



NICPRINT-50

Being some account of the history of the printing,
packaging and newspaper industry of South Africa, and
of the National Industrial Council for Printing,
prepared to mark the Jubilee of the Council 1919-1969.

by
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Presented to the University of Cape Town
in satisfaction of requirements for the degree of M.A.(Econ.)

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Max Cohen inspired this work. When the Federation of Master Printers of South Africa was about to celebrate its jubilee he made a plea through the Cape Chamber of Printing that the history of the Federation be recorded as a tribute to its achievements. Ernest Weeden and others attempted to set the wheels in motion but obstacles too great to be overcome in the time available caused the project to be abandoned. I was then reminded that the National Industrial Council for Printing would celebrate its jubilee in 1969 and it seemed that as South Africa's oldest Industrial Council it would be regrettable if such an event was allowed to pass unrecorded; moreover it appeared that if an account of the Council's work was accompanied by reference to the origin of the parties to the Council the earlier omission to record something of the origins of the F.M.P. might to some extent be remedied.

An approach was made to the University of Cape Town and Professor H.M. Robertson, M.A., Ph.D., Jagger Professor of Economics, kindly agreed to supervise and to accept this work as a thesis for degree purposes. My grateful thanks are due to him for the unfailing guidance and direction which he has given and the helpful suggestions he has made. My thanks are also due to Mr L.E.A. Slater, the Chairman of the Council, to the Joint Honorary Secretaries, to the Secretariat, and to the Standing Committee who authorised research in the Council's files as well as giving help and encouragement. Dr A.M. Lewin Robinson of the South African Public Library gave me research facilities in the Africana Library, and many others both in South Africa and overseas freely gave assistance which, as far

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L.J. PICTON

CAPE TOWN

August 1969

INTRODUCTION

The National Industrial Council of the Printing and Newspaper Industry of South Africa celebrates its Golden Jubilee in 1969 and this thesis was undertaken primarily to examine and record the Socio-economic effects of its work. To set the achievements of the Council in perspective it was proposed to preface the record with a brief sketch of the industry itself, but what was intended as an introduction has grown into a major part of the finished work which therefore contains more history and less economics than originally planned. It is hoped that the work will be no less acceptable for this change of emphasis.

Printing and the making of books are inseparable from civilised existence as Professor T. Reavely Glover pointed out some years ago when he dated the foundation of the modern world "from the year in which the first Greek wrote a book"¹⁾. When the art of printing from movable type made possible the multiplication of books an unknown seventeenth century writer made bold to say "with twenty-six soldiers of lead I have conquered the world"²⁾. Dr. Samuel Johnson wrote "the mass of people must be barbarous where there is no printing"³⁾, and Thomas Carlyle spoke hopefully of printing as "disbanding hired armies, cashiering most kings and senates, and creating a whole new democratic world"⁴⁾.

Printing reached South Africa in the closing years of the eighteenth century and for some time commercial printing remained a Government monopoly. The fight for a free press at the Cape is now accepted as a part of the general history of South Africa and is treated as such in the standard works of Cory and of Walker and more recently by Hattersley. Bird foresaw the coming struggle

in 1822 and Suasso de Lima thought it of sufficient moment to give it a place in his Geschiedenis of 1825. Meurant left a lively eye-witness account not less valuable for having been written sixty years after the event. Men of the Times, a Who's Who of 1906, describes the early history of printing and sketches the biography of many people then living who were connected with the press. Ian Colvin's introduction to Mendelssohn's Bibliography of 1910 is another valuable source of information. All subsequent students are indebted to the several distinguished librarians, A.C.G. Lloyd, D.H. Varley, R.F.M. Immelman, Dr. A.M. Lewin Robinson, Miss Anna Smith, Dr. B.J.T. Leverton, and others, who have enriched our knowledge of the press. An account of the development of the press in South Africa is contained in the catalogue of an exhibition of books held at Cape Town in 1952 in connection with the van Riebeeck Festival and to D.H. Varley we owe a short but lively account of the newspaper press 1652-1952. Rosenthal's history of Cape printing 1800-1960 is now out of print: unfortunately for subsequent students it made no mention of its sources and as a record of the industry it stopped short at the first decade of the twentieth century. Volume I of the Dictionary of South African Biography treats the lives of several early printers in some detail but, although selected for inclusion, the lives of others such as Archbell, Bridekirk, Cullingworth, Davis, Godlonton, Moll, Poortermans and van de Sandt have not yet been published. In spite of this wealth of material, together with two monographs from the State Library and some published accounts of printing in Pretoria, Potchefstroom, Graaff-Reinet, East London, Kimberley and Natal, there is no one single volume which looks at the industry as a whole; there is next to nothing covering the expansion of the industry in the twentieth century, and there is nothing at all about packaging

which now accounts for about one third in value of the output of the industry. Most of the published work is written by people outside the industry mainly concerned with the products of the press: the present author is possibly the first since Meurant to write from the standpoint of a man who sees the industry from the inside and has for half a lifetime earned his living producing print.

The National Industrial Council being the focal point of this work, the printing industry will be taken to embrace the one thousand five hundred and nine firms registered with the Council⁵⁾ and the term printing will be taken to cover all activities for which working rules and wage rates are prescribed in the Council's Agreements. These definitions are wider than the meaning applied to the word printing in layman's language and cover many products of the industry such as plain packaging and private stationery which are not printed in the commonly accepted meaning of the word.

This work falls into two parts of approximately equal length: the first part sketches the history of the industry and the second, the establishment and work of the Council. The Council was the first of its kind, formed as a national body only nine years after the Act of Union and five years before the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 made provision for the registration of Industrial Councils and for legal force and effect to be given to their Agreements. The Council was the first to be registered under the Act and the industry the first to set up a National Apprenticeship Committee. For thirty years before the establishment of the Council there were many local disputes culminating in a disastrous strike at Cape Town in 1911 and a serious stoppage at Durban in the early months of 1919. During the fifty years of the Council's life there has never been a stoppage of consequence. It is a record such as

this which enabled Jan S. Marais to say recently "South Africa has been an independent State for fifty-seven years during which she experienced no wars on her soil, no revolutions, no disintegration of law and order, no nationalisation of property (and) a unique record of industrial peace"⁶⁾.

The first portion of this work claims originality in

- . describing the industry as a whole,
- . dealing for the first time with the contribution of mission presses to the industry,
- . extending the record to cover the twentieth century,
- . extending the record to include packaging and stationery, and
- . in emphasis on technical development rather than on the products of the press.

The second part is prefaced with some account of the formation of the parties to the Council, the Newspaper Press Union, the South African Typographical Union and the Federation of Master Printers. With the exception of A.J. Downes' Printers Saga published in 1952 and the Board of Trade Report No 353 of 1954 there is no published literature of consequence relating to the parties or to the work of the Council, Chapter 13 relating to the N.P.U. and Chapters 15-17 relating to the F.M.P. are therefore fairly full and extensively documented. Chapter 14 relating to the formation of the S.A.T.U. is shorter than warranted by the importance of the subject but the reader who wishes to do so may take his fill from Downes. The whole of the second part of this work is offered as an original contribution to the history of industrial relations in South Africa.

As to the future if the search for an industrial productivity index is successful and if such an index is used as a yardstick in non-inflationary wage improvements, the South African printing industry may score another "first" which will surpass in significance anything in its previous record of achievement for it will almost certainly set a new pattern of wage determination in South Africa and may well be first in the world to regulate remuneration throughout an entire industry by a scientifically constructed productivity index. Although productivity bargaining is not uncommon in industrially advanced overseas countries schemes are usually entered into as house agreements between employers and employees in a single undertaking and are related to achieving or exceeding targets set by management. The scheme proposed for the South African printing industry is applicable to the industry as a whole and depends on an index calculated according to agreed principles by an independent third party.

I dedicate this work to my friends and colleagues in the industry with congratulations to the Council on the attainment of its jubilee, and with thanks and appreciation to all for many years of happy comradeship.

L.J. PICTON

CAPE TOWN

August 1969

ABBREVIATIONS

ABC	American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions
AMP	Associated Master Printers
BFMP	British Federation of Master Printers
CBLB	Central Bantu Labour Board
EP	Eastern Province as in <u>E.P. Herald</u>
FMP	Federation of Master Printers of South Africa
GP	Government Printer
GPW	Government Printing Works
Journal	S.A. Typographical Union Journal unless the context indicates a newspaper with Journal in the title, e.g. <u>Graham's Town Journal</u>
LMS	London Missionary Society
MPA	Master Printers' Association
NIC	National Industrial Council for Printing
NPAC	National Printing Apprenticeship Committee
NPU	Newspaper Press Union
OUP	Oxford University Press
PBS	Printers' Benefit Society (Cape Town)
PE	Port Elizabeth as in <u>P.E. Advertiser</u>
PRO	Public Record Office (London)
SAPL	South African Public Library
SATU	South African Typographical Union
TMPA	Transvaal Master Printers' Association

1.

EARLY CAPE PRINTING AND THE
FIGHT FOR A FREE PRESS

1780 - 1825

The Hollander in Europe was a fighter for freedom but what he claimed for himself at home was not for export to the Colonies, much less to overseas victualling stations and garrisons. In the settlement of New Amsterdam, cradle of present day New York, no printing press was allowed, and in the Cape no press was permitted during the whole period of the Dutch East India Company's rule until in its declining years it was assailed by external pressure and enfeebled by rot. In a Memoriel of 1779 the Cape Burghers unsuccessfully petitioned for a printer and a press so that Placcaatten or official ordinances could be widely disseminated and the Government's intentions made plain¹⁾. Governor van der Graaff later made two fruitless attempts to secure a press. In 1780 a consignment of bookbinders' materials arrived at the Cape and in 1782 Governor van Plettenburg, embarrassed by the shortage of money occasioned by delay in the arrival of ships from Holland, contrived to produce crude currency notes blind embossed on parchment and validated by a handwritten signature²⁾. Johann Christian Ritter, a Bavarian born at Beyrouth in 1755, employed by the Company as a bookbinder, arrived at the Cape in 1784 and is by common consent regarded as the founding father of printing in South Africa. He probably brought, or perhaps found on arrival, a small press. With this he succeeded in printing a few cards or handbills and the Council of Policy eventually recognised his work by authorising an official printing press with Ritter as Superintendent. Before the equipment arrived the Company, long failing, came to an end. Ritter's most ambitious work was a series of Almanacs for 1795, 1796 and 1797 of which a fragment from 1796 alone survives as the earliest specimen of Cape Printing³⁾. Henry Harwood Smith, the

first master printer to enter South Africa, arrived in January 1799 and brought new type although he had no press. On presenting his credentials he was given a clerical appointment and apparently assisted with the printing of a few handbills on Ritter's press. A military proclamation issued by Major-General Dundas on 26 February 1799 appears to have been set from Smith's type⁴⁾. A proclamation of Sir George Yonge concerning new copper coins was issued on 18 January 1800 but the printer is not known⁵⁾. On 1 February 1800 Walker & Robertson, a leading firm of Cape merchants and slave traders, imported at their own expense a complete printing plant which they set up at 35 Plein Street. A copy of a Government advertisement printed at the Castle 1 March 1800 was offered for sale at a London Auction a few years ago. It was described at the time as "probably the third or fourth extant piece of printing executed in South Africa". On 21 July 1800 Governor Yonge issued a notice authorising Walker & Robertson to print a weekly newspaper, naming them sole printers to the Government and the only licensed printers in the Colony. On 1 August they issued an advertisement announcing the forthcoming appearance of a paper and on Saturday 16 August 1800 they published the first number of the Kaapsche Stads Courant, the direct forerunner of the Government Gazette⁶⁾. Both Ritter and Smith reacted by ordering presses of their own but they were forestalled by the new Governor Major-General Dundas who wrote to Lord Hobart in London 8 October 1801 informing him that he had taken Walker & Robertson's press into the Castle and established a monopoly of printing under the superintendence of Mr (later Sir) John Barrow, the Auditor of Accounts⁷⁾.

Meanwhile the first of a number of missionary printers had arrived at the Cape. Letters written to the Nederlandsche Zending Genootschap by Ds. Michiel Christian Vos (1759-1825) from Holland about 1779 led to the arrival of a party of missionaries from the London Missionary Society, amongst them the Rev. Dr. John Theodore van der Kemp (1747-1811). When van der Kemp landed in 1799 he probably had a press with him for the subsequent history of the L.M.S. in South Africa shows that they were well aware of the part

which printing could play in the spread of christianity. Within two months of landing the first little book produced in South Africa had been printed by V.A. Schoonberg on what van der Kemp calls "our press". This work is a Dutch translation of a message from the Missionary Society to the christian community at the Cape entitled Brief van het Zendelings Genootschap te Londen aan de Godsdienstelievende ingezetenen van de Caap de Goede Hoop. The only known copy was discovered in 1946 by D.H. Varley, then Chief Librarian of the S.A.P.L.⁸⁾

The Government monopoly of official and commercial printing established at the Cape in 1800 remained unbroken until 1823. A Government printing office was also in existence at Graaff-Reinet at least as early as 1817 and was maintained until a policy change in 1829. At this period Graaff-Reinet was the largest settlement in the Colony with a population substantially greater than Cape Town⁹⁾. How or when the Graaff-Reinet printing office was established has not yet been determined. From 1824 to 1829 the fight for the freedom of the press was waged in Cape Town between the forces of reaction represented by Governor Lord Charles Somerset and three stubborn Scots, George Greig, the printer from the King's Printing Office at Shacklewell with his editorial collaborators, Thomas Pringle, an 1820 settler, and John Fairbairn, who became the most important figure in South African journalism for a generation. Even a sympathetic Government official who understood the reasons which prompted Somerset to fear the results of irresponsible journalism described the contents of the Gazette as a mass of uninteresting, tasteless stupidity and the Government printing office as a degraded establishment which in the year 1821 "underwent the fatigue of printing a sermon against slander, and twenty copies of 176 lines each, in rhyme, entitled Emigration written to immortalise the virtues of Sir R.S. Donkin¹⁰⁾". Behind Greig, and providing him with financial support, was an Anglo-Swiss merchant, Louis Balthazar Meurant, whose son Louis Henri Meurant was the first South African indentured to a private printing office.

When freedom to publish was made subject to law and removed from the Governor's prerogative by Sir Lowry Cole's ordinance of April

1829¹¹⁾ the number of commercial presses began slowly to multiply in Cape Town itself whilst commercial printing spread to Grahams-town in 1830, to Pietermaritzburg in 1844, to Port Elizabeth in 1845, and in 1850 to Durban and to Bloemfontein¹²⁾. Meanwhile the missionary printers, not restrained by the Government monopoly, inspired by the evangelical and humanitarian spirit of the late eighteenth century, supplied generously with funds generated in an age of increasing affluence, unmindful of financial rewards or of personal safety, protected by powerful friends in high places, spread the art of printing throughout the area now covered by the Republic¹³⁾.

