohlsson owned an extensive farm in the Saldanha Bay district and therefore had intimate knowledge of the potential of the area. 25

Ohlsson took a keen interest in other issues affecting his constituency. For example, his support of an amendment to the Municipal voting system; his plea for an improvement in the poor state of the City's roads, drains and pavements; 26 his concern with the pollution of the Liesbeek River and the poor sanitation system in the suburbs; 27 his concern with the poor pay and working conditions of the Cape Town police force, and his suggestion (carried by 34 votes to 30) to appoint

23. Ibid, 1893, p. 156.
a select committee (of which he was elected chairman) to investigate their grievances; 28 and his objection to the idea of the Harbour Board having four government nominees and only three elected members. 29

Ohlsson spoke repeatedly and consistently in favour of the ballot:

"... there was in many places a certain amount of intimidation and it was not a privilege, but a right to allow a man to vote freely and independently." 30

He also spoke on the general subjects of the customs union with Basutoland 3I and general railway expansion and administration. 32

The biggest scandal to rock the political boat during this period - the furore over the Logan contract in 1893 - had a parallel with the lease of a section of Robben Island to Ohlsson in 1892. Although the two cannot be compared as such, they were both looked upon as being 'crooked', and as the secret granting of unfair favours.

The lease of Robben Island to Ohlsson was referred to by Merriman when he was explaining his reasons for resigning from the cabinet after the crisis caused by the Logan contract as "the little job of last session". 33 However, as Merriman himself noted; unlike the Logan contract where Sivewright

29. Ibid, 1890, p. 190. The fourth government nominee was to be the Mayor of Cape Town.
(minister of railways) had granted the contract for railway canteens to his friend Logan without first asking for tenders, Ohlsson was granted the shooting lease on Robben Island by the Colonial Secretary, J.W. Sauer, who was not Ohlsson's friend. 34

Ohlsson first approached Sauer on the matter in December 1891, requesting

"...whether Government would be prepared to grant me a lease (for £25 per annum) embodying the sole right to shoot over the Island, say for a period of five years...I am actuated by a strong desire for encouraging and preserving game upon the Island, the quantity of which, owing to the almost indiscriminate granting of shooting permits...has decreased to a very considerable extent..."

He also promised to introduce partridges, pheasants, guinea fowl and sprinbok to the Island and to provide adequate protection to any game on the Island that required it. 36 A favourable reply was received from the Under-Colonial Secretary, and a 'memorandum of agreement' between Ohlsson and the government was drawn up and signed in January 1892 whereby Ohlsson was granted

"...the sole and exclusive right for a period of five years to commence on the first day of February 1892...to shoot rabbits and game on Robben Island..." 38 He was also obliged to shoot rabbits on the Island if requested to do so by the government.

35. H A, vol. 316, no. 223, 1892, Ohlsson to Colonial Secretary, 8. 12. 1891.
36. Ibid.
37. Ibid, Under-Colonial Secretary to Ohlsson, 24. 12. 1891.
38. Ibid, lease between Government and Ohlsson, 1. 1. 1892.
Ohlsson later requested permission to lay out a plantation 300 yds. long and 100 yds. wide on the northern part of the Island. He agreed "to fence the ground with galvanized wire and wooden posts ", and to defray the cost of planting wattle trees and other shrubs if government would supply them. He also requested permission to have the use of the old ruin on the northern part of the Island known as the 'Old Wreck'. He agreed to provide a floor, doors and windows at his own expense. Both the plantation and the 'Old Wreck' were to remain the property of the government. Sauer agreed to these requests.

Douglass (member for Grahamstown) who raised the matter in the House in June 1892, complained that £200 per annum might have been obtained if the lease had been put up for tender. De Waal (member for Piquetberg), Douglass, Marais (member for Paarl), Colonel Schermbucker (King William's Town) and O'Reilly objected to the principle of disposing of government contracts without tender. O'Reilly was particularly bitter and scathing in his criticism of the lease and referred to it as ".. one of the greatest pieces of political jobbery he had ever known... ". He continued:

"There were hundreds of sportsmen in Cape Town who would have given much more than £25 per annum for the shooting. He felt very warm on a matter of this sort. The conditions of the lease had been the talk of bars, clubs and dinner-tables for some time past... The people of Cape Town had enjoyed the right of shooting on the Island for thirty years, and he objected that it should be

39. Ibid, Ohlsson to Colonial Secretary, 21. 4. 1892.
40. Ibid, Col. Secretary to Ohlsson, 24. 4. 1892. The plantation became known as 'Ohlsson's Plantation' and appears to have been a stimulus to the Islanders to plant trees on a large scale. However, most of the trees were destroyed during W.W. II for security reasons. S. de Villiers, Boeran Island (Cape Town, 1971), p. 111. [41 H. of A. Des., 1892.]
taken away in this manner." 42

Sauer defended his actions and pointed out that with the improvement Ohlsson was undertaking on the Island "... the country would benefit more than if £200 had been paid by more careless men." He also criticized O'Reilly for his outburst and "... doubted whether the honourable gentleman, with all his loudness, would have had the courage to make such remarks in the presence of his colleague... " 43

J. H. Hofmeyr (member for Stellenbosch) defended the transaction as follows:

"If tenders had been called... They might have had a cockney sportsman who took the shooting for what he could make of it, and who would have exterminated the game, and if Government had let the shooting to such a person they would have been open to severe censure. The lessee was a keen sportsman, was imbued with the highest instincts of a sportsman, and would spend in improving the shooting ten times as much as he annually paid for his lease." 44

Ohlsson's actions in regard to the shooting lease on Robben Island and his stated goals of protecting game there, should be viewed in the light of his chairmanship of the Game Association, his work in introducing the Game Bill in 1886,

42. H. of A. Debts, 1892, pp.22-3.
43. Ibid. Ohlsson was in Europe for his health at the time.
44. Ibid, p. 23.
and his keen interest in both preserving and hunting game. 45

It was possibly because of his interest in game and wild
life in general and his friendship with L. Maclean (a general
manager of the Union Steamship Co. who served with Ohlsson on
the Game Association, and as another of the vice-presidents of
the Western Province Football Association) that Ohlsson
agreed to a section of his Montebello home being used as a
pond to hatch trout ova imported from Scotland. Three types of
tROUT Ova - Loch Leman, Rainbow and Brown trout - were imported
in late 1891 or early 1892. The government set aside a sum of
money to cover part of the cost of the project, but made no
 provision for the trout once they were hatched. Ohlsson had
unsuccessfully appealed to Merriman (the Treasurer-General)
in March 1892 for more money to be made available.

Latour, an Irishman, successfully hatched the trout which
were then taken to the Ceres district by government where the
majority of them died. During August 1893 when £500 was again
put down on the Estimates for 'Acclimatizing trout', Ohlsson
pointed out that he had been caused great inconvenience
through the laying of pipes from his springs to the ponds in
his garden, and appealed to the government to do something
positive to save the remaining 80,000 trout and the experimental
scheme, as a measure of success had already been obtained. The
money in question was then voted by the House. 46

45. The first entry in Ohlsson's "Game Register" of shooting
on Rooihoek Island was 28 March 1896. Game shot on the Island
in the period March-April 1896 included: 48 partridges, 7
pheasants, 55 quail, 12 rabbits; and for June 1896 - 77
partridges, 10 pheasants, 52 quail, 5 rabbits, 1 wild fowl.
See Ohlsson's Game Register, 1893-1912.
Later in the session, the Treasurer-General, Sprigg, publicly thanked Ohlsson and Maclean on behalf of the government for what they had done to promote the hatching of trout in the Colony. 47

Ohlsson later claimed that the result of the trout-hatching experiments conducted at Montebello was as successful as those carried out in Europe, some of the trout obtaining a weight of five to seven pounds after two years. 48

The result of Ohlsson's appeal for the government not to abandon the experiment and to do something constructive with the remaining trout at his home, was that a government hatchery was started at Jonkershoek (near Stellenbosch) from where all the principal streams in the Western and Eastern Provinces were stocked. 49

After Letterstedt's had discontinued brewing and their plant, hotels and canteens had been taken over by Ohlsson, another of his competitors in the Newlands area - Dr. Jonas Hiddingh (Canon Brewery) - was absorbed after the latter's death in 1888.

Hiddingh had adopted his nephew, Michiel, as his son, and when the former died, Michiel inherited the brewery and

47. Ibid, 1893, p. 314.
49. Lagnall, "100 Years", p. 8; DSAB, I, p. 524; Barclay, Notes, p. 2.
Olsson purchased Montebello from D. Cloete in 1888 and lived there in 1912. A portion of the home still stands today in the grounds of UCT.
associated properties and outlets. He was not interested in the brewery with all its problems and responsibilities and therefore in January 1889 concluded a contract with Ohlsson

"... whereby he let to him all the public-houses and canteens for a period of ten years at a nett rent of £2300, Ohlsson's to pay all rates and expenses. At the same time he undertook no longer to use the Canon brewery or to allow the water on any part of the estate to be used for brewing." 51

In the same year Ohlsson purchased Cloete's breweries at Newlands and Cape Town, as well as Cloete's home, Montebello, where he resided from then until his death in 1912.

Ohlsson's were thus poised to take over the monopoly of the beer industry in Cape Town; the three large breweries of Letterstedt, Cloete and Hiddingh having either stopped production or being taken over. This left the relatively small breweries of Martienssen and J. H. van Ryn to compete with in Cape Town.

With all this expansion and absorption, it is little wonder that Ohlsson decided to convert A. Ohlsson and Co. into a limited company, thereby attracting capital for security and further expansion, protecting his private assets, and, with more capital available, be in a position to attract better brains to the company. Having failed to raise enough capital in South Africa, Ohlsson's Cape Breweries Ltd. was registered in London in November 1889 with a capital of £250 000 in £5 shares.