* * *

When Ritter came to South Africa bookbinding had scarcely altered for a thousand years, the art having been understood and practised in monasteries of Western Europe as early as the seventh century¹⁴⁾. Printing from movable types was invented, or at least first successfully exploited, by Gutenberg of Mainz about 1450¹⁵⁾. The art of illustrating by means of wood blocks was as old as Gutenberg. Printing from metal plates hand engraved with the burin or etched with acid after the manner in which medieval armourers embellished suits of armour, was developed early in the sixteenth century and practised by such masters as Albrecht Dürer about 1515¹⁶⁾. The Charter granted to the Stationers Company of London in 1557 recognised printing, bookbinding, and typefounding as separate trades. Moxon in 1683 drew attention to the separation of printing from typefounding "as the manner of their working is different"¹⁷⁾. This separation took place before printing and bookbinding came to South Africa which continued to import its types. Gutenberg's wooden press remained little altered for more than three centuries: Danner of Nuremberg substituted a metal screw for the wooden screw about 1550 and about 1620 Willem Janszon Blaeu (1571-1638) map maker to the Dutch East India Company, added the retractable carriage¹⁸⁾. This was the extent of knowledge of printing and binding when the arts reached South Africa. In the year that Walker & Robertson set up their press in Plein Street the eccentric and radical British peer Charles, Third Earl Stanhope

(1753-1816) known to his contemporaries as Citizen Stanhope, set up the first metal press at Clarendon Press, Oxford University, and in the same year Alois Senefelder (d 1834) of Munich took out a British patent for lithography, a process of printing from the prepared surface of a slab of limestone¹⁹⁾. George Clymer's handsome Columbian press perfected in Philadelphia about 1813 and patented in England in 1817 used a system of compound levers in place of the screw. Further improvements were made by Ruthven in Edinburgh and by Richard Whittington Cope of London whose Albion press of 1822 was so popular that it was built with no more than minor modification into the last decade of the century, in fact an Albion press was built to order by Dawson, Payne & Lockitt as recently as 1940²⁰⁾ and several Albion presses are still in use as proof presses in commercial houses and as printing presses in the hands of private printers.

* * *

South Africa possesses some valuable reminders of the cradle days of printing: the oldest bound book is a handwritten copy of the Four Gospels in Latin probably produced by Northumbrian or Irish monks about 900 A.D. A model of a wooden press and facsimile pages from Gutenberg's 42-line Bible are in the South African Museum. The early German printers are represented by a copy of St Augustine's Liber de Vita Christiana by Peter Schöffer of Mainz about 1465 whilst the work of William Caxton (1421-1491) is represented by Ranulph Higden's Polychronicon, a popular history printed in 1482²¹⁾. Nuremburg is represented by a particularly fine illustrated history of 1493 in possession of the Kimberley Library.

The early South African presses were of wood. Many of them were scarcely more than toys and were carried by the missionaries on ox-wagons. Dr. John Philip lent two wooden presses belonging to the L.M.S. to George Greig to be used by him on condition he put them in good order. Robert Godlonton and Thomas Stringfellow brought a wooden press with them in 1820 which was used first at the Government office at Graaff-Reinet and from 1830 by L.H. Meurant in Grahamstown²²⁾. The people of Zeist in Holland presented a wooden press to Genadendal Mission in 1834²³⁾, and S. Rolland of the Paris

Evangelical Mission brought a wooden press with him to Beersheba in 1841²⁴⁾. The only significant change in South African printing between 1800 and 1850 was the change from wooden to metal presses. George McCall Theal used a wooden press at King William's Town as late as 1871 but it was evidently in an advanced stage of decay²⁵⁾. Robert Godlonton's original wooden press disintegrated before his death in 1884 and he kept the platen as a souvenir²⁶⁾. The earliest metal press of which details survive was an iron Stanhope for the Government Printing Office authorised on 31 October 1820²⁷⁾. The continuing search for the oldest press in South Africa may yet yield surprised but the oldest known press is a Columbian press built in 1821 and brought to South Africa from Mauritius. It is still used as a proof press by T.A. Beatty (Pty) Ltd of Durban²⁸⁾. A Ruthven press was brought into Cape Town by the Rev. James Ross in 1823 and carried by ox-wagon over a circuitous route of more than a thousand miles to Chumie near Alice²⁹⁾. Robert Moffat's press preserved in the Kimberley Public Library is probably the oldest extant press to have spent the whole of its working life in South Africa. It was imported by the L.M.S. in 1825 and given by Dr John Philip to Moffat who carried the 2000-lb machine by wagon to Kuruman in 1831. In 1913 John Ross and Dr E. MacKenzie discovered the press abandoned in an old fowl house and after protracted negotiations succeeded in having it reconditioned and set up at Kimberley in 1918. In 1965 it was used to print some specimen sheets and is said to have a surprisingly smooth and easy action³⁰⁾. A Columbian press built after 1824 by T. Matthews & Son of London, formerly in possession of the Townshend family, is in the South African Museum: its South African history belongs to the last quarter of the century³¹⁾. An Albion press No 497 manufactured by J. & J. Barrett of London in 1831, formerly used to print the Cathcart Chronicle is in the Rev. J.W. Appleyard's printing office at Mount Coke. Local tradition maintains that it is the original press brought by the Wesleyan Mission into Grahamstown in 1832. The connection, though possible, remains to be proved³²⁾. The Wesleyans brought an Albion press manufactured by Fredk. Ullmer of London into Algoa Bay in 1832 and used it first at Platberg and later at Moroka Missionary

Institution at Thaba N'Chu where the frame and lever mechanism still survive³³⁾. Samuel J. Mollett, an 1820 settler, imported an Albion press built by Hopkinson into Cape Town in 1835³⁴⁾. The partnership of Meurant & Godlonton of Grahamstown bought new metal presses between 1834 and 1839³⁵⁾. A well known artist of Paarl uses an Albion press built about 1840³⁶⁾, whilst Galvin & Sales (Pty) Ltd of Cape Town have an Albion press built by Hopkinson & Cope about 1845³⁷⁾. The Africana Museum, Johannesburg, possesses a Columbian press No 1207 built by Clymer, Dixon & Co of London in 1846³⁸⁾. Several early copper plate presses survive. One such press formerly used by Hortors (Cape) Ltd is in the S.A. Museum and in 1967 Cape & Transvaal Printers Ltd sold to a private collector a copper plate press built in London before 1845³⁹⁾. In some cases it is not possible to say with certainty when these presses first came into the country.

* * *

When the Government established their monopoly in October 1801 they sweetened the pill by promising to print for the public on terms considerably lower than before⁴⁰⁾. Considering their poor resources a surprising and varied collection of their work remains. The oldest surviving fragment from this period is a religious pamphlet of 1801⁴¹⁾. De Maan by Ds. Meent Borchers (1762-1832) of Stellenbosch, the first poem composed and printed in South Africa, appeared in 1802 but sales did not pay the cost of the paper⁴²⁾. A rare early Cape printing is Baron von Pallandt's Rémarques Générales sur le Cap de Bonne Esperance (1803). Fifty copies were printed without permission and orders were given for the edition to be destroyed but one copy survived⁴³⁾. In 1804 Willem Stephanus van Ryneveld (1765-1812) wrote, and A. Richert printed, the first South African book on farming⁴⁴⁾. Proclamations, ordinances and law reports were printed with such diverse material as the first regulations of the South African Turf Club and a catalogue of the Dessinian collection in the Cape Town Public Library.

The annual calendars and almanacs contain much of great historic interest. The first African Court Calendar of 1801 was written in longhand but H.H. Smith printed the African Almanac for 1802. The

Almanak for 1804 appeared in Dutch and under the Batavian regime Lyste van alle collegien were printed for 1805 and 1806. When the British reoccupied the Cape George Ross was appointed Superintendent of the press. From 1807 the African Court Calendar continued with varying titles produced either by Ross or by A. Richert annually for the next twenty years. The Almanac of 1808 lists the staff of the Printing Office as George Ross, Superintendent; J.G. Munnik, Bookkeeper; A. Richert, Printer and corrector of the Dutch; William Dams, J.A. Richert and J. Richert, compositors; G. Hicks, Messenger and J.C. Ritter, Book-binder. Munnik and Ritter were regarded as citizens of some consequence both being Wardmasters in their respective wards⁴⁵⁾. The Gazette still furnished the office with its principal work, sixteen hundred copies being struck off every Friday evening of which the Government despatched about six hundred by the post on Saturday to the drostdys and public officers in the country districts⁴⁶⁾. About 1811 B.J. van de Sandt was indentured at the Castle, the first apprentice to learn his trade in South Africa. When he came out of his time in 1818 William Bridekirk Jnr. joined the office. About 1822 Andreas Richert became Superintendent of the Press at a salary of thirteen hundred rix-dollars a year and he in turn was succeeded by van de Sandt⁴⁷⁾.

Van der Kemp did not remain long in Cape Town but moved to Graaff-Reinet where shortly before June 1801 he printed a spelling book for the one hundred and twelve children in his mission school expressing the hope that the Governor would permit him to sell books for mission funds and educate some of the young men in the art of printing. After an unsuccessful attempt to set up a mission at Bota's Farm about 190 miles east of Graaff-Reinet the Batavian Government granted a more suitable site at Bethelsdorp near Uitenhage where a Hottentot catechism was printed perhaps as early as 1804 although no copy has survived⁴⁸⁾. Another party from the L.M.S. settled at Klaarwater (Griquatown) where a press was set up about 1819. Here about 1821 Henry Helm, a gifted Danish missionary, printed a spelling book which is probably the earliest work in the Tswana language⁴⁹⁾.

The evidence for an early Government press at Graaff-Reinet is

to be found in a public document of 8 July 1817 in Dutch bearing the imprint Gedrukt ter Districts Drukkery, Graaff-Reinet. A similar document in English is dated 2 September 1822⁵⁰⁾.

Four practical printers arrived with the 1820 Settlers, Robert Godlonton, William Cock, Thomas Stringfellow and Samuel Mollett: none was allowed to follow his trade. The three first named entered the Civil Service although Godlonton and Mollett later returned to printing. Godlonton and Stringfellow's press and types were requisitioned in Table Bay on arrival on orders of the Acting Governor Sir Rufane Donkin who compensated the owner in England and sent the press to Graaff-Reinet remarking that he might as well scatter firebrands along the Eastern frontier as send a printing press to Albany. At Graaff-Reinet P.C. Wahlstrand printed a few Government forms for use in public offices⁵¹⁾.

Writing in 1822 Bird thought that the Settlers would not long be content to bear their real or fancied grievances without the luxury of grumbling in print adding "it is therefore to the east that the Cape must look for the liberty of the press", however it was in Cape Town that a few adventurous spirits tried conclusions with the Government monopoly⁵²⁾. On 3 February 1823 Dr. Abraham Faure (1795-1875) for forty-five years minister at the Groote Kerk, and Thomas Pringle, who held an appointment as Assistant Librarian, asked permission to publish a monthly journal alternately in English and Dutch but before the Journal and the Tijdschrift appeared in print George Greig arrived in Cape Town⁵³⁾.

A remarkable combination of circumstances appeared to favour the advent of a Free Press. As already stated Mr Thomas Pringle had taken up his residence in Cape Town, where he was soon joined by Mr John Fairbairn. At this very time Mr George Greig, a gentleman who had held an appointment in the King's Printing Office in London - a practical printer - arrived in the Colony, bringing with him the necessary plant for a printing establishment. Almost at the same time a vessel arrived in Table Bay on her way to India, having on board a quantity of new printing type destined for a periodical in India, but which had suddenly

ceased to exist, and instructions had been received in Cape Town to sell the type if possible. The writer's father, having become acquainted with Mr Greig, and being equally anxious with others to see a Free Press established in the Colony, purchased the type for Mr Greig, for the sum of £300, on the understanding with the latter that his only son (the writer) should be taught the art of printing, and when sufficiently old should be admitted a partner in the business⁵⁴).

In July 1823 Greig requested permission to print a magazine, a request which was turned aside a month later. Greig having made enquiries, discovered there was no law which prevented the publication of a newspaper and therefore resolved to start a newspaper instead of a magazine. A prospectus was issued to the public on 20 December 1823 and a copy of the prospectus was sent to the Governor under cover of a note which was worded in such a way that absence of an official rejoinder might be construed as tacit assent. No reply being received Greig went ahead with his project and the first number of the South African Commercial Advertiser appeared on 7 January 1824 from the Commercial Printing Office in Longmarket Street opposite Caledon Square, printed by Michael Kearns, John Eckley and L.H. Meurant⁵⁵). The Advertiser ran into trouble at once and after the eighteenth number Greig announced that he would discontinue publication. The last number appeared on 5 May 1824 and three days later the Fiscal sealed the press but this did not stop Greig from printing by hand and publishing Facts connected with the Stoppage of the South African Commercial Advertiser⁵⁶).

William Bridekirk left the Government Printing Office in October 1823 and set up in Heerengracht as a stationer becoming publisher to Faure and Pringle. Greig's plant having been taken from him as from an unwilling seller at a valuation Bridekirk was induced to take it over by a Government loan of twelve thousand five hundred rix-dollars and on 18 August 1824 he printed the South African Chronicle edited anonymously by A.J. Jardine, Pringle's successor at the Library. The Chronicle proved to be far too tame for the robust public taste and ceased in 1826⁵⁷).

Pringle, like Greig, soon ran into trouble: the first number of

the Journal appeared in March 1824 but the paper was suppressed on 7 May 1824 after the appearance of the second number because Pringle referred to the plight of the distressed settlers in Albany. Dr. Faure's Tijdschrift was conducted on more conservative lines and continued unmolested⁵⁸⁾.

Greig went to London to seek redress. His return and the re-appearance of the Advertiser on 18 February 1825 is regarded as a landmark in the freedom of the South African press. The Governor was obliged to restore Greig's types and equipment and Bridekirk was compensated with other material newly obtained from England. Fairbairn now edited the Advertiser and the paper was published from Greig's new office in Marktplaas. The paper was suppressed a second time in May 1827 and Fairbairn then went to England to interview the Colonial Secretary, Sir George Murray. The ban on the Advertiser was lifted and the paper reappeared on 3 October 1828; Murray also sent to Sir Lowry Cole a draft ordinance promulgated in April 1829 which removed control of the press from the Executive to the Courts. Greig set up once again in Keizersgracht, now Darling Street, where he remained until 1840⁵⁹⁾.

2.

THE CAPE TOWN PRESS

1825 - 1850

Although the press was free after 1829 to publish a newspaper without fear of Executive interference the legal and fiscal requirements were sufficiently onerous to deter any but the most hardy person from making the attempt. It was doubly difficult for a publisher at a distance from Cape Town. The would-be publisher had first to present himself in person before the Colonial Secretary, furnish proof that he was worth £300, and then enter into a Surety bond for that amount and find two or three other Sureties in the like amount who were prepared to be bound with him in the event of an adverse judgment for blasphemous or seditious libel. The publisher had then to get his paper impressed sheet by sheet at the Castle with a revenue stamp for which he had to outlay in advance cash on as much paper as he might need for a year¹⁾.