Its object being

"... to acquire the brewery business now carried on by Anders Ohlsson, at Cape Town, and the breweries, public-houses, stock, plant, trade mark etc. in connection therewith." 52

The first subscribers to the new Company were: E.B. Hoare, K.P., R. E. Lloyd, B. W. E. Chapman, C.D. Buxton, J.H. Denham, J. H. Brodie, and A. Ohlsson who each subscribed one share. There were to be no less than three and no more than seven directors. 53 Ohlsson was made resident managing director in Cape Town, while A. Elwes, R.B.Lloyd, C.D. Buxton, J.H. Brodie were directors, and Sir Harry Bullard chairman of the Company. The following notice signed by Ohlsson as managing director officially announced the existence of the limited Company with effect from 1st January 1890:

"... the firm of A. Ohlsson and Co. having been converted into Ohlsson's Cape Breweries, Ltd. The services of the Brewers and Staff have been retained and the Business will continue to be conducted upon the same basis as heretofore." 54

There were a large number of applications for shares

52. SA. vol. 4, 16. II. 1889, p. 20. It is interesting to note that of the 29 000 S.A.B. shareholders in 1974, 77% were South Africans, while 23% were foreign, mostly British. See "S.A.B., a Group with vast Resources", Oude Libertas, I. 12. 1975.
54. C.G.H. Govt. Gazette, 7.I. 1890, p. 31
and the allotment of fifty thousand shares was fully subscribed in a few days. The Company opened new offices at 43 and 46 Threadneedle Street in London, opposite the Bank of England.

In the first half of 1890 the Company purchased the Albion ice factory which was on part of the Mariedahl estate, and the Directors considered the idea of starting to manufacture ice and aerated waters. (See Appendix A.) During 1891 about £3,000 was spent on obtaining additional machinery for the ice factory which it was then decided would be let. The Company received a fair rental in return for their considerable outlay.

Notwithstanding the fact that there was a slump in general trade at the Cape in the early 1890's Ohlsson's maintained an excellent turnover and managed to purchase several more licensed houses and hotels as well as installing modern equipment in the Brewery. For example; for the year ending March 1891, the Company spent a total of £26,000 on freehold licensed houses, extra land in Cape Town needed for an extension to their bottling business, and for additions and enlargements to the premises and brewery. For the year ending March 1892, a total of £12,400 was spent on building and structural improvements and the acquisition of various...

55. SA., vol. 5, 8.2. 1890, p. 252.
57. SA., vol. 6, 26.6. 1890, p. 555.
freehold properties which included five hotels. The importance of acquiring these freehold licensed houses was that they not only secured good rentals, but served as outlets for the Company's beer and thus ensured a large and profitable trade. Rentals from freehold licensed houses, hotels and other properties owned by the Company earned nearly £13 000 in the two year period ending March 1892.

However, obviously enough for a brewing company, the largest source of income was the profit on beer sales: In the two year period ending March 1892 the profit from this source was £51 000, while the value of gross sales of beer for the years ending March 31, 1889, 1890, and 1891 was £76 000, £101 000 and £173 000 respectively.

The range of beers brewed by Ohlsson's - ordinary ale, export ale, pale ale, stout and porter - was the same as that brewed before the formation of a limited company. The beer also retained its quality, and at the Kimberley International Exhibition in 1892, Ohlsson's won the Gold Medal for Colonial beer and stout.

Ohlsson's own part in the administration of the Company deserves scrutiny. As managing director resident in Cape Town,

62. Ibid, Ibid.
64. See for e.g. advert at C.G.R. Weekly Commercial Record, 2. 4. 1890, p. 9.
his knowledge of the Colony and of the local beer market, together with his numerous contacts with government, merchants and farmers, and his position as a Member of the Legislative Assembly for Cape Town and Consul-General for Sweden and Norway, made him invaluable to the other directors and to the Company as a whole. His services and importance were regularly acknowledged at the Company's general meetings in London;

"... they felt deeply grateful to him for the active interest he had taken in the affairs of the Company. "66; and,

"... ( it ) was not done without a vast amount of hard work, and in saying that he spoke of the great energy displayed by their Manager, Mr. Ohlsson. "67

One of Ohlsson's most difficult tasks was persuading the farmers in the Colony to grow barley. Hop-growing had proved a failure and hops still had to be imported, while fresh spring water was in plentiful supply. Thus the other essential ingredient for beer, namely - barley (malt), was the only field where progress was possible.

At the end of 1890, he was able to secure 'native barley' in the Colony. 68 This paid no duty and was obviously much cheaper than importing ready-made malt from abroad. To encourage the growth of 'native barley', the Breweries offered prizes to the farmers. 69

66. SA., vol. 6, 28. 6. 1890, p. 555
67. Ibid., vol. 15, 2. 7. 1892, p. 26, words of the chairman of the Company - Sir. H. Bullard.
68. It is not clear whether 'native barley' referred to barley grown in the Colony, or specifically to barley grown by Blacks.
It is plain that with the need to pay a regular dividend, and to have to answer to the Company's shareholders, and with the watchful eye of a board of directors, the need to increase the Company's profits, and thus the dividend, was greater. Therefore any saving in freight charges and import duties on such an essential raw material as malt was of great significance and importance. Nevertheless, by the mid 1890's Ohlsson's were still only able to buy about half of their barley needs in the Colony, mainly due to the difficulty of finding suitable climatic and soil conditions in which barley, suitable for brewing, would thrive.

The Company was dependent on the farmers in an indirect way, for, at about the same time, the Breweries kept about seventy-five horses and mules which required about four thousand pounds of oats/hay every year. They were used to pull the wagons for beer deliveries as well as for general work in the brewery complex.

It is interesting to note that one of the British directors, Ewes, who visited Cape Town for six weeks in June 1892, found that Ohlsson's Cape Breweries

"... compared very favourably with a large number of breweries in England. The staff was most efficient, active and businesslike..." 71

The Company undertook the construction of a new brewery in 1900. This was situated on the twenty acre site presently occupied by the Breweries at Newlands, and consisted of two breweries, one known as the Mariedahl or Lager Brewery and

70. Rosenthal, Tankards, p. 120.
the other as the English brewery. 72

Ohlsson retired as managing director of the company in 1906 and was succeeded by his only son Axel Ohlsson. Further modernization and extensions were made to the Breweries between 1949-53. In 1956 a merger took place between Ohlsson's Breweries, United Breweries and South African Breweries into the enormous South African Breweries group that exists today. 73

72. Barclay, Notes, p. 3; Pagnall, "100 Years ", p. 7.
73. Shorten, Johannesburg, p. 914.
The 1894 Assembly election in Cape Town was the most bitterly fought election of the three that Ohlsson contested. It was complicated by the large number of seven candidates standing for the four seats; by the ticket of four, who received strong support from the Cape Times; by the abolition of the accumulative voting or plumping system (1893) that had operated in Cape Town; by the increased franchise qualification (1892); by the fact that for the first time ever a Malay stood for election to the all white Cape Parliament; by Ohlsson's support for Langerman who stood for a seat in the Cape Division; and by the fact that Ohlsson entered the election race very late.

It is little wonder then, that given these complications, normal election issues (such as the excise and protection), never played such an important part in the election, but with the ticket of four going all out to gain election and to oust the other candidates - especially the Malay candidate - Effendi, and with the need to discredit both Ohlsson and O'Reilly, personal attacks were numerous and exchanges often bitter. For Ohlsson this meant an unprecedented public assault from Temperance in the form of S. Tonkin, the Mayor of Claremont, I

mimicry of his English accent by Dr. Smuts who opposed Langerman in the Cape Division,\(^2\) and accusations by the 'ticket of four' that Ohlsson and O'Reilly had combined as the candidates of the Afrikaner Bond.\(^3\)

The 'ticket of four' consisted of four persons - J.L.M. Brown (who had come last in the 1884 election) and T.E. Fuller and L. Wiener (both standing for re-election), and Beard (whose real name was Arderne). The 'ticket' was said to be controlled by a commercial caucus centered on the Chamber of Commerce; the name of J.W. Jagger was mentioned as being one of the important 'men behind the scenes'.

It is highly unlikely that Ohlsson would have been approached to stand for the ticket even if he had stated his intention of being available for re-election. The reason for this was that Ohlsson, who had supported the Upington and later the Sprigg ministry up till 1890, and stated that he would support Rhodes's forward policy, while as in the past being free to vote which way he chose.\(^4\) The ticket, on the other hand adopted a stance in opposition to the government.

In 1893 Ohlsson stated publicly that he did not intend standing for re-election.\(^5\) The reason for this is not clear, although it was possibly because of his health coupled with his other time-consuming responsibilities such as being managing

2. Argus, 20. I. 1894, leading article. This was referred to as 'an ill-natured slip' and in 'incredibly bad taste'. See Ibid.
Director of the much enlarged Ohlsson's Cape Breweries Ltd, and as Consul-General; the fact that he was generally disillusioned with fierce temperance opposition in parliament, and more particularly, the disastrous failure of the Liquor Bill he introduced in 1893; or possibly because of personal reasons—perhaps contemplating his second marriage to Margaretha Hornor of Norwich in England and the return to Cape Town of his two eldest daughters (Selma and Mary) after they had spent four years at school in England.  

Although Ohlsson was twice approached by friends in November 1893 he declined to accept nomination. However, it was only in the confusion of subsequent proceedings that certain influential electors, finding the Commercial Exchange movement was being engineered in the interest of the Opposition, appealed to Mr. Ohlsson to reconsider his decision. 7 Some of these influential electors who supported Ohlsson and who were among the 1350 voters who requisitioned for him were D.C. de Waal, D.P. Graaff (M.L.C.) (both ex Mayors of Cape Town), J. Woodhead (Mayor at that time), D and J Robertson (members of the Town Council) and A.B. Hofmeyr (Secretary of the Afrikaner Bond) and many others. 8 Ohlsson

7. Argus, 1. 12. 1893, leading article.
8. Ibid, 10. 1. 1894.
replied to his requisition as follows:

"... during the last session of parliament I stated publicly that it was my intention to retire from politics, and not to seek re-election, but finding that the signatories of the requisition ... are ... of a representative nature, embracing as they almost do, every section of the community." 9

Ohlsson and O'Reilly were once again promised the support of the Licensed Victuallers Association, even though as the Chairman noted: "O'Reilly no doubt acted foolishly sometimes".10

Ohlsson was also promised the German vote at a meeting called by about 120 German voters of the Allgemeiner Deutsche Verbaud.11 The opposition to Ohlsson was centred upon people like Dr. Smuts and S. Tonkin, Mayor of Claremont Municipality and a Good Templar who, in a letter to the Argus, warned the Cape Town electors not to return Ohlsson because he was a brewer. Tonkin repeated his view a few days later: "A brewer ought not to represent any division, because he goes for his own profit, benefit and pocket."12

Ohlsson succeeded in ridiculing the letter and stressed that nobody abominated drunkenness more than he did and maintained that:

"I can claim for myself that I have done more good by stopping drunkenness in this city by getting better public houses than any Good Templar has ever done."13

11. Ibid, 25. 1. 1894. Wiener had received the German vote in 1884 and 1888, but because he was a member of the ticket, he lost their backing in 1894.
13. Ibid, 10. 1. 1894.
ANDERS OHLSSON

an acrostic

Already tried and proved most true,
Now he again appeals to you
Declare in Ohlsson you have found
Energy, courage, honour all round,
Return him then again for the city,
Such men to lose 'twould be a pity.