Fortunately for Greig and Bridekirk there was a steadily growing demand for general printing and bookbinding. A further circumstance provided them with additional work. A Commission on Government expenditure sat in 1826 and recommended that the Government Printing Office be allowed to run down until only a skeleton staff remained to cope with urgent or confidential work. About 1829 surplus presses, type and stores were sold and the Government work shared between Greig and Bridekirk, Bridekirk getting the contract to print the Gazette²⁾.

A feature of Bridekirk's work was his readiness to handle various languages. In 1825-1826 he was printing in English for Dr. A. Smith of the South African Museum; in 1825 he also printed de Lima's Geschiedenis in Dutch; he printed an early Cape Botany; produced several numbers of the Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette; published work for C.E. Boniface in French, and reproduced for the Rev. J.H. Schmelen the first grammar and scripture portions to be printed in Nama-Hottentot. His foreman was Samuel J. Mollett³⁾.

In 1835 Bridekirk retired and sold out to George James Pike; at the same time Mollett set up as a master printer and took over the printing of the Gazette on a sub-contract from Pike. Mollett imported an Albion press by Hopkinson in December 1835 and traded from No 1 Grave Street, now Parliament Street, as the Albion Press or the Gazette Office. In addition to commercial work Mollett undertook religious publications producing work for the Zuid-Afrikaansch Traktaat en Boek-Genootskap and printing a religious magazine called the Cape Cyclopedia. In 1838 the firm became Brink, Mollett, Roubain and Keeve trading as Brink, Mollett & Co, and moved to 11 St. George's Street. Two years later they published from 5 Hout Street the first newspaper called Cape Times. It appeared on 1 January 1840, ran eighteen issues, and closed on 29 April⁴⁾. A specimen of Mollett's type sheet, which includes Greek characters, is in the possession of the Africana Museum, Johannesburg Public Library.

Greig's office was responsible for such diverse work as Volumes III to X of Dr. Faure's Zuid-Afrikaansch Tijdschrift; British Parliamentary reports relating to the administration and finance of the Cape of Good Hope; several issues of The Colonist; a weekly paper started by W. Beddy M.A. of Trinity College, Dublin⁵⁾; a pamphlet entitled Golden Rules for Jurymen; the Almanac for 1830 which contained unusual woodcut illustrations engraved by Alexander Reid including a view of Mouille Point Lighthouse, a portrait of van Riebeeck, and a street plan of Cape Town. Greig said the last word in his dispute with Governor Somerset in 1827 when he printed a catalogue of "the splendid furniture and other effects at Newlands, the property of the Rt. Hon. Lord Charles Somerset to be sold at Public Auction"⁶⁾. In 1831 Greig printed the prospectus for the newly established South African Assurance Company. The fourth policy underwritten by the Company issued to Mr James Rose-Innes for £200 in respect of his cottage at Uitenhage is displayed in the Africana Museum of the Johannesburg Public Library⁷⁾.

In 1831 Greig gave employment to two brothers Solomon. Saul was indentured as an apprentice, and eventually succeeded Greig as proprietor becoming the most important printer of the century. Saul

Solomon (1817-1892) and Henry, a year older, were born of Jewish parentage on St. Helena and received their early schooling in England where, as the supposed consequence of defective treatment, their lower limbs ceased to grow. In adult life Saul had a massive high domed head and a normal torso but stood little above four feet and as a member of Parliament mounted a stool to address the House. The family settled in Cape Town and Saul's name appears in the examination list of the South African College for 1831. Henry, the bookkeeper, was baptised into the christian faith at St. Georges in 1834, Greig standing sponsor. Saul was greatly influenced by Dr. John Philip and joined the Congregational Church although never entirely alienated from the Jewish faith. Saul rose rapidly in Greig's business becoming successively manager, partner and proprietor. The imprint of Saul Solomon, Gazette Office, 10 St. George's Street appeared for the first time, a little prematurely perhaps, in 1840. From 1841 to 1846 the firm's imprint was usually Gazette Office and the address 50 St. George's Street. From 1846 the imprint is Saul Solomon & Co and in 1847 Solomon formally took over the business. Before Greig retired he had made his peace with the Government: after Bridekirk and Mollett had the Gazette contract for about ten years it was awarded to Greig and passed from him to Solomon. The firm were principal printers to the Government for more than forty years until challenged in the 'eighties by Richards⁸⁾.

A cosmopolitan city inevitably attracts its quota of odd or eccentric characters who come there to escape the past. de Lima, more often in debt than out, had been dismissed from the Civil Service in the Dutch East Indies about 1816 for misuse of documents; the family of Boniface left France to escape the Revolution. In spite of his escapades de Lima had loyal friends and commanded respect because of his industry, dogged persistence, and true humanity. Boniface had great gifts, musical, artistic, literary and dramatic, and was not without a gift for attracting people, but was so touchy, vindictive and quarrelsome by nature that, friendless and poverty stricken he eventually ended his own life. Although these men had been friends and collaborators Boniface later pursued de

Lima with a deadly hatred.

Josephus Suasso de Lima (1791-1858) was born in Amsterdam of Portuguese-Jewish descent and grew up a hunchback of unprepossessing appearance. He was received into the Reformed Church in his youth, qualified as a doctor of laws and arrived in Cape Town from the East in 1818 spending the rest of his life at the Cape. Some of his early verse was published in Amsterdam in 1821. From 1823 to 1827 he was a master at the Evangelical Lutheran School and wrote the Geschiedenis for his pupils which was printed and published by Bridekirk in 1825. Apart from being the first history to be written and printed at the Cape it is the earliest first-hand account of the printing industry containing references to the establishment of Bridekirk's office and details about George Greig and his press. On 7 January 1826 de Lima became the pioneer of Dutch-Afrikaans journalism in South Africa when he published, and Bridekirk printed, the first number of De Verzammelaar, a secular weekly described as a sort of Dutch Punch. Later de Lima obtained his own press which was maliciously seized by Boniface and others in 1830 in an action for debt. By 1840 he obtained another press and traded from 31 Burg Street. He continued to publish De Verzammelaar either on his own or with the assistance of friendly printers, sometimes weekly and at other times monthly, from 1834 to 1853. In 1831 he compiled an Almanac for 1832 printed by Bridekirk, the first of a series of almanacs and directories compiled by him and published by various Cape printers until shortly before his death⁹⁾.

Charles Etienne Boniface (1787-1853) was born in Paris but the family left France when he was still a child and wandered for several years until Boniface reached Cape Town in 1807. His first printed work appeared in 1825 but he is best remembered as the first editor of the earliest serious Dutch language newspaper De Zuid-Afrikaan founded by P.A. Brand and C.N. Neethling in 1830, published by P. van Breda, and printed by Brand at 3 Market Square on the press obtained from de Lima. De Zuid-Afrikaan and its successors became a Cape institution which represented the Dutch-Afrikaans viewpoint for a century and had the longest continuous life of any Dutch-Afrikaans periodical except De Kerkbode. Boniface fell out with

his publisher within a year and was succeeded by Mr Stapleton but neither proved a success and the editorial function was taken over by a Committee of Management which included Brand, the printer; Adv. Christoffel J. Brand; Dr. J.H. Neethling and Adv. Johannes de Wet whose home is now the Koopmans de Wet Museum in Strand Street. The printing office moved about 1842 to 92 Wale Street¹⁰⁾.

Boniface next became associated with Cornelis P. Moll Junior who was born in Cape Town in 1815, the twenty-fourth child of a father whose names he also bore. In 1836 Moll had a printing office at 12 Shortmarket Street. In 1837-1838 he printed a short-lived Dutch paper De Mediator, edited and published by Boniface from an office at the corner of Church and Burg Streets. When the paper ceased publication Moll went to work as a compositor for Greig and was employed on Buchanan's Cape Town Mail¹¹⁾.

William Buchanan arrived in Cape Town from Scotland in 1829 with his younger half-brother David Dale Buchanan. They had both received a good grounding from their father who was founder of the infant school movement. William opened a school on Church Square in 1830 next door to Dr. John Philip's Union Chapel. David, although only eleven at the time, was sufficiently advanced to assist at the school. The elder Buchanan launched the Mail in 1841, edited and printed by Greig, and published from 21 Grave Street. David meanwhile continued his education at evening classes conducted by John Fairbairn and Thomas Pringle and moved in the literary circle surrounding Greig's office becoming on terms of intimacy with Saul Solomon who was two years his senior. David later worked on the Mail and gained experience which was of value to him when he left Cape Town for Natal¹²⁾.

Dr. John Philip had meanwhile caused much controversy by the publication of his Researches. Robert H. Atkinson violently attacked Philip in the pages of De Ware Afrikaan which he edited and published from 4 Castle Street between 1838 and 1842¹³⁾.

G.J. Pike took over from Bridekirk in 1835*: at first he traded under his own name at 11 St. George's Street. About 1838 he was joined by J. Richert trading as Richert & Pike or Richert, Pike & Co. They moved up to 15 St. George's Street as Brink, Mollett & Co moved into No 11. About 1844 they moved again to 59 St. George's Street. They were prominent in producing scholarly and vernacular work, Pike's types including both Greek and Hebrew characters. In 1839 they printed the Rev. Mr. Mather's ABC, an early work in Sotho, and in 1844 Prof. A.N.E. Changuion's Proewe, one of the first scholarly works to take note of Afrikaans idiom and vocabulary. A major work was a fifteen-volume reprint of articles from Fairbairn's Commercial Advertiser covering the years 1836-1853. For a short time in 1845-1847 the firm used the imprint Pike & Philip but before the end of 1847 reverted to G.J. Pike. One of Pike's productions was the African Journal popularly known as Sam Sly's Journal, launched on 1 June 1843 by W.L. Sammons¹⁴).

William Layton Sammons (1801-1882) was born in London but lived in Bath. Disappointed in the expectation of a legacy he left for the Cape in 1842 to repair his fortunes, followed a year later by his wife. He was of military bearing, with dark moustachios and a mop of white hair which stuck out wildly at the sides; by temperament he was excitable, and prodigal in the use of gestures, being known as an amusing and satirical writer and perhaps the first serious music critic at the Cape. He launched the African Journal after a year's experience as editor of the South African Advocate and Cape Town Spectator. The Journal of 4 July 1844 contains an illustration in the new style of electrotyping in which a thin

* The earliest work of Pike recorded by Mendelssohn is 1836 (I, 538 & 800). The imprint then and until he was joined by Richert is always G.J. Pike. That Pike took over from Bridekirk in mid-1835 is evident from the monthly Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette for 1835, Nos 1-6 bearing Bridekirk's imprint and Nos 7-12 that of G.J. Pike (Kimberley 132). The imprint of George Pike appears on a trifle printed in Cape Town 1831 (Kimberley 116).

metal plate was mounted type high on wood and locked in the chase with the typeset matter. Later Sammons became his own printer and secured a press which Meurant described as a Stanhope bearing the mark Walker fecit No 98 formerly in use at the Castle. Sammons also obtained a set of woodcuts previously used in the Cape Literary Gazette but used them in a very different context. He cleared £1500 in eight years on the Journal but about 1849 lost popularity through expressing views unfavourable to the extremist policies of the Anti-Convict Association and in 1851 was obliged to close down. The press was sold to Alfred Essex and carried to Graaff-Reinet and Sammons exchanged printing for bookselling his later years being troubled by poverty and infirmity¹⁵⁾.

Sammons claimed that it was impossible to obtain engravings in Cape Town but if the art was not widely practised the city was not so poorly endowed as Sammons's strictures would suggest. Early wood blocks were engraved by Alexander Reid and Frederick William de Wet¹⁶⁾. In 1845 Henry Foord traded as an engraver and copper plate printer at 84 Strand Street at the corner of St. George's Street. He was on good terms with Solomon and with A.S. Robertson, the publisher, both of whom accepted orders on his behalf¹⁷⁾. The use of imported blocks in locally set letterpress was not exploited to any extent by commercial printers but in 1848 the Kuruman press printed an illustrated translation of Pilgrim's Progress in Tswana using blocks provided by the Religious Tract Society¹⁸⁾. The most distinguished work produced in Cape Town was executed by Charles J. Roberts who was born in London in 1825 and learned his trade there before setting up next door to Saul Solomon in 1847. Roberts was at home with wood or metal and between 1850 and 1854 engraved bank-notes for banks at Beaufort West, Swellendam, Stellenbosch, and Graaff-Reinet¹⁹⁾.

The intense public interest in the convict question and the repeal of the Stamp Tax in 1848 encouraged several people to launch periodicals. Henry Holland started the Cape Town Mirror on 5 September 1848 on the lines of Sam Sly's Journal but it did not last beyond a few months²⁰⁾. F.S. Watermeyer, formerly on the editorial staff of the Mail, started the Cape of Good Hope Observer on 2

January 1849 on the lines of the London Spectator²¹⁾. In 1847 James Long Fitzpatrick launched the excellent but short lived Cape of Good Hope Literary Magazine which appeared alternate months and ran to two volumes²²⁾.

B.J. van de Sandt was a member of the de Villiers family and a fifth generation descendant of Pierre de Villiers the eldest of three Huguenot brothers who established the de Villiers clan in South Africa²³⁾. He left his post of Superintendent of the Government Printing Office in 1837 and set up as a master printer in Coronation year using the name Victoria Press at 11 Grave Street. A year or two later he traded as B.J. van de Sandt moving about 1845 to 12 Heerengracht and a year later to Castle Street. In 1850 the firm traded as van de Sandt de Villiers & Tier. Whilst still Superintendent of the Government office van de Sandt compiled an Almanac for 1837 which was printed in 1836 by Cornelis Moll. Almanacs for 1838 and 1839 were compiled by van de Sandt and produced and published by A.S. Robertson, a stationer and bookseller at 22 Heerengracht. For a year or two Robertson was both printer and stationer but after 1838 seems to have confined his activities to the stationery trade²⁴⁾. The Almanac for 1841 was compiled and printed by van de Sandt at 11 Grave Street. Two succeeding issues were compiled by van de Sandt but printed by Solomon, van de Sandt then compiled and printed an unbroken series from 1845 to 1858. On 6 July 1849 van de Sandt printed the first of two papers to bear the name Het Volksblad²⁵⁾.

None of the commercial printers undertook lithography at this early period although both Bridekirk and Greig recognised the value of imported lithographs for illustrating books and almanacs. Greig, for example, used a series of Cape views about 1832-1834 which were engraved by H.C. de Meillon and printed by Day and Haghe, lithographers to the King, in London²⁶⁾. Richard Middleton produced a set of lithographs in Cape Town about 1824 after the paintings of John F. Cornfield. Later that year application was evidently made by the naval authorities for a lithographic press, probably to print charts, but the request was refused. An advertisement in the Commercial Advertiser of 22 November 1828 announced that Mr Staple-

ton had commenced lithography and was prepared to turn out maps, charts and drawings as well as commercial stationery²⁷⁾. Johannes Cornelis Poortermans opened a lithographic studio at Newlands in 1833 his first work appearing in Vol. III No X of the Cape Literary Gazette. He was the first South African to produce lithographs in colour. His best known work is a series of Cape views produced under great difficulties and published in the 1840's²⁸⁾. The Cape Surveyor, Charles Davidson Bell (1813-1882) mastered lithography whilst on a visit to Edinburgh in 1847 and brought back a press on which he produced several lithographs of South African subjects²⁹⁾.