Our Anders is an upright man,
Honest and fair, deny it who can:
Let us, of his adopted land,
Shoulder to shoulder firmly stand,
Show the world that, we rejoice, in
Ohlsson, Cape Town people's choice;
Ne'er say die! like a wave we'll roll

To Place
Anders Ohlsson
Head of the Poll.

From Cape Argus (weekly edition), 17. I. 1894.
Ohlsson was also told by various members of the temperance movement that he would not be fit to enter their churches because of his association with the liquor trade. Ohlsson pointed out that he was a benevolent person and always gave something, when asked, for a bazaar or for the church. He cited as an example the fact that early in 1894 after being approached by the Bishop of Cape Town, he had donated a sum of £500 towards the construction of a church in the suburbs. 14

During the same election campaign Ohlsson chaired the political meetings of Langerman at various places in the Cape Division including Claremont. The latter, because of the support he was receiving from Ohlsson, was viewed as a 'liquor candidate' and rumours were circulated by temperance and sections of the press at the time that he was receiving funds from Ohlsson's Cape Breweries for his election campaign. 15

In addition to the fierce criticism and direct and indirect attempts at discrediting him that Ohlsson faced, was the handbill issued by the ticket four days before polling day, declaring that Ohlsson and O'Reilly had joined hands as the candidates supported by the Afrikaner Bond. 16

The Argus had stated earlier that:

"It is simply ridiculous to represent Messrs. Ohlsson

14. Ibid, 18. I. 1894. The church in question is probably the St. Andrews Church, situated off Newlands Avenue. It is also very near to where Ohlsson's Anneberg brewery was situated. (See Appendix A). This is borne out by the fact that there is a plaque on the wall of the church in memory of Ohlsson, and that the church was completed at the end of 1894.
15. Argus, 22. I. 1894, leading article.
ELECTORS
OF
CAPE TOWN.

A False Report has been circulated that Ohlsson and O'Reilly have combined,

OHLLSSON STANDS ALONE.

Friends of Ohlsson
YOU MUST STEADFASTLY
PLUMP FOR HIM.

From the Book of Press Cuttings and Election Pamphlets kept by Ohlsson's 1884 Election Committee.
and O'Reilly as exclusively the Bond candidates whatever individual members of the Bond may do in support of either ".I7

Ohlsson himself denied that he was a Bond member, stressed his independent status and pointed to the fact that he had voted both for and against the Bond. I8

The possible effects of the handbill on the voting on polling day was nullified when a handbill signed by the Secretary of the Afrikaner Bond, A.B. Hofmeyr was circularized, denying that Ohlsson and O'Reilly had anything to do with the Bond. I9

The Cape Times fully supported the ticket, while the Argus called for a return of the same four candidates ( Fuller, Wiener, Ohlsson and O'Reilly ) as in 1888. 20

The Argus stated that:

"... Mr. Ohlsson has claims upon this constituency which cannot be ignored...... (he keeps ) ... Cape Town going, so to say. There is scarcely a local enterprise requiring ungrudging application of capital, upon which Mr. Ohlsson has not been ready to venture his resources. ", and his

"... advocacy of colonial industry is no mere platitude. Years ago, when the brewing industry was not established upon the footing that it is now, Mr. Ohlsson ventured, we believed, no small portion of the fortune which he

I7. Argus, 16. 2. 1894.
I8. Ibid, 10. 1. 1894.
20. Ibid, 22. 1. 1894, leading article.
had accumulated in honest trade in what doubtless has become a wealth - producing concern, but which, ... might have been a failure." 21

In a letter to the editor of the Argus replying to the above editorial, a reader stated:

"I am a friend of Ohlsson and admit his great personal claims to be returned ... When Ohlsson stood before, he got in on personal grounds... Things are now changed. Mr. Ohlsson stands out as an avowed supporter of Sir G. Sprigg, whose past career and present position are sufficient ... to bring our politics into disrepute." 22

Notwithstanding the considerable support and encouragement Ohlsson received in his campaign, he fared very badly on polling day, finishing second last. The official result was Fuller 2955; Wiener 2928; Brown 2905; Beard 2649; O'Reilly 2454; Ohlsson 2356; Effendi 699 votes. 23

This meant that the ticket of four were returned as Cape Town's four candidates. Why was this, what did it mean, and why did Ohlsson fare so badly?