For a small community living in relative isolation many thousands of miles in distance and three months in time from the main stream of European culture the Cape produced a surprising number of serious and scholarly works and articles of literary merit. Andrew Geddes Bain (1797-1864) the engineer and road builder may be regarded as the first freelance reporter as well as a pioneer in the use of Afrikaans. He started sending articles to Greig's Commercial Advertiser about 1826 and afterwards frequently contributed to the press in Cape Town and Grahamstown³⁰⁾. The publishers and booksellers, Robertson at 22 Heerengracht and J.H. Collard at 24 Heerengracht contributed to the demand for good literature. The first scientific work of exploration written and published in South Africa was Dr. Andrew Smith's Report of the Expedition for exploring Central Africa. The trip was made in 1834 and the book published from the Government Gazette Office (Mollett's press) in 1836³¹⁾. The first devotional work translated and printed for white readers was a Dutch rendering of the works of Richard Baxter (1615-1691) by Dr. Abraham Faure printed by van de Sandt in 1839³²⁾. A locally produced Dutch translation of Pilgrim's Progress was published by Collard in 1842³³⁾. Ds. G.W.A. van der Lingen (1804-1869) and Dr. Faure were concerned in founding De Kerkbode in 1849³⁴⁾. The Cape Almanac for 1842 listed nine printing establishments in Cape Town with six booksellers and seven newspapers. The Almanac for 1845 gave the white population of Cape Town as 9359 out of 22000 of all races: they were served by seven newspapers and one Dutch language religious monthly³⁵⁾. Technically the trade had not as

yet developed beyond the age of Gutenberg but Saul Solomon's type catalogue contained a surprisingly comprehensive range of texts and an even more varied range of display faces. The standards of workmanship were "in general uninspiring but solid; reasonable without distinction"³⁶).

3.

MISSIONARY PRINTERS
AND THE CAPE COUNTRY PRESS
BEFORE 1850

It is difficult to overestimate the significance of Christian Mission presses for the history of printing in South Africa. They first carried printing into the interior; they chose printing amongst the first of the white man's industrial skills to be passed on to the natives and they trained the first non-white printers. The first missionary printer-translators took the simple step, profound in its effects, of rendering South African languages into Roman characters so linking the African with the orthography and culture of the West. The missionaries gave to the Bantu the first opportunity to express themselves in print and encouraged the growth of vernacular literature.

Apart from the early London Missionary Society's presses at Cape Town, Graaff-Reinet, Bethelsdorp and Klaarwater the Wesleyans had a press in Cape Town by 1824 whilst other mission presses were first to penetrate north of the Orange River, first into Natal, and amongst the first in South West Africa. The first book printed in Transvaal was produced on a portable mission press at an outspan beside the Vaal. This vigorous expansion of the faith was not confined to South Africa but was part of a movement inspired and carried on by the L.M.S., founded 1795, the Church Missionary Society (1799), the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (1810), the Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society (1813) and the Paris Evangelical Mission (1822). The British and Foreign Bible Society founded in 1804 assisted with liberal grants of money and of materials¹⁾.

Chumie was established as a Government sponsored mission in June 1820 on the Chumie or Tyumie, a tributary of the Keiskamma River, by the Rev. John Brownlee, about eight miles from the present town of Alice²⁾. The Glasgow Missionary Society seconded the Rev. W.R.

Thompson and Mr John Bennie to Chumie and they set sail in the ill-fated Abeona which caught fire and sank with the loss of 114 of the 166 persons on board. Thompson and Bennie were amongst the survivors and reached Chumie in 1821. Bennie had searched in vain for literature in the vernacular before leaving but could not find so much as "a morsel for my poor Caffres". At Chumie Bennie opened school and developed the first orthography for Xhosa. Bennie spent the remaining fifty years of his life on the frontier and Thompson no less than seventy years until his death at the age of 97. In September 1823 the Rev. John Ross arrived in Cape Town with a press, type, paper, and ink and journeyed by wagon over a circuitous route of a thousand miles to Chumie arriving on 16 December 1823. Three days later the first fifty copies of the Xhosa alphabet according to Bennie's orthography were printed.

In 1824 the Society printed the first work in Xhosa, a booklet which included an alphabet, spelling lists, and a few short prayers. The Chumie Mission moved to Lovedale in 1826 and the same year produced its first major work, a part of Bennie's Systematic Vocabulary of the Kaffrarian Language, the first vocabulary of any Bantu language³⁾. In 1830 agents of the Glasgow, London, and Wesleyan Societies met at Buffalo and it was here by agreement that they adopted Bennie's Roman-letter orthography as the basis for writing Bantu languages. In 1834 a fracas near Fort Beaufort became the pretext for war. 15,000 armed Kaffirs entered the Colony and penetrated as far as Sunday's River: 22 farmers were killed, 450 farms burnt, 100,000 cattle and 150,000 sheep were driven off and in the mêlée Lovedale was destroyed⁴⁾. It was five years before a new press arrived from overseas.

Robert Moffat (1795-1883), best known of all the missionary printers⁵⁾, and the first to complete the Bible in a Bantu language, settled at Kuruman in the Northern Cape in 1824 and began publication in 1826 with a Tswana catechism and a spelling book which were printed for the London Missionary Society by J. Dennett of London⁶⁾. In 1829 Moffat completed his first Tswana Biblical text, the Gospel of St. Luke. Hoping to find a printer in the Colony he took the MS first to Grahamstown, then to Algoa Bay. Finding neither printer

nor boat he left his family at Algoa Bay and in 1830 rode overland to Cape Town where he was again disappointed by the "infant state of typography" at the Cape. The Government Printing Establishment had just been reduced and van de Sandt^{was} the only competent printer. van de Sandt undertook to train Moffat within six months to which Dr. Philip added a promise that he would then give Moffat an iron frame press to take back with him to Kuruman. Moffat was joined by Roger Edwards from the Mission Station at Bethelsdorp and together they printed the Tswana Luke and a Tswana hymn book on paper provided by the British & Foreign Bible Society who also contributed £50 toward the expenses. The press was set up by Moffat at Kuruman in 1831 and the first works produced there were reprints of the Tswana Catechism (1831) and of the spelling book (1832).

The first draft of the Tswana New Testament was ready in July 1838 and Moffat again tried the Cape, the Bible Society having sent 250 reams of paper sufficient to print 4000 copies, but Dr. Philip sent Moffat to England where the Tswana New Testament & Psalms was first printed under Moffat's supervision in 1840. Moffat was joined at Kuruman in 1844 by William Ashton who took charge of the press leaving Moffat free for translating and correcting. The Tswana Old Testament was produced in stages from 1847 onwards and when finished in 1857 was hailed as "a triumph of translating and printing", Ashton maintaining that there was no other press north of the Orange River which could have accomplished a task of such magnitude.

In 1819 Rev. Barnabas Shaw published a Dutch Catechism in Cape Town⁷⁾ and in 1824-25 the Wesleyans had a printing office under J. Hallier at 19 Barrack Street of whose work only a few fragments survive, a handbill and a lesson sheet printed for the London Missionary Society's school at Pacaltsdorp⁸⁾. The Wesleyan Sechuana Mission was established by the Rev. Samuel Broadbent and the Rev. Thomas Hodgson who prepared an elementary work containing an alphabet, easy sentences, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments in Tswana about 1823 when working at Maquassi near the present town of Wolmaransstad⁹⁾. It was here that Broadbent found an abandoned youth, John Liratsagae, starving and too weak to stand, at the scene

of a tribal massacre. John became a faithful member of the Broadbent household until in adult life he rejoined his people and later became one of the first Bantu printers¹⁰⁾. Mr Levick, a Sheffield merchant, sent Broadbent a case of type, some ink and printing balls and with these and a small handpress the missionary produced in 1826 the first little book printed in Transvaal. It was a Tswana alphabet and word list for use in his school. A more ambitious publication was a fifteen-page lesson book of which no known copy has survived¹¹⁾.

James Archbell and Thomas Jenkins succeeded Broadbent and Hodgson at the Wesleyan Sechuana Mission and in September 1826 the missionaries with the Barolong under Chief Sefunelo trekked to a more convenient location at Platberg near the present town of Warrenton¹²⁾. Here at least as early as 1829 the printing press was again set up and school books and catechisms produced for the two-hundred scholars in the Mission School¹³⁾. In 1832 a new metal Albion press arrived in Algoa Bay for the Sechuana Mission and was carried by ox-wagon in company of Rev. John Edwards via Grahamstown to Platberg. Towards the end of 1832 about four thousand refugees from the Matabele entered Platberg increasing the numbers by a half. There was insufficient grazing for so large a company and in May 1833 Archbell, Edwards and Jenkins divided the people, the Hottentots moving to a new location which retained the name Platberg, the site near Warrenton being thereafter known as Old Platberg. The Barolong trekked to Thaba N'Chu. There a church was built and the press was set up first in the church, then in the vestry, and within a few months was turning out verses of scripture, Gospel portions, catechisms, and Tswana spelling books. By December 1836 "two Conference catechisms ... the Liturgy, both in Dutch and Sechuana; a new edition of hymns used in the public services; portions of Scripture for the use of schools, and lessons together with a grammar of the Sechuana language" were all ready for the press¹⁴⁾. After the first burst of activity the press went idle for a time for the want of a competent overseer. The Moroka Missionary Institution at Thaba N'Chu was founded in 1838 by Rev. James Allison, son of an 1820 settler. The press was reopened and

established on a firm basis in 1840 by Rev. Richard Giddy, a practical printer. Here John Liratsagae became foreman of the press and long before his death at a great age in 1904 had become a legendary figure amongst his people. The Institution was under the Rev. Gottlieb Schreiner from 1840 to 1844 a man of great literary ability and father of the authoress Olive Schreiner. In later years the Institution produced a number of Bantu composers, authors, and news editors¹⁵⁾.

About this time printing commenced at New Platberg. In 1846 James Allison completed the first translations into the Swazi tongue. His scripture portions were printed in Thaba N'Chu and his Swazi catechism at Platberg¹⁶⁾.

The Methodist press in the Eastern Province was first set up at Grahamstown in 1832 on the initiative of the Rev. William Shaw (1798-1872) who arrived in 1820 as Chaplain to Sephton's party¹⁷⁾. Shaw himself produced a Xhosa catechism and in 1830 engaged a printer in Grahamstown to produce it¹⁸⁾, he also produced a translation of Genesis which was the first Methodist biblical text in Xhosa. About June 1831 the Rev. W.B. Boyce and Theophilus Shepstone, then a youth of fifteen, discovered the Euphonic Concord or key to the rhythmical structure of Bantu languages which lent impetus to the work of translation. Boyce's Xhosa Luke appeared in 1833 and his Grammar of the Kaffir Language was printed at the Mission press at Grahamstown in 1834¹⁹⁾.

In the troubles of 1834-1835 when Lovedale was destroyed the Methodist press was taken for safety to Fort Peddie and by arrangement with the Glasgow Society increased its activity to take on extra work. Further votes for type and paper were passed by the parent Society in 1836 and 1838. From Fort Peddie came one of the earliest vernacular periodicals, the Xhosa Publisher of News, which ran through fifteen numbers between 1837 and 1841²⁰⁾. In 1840-41 the press was again in Grahamstown under the Rev. Mr Impey and in 1841-43 under the Rev. W.J. Davis. In 1844 the press moved to Newtondale where an early Catechism was produced in Sotho²¹⁾. Rev. J.W. Appleyard, the greatest of the Methodist printers, was appointed Superintendent of the press at Newtondale in 1845, shortly

after completing The Kaffir Language, described by the philologist Dr. Bleek as a work of the highest importance²²⁾.

In 1846 the arrest of a native named Tsili for stealing an axe sparked off another war and Chief Pato invaded the Colony at the head of 9,000 warriors, surrounding Fort Peddie and advancing to within a few miles of Grahamstown²³⁾. The press at Lovedale was again destroyed. The Methodists attempted to continue their work and in 1846 Appleyard succeeded in completing the Xhosa New Testament, the first complete Testament in any Bantu language to be printed in South Africa. It was then thought prudent to carry the printed matter to Grahamstown and to remove the press once more to Fort Peddie²⁴⁾.

The first printing press in Natal was the Ama-Zulu Mission press of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions which was carried on an ox-wagon and began to print at Umlazi in 1838²⁵⁾. The earliest work is a Zulu reader quaintly titled Book the first for those who learn printed in 1841²⁶⁾. The press was set up at Esidumbini in 1849 and in 1850 produced a Zulu version of the Psalms²⁷⁾. The work was associated with the American missionaries Lewis Grout (1815-1905) and Daniel Lindley (1801-1880) who laboured in South Africa from 1835 to 1873. On one of his journeys Lindley confirmed Paul Kruger, the future president of the Transvaal Republic, on a farm near Kroonstad²⁸⁾. Some of the work printed at the Mission press was translated by his wife²⁹⁾.

S. Rolland started printing for the Paris Evangelical Society in 1841 at Beersheba near Smithfield O.F.S. on a small wooden hand press which he brought from Europe. In 1842 the Paris committee sent J.M.D. Ludorf with a larger press. The first work of importance was the production of six thousand copies of a Sotho New Testament translated by S. Rolland and Eugene Casalis in 1848 after which the outbreak of war brought work to a halt. Ludorf was ordained into the Methodist Church and became principal of the Moroka Institution at Thaba N'Chu in 1853 and again from 1858-1862. His Sotho version of the Epistles of St. John and of Revelation was printed at Platberg 1851-52³⁰⁾.

One of the earliest books printed anywhere in South West Africa was

a vernacular version of Luther's Catechism from the Rhenish Mission press at Rehoboth³¹⁾.

J.J. Freeman of the London Missionary Society left a contemporary eye witness account of the work of Mission presses 1849-1850. He visited the veteran Rev. John Brownlee at King William's Town and was shown over Appleyard's press. "This establishment in Kaffraria", he wrote, "the London Society's at Kuruman for the Bechuanas, the Paris Society's in the Bassuto country (and) the American Society's in Natal were to me scenes of indescribable and imperishable interest". At Appleyard's establishment his Kaffir Grammar was at press and Freeman noted "several natives in the various departments employed as compositors and pressmen". On his visit to Mr Wylder of the American Board Mission in Natal Freeman described the printing department as "very effective and well conducted" and noted that "the brethren of the Mission were directing their attention to the subject of a uniform orthography in the native language of this part of Africa"³²⁾. William Shaw, visiting Appleyard at Mount Coke in 1855, inspected the "large building which is now converted into our printing office with paper room, binder's room, editor's room etc." and added "it is delightful to see such masses of printed paper in the form of spelling books, reading books, hymn books, prayer books, catechisms, New Testaments, and portions of the Old Testament, all in preparation for the various Kaffir readers now to be met with in all parts of the country"³³⁾.