The Cape Times interpreted the result as condemnation by the electors of Ohlsson and O'Reilly's performance in the past and viewed the result as a blow for Temperance, adding that their liquor policy had lost them votes. 24 However, there were more obvious reasons for Ohlsson's bad performance,

21. Argus, 10. 1. 1894, leading article.
22. Ibid, 12. 1. 1894, letter to the editor.
23. Ibid, 5. 2. 1894.
24. CT, 30. 1. 1894, leading article.
besides the fact that he entered the election contest late and suffered fairly severe public criticism from Temperance, the plumping system had been abolished and the franchise qualifications raised. Moreover as Ohlsson himself claimed, he never received the Dock vote which he had been promised. This he claimed, was due to intimidation \(^{25}\) of the dock-workers by the ticket, two of whose members Wiener and Fuller still served as government nominees on the Harbour Board. \(^{26}\)

The Franchise and Ballot Act of 1892 raised the property qualification from £50 to £75, expunged the £25 salary qualification, and imposed a simple educational test, like being able to sign one's own name. \(^{27}\) Ohlsson claimed that had he been in Parliament in 1892 he would have voted against the Bill, which had the effect of disenfranchising a large section of the poorer folk in the community. \(^{28}\)

The second piece of legislation was the Bill introduced in 1893 which abolished the accumulative voting or plumping system in Cape Town. It was introduced ostensibly because Cape Town's system of voting was an anomaly in the Colony. At the time Ohlsson, who argued against the Bill, stated that in his opinion, it had been introduced to prevent a Malay

\(^{25}\) It should be remembered that there was as yet no secret ballot in the Colony's Parliamentary elections.

\(^{26}\) Argus, I. 2. 1894. See also 'Harbour Works', p. 32. Although Ohlsson had ceased to be a member of the Harbour Board in 1889 (probably because of his increased responsibility with his enlarged breweries) he still had considerable influence, and was popular with the dock-workers.


\(^{28}\) Argus, IO. 1. 1894.
Effendi himself repeated this view at one of his election meetings and stated that the ticket of four was also aimed at preventing his election. 30

The effect of the new Bill was that whereas prior to the introduction of the Bill, a voter in the Cape Town district could give all four of his votes to one candidate, a maximum of one vote per candidate was allowed in terms of the new regulations. This meant, for example, that the Malay voters of Cape Town who under the old system, would have plumped for Effendi, could now give him one vote only. Although he received 699 votes in 1894, if the plumping system was still in operation most of the people who voted for him in 1894 had plumped for him, he would have received about 2,800 votes which would have ensured him a seat.

Davies suggests that another possible reason of the abolition of the plumping system was to get rid of O'Reilly, who like Effendi, drew his support principally from one group - in his case the European workers. In the contest between the have-nots, O'Reilly always showed sympathy with the latter and such

"... a man can hardly have been popular either with the government, the conservative country members, or with his two colleagues (Wiener and Fuller) who represented a St. Georges Street commercial clique mostly interested in low wages and free imports. " 31

Davies ascribes the victory of the ticket of four to the abolition of the plumping system which had previously prevented blocks of candidates from being formed:

"As far as future elections were concerned any four candidates who were reasonably well supported and who joined together and co-operated could always beat a single candidate." 32

The result of the election illustrates that as far as the ticket was concerned, the plumping system was still virtually in operation. 33

Another factor that affected Ohlsson's performance in the election was that Effendi, who had served on Ohlsson's Parliamentary Election Committee in 1884 and 1888, was now standing for election himself. Thus the considerable Malay support which Ohlsson had enjoyed at previous elections was diverted to Effendi in 1894. It is likely too, that some of the poorer classes who had previously plumped for Ohlsson and O'Reilly in support of their policies of protection, the fostering of colonial industries and creation of better job opportunities, had lost the franchise through the increased property qualification imposed in 1892, and for those who still had the vote, limited to giving one vote to each candidate instead of being able to plump either for one candidate or give two votes to each of the candidates. It was the interaction of all these complicating factors that caused Ohlsson's defeat at the polls.

32. Ibid, p. 264.
Ohlsson's defeat in the election was a particularly bitter pill to swallow, particularly in view of the fact that he eventually agreed to stand for election only after considerable and persistent pressure by his supporters. Nevertheless, as time passed, he was probably relieved about the result having repeatedly stated that he preferred not to seek re-election. 34

34. His withdrawal from public life began in 1889 when he failed to have himself nominated for re-election to the Harbour Board.
It is technically a misnomer to refer to Ohlsson as a 'brewer' because he knew little or nothing about brewing when he first became interested in that industry in 1881. It would be more correct to refer to him as an industrialist. Nevertheless, the fact that the company which he started still carries his name and is a household word in many South African homes today, points to his most lasting contribution.

Ohlsson has been referred to as "... a shrewd and honourable businessman... clear-headed, far seeing...". It was with these qualities, much hard work, and a certain amount of good fortune that by 1889, Ohlsson found himself in virtual control of the beer industry in Cape Town and the Colony. His name will continue to be associated with beer and brewing as Ohlsson's Cape Breweries still cling to their past and maintain an amount of independence, even though they have been part of the South African Breweries group since 1956.

As a large employer of labour, his attitude to labour is important. It was, like many of his views, progressive in nature. He believed in paying adequately and dealing equally with Black and White labour. He also condemned the practice of flogging Blacks and strongly opposed it in the House.

I. Arbus, 29. I. 1894, letter to the editor.
He also stated that:

"... he was in favour of education, and had always supported it whether white, black or brown."