The locations of some of the early missions are all but forgotten yet at the time they served a strategic purpose and ministered to a considerable population, the numbers within reach of a mission often being as large as the population of Cape Town or Graaff-Reinet. In 1803 the L.M.S. station at Bethelsdorp lay on the main wagon road to the north. Travellers north-bound from Cape Town preferred the sea route to Algoa Bay and from there by wagon rather than use the longer overland route³⁴⁾. When Anderson, Adam Kok, and a party from Griquatown visited Mothibi at Lattakoo in 1813 to initiate negotiations which led to the foundation of Kuruman they were astonished to find a rustic town of 7500 inhabitants³⁵⁾. The Wesleyan Mission at Platberg attracted a settled population of

some eight to ten thousand people and as many as fifteen thousand trekked to Thaba N'Chu³⁶⁾. Mount Coke Mission was destroyed in 1846 and restarted in 1848: by 1853 it had a resident population of one thousand and about fifteen thousand within easy reach³⁷⁾. The Mission presses were able to produce editions of from two to six thousand at a time which would have been considered very large editions in any city press of the period. Professor C.M. Doke says of the work of the early missionary printers "all the pioneer work must be placed to the credit of the missionaries who have done yeoman service with scant equipment". Much of their work is of such a quality that it will not be superseded for many a year³⁸⁾".

* * *

When the authorities decided to reduce the size of the Government Printing Office at Cape Town in 1829 they also offered for sale Godlonton and Stringfellow's plant which had been sent away to Graaff-Reinet in 1820. L.H. Meurant was now nineteen years of age and an orphan, his mother having died in 1818 and his father in 1826. In 1828 young Louis left Cape Town for the eastern frontier. He now seized his chance, bid for the plant which was knocked down to him for the ridiculously small sum of three hundred rix-dollars and carried it to Grahamstown where he set up in the High Street as a printer in September 1830³⁹⁾. His first book and the first to be produced at a commercial press outside of Cape Town was Adams' Eulogy on Dr. Alex Cowie and Mr Ben Green who had been drowned in 1829 whilst on a trip to Delagoa Bay⁴⁰⁾.

Grahamstown of the Settlers had little in common with Cape Town from which it was separated by an overland wagon journey of two or three months, or a hazardous voyage of two or three weeks under sail. Before the Cape Government Railway penetrated the Hex River mountains Grahamstown was a convenient starting point for wagon trails to the interior. Whilst printing spread by sea from Cape Town to Natal and from Natal overland to Transvaal printing spread from Grahamstown overland to Port Elizabeth, King William's Town, Bloemfontein, Kimberley and Queenstown: a nephew of old Godlonton invaded Cape Town to challenge the supremacy of Saul Solomon and the brothers Sheffield migrated to Johannesburg to start the

Star from which sprang the greatest newspaper group in South Africa.

Meurant was soon persuaded to start a newspaper and the Graham's Town Journal appeared on Friday 30 December 1831 with twenty-year-old Meurant as "editor, printer, publisher and proprietor all combined in one person". Meurant was assisted by Lieut. T.C. White until he was killed at Kei River in the War of 1834-1835, Meurant then engaged on salary W. Beddy earlier associated with the Colonist in Cape Town. The Journal was only a modest half sheet of double crown but it became a symbol to the English Settlers of Albany and a perfect mirror of the times⁴¹⁾. No other paper so typified the hopes and aspirations of a people until De Volksstem did as much for the Burghers of Pretoria. The Journal contained over the years such diverse material as the first account of the Fingo people, Piet Retief's manifesto on the Great Trek, the advertisement by Andries Pretorius for the sale of his farm at Graaff-Reinet, and a detailed description of the first South African operation under anaesthetic performed by Dr. W.H. Atherstone in 1847⁴²⁾.

When Robert Godlonton was deprived of his printing press in 1820 he accepted employment as a magistrate's clerk and travelled widely on the frontier. He soon became a contributor to the Journal, one of his early contributions being a lively account of the newly established Kat River settlement near Fort Beaufort. In 1834 Meurant persuaded him to leave the civil service to enter into a partnership which became a life-long friendship. The business prospered and in the next few years several iron presses were added to Godlonton's original wooden contrivance. In 1839 the partnership expired, Meurant withdrew and Godlonton became sole proprietor⁴³⁾. About 1848 Godlonton took Robert White into partnership trading as Godlonton & White, and from 1851 as Godlonton, White & Co⁴⁴⁾.

On the commercial side the firm printed the Rev. J. Archbell's Sechuana Grammar (1837) the first published grammar of the Tswana language, the Natal Papers (1843) collected and edited by John Centlivres Chase and still regarded as valuable source material, and on 17 December 1850 the only Government Gazette produced in Grahamstown⁴⁵⁾.

Soon after the proclamation of the Orange River Sovereignty Godlonton and White, encouraged by Sir Harry Smith, applied for permission to publish a newspaper. In 1850 Godlonton's nephew Thomas White loaded a handpress and a few cases of type into an ox-wagon and made for Bloemfontein to become the first commercial printer in the future Orange Free State⁴⁶⁾.

When Meurant left Godlonton he took to trade, fought in the frontier wars and became interpreter to Sir Harry Smith but by 1840 he was back in Grahamstown where Dr. Ambrose G. Campbell had just launched the Colonial Times. The paper only ran from January to April 1840 and the plant was then taken over by John George Franklin. Dr. Campbell tried again with the Echo of which the sole remaining evidence is a footnote in Cory's history. Franklin then went into partnership with Meurant in the High Street, the one as owner and the other as printer of the Cape Frontier Times which supported the Episcopal Church against the strongly Wesleyan tone of the Journal⁴⁷⁾. One of the printers of the Frontier Times was James Dallas who was born at Woolwich in 1835, came to South Africa in 1846 and served a five year apprenticeship with Saul Solomon before removing to Grahamstown. Some time in the late 'fifties he left to manage Thomas White's printing office in Bloemfontein⁴⁸⁾. In 1844 Meurant published Het Kaapsche Grensblad the first Dutch newspaper in the Eastern Province, which contained many Afrikaans letters to the editor, some amusing, some serious, and most of them written by Meurant himself⁴⁹⁾.

Grahamstown, like Cape Town, saw some early attempts at Lithography, cartoons and sketches being produced locally while commercial book illustrations were imported. In June 1838 Frederick Timpson I'Ons (1802-1887), a local artist, produced the Stocken-stroom Cartoons by colour lithography. They have little artistic merit but throw light on contemporary frontier politics⁵⁰⁾. Sir Harry Smith's arrival at Grahamstown in January 1848 was greeted with triumphal arches in the streets and lithographed portraits of "the hero of Aliwal"⁵¹⁾. In 1851 Godlonton & White printed and published a Narrative of the Kaffir War of 1850-1851 in twelve monthly parts with lithographic illustrations. Robert Godlonton

himself was the author and this was one of the earliest and one of the very few South African publications issued in parts. The sketches were prepared locally but lithographed overseas⁵²⁾.

THE APPLICATION OF POWER TO PRINT
AND THE CAPE TOWN PRESS

1850 - 1900

In 1854 Saul Solomon scored a double first by introducing commercial lithography and installing a steam engine. South Africa had started on the road which by the end of the century was to bring her nearer to the main stream of technical development. Solomon was forty years behind The Times in adopting steam power but when Richards installed the first linotype in 1898 he was only six years behind London.

Watt's steam engine was patented in 1769 and steam power first used to operate a cotton mill in 1785¹⁾. Nicholson's patent No 1748 which anticipated the principles of the power driven printing press was granted on 29 April 1790 and The Times of London was first printed by König & Bauer's steam powered press on 29 November 1814²⁾. An electric motor was used with belts and line shafting to drive a Victory press at the Birmingham Daily Gazette in 1891, and in 1898 the Liverpool Daily Post became the first British newspaper to use electric motors geared directly to the press³⁾. The introduction of power to print led to the introduction of larger, heavier, and faster presses. Most technical developments took place in the larger newspaper offices and were adapted to the needs of general printers after they had been perfected by newspapers. The first true rotary web-fed press was the Walter press patented in 1866 and used to print The Times⁴⁾. The Victory press as used by Gunn & Cameron to print the North British Daily Mail at Glasgow in 1870 was the first rotary machine with built-in folder which delivered a newspaper in the format familiar to the present-day reader⁵⁾. The Victory was a machine of modest size appropriate to the production of a typical English provincial town newspaper and by the end of the century equally appropriate to the needs of the main South African centres of population. The point of particular importance for the struc-

ture of the industry is that these and similar machines would only print newspapers and where they were installed there was inevitably a break between newspaper and jobbing departments. With the newspaper rotaries came mechanical typesetting, notably the linotype, which made final the break between news and general printing and assisted the growth of the mass circulation urban daily and weekend papers.

The development of machines for the jobbing printer in the nineteenth century was important, but less spectacular. The hand press, especially the Albion, was in production at least until the 'nineties and remained in use throughout the century. Small cylinder machines, both hand and power operated, became more common in the 'fifties: platens, the early models being for the most part treadle operated, followed in the 'sixties. An improved platen known as the Minerva was first made by the H.S. Cropper Co in 1867 and the name of this company soon became the popularly accepted name for all machines of this type: they were operated for the most part by an unorganised and ill-defined class of semi-skilled labour known as cropper hands, a term which passed into the accepted vocabulary of the printing industry through the minutes of the British Platen Machine Minders Society formed in 1890⁶⁾.

A number of hand presses from the second half of the nineteenth century are preserved in South Africa, some of them still in use. A fine example of the Columbian press built by James Cox of London and used to print the Natal Mercury in 1852 is preserved at the Company's office in Durban⁷⁾: another Columbian press presented by the Society for the furtherance of the Gospel to the Moravian brethren of Genadendal about 1860 is preserved at the Mission⁸⁾: an Albion press built by Figgins of London in 1857 is still used by an enthusiastic private printer in Cape Town: he also has a hand lithographic press by Furnival⁹⁾: Cape & Transvaal Printers of Parow have a fine Albion press by Hopkinson of London built in 1862 and still in daily use as a proof press¹⁰⁾. An Albion press built by Harrild & Son of London in 1865 was brought into Cape Town by E S & A Robinson (South Africa) Ltd in 1921 and used for some time as a proof press before being handed over to the South African

Museum. The Albion press built by Fredk. Ullmer of London, numbered 2607 and dated 1869 which was used at Paarl by P.J. Malherbe to print the first number of Die Afrikaanse Patriot, the first Afrikaans newspaper, on 15 January 1876, is preserved in the Huguenot Museum¹²⁾. A Columbian press No 3057 built in England by V. & J. Figgins in 1873 originally stood at Cradock where it was used by Sir Frederick de Waal. It was later transferred to Middelburg, Cape, and removed from there by Dr. A.C. Hoffman to its present location at the National Museum, Bloemfontein¹³⁾. A late model Albion press serial number 4973, built by E. Jones of Calcutta in 1898, formerly used by the A.C. White Printing & Publishing Co of Bloemfontein and retired about 1909, is on display in the S.A.T.U. Hall in Bloemfontein¹⁴⁾. A power driven press, representative of the best procurable at the turn of the century, is the Phoenix IV built by J.G. Schelter Geisecke of Leipzig and supplied to Mariannhill Monastery press through the agency of John Dickinson & Co Ltd after winning the Grand Prix at the Paris Exhibition of 1900¹⁵⁾.

Saul Solomon's steam press of 1854 caused more than ordinary excitement. The following year the firm's imprint was changed to Steam Printing Press or Steam Printing Office, 63 Longmarket Street and J.S. de Villiers composed an orchestral score in honour of the occasion entitled the Steam Printing Press Movement. The composer reproduced in the musical idiom of the period a piece of eight sections; composers called to work; composers preparing for work; composers at work; correcting proof; getting ready for the press; lowering formes; called to prepare machine, and machine at work. Solomon used steam power to print the Cape Argus from its inception in 1857¹⁶⁾. His competitor G.J. Pike used the imprint Machine Printing Works from 1856 and changed it to Steam Printing Office in 1858¹⁷⁾. In a review of the Cape printing industry in 1858 the Argus listed four papers which were printed by steam power¹⁸⁾.

R.W. Murray, Snr. used steam power to print the Great Eastern in Grahamstown in 1864, and was the first in the Eastern Province to do so. The plant afterwards passed to J.V. O'Brien and from him to the brothers Sheffield¹⁹⁾. In 1883 both Grocott and the Sheffields used steam power²⁰⁾. In 1887 the Sheffields took the whole of their

plant, including the boiler and engine, by train to the rail-head at Kimberley and from there by ox-wagon to Johannesburg where they used it to print the Star²¹⁾. The short-lived S.A. Dominion in Port Elizabeth was printed by steam in 1875 and this inspired Peter Davis of Pietermaritzburg to introduce steam power into Natal where it was used for the first time in March 1876 to print the Witness²²⁾. Three months later the Cape Times received its own steam powered plant²³⁾. In 1884 the Natal Mercury introduced the imprint General Steam Press for their jobbing department, and about 1888 the Wynberg Times adopted the imprint Steam Printing Office²⁴⁾. In 1890 Flavell, Brown & Co, printers of the Witwatersrand Mining and Metallurgical Review used steam powered plant in Pretoria and in the later 'nineties P. Davis & Sons of the Natal Advertiser used steampower at their works, corner of West and Saville Streets, Durban²⁵⁾. In 1895 the Cape Argus changed from a single steam engine to two smaller and more flexible gas engines installed at a cost of £500²⁶⁾. The establishment of Ernest Notcutt's S.A. Electric Printing & Publishing Co at Cape Town in 1898 and of Platt & Wilson's Electric Press at Durban in 1901 ushered in the age of electric power²⁷⁾. In 1900 the plant of the Bloemfontein Express was powered by a gas engine and in 1902 the Johannesburg Star, in the course of a rebuilding programme, installed individual electric motors²⁸⁾. About 1904 the Diamond Fields Advertiser at Kimberley installed an electrical generating set²⁹⁾ and the Paris Evangelical Mission Press at Morija imported an oil engine³⁰⁾ indicating that progressive printers in smaller towns and even in country districts participated in the use of the new power driven machines.

Stereotyping was developed by William Ged (1690-1759) of Edinburgh but the jealousy of Scots printers wrecked the invention. It was revived by Andrew Wilson of London and the first successful use of stereotype plates was for printing an Oxford edition of the Bible at the Clarendon Press in 1805. The process became widely and effectively used from about 1850 when the Dellagana Brothers equipped a foundry for The Times of London³¹⁾. The first notable use of stereotype plates in South Africa was by Saul Solomon to produce an issue of Cape Triangular postage stamps in an emergency

for the Colonial Post Office in 1861. Charles J. Roberts made original engravings on steel from which the printers made sixty-four stereotype plates of each of the two values, one penny and four pence. These were mounted type high on wood and the stamps printed by typography becoming known to generations of philatelists as the wood blocks to distinguish them from the printings made in London from engraved steel plates. The original stereotypes, now defaced, are displayed at the South African Cultural History Museum in Cape Town³²⁾. The widespread use of stereotyping in South Africa began later with the introduction of curved plates for use on rotary presses. The modern use of stereotype plates centres around the advertising agencies who commission complete stereotypes of their clients' advertisements from trade typesetters for use in newspaper offices. This is largely a twentieth century development much frowned upon by newspaper compositors at the time it was introduced but now accepted as normal practice.

The development of commercial lithography followed from the discovery of the transfer process about 1830 by which one master drawing could be used to produce any desired number of images on the stone. The process was first used for the production of match box labels. The steam driven lithographic press was invented by M. Euges in France about 1850. The patents were sold to Hughes & Kimber, a British firm of engineers who developed them in Europe in the 'fifties and introduced power lithography into the United States about 1866. In London there were seven hundred lithographers by 1854 and in the United States the numbers rose from about thirty in 1850 to more than seven hundred in 1887³³⁾. Within a few years of 1854 Saul Solomon was sufficiently sure of himself to attempt quite ambitious productions. In 1860 he printed The Progress of Prince Alfred through South Africa and "pulled out all the stops of his trade in honour of the special occasion". Some illustrations were lithographed in a second colour, others separately printed and mounted within a border³⁴⁾. Several examples of early banknotes lithographed by Solomon at this period may be seen in the Africana Museum at the Johannesburg Public Library. In 1868 he lithographed Bird's eye view of Table Bay after Bowler for his 1869 Almanac and

at the first South African Exhibition at Cape Town in 1877 he exhibited amongst other examples of his skill a lithographed map of the King William's Town district 9 feet by 5 feet³⁵⁾.

In the 'fifties Solomon was by any standard of comparison the largest and most influential printer in the Colony but van de Sandt de Villiers & Co and G.J. Pike continued their work and a number of new names appeared in Cape Town: W.F. Mathew in St. George's Street, J.H. Hofmeijr in Hout Street, and M. Schonegevel in Shortmarket Street, who about 1853 began printing mission literature in Dutch³⁶⁾. Charles Cowen entered the country in 1853 and went to work for John Fairbairn afterwards going into partnership with Charles Bartholomew; it was said of him that he did much to encourage lithography³⁷⁾. In the next decade William Foster & Co were prominent in the trade³⁸⁾. The Cape Argus in 1858 noted eight contemporaries and six printing offices in Cape Town and reported that about one hundred persons were permanently employed in the industry, about sixty of them printers, twenty editorial and reporting staff and the others clerks, bookkeepers and collectors³⁹⁾. The growing number of publishers both stimulated the demand for print and indicate the growing literary taste of the Cape population. A.S. Robertson and J.H. Collard continued in business, Collard having married the daughter of the redoubtable Dr. J.C. Adamson, editor of the South African Quarterly Journal and contributor to a number of periodicals; Layton Sammons, the former publisher of the African Journal, was in Plein Street from 1852; N.H. Marais at 133 Long Street from 1855, specialised in Dutch literature and W. Brittain was at 44 St. George's Street from about 1857. The Hollander, Jan Carel Juta, whose family produced a number of literary personalities, set up at the corner of Wale and Burg Streets and gave his name to a well known publishing house⁴⁰⁾.

In the decade 1850-1859 no less than eleven new papers started in Cape Town. Altogether between 1850 and 1900 more than forty papers courted the reading public of which not more than half-a-dozen survived into the twentieth century and only two, the Cape Argus and the Cape Times, remain today⁴¹⁾.

In 1850 a number of Cape merchants withdrew their support from Fairbairn over the convict question and formed a syndicate to launch

the Cape Monitor, managed by William Ghislin, printed by van de Sandt de Villiers, and edited by James Long Fitzpatrick, a brilliant but erratic young journalist who committed suicide a year later⁴²⁾.

In 1852 Solomon who printed the Advertiser and the Mail and must have been well aware of their dwindling support, launched his own Cape Mercantile Advertiser and quickly made it the most lively journal in town notable for the excellence of its news reports from London. The following year Fairbairn's Advertiser and Buchanan's Mail merged and the printing contract passed from Solomon to Pike. In 1860 the combined paper was renamed South African Advertiser & Mail⁴³⁾.

In 1854 Richard William Murray, a journalist on his way to the Australian goldfields, was shipwrecked at the Cape and cut short his journey to become editor of the Cape Monitor. When Murray left the Monitor to join forces with Bryan Henry Darnell the Monitor passed into the hands of Charles Bartholomew and Charles Cowen.

Darnell was born in Darlington in 1819 and served as a railway engineer under Stephenson before emigrating to South Africa where he joined the Cape Mounted Rifles for service in the Kafir War of 1853. After the war he turned to politics and needing a mouthpiece he joined forces with Murray in approaching Solomon who agreed to print their paper, the Cape Argus, which was launched from 63 Longmarket Street on Saturday 3 January 1857. In 1859 Darnell left the partnership and Murray became sole proprietor but found the financial strain too heavy and ceded a half share to Solomon. Solomon, shrewdly sensing that the Argus was likely to fall into his lap, closed the Mercantile Advertiser in December 1862. The following year Murray resigned prior to moving to Grahamstown and Solomon became sole proprietor⁴⁴⁾.

New Dutch language papers also appeared in the 'fifties and 'sixties. In 1856 B.J. van de Sandt de Villiers restarted Het Volksblad engaging his nephew C.C. de Villiers and Jan F. Celliers who had married de Villiers' sister. Celliers edited Het Volksblad from 1863 until he left for Pretoria in 1872⁴⁵⁾. In 1857 Elpis, a theological quarterly appeared, edited by Dr. N. Beets and others. De Kerkbode, Het Volksblad, and Elpis were supported by a substantial body of the Dutch speaking population who were no longer con-

tent with the Bible and a local newspaper⁴⁶⁾. There were other promising indications that the Dutch speaking population was looking for indigenous literature to supplement the importation of books from Holland. In 1853 Dr. John Murray and Prof. N.J. Hofmeyr founded the Zuid-Afrikaansche Christelijke Boeken-vereeniging to encourage the publication of literature suitable for rural readers: the illustrated Kinderbijbel, a free translation of the English work Line upon line, sold three thousand copies within six months of publication in 1856 and in 1859 H.N. Marais published a fourth edition⁴⁷⁾. The Dutch Reformed Church at this time was divided between liberal and conservative theological elements and about 1861 an attempt was made to launch De Volksvriend to propagate the conservative view against De Zuid-Afrikaan which was considered liberal. After the Rev. D.J.H. Ruÿtenbeek and William R. Thompson had each occupied the editor's chair for a few months without success J.H. (Onze Jan) Hofmeyr was appointed editor. Born in 1845 and educated at S.A.C.S. he took very early to journalism and at seventeen he was possibly the youngest South African ever to edit a serious journal⁴⁸⁾.

In 1866 the English language Cape Standard was launched under the editorship of W. Foster M.L.A. as a conservative and staunch supporter of the Anglican Church and as a counter to the liberal non-conformist tone adopted by the Cape Argus under Solomon. Foster traded as Wm. Foster & Co at 55 St. George's Street from which address he edited and printed three volumes of The South African Magazine 1867-1869⁴⁹⁾. Whilst Murray was in Grahamstown the ownership of the Advertiser & Mail passed to John Noble, brother of Professor Roderick Noble of the Cape Argus and the Cape Monthly Magazine. Murray returned to Cape Town and took over the Advertiser & Mail in 1868 when John Noble was appointed Clerk to the House of Assembly. Shortly afterwards he took over Foster's Cape Standard and combined the two under the title Cape Standard & Mail which he then handed over to his son, R.W. Murray, Junr. before leaving Cape Town for the newly discovered diamond diggings⁵⁰⁾. In 1875 Wm. Foster & Co again entered the newspaper field with the Cape Town Daily News⁵¹⁾.

In December 1862 Solomon moved from Longmarket Street to 49-50 St. George's Street which is still the address of the Cape Argus.

Whilst in England a few months later he met a young Baptist Minister, the Rev. Thomas Ekins Fuller, who had a gift for writing and had been advised to seek a warmer climate on account of his wife's health. Saul Solomon was so impressed with some of Fuller's articles that he offered him the editorship of the Argus which Fuller accepted, taking up his post in 1864. His forceful arguments in favour of higher education caused the Government to appoint a Commission whose recommendations led to the establishment of the University of the Cape of Good Hope in 1873 but his most important contribution was the advocacy of responsible Government which came to the Cape in 1872. His wife's health did not improve and she died in 1872. In 1873 Fuller returned to London to take up the post of the Cape's emigration representative but two years later he returned to the Cape as general manager of the Union Steamship Company⁵²⁾.

Fuller's successor at the Argus was Prof. Roderick Noble of the South African College who also edited the Cape Monthly Magazine which flourished with occasional breaks from 1857 to 1881 and was the first South African literary publication "worthy of comparison with any in the English speaking world". Contributors included Dr. John Shaw, Dr. W.H.I. Bleek the philologist, and Dr. F.W. Kolbe, a famous missionary to Damaraland and student of Bantu languages⁵³⁾.

Meanwhile Solomon had not neglected the commercial side of his business: an embossing press and numbering machine had been installed, the latter being required for railway tickets; apprentices were engaged to learn engraving and lithography; heavier and faster printing machinery was imported for newspaper work and copper plate engraving was undertaken. The growing sophistication of local business is suggested by Solomon's offer to print promissory notes, share certificates and banknotes. A little later he installed a double-royal and quad-royal Wharfedale cylinder which must have had a very considerable capacity for sheet work, he was also a pioneer in the use of treadle operated croppers for small jobbing. At peak he employed over 300 persons but the regular payroll in the 'seventies was about half that number⁵⁴⁾.

Frederick York St. Leger arrived in South Africa as a missionary in 1856 and was ordained at St. Saviour's, Claremont in 1857. From

1858 to 1862 he was headmaster of St. Andrew's College in Grahams-town at a time when the press there was particularly alive and it is scarcely possible that a man of his temperament would have remained unaffected by this literary ferment. In 1872 he resigned from the church to go to the diamond diggings and in 1875 he returned to Cape Town to the staff of Foster's Cape Town Daily News from which he resigned on being asked to write a leader on the Native Question in terms with which he disagreed. He then entered into partnership with R.W. Murray Junior to start the Cape Times and Daily Advertiser which first appeared on 27 March 1876. Four months later the title was shortened to Cape Times. The Murray-St. Leger partnership lasted fruitfully for nearly twenty years until Murray's death and St. Leger's retirement in 1895. In 1898 the ownership was vested in a registered company, Cape Times Ltd, the first board of directors being E.R. Syfret, founder and chairman of Syfret's Trust, F.Y. St. Leger, and T.E. (soon to be Sir Thomas) Fuller, the former editor of the Argus.

When Murray and St. Leger started the Cape Times they had no press of their own and the first 86 issues were printed for them by hand at Thomas Delahunt's Colonial Printing Office at 7 Castle Street. Their own first press was a power-driven Payne two-feeder flat-bed attended by two men and capable of 2000 copies an hour. It was so far in advance of its time that it served the whole requirements of the paper for twenty-one years. Cape Times also took on general jobbing work and this grew in course of time until it was considered wise to divide the newspaper from the jobbing department, the former remaining in St. George's Street and the jobbing being carried on in Keerom Street⁵⁵).

In 1875 McLoughlin succeeded Noble as editor of the Argus and the same year Francis Joseph Dormer arrived in South Africa at the age of 21 on the same boat as Cecil John Rhodes, who was then 22. Dormer came out as a teacher but soon left Cape Town for municipal service in Port Elizabeth: from there he went for a short time to the Queenstown Representative, his first taste of newspaper life. In 1877 he went soldiering and in 1879 returned to Queenstown, married, and rejoined the Representative. Later that year he went as

newspaper correspondent to the Zulu War jointly sponsored by the Representative and the Argus. As a result of his lively reports Solomon offered him the post of sub-editor of the Argus and shortly afterward he succeeded McLoughlin as editor. In 1880 the death by drowning of his five-year-old daughter greatly affected Solomon and Dormer took more responsibility for the Argus whilst Solomon's nephews, Charles and Henry, ran the printing business. In July 1881 the Argus was transferred from Solomon to Dormer who was discreetly backed by Rhodes acting through a nominee⁵⁶⁾. About this time William Attwell Richards, a relation of Robert Godlonton, founded the firm of W.A. Richards & Sons and in 1881 succeeded in taking the Government contract from Solomon⁵⁷⁾. By September 1885 Saul Solomon & Co had liabilities of £45,000 of which £23,000 were owed to Solomon himself and in 1886 the imprint Trustees, Estate of Saul Solomon told of the end of an era. G.W. Steytler of the Colonial Orphan Chamber & Trust Co was appointed liquidator and the firm was wound up⁵⁸⁾. This was something more than the end of an old firm; it marked both an end and a new beginning. With the exception of van de Sandt de Villiers & Co which had in any case been reorganised under new management in 1879, there was now no firm left from the classic period of Cape Printing. In the next twenty years a whole crop of new firms started; the Argus Printing & Publishing Co of Cape Town Limited; Townshend, Taylor & Snashall; Dennis Edwards & Co; F.H. Clarke & Co; South African Electric Printing & Publishing Co; Whitehead, Morris & Co; Rustica Press and others. Amongst the staffs of these firms there were the young men, both employers and employees, who were to form the first generation of members of the first negotiating bodies, including three future chairmen of the National Industrial Council, men such as Harry Sampson, Robert Allister, Ernest Notcutt, Alfred Godbold, Walter Townshend, Cornelius Schultz, Robert Muir and others.

When Solomon's business was liquidated Francis Dormer and Duncan McDonald, a partner in the firm of McDonald & Syfret, Accountants, formed the Argus Printing & Publishing Co of Cape Town Ltd to acquire the assets from the liquidator. Unknown to his colleagues McDonald was an inveterate gambler who was heavily in debt. This

was brought to light when Hubertus Elffers, who later founded the Rustica Press, secured judgment for repayment of a loan. McDonald did not resign and was voted out of office in 1887 leaving Dormer in control⁵⁹⁾.

On the liquidation of Saul Solomon & Co the nephew Charles Solomon joined Cape Times where he became manager of the printing works, a post he held for several years⁶⁰⁾.

The art of William Syme (1824-1886) engraver and the first Cape born professional photographer, touched lightly on the printing industry. Some of his copperplate etchings drew favourable comment when exhibited at Cape Town in 1852 and two engraved letterheads of his are known. In 1964 a number of his original copper plates, dating apparently from about 1858, were discovered in the possession of his descendants⁶¹⁾.