It may be argued that Ohlsson was a typical capitalist in that he was intent on making a profit both through his own business and through his various ventures into gold mining, and, because he was wealthy, could afford to be benevolent. However, this is not true, for as has been seen, Ohlsson entertained progressive and liberal attitudes to labour and education, and his work on the Relief Committee in 1883 show him to have been a man with a fairly well-developed sense of social responsibility.

In the ten years that Ohlsson had been a Parliamenterian, he had been involved in two debates which directly affected his interest: Those on the beer excise and the liquor laws. Contrary to what his critics alleged, he was not exclusively a 'liquor candidate', although very active in debate on the subject. It would also be incorrect to portray him as having entered Parliament exclusively for his own self-interest, for although he posed as an independent candidate and was therefore best placed to protect his own interests and investments in the Colony, he represented his constituency very conscientiously, speaking on a wide range of topics of local and national importance that affected it. His notable contribution to the legislation of the late nineteenth century was his introduction of the Game Bill in 1886 and its

3. Argus, 10. 1. 1894.
subsequent effect of protecting threatened game. Possibly its greatest significance is that it re-focused the attention of the government and the colonists at large on the subject and importance of game preservation.

Ohlsson died in September 1912 at the age of seventy-one at his Montebello home after being ill for about a month. He is not a well-known figure to researchers of this period of Cape Town history and is seldom mentioned in books dealing with the history of nineteenth century Cape Town. His career is a typical example of the second run of people who left a mark on the development of Cape Town, and is worth studying particularly because of his success as an industrialist in Cape Town and the manner in which it illustrates the relationship that existed between his industry and the politics of the time.

4. Part of the home still stands to-day in the grounds of the South African College Primary School, Newlands.
I. Montrose House.  2. Mariedahl Brewery (Letterstedt).

Cape Archives, M 2/49, Newlands, circa 1897.
OHILSSON IS NOT SAFE!

SUPPORTERS OF MR. OHILSSON,
Do not be misled!
There are THOUSANDS of VOTES, nursed by POLITICAL & OTHER ASSOCIATIONS, still to be recorded AGAINST him.

HE IS NOT SAFE!
To be certain of his return,
BE STEADFAST,
AND DO NOT DIVIDE YOUR VOTES!

Plump for HIM!

From Book of Press Cuttings and Election Pamphlets kept by Ohlsson's 1884 Election Committee.
From Book of Press Cuttings and Election Pamphlets kept by Ohlsson's 1884 Election Committee.
English Translation:

Vote for Ohlsson

Plump for Ohlsson

From the Book of Press Cuttings and Election Pamphlets kept by Ohlsson's 1884 Election Committee.
APPENDIX E

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE

LETTERS OF NATURALIZATION DATED 12TH NOVEMBER 1883.

ANDREW OLSSON

To the Right Honorable the High Commissioner for the Cape of Good Hope, in Her Majesty's Service on the West Coast of Africa, Commandant of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and the Acting Governor and Lieutenant-Governor thereof, &c.

Whereas

ANDREW OLSSON

Of Norway, being of the age of 30 years, and one of the inhabitants and subjects of Her Majesty the Queen of Sweden and Norway, has applied to Her Majesty for the grant of a certificate of naturalization to himself,

And whereas it is known that he has resided in Cape Town for a period of three years, and is of good moral and intellectual character,

And whereas it is known that he has now become a merchant in that place,

And whereas he has been examined by a committee of the Council of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and is found to be qualified to receive a certificate of naturalization,

Now therefore, in accordance with the provisions of the Act entitled "An Act to provide for the naturalization of foreigners in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope," and of the Council of the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, having been so examined and having satisfactorily satisfied the committee of the Council thereof, and having been found to be qualified to receive a certificate of naturalization,

I am commanded to enter upon the record of the said ANDREW OLSSON, in the registry of the said Colony, and to issue to him a certificate of naturalization, in accordance with the provisions of the said Act.

I have therefore caused the said certificate to be drawn up, and do hereby issue the same, in the name of the Queen of Sweden and Norway, to the said ANDREW OLSSON.

In the private possession of Mr. R.F. Olsson, grandson of A. Olsson.
The Lager Brewery was completed in 1901, and is on the same site as that of Ohlsson's Cape Breweries today.
Return showing Total Quantity Tickey Beer and Better Class Ales, brewed from August, 1884, to May, 1885, by Brewers at Newlands and Salt River.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NAME</th>
<th>Gallons Charged with Duty</th>
<th>Bulk Gallons Actually Produced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D. Cloete</td>
<td>136,785</td>
<td>170,089</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dr. J. M. Hiddingh</td>
<td>69,163</td>
<td>21,483</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. Letterstedt &amp; Co.</td>
<td>35,128</td>
<td>104,406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A. Ohlsson &amp; Co.</td>
<td>96,739</td>
<td>210,124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J. H. &amp; J. van Ryn</td>
<td>3,649</td>
<td>39,412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>341,464</td>
<td>546,144</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

APPENDIX G
STATEMENT shewing the Comparative Output of Export Ale from the Anneberg Brewery, Newlands, between the Months of August, 1883, and May, 1884, and the Months of August, 1884, and May, 1885, Ale inclusive.