Adolph Hirsch, regarded as the first professional photo engraver supplying blocks to the printing industry, started in Cape Town in 1882⁶²⁾.

The Townshend family became well known in the Northern Cape as well as in Cape Town. A. Walter Townshend, the first of the family to reach South Africa, served his apprenticeship as a compositor with Unwin Brothers in London and came to South Africa in 1880 on contract to the Argus. In 1883 he was already a prominent member of the first known Cape Typographical Association. He persuaded his father and a younger brother to join him in South Africa where the family engaged in several ventures. In the early 'eighties Townshend & Son traded in Cape Town as the Progress office and published a family weekly of that name. About 1888 Townshend & Son opened an office in Vryburg, Northern Cape, from which they published the Bechuanaland News. In 1899 they occupied premises in Market Square, Mafeking where they produced Baden-Powell's Mafeking Siege notes and printed the Mafeking Mail which was managed and edited by G.N.H. Whales. Meanwhile Walter Townshend was instrumental in setting up Townshend, Taylor & Snashall in Cape Town where amongst much else the firm printed Eerw. Erasmus Smit's diary, the most important source book for the Great Trek, more than ever valuable since the original manuscript has been lost. Walter

Townshend was first Chairman of the Associated Master Printers of the Cape 1911-1916 and served a second term in 1922-1923. Townshend's fifty years as a printer in Cape Town was celebrated at a luncheon given by the Cape Chamber of Printing on 6 January 1930. Mr Snashall emigrated to Australia and when Walter Townshend died in 1935 Mr Taylor, the sole remaining partner, retired and sold out to the Cape Times. The Columbian press used at Mafeking to print the Mail was later withdrawn to Cape Town: it passed with the rest of the plant to the Cape Times who presented it to the University of Cape Town for use at the Michaelis School of Art. From U.C.T. it passed to its present resting place in the S.A. Museum. A specimen of the Mafeking Mail printed on this machine is in the Africana Museum at the Johannesburg Public Library and several of the Mafeking Siege currency notes are displayed at the S.A. Cultural History Museum at Cape Town⁶³).

Dennis Edwards & Co printed and published the Cape Register from 1890 to 1903 from an office on the site now occupied by Guardian Savings Bank at 24 Castle Street. Henry Dennis-Edwards' Guide to the Goldfields is now a piece of Africana, the firm also started a series of Trade Directories later taken over and continued by Cape Times. They were also one of the earliest firms to introduce process-engraving importing on contract about 1890 Richard McManus who was an engraver from the staff of Freeman's Journal in Dublin. The firm of Dennis Edwards & Co is carried on by their successors Edson-Clyde Press (Pty) Ltd⁶⁴).

The Cape Argus set up their own process engraving department in September 1897⁶⁵), and Richard McManus left Dennis-Edwards on the expiration of his contract to open a process engraving department for Cape Times. From there he left to start his own business in Loop Street about 1898 and in 1901 or 1902 removed to Bree Street where he traded as McManus Brothers, the name by which the firm is still known. The firm later moved from Bree Street to a property at 52 Loop Street, formerly the home of the Cartwright family, the site being incorporated in the present premises. Richard was joined about 1906 by his brother Peter McManus and about 1914 by another brother John. John returned to Dublin about 1919 to start a process

engraving business which still exists. The firm was taken over by Dr. C.R. Louw of Sanlam in 1918⁶⁶⁾.

F.H. Clarke & Co were in existence in 1893 but little is known of them beyond their involvement in a city-wide strike of 1897. In 1893 they imported on contract R.V. Thomas who left them in 1895 to go as a reporter on J.B. Robinson's S.A. Telegraph. On the sudden death of that paper he became overseer at the Cape Times jobbing department⁶⁷⁾.

In 1891 Alfred B. Godbold arrived in South Africa and joined Garlicks in Cape Town. Three years later he joined Mr Morris in partnership to found Whitehead, Morris & Co, printers, stationers and account book manufacturers in association with a London House of the same name. In 1896 Mr Morris returned to London leaving Mr Godbold in sole control and in 1903 the firm was floated as a limited company with Godbold as Managing Director. Whitehead Morris "made the fatal mistake of putting all their eggs in one basket. They undertook all the printing for the African Banking Corporation and this became a major part of their turnover. When the Standard Bank took over the African Banking Corporation all this business almost disappeared overnight". The firm was taken over in 1918 by Hortors Ltd, Mr Godbold becoming director responsible for their Cape Town business. Godbold was second chairman of the National Industrial Council and an original member of the National Printing Apprenticeship Committee. Hortors Cape interests were recently taken over by Cape & Transvaal Printers & Publishers Ltd in an exchange which left Hortors Transvaal with a stake in Cape Times⁶⁸⁾. The Model Printing Works established in Cape Town in 1895 is unique in that Mr B.J. Godfrey, the founder and proprietor, was a life-long deafmute but despite his disability he was a successful printer and for many years a member of the Cape Chamber of Printing. When he died in 1932 the business was carried on by his son⁶⁹⁾.

The mining magnate J.B. Robinson caused a stir in 1895 by crashing into the newspaper world with the S.A. Telegraph. Harry Sampson, then at the beginning of a distinguished career which included the Presidency of the S.A.T.U., the Joint Secretaryship of the 1919

Conference, and a Cabinet appointment as Minister of Posts and Telegraphs, was Father of the Telegraph Chapel. The paper lasted little more than a year and closed in September 1896, the plant being taken over by the Cape Times⁷⁰).

In 1898 Ernest T. Notcutt, a compositor at Richards, set up the South African Electric Printing & Publishing Co in Loop Street. Notcutt became prominent in the affairs of the A.M.P. of the Cape and of the Council serving as Chairman of the A.M.P. and of the Local Joint Board of 1922. The firm is said to have been the first in South Africa to print export fruit wrappers⁷¹).

The Anglo-Boer war exposed the industry to a period of varying fortunes from a temporary boom to several following years of depression: some new names appeared including Ross & Lewis, afterwards Ross & Cowen, and the Rustica Press. Ross & Lewis were at corner of Loop and Church Streets and printed the S.A. Review edited by Alfred Palmer⁷²). Mr A.J.M. Ross was prominent in 1905-1906 as an employer spokesman in evidence before a Tariff Commission whose recommendations were important for the future of the industry⁷³). Rustica Press, now associated with Cape & Transvaal Printers, was established in a Wynberg cottage named Rustica in 1902 by Hubertus Elffers (1858-1931). He advocated a simplified form of Dutch rather than Afrikaans and wrote several grammars, readers and dictionaries which were widely used in education. A volume of verse, Bloemen in het Kaapland geplukt, was printed by Saul Solomon in 1885. Other early work was printed overseas until in 1902 Elffers started Rustica Press. He excited considerable comment by employing women compositors. One of his major works was a dictionary of 1350 pages published in 1908 entirely hand set with two columns per page of six point type⁷⁴).

In 1902 Cape Times Ltd secured the Government printing contract for a period of five years and without this basic work load W.A. Richards & Sons went into decline becoming insolvent in 1904, Cape Times buying their effects in a forced sale⁷⁵).

The Anglo-Boer war also inspired the formation of the South African Newspaper Co Ltd with Fredk. James Centilivres as Managing Director to publish S.A. News which appeared under the editorship of Albert Cartwright in 1899 to provide vocal English-speaking support

for the Boer Republics. Cartwright was sentenced to a year's hard labour which he served at Tokai for allowing in his capacity of responsible editor, the publication of a letter reflecting on General French. The Rev. F.C. Kolbe wrote Cartwright's editorials so that as far as possible his wife and family would not suffer want during his confinement. Shortly afterwards the paper was suppressed for the duration of hostilities, but reopened after the war under the joint editorship of Cartwright and the Hon. H.E.S. Freemantle, sometime professor of Philosophy at the South African College, educated at Eton and Oxford, and Vice-Chairman to Dr. Malan at the 1915 Middelburg Conference of the Cape National Party. S.A. News became the vehicle for Daniel Boonzaier's penetrating political cartoons⁷⁶⁾.

The most remarkable record of publication spanning the half-century 1850 to 1900 is that of De Zuid-Afrikaan and its associated papers. Already twenty years old in 1850 it continued a lively existence into the twentieth century. Printed and published from the Office of De Zuid-Afrikaan at 92 Wale Street the paper continued its independent existence until 1890. In 1871 J.H. Hofmeyr merged De Volksvriend with De Zuid-Afrikaan and edited the combined paper for ten years before handing over to Dr. J.W.G. van Oordt, the greatest South African Classicist of the century. The printers at this period were Hofmeyr & Regter at 11 Castle Street. B.J. van de Sandt died in 1850 and his successor B.G. van de Sandt in 1878. A year later the firm of B.J. van de Sandt de Villiers & Co was taken over by A.B. Hofmeyr and Fredk. James Centlivres who was born in Graaff-Reinet of English-speaking parents. They incorporated the business as a limited company with Centlivres as Managing Director and Cornelius P. Schultz as Accountant and later Secretary. In 1892 the firm launched Ons Land which ran independently until 1894 when De Zuid-Afrikaan was acquired and a merger effected under the title De Zuid-Afrikaan met Ons Land, more often known by the short title Ons Land. In 1895, shortly after the merger, Advocate Francois Stephanus Malan, a future Minister of Mines and Industries, was appointed editor. In 1900 he shared with Cartwright and with de Jong of Worcester the unfor-

tunate experience of a year's sentence at Tokai over the publication of the same wartime letter. Ons Land continued to be printed and published by van de Sandt de Villiers & Co Ltd until both firm and paper ceased in 1930⁷⁷⁾.

PRINTING IN THE EASTERN PROVINCE
AND CAPE COUNTRY DISTRICTS

1850 - 1900

Grahamstown was offered a number of new papers in 1850-1851. The Intellectual Reflector and The British Settler died young but the Cape Colonist edited by Dr. (Later Bishop) Ricards, presenting a Roman Catholic viewpoint, survived until 1859. In 1853 Colin Campbell, trading as C.T. Campbell & Co, launched the Anglo-African which is the lineal ancestor of the Johannesburg Star¹⁾. 1853 also saw the grant of representative government to Cape Colony and "Moral Bob" Godlonton²⁾ went with his fellow 1820 Settler William Cock of the Kowie on election to the Legislative Assembly. Five years later at the age of sixty-four Godlonton returned to England with the intention of retiring but found the call of Africa too strong and in 1861 returned to continue his political and public work until shortly before his death at the age of ninety in 1884. The 'fifties and 'sixties were years of vigorous activity for Godlonton, White & Co and their successors. In the 'fifties the firm started or acquired The Friend in Bloemfontein, the King William's Town Gazette, the Eastern Province Herald and the Queenstown Free Press; in the 'sixties they acquired the Natal Courier in Pietermaritzburg and in the 'seventies they started the Diamond News at the diggings; in the 'eighties W.A. Richards, a nephew of old Godlonton, invaded Cape Town to challenge the long established supremacy of Saul Solomon.

About 1864 Godlonton took a younger relative Richards into partnership and traded as Godlonton & Richards³⁾. In 1866 Godlonton resigned and the Journal passed into the hands of the Richards family. The proprietors invited to the editor's chair the Rev. Thomas Burt Glanville, a Devonian by birth who came to South Africa after serving as a Wesleyan Missionary in India⁴⁾. His son Ernest Glanville (1856-1928), born in Wynberg, was later associated with R.W. Murray

on the diamond diggings and afterward went to Rhodesia before returning to Cape Town to become editor of the Argus⁵⁾. The elder Glanville was admitted a partner and from 1866 the firm became Richards, Glanville & Co. About this time George Brooke Attwell (1841-1923) who was married to Robert Godlonton's granddaughter, joined the firm as accountant but left Grahamstown in 1865 to become managing editor of the King William's Town Gazette⁶⁾. T.B. Glanville became a member of the Legislative Assembly first for Victoria East and later for Grahamstown but returned to England in 1873 to succeed T.E. Fuller as the Colony's immigration commissioner in London. He died at Woking, Surrey, on 1 May 1878.

John Webber, a fourteen year old youth from South Devon, was apprenticed to the Cape Frontier Times about 1856. On coming out of his time in 1862 he went into partnership with James Williams to take over the paper which they ran until it closed in 1864⁷⁾. In that year the Assembly convened in Grahamstown and Webber joined the staff of the Journal to help with the load of parliamentary work. The same year R.W. Murray arrived in Grahamstown having resigned the Cape Argus to Saul Solomon on receiving a hint from Sir Philip Wodehouse that the Assembly was to convene in the Eastern Province. The Murrays, father and son, set up in business in the High Street as R.W. Murray & Son and launched the Great Eastern, being the first paper outside Cape Town to be printed by steam power and employing in the person of Mr Linwood one of the first short-hand newspaper reporters⁸⁾. The Great Eastern also brought to South Africa on contract at the age of twenty-five Thomas Henry Grocott who had served an apprenticeship on the Liverpool Mail⁹⁾. The Great Eastern brought an air of almost unseemly haste to the city of Saints, being printed in the very early hours in time to catch the daily post cart to Port Elizabeth where it appeared on breakfast tables in competition with locally printed papers.

The parliamentary crisis passed and with it the Great Eastern. The Murrays returned to Cape Town where the son remained but the elder Murray soon went to Bloemfontein and from there to the diamond diggings leaving the plant in Grahamstown to be taken over by J.V. O'Brien, an Irishman, who used it in 1869 to start the Grahamstown Advertiser. The following year the Advertiser absorbed

Campbell's Anglo-African. O'Brien employed and eventually took into partnership the brothers Thomas and George Sheffield who came from Kidderminster and arrived in South Africa in 1860. Thomas, a journeyman printer, assisted in the works: George, who had tried farming but preferred town life, ran the stationery shop. O'Brien left the partnership in 1871 to start the Frontier Guardian in Dordrecht and the paper, renamed Eastern Star, passed with the business into the hands of the brothers Sheffield. Their office was at 85 High Street and in accordance with the spirit of the times they proudly called themselves T. & G. Sheffield Steam Printers (1883)¹⁰⁾. For a time the paper received financial support from Dr. F.G. Williams, Dean of Grahamstown, who wanted a mouthpiece through which to voice support for controversial Bishop Colenso and the paper although circulating only a few hundred copies per issue attained an influence out of all proportion to its sales. The death of the dean in 1885 coupled with a trade depression induced the Sheffields to look elsewhere for trade and a visit paid by Thomas to Johannesburg in July 1887 led the brothers to decide on a move to the Transvaal. To facilitate the move they split the business and sold the stationery side to John Webber who had returned to Grahamstown after a spell on the E.P. Herald at Port Elizabeth¹¹⁾. The newspaper plant, including the engine and boiler, was taken by train to the railhead at Kimberley and from there in three wagons to Johannesburg where the Eastern Star resumed publication changing its title on 1 April 1889 to The Star by which title it is still known.