### EXPORT ALE.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Month</th>
<th>Hhds.</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Hhds.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td></td>
<td>1884</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>178</td>
<td>August</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>September</td>
<td>122</td>
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<td>October</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>October</td>
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<td>November</td>
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</tr>
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<td>December</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>December</td>
<td>225</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1884</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1885</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>January</td>
<td>253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>February</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>261</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>199</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>April</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>May</td>
<td>197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,979</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,943</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*During these months the excise duty was raised from 3s. 8d. to 3s. 10d. per bottle.*

The diminution in the output for the two following months (April and May) is no doubt attributable to the price being raised to 3s. 10d. per bottle.

### INFERIOR ALE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Hhds.</th>
<th>Month</th>
<th>Hhds.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td></td>
<td>1884</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August</td>
<td>876</td>
<td>August</td>
<td>236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>September</td>
<td>212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October</td>
<td>436</td>
<td>October</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>November</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>November</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>December</td>
<td>617</td>
<td>December</td>
<td>478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>1884</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1885</strong></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>January</td>
<td>495</td>
<td>January</td>
<td>426</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>February</td>
<td>461</td>
<td>February</td>
<td>399</td>
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<tr>
<td>March</td>
<td>460</td>
<td>March</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>April</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May</td>
<td>458</td>
<td>May</td>
<td>241</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Totals:** 4,585

**After the Excise, 1884-85:** 3,202

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From: A. S. J., S. C. on the Brewers' Petition, pp. xxiv–xxv, Appendix J.
APPENDIX I

Statistics Showing the Fall-Off of Imported Beer in Bottles.

(a) For 12 months ending June 1883 — 832 cases.
   " " " " " I884 — 560 " .
   " " " " " I885 — 340 " .

(b) For 12 months ending Dec. 1882 — 3390 cases.
   " " " " " I883 — 5610 " .
   " " " " " I884 — 350 " .

(c) For 12 months ending June 1884 — 614 cases.
   " " " " " I885 — 413 " .

A. 8 - '85, S.C. on Brewer's Petition, pp. 104-5, evidence of
H. Wilman from the firm H. Wilman, Spilhaus & Co.,
importers of English and German beer.
In the private possession of Mr. R.P. Olsson,

Svenska Theresia's olika och betecknande
manifestations

VI OSCAR.

CONSUL-GENERAL.

AND NORSEMAN KING - OSCAR II to be

OHLSSON, CONSUL GENERAL FROM THE SWEDISH
In the private possession of P. E. Collins.

University of Cape Town.

[Signature]

Registrar, University of Cape Town.

[Stamp]


**APPENDIX**

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**ÖLLE OSKAR**

med Svenska, Sveriges, Norges, Götes och Wendes Konung.

Sedan vishet att detta ver. att vara att ena kunnat är längsiga krogar och elektriska hjulplattor, samt tillägg till armén i luften. **Bibliotek**

**Ölleson, Olof och Niklas** 

Historisk och handels- och kungörelse om **Bibliotek**

**Ölleson, Olof och Niklas** att vara [redaktad av] **W.A.O.**

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**ÖHLLSSON'S**

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**KNIGHTHOOD**

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September 1892.

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In the private possession of R.F. Öhllsson, grandson of A. Öhllsson.
NOTE ON SOURCES

The little that has until now been written about Ohlsson and the history of Ohlsson's Breweries has been based essentially on two contemporary sources. These two contemporary accounts, Men of the Times, 1906, and O. Hartmann's, Skandinaver i Syd Afrika, as well as various obituaries in the local press, were of considerable use in so far as they provided a broad outline of some of Ohlsson's activities and thus helped both to limit and direct the avenues of research.

For the present study, the book of press cuttings and electioneering pamphlets kept by Ohlsson's 1884 Election Committee was a mine of information, containing a variety of press reviews and reports on the election contest in Cape Town. Neither the family, his biographer in the Dictionary of South African Biography, nor Ohlsson's Breweries was able to furnish personal papers and letters, and thus considerable reliance had to be placed upon the press, particularly for reports of political meetings, election affairs and editorial comment.

M.A.G. Davies' article in Historia is very informative on the change in the voting system in Cape Town immediately prior to the 1894 election, while J.L. McCracken's, The Cape Parliament, 1854-1910, is useful as a general guide to the people in, and workings of, Parliament. The House of Assembly Debates formed the basis for discussion of all political issues discussed in parliament from 1884 to 1893.
Select - Committees. dealing with the beer industry in this period; namely, A. 3 - '83, A. 24 - '83, A. 3 - '85, A. 8 - '85, as well as various transfer deeds in the Deeds Office, Cape Town, newspapers, and the journal South Africa, contain much information on Ohlsson's Breweries and the general state of the beer industry and trade in Cape Town. This was supplemented by some information from the article on the brewing industry in Men of the Times, 1906, and from A.G. Bagnall's "100 Years of Brewing in South Africa", and D. Barclay's, Notes, as well as The House of Assembly Debates. The latter, with the Select-Committees supplied the main source for discussion of the political side to the history of beer brewing in this period.

Ohlsson's will and codicil contain much information of a personal nature, and, with the records of his estate at Syfrets, much interesting information on the size and extent of his substantial personal wealth at the time of his death.
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