The closure of the Great Eastern left Grocott without employment but he established a modest printing and stationery business and launched a little newspaper which was no more than a single sheet of demi-quarto given away free¹²⁾. From this developed an eight-page tri-weekly paper which, as Grocott's Penny Mail was the first South African penny paper, Grocott himself being known as the "father of penny journalism". Grocott, whose business was in Church Square, joined the "moderns" in 1883 trading as I.H. Grocott, Steam Machine Printer. Grocott was sometime treasurer of the Newspaper Press Union and served a long period as President. His business extended in several directions taking Mr Sherry into partnership in the 'nineties and reaching a highwater mark in the

first decade of the twentieth century with branches in East London and Johannesburg and an office at Creed Lane in London, England. In 1919 Grocott's Mail absorbed the Journal and the combined paper which still flourishes has the longest record of publication of any South African newspaper. Mr Sherry, son of the original partner, still carries on at an advanced age.

To return to the earlier history of the Journal the paper acquired a new editor in 1877 in the person of Josiah Slater and the firm became Richards, Slater & Co¹³⁾. Before entering on journalism Josiah Slater, who came to South Africa in 1869, held educational appointments at Lesseyton Institution near Queenstown, a Wesleyan training centre for Bantu ministers, and as co-rector of Grey College, Bloemfontein. He subsequently became a Justice of the Peace and a member of the Legislative Assembly. It was in his time at the Journal that Richards, Slater & Co in 1882, in association with Thomas Sheffield of the Eastern Star convened the Conference in Grahamstown out of which the Newspaper Press Union was born. These were creative years in Grahamstown, the Eastern District Law Society and the South African Medical Council being both founded there in 1883. Josiah Slater eventually became sole proprietor of the Journal and traded as the Journal Printing & Publishing Works until the paper ceased its independent existence in 1919.

The industrial and commercial movements of the twentieth century passed by Grahamstown and in 1904 there were only three printing offices in town with a total complement of seventeen journeymen.

* * *

Printing began in Port Elizabeth with the appearance of Philip and Paterson's Eastern Province Herald on 2 April 1845. John Ross Philip (1816-1898) was the second son and fourth child of Dr. John Philip and was named after his mother, born Jane Ross. He was three years old when the family reached South Africa¹⁴⁾. John Paterson (1822-1880), younger, more dynamic and more ambitious, was born near Aberdeen, Scotland. He graduated M.A. at eighteen: at nineteen he opened the Port Elizabeth senior free school under the Rose Innes scheme: at twenty-three he partnered Philip in launching the Herald: at twenty-five he had made a respectable fortune out of

shrewd speculation in land and left teaching for full time journalistic and political work. Towards the end of 1849 Paterson brought out his own printing plant which he set up on Constitution Hill and in 1850 the partnership ended, Philip launching the Port Elizabeth Mercury which ran until 1859 and Paterson starting the Eastern Province News which assumed the old title of E.P. Herald in 1854¹⁵⁾.

In 1848 Henry Dunlop Dyke started the P.E. Telegraph¹⁶⁾ and in 1849 there appeared the short-lived Afrikaansche Voorstander which closed in 1850 but established a claim to be the second Dutch language paper in the Eastern Province¹⁷⁾.

The year in which the E.P. Herald was launched by Philip and Paterson, George Impey arrived in South Africa at the age of nineteen from Whitby, Yorkshire. He taught school at Salem and at Mount Coke and in 1850 became bookkeeper at Parker's Store in Grahamstown. In the war of 1851-1853 he served with William Richards of the Graham's Town Journal in the Town Guard. He later joined Cawood Brother of Burghersdorp and became associated with the Burghersdorp Gazette. William Richards persuaded Impey to join with James Richards in purchasing the E.P. Herald which they took over from Paterson in October 1857 trading as Richards, Impey & Co with Impey as editor. Impey, "if not so expert politically was a far better journalist". He believed in seeing for himself and attended the Port Elizabeth wool market regularly for thirty years becoming a fine judge of wool and of farming in general. He had a passion for statistics and a great gift for presenting business news in readable form. Paterson, although relinquishing ownership, continued to contribute articles¹⁸⁾.

Dyke died in 1860 and the plant of P.E. Telegraph was purchased by Richards, Impey & Co who resold it to their manager James Kemsley¹⁹⁾. Kemsley was born at Gillingham, Kent, in 1838 and was brought to South Africa as a child serving an apprenticeship with Richards, Impey & Co after schooling in Port Elizabeth²⁰⁾. His son James B. Kemsley was born in Port Elizabeth in 1865 and joined his father on the Telegraph in 1882²¹⁾. In 1898 the paper became a daily under the title Cape Daily Telegraph and in 1900 the elder Kemsley retired leaving the management to his son. A disastrous fire in December 1908 led to the closing of the business²²⁾.

Kemsley Snr. was third president of the Newspaper Press Union 1887-1889²³⁾.

George Impey became sole proprietor of the E.P. Herald and in 1880 traded as Impey & Co publishing in addition to the Herald the South African Magazine & Review to which F.W. Reitz, subsequently State President of the D.F.S., contributed. Impey did not seek controversy but was not afraid of it and engaged in a long-term battle of words with McLoughlin, his contemporary on the Cape Argus. In 1881 E.H. (later Sir Edgar) Walton joined Impey, trading as Impey, Walton & Co. George Impey died in harness in 1890 and the firm became E.H. Walton & Co. George Impey served as the first president of the Newspaper Press Union on its formation in 1882²⁴⁾.

The Port Elizabeth Advertiser was launched in or about 1867 and Charles Cox of the Advertiser office in Main Street published in 1889 an account of the matches played in South Africa by Major Wharton's "pioneer team of English cricketers to visit these shores". The Advertiser changed its name to Daily Advertiser in 1948.

The Advertiser and the E.P. Herald were incorporated as Eastern Province Newspapers, now associated with South African Associated Newspapers Ltd whilst the general printing activities linked with the publishers of the Herald continued to operate as E.H. Walton & Co Ltd²⁵⁾.

A very short-lived paper, but the first to use steam power in Port Elizabeth was the South African Dominion which opened in 1875 and closed a year later. The use of steam by the Dominion inspired Peter Davis to instal steam power at the Natal Witness²⁶⁾. Charles Cowen moved from Cape Town to Port Elizabeth in 1875 to become Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce for whom he started the Observer of South African Affairs, but later known as the South African Spectator. Cowen relinquished his position in 1886 to go to Johannesburg where he became a foundation member of the Rand Club. 1894 found him back in Cape Town as a parliamentary reporter and contributor to the Cape Times. His services to the Press over nearly fifty years brought him life membership of the South African Press Association. The paper he founded in Port Elizabeth ran until 1891 after further changes of title, finishing up as The Spectator & Mining Mail²⁷⁾.

As usual at this time all the early newspaper offices undertook jobbing work. Solomon & Co in the Main Street, printers of the Observer, printed the first set of rules for the Eastern Province Typographical Society in 1883. J. Ware, one of the original members of the Society, entered into partnership with Mr Barnard trading as Ware & Barnard. F.W. Sykes who joined Ware & Barnard in 1899 left them to establish Sykes & Gould which about 1930 was re-organised by his son Lt. Col. F. Sykes under the name Sykes Printers (Pty) Ltd²⁸⁾. In the 'nineties and through into the early years of the present century the work of H.C. Gray & Co is attested by a single entry in Mendelssohn and a casual reference in Printers' Saga. E.J.G. (Mick) Lawler, a well known Port Elizabeth personality, served his apprenticeship from 1897 with Grocott & Sherry working on the first linotype installed in Grahamstown. He set up as a master printer in Port Elizabeth, the business still being carried on under the title Lawlers (Pty) Ltd. A list of Trade Union officials for 1897 shows that they were drawn from the following offices which flourished at that time: Brooks & Mitchley, Ware & Barnard, the Looker-On, a paper which ran from 1894 to 1902, the Herald, the Advertiser and the Telegraph²⁹⁾.

* * *

The Wesleyans set up the first printing press at King William's Town under the Rev. John Whittle Appleyard in 1849 and continued at nearby Mount Coke from 1853 to 1876³⁰⁾. In 1850 Appleyard printed and published the fortnightly Isitunywa Sennyanga (The Messenger of the month) which was probably the first regular journal to appear on the Border³¹⁾. The first secular press at King William's Town was set up at the Gazette office in Smith Street on 14 August 1856³²⁾. George Brooke Attwell came from the Graham's Town Journal to act as Managing Editor in 1865 and remained until leaving for the diamond fields in 1871³³⁾. The paper closed in 1874. Books printed at King William's Town during this period include a Compendium of Kaffir laws and customs printed for the Government at the Wesleyan press 1858, a volume entitled British Kaffraria by S.E. Rowles & Co 1863 in Smith Street and a Short history of the native hospital from the Gazette office 1864 which seems to indicate that

two Bantu were then being trained for the medical profession³⁴⁾. Two periodicals in German were printed for the settlers from the German Legion who arrived in 1856 and spread through the Border from Stutterheim to the sea. The weekly Germania printed by Appleyard appeared in 1857-58 but the Deutsche Beobachter first published on 1 June 1858 ceased after four months³⁵⁾. Colonel the Hon. Friedrich X. Schermbrücker (1826-1904) from the German Legion settled on the farm Castle Blaney in King William's Town district in 1857 and amongst many ventures established a proprietary company which on 17 February 1862 first published The Kaffrarian Post with Schermbrücker himself as editor. Financial complications forced him to leave the Border in 1870 and he went to the diamond fields before engaging in further printing ventures in Bloemfontein³⁶⁾. The Commercial Advertiser ran from 1863 to 1866³⁷⁾. The Kaffrarian Watchman first appeared on 1 January 1866 from the office of S.E. Rowles & Co and was edited throughout its life of thirty-four years by H.D. Blewitt who took a leading part in the affairs of the Newspaper Press Union, being president from 1889 to 1902. Blewitt was described in trade union circles as an 'Al Boss': he had a printing business in East London to which he retired when the Watchman closed in 1900³⁸⁾.

In 1871 a 66pp. 8vo. pamphlet appeared entitled South Africa as it is. It was the first work on South Africa by the historian George McCall Theal and he printed it himself on "an old shattered wooden press known on the frontier as Gutenberg's Original" with type condemned years before by a newspaper office³⁹⁾. The Cape Mercury published by Hay Brothers started on 21 June 1875 and as The Mercury is still in progress being now associated with the East London Dispatch group of newspapers⁴⁰⁾. The Guide 1877 and the Cape Colonist 1882 ran for short periods but neither succeeded in establishing itself⁴¹⁾. In 1880 S.E. Rowles & Co undertook the printing of a 35pp 8vo. pamphlet for the Rt. Rev. Henry Callaway, Anglican Bishop of British Kaffraria whose seat was at Umtata. An amusing note on the copy in the Mendelssohn library states that the publication was much delayed as there was no printing press within two hundred miles of Umtata and the printers who undertook

the job had taken no less than nine months to complete it⁴²⁾. King William's Town was the home of Imvo Zabantsundu (Views of the Bantu People), the first vernacular paper to be published by an African for Africans⁴³⁾. In 1875 John Tengo Jabavu (1859-1921) became a teacher at Somerset East and before starting school in the morning spent some time as a printer's devil at the local newspaper office. He started a correspondence with Saul Solomon who encouraged him to write and published a number of his articles in the Cape Argus. In 1881 Dr. James Stewart offered Jabavu the editorship of the Lovedale newspaper Isiqidimi Sama Xhosa. Jabavu's interest in politics led to differences with Dr. Stewart and he resigned as editor to go farming. He had already planned in his mind an independent Bantu paper, for which Advocate Richard Rose Innes of King William's Town and J.W. Weir, a merchant whose speciality was Bantu trade, put up the necessary capital. At twenty-four Jabavu began the first Bantu vernacular newspaper which appeared on 3 November 1884. From 1897 he had as partner in the venture John Knox Bokwe (1855-1922) the first Bantu composer of written music, who had also been on the staff at Lovedale. Bokwe left Imvo to enter the Presbyterian ministry⁴⁴⁾. The paper closed in August 1901 by Government order but restarted in October 1902 and publication was transferred to Johannesburg in 1940.

* * *

Writing of A.L. Wienand who played for a South African XI against Lord Hawke's visiting team in 1896 Printers' Saga says he was employed for thirty years at the East London Dispatch. The date of the note is 1899⁴⁵⁾. Printers' Saga also refers to a tripe supper at Cohen's Restaurant on 10 June 1899 to celebrate the retirement of C.J. Thompson after forty-five years with the Dispatch⁴⁶⁾. These notes accepted without qualification would appear to suggest that the Dispatch was in existence before 1869 and perhaps as early as 1854 but the bibliographies agree that East London's earliest paper, the Dispatch, first appeared on 10 September 1872. Dr. Joseph Denfield, the East London historian, records that it was produced as a four-page tabloid weekly at the premises of J. Dempster on West Bank⁴⁷⁾. It was then owned by Rowles, Hicks & Co, Massey Hicks being the first editor. Thomas W. Goodwin became proprietor and

editor in 1874 and in 1876 Lance, Goodwin & Co became proprietors with W.F. Lance as editor. About this time the Dispatch took over the Frontier Advertiser and the printing works moved to East Bank in 1877. The following year Goodwin broke away from the partnership to start the East London Advertiser which ran until 1888. The Frontier Standard started in January 1890, changed its name to East London Standard in 1891, and survived until the outbreak of war in 1899. East London shared with King William's Town in early attempts to provide vernacular literature for the Bantu providing Izwi laBantu (The Voice of the Bantu) as a weekly from 1901 to 1910⁴⁸⁾. The paper was backed financially by Cecil Rhodes as a counter to Imvo Zabantsundu which was hostile to his policies. Samuel Mqhayi who composed the words of 'Nkosi sekelel 'i-Afrika' was a contributor, then sub-editor and later a member of the editorial board until the paper closed in 1910. He later served for a time with Imvo and then became a Xhosa translator and proof-reader on the staff at Lovedale Press⁴⁹⁾.

Meanwhile the East London Dispatch had survived all competition, but changed hands again in September 1879 when Hebbes & Co became proprietors with Henry Hebbes as editor. The paper later passed into ownership of David Rees who in 1897 invited Will Crosby to become the editor⁵⁰⁾. Crosby issued the Dispatch on 5 January 1899 as the first penny daily produced on the Border and within a few years claimed a circulation larger and more widely distributed than any Colonial paper outside Cape Town. In 1915 the concern became a limited company with Sir Charles Crewe as Chairman and Governing Director. On his death in 1936 ownership became vested in the Crewe Trust. At the time of the Anglo-Boer War there was a fairly rapid influx of printers from the north and of business occasioned by the war which more than offset the losses of men who left for service with the Forces. In 1898 the Trade Union claimed a membership of fifteen men in four shops which, besides Crosby's Dispatch office, were Webb & Son, Blewitt from King William's Town, and Randall. In 1899 the artisan membership rose to 24 and by 1903 exceeded 40. In 1907 the first known advertisement for a lithographer appeared in the local press and in 1908 the Union listed

five "fair" shops in East London⁵¹⁾.

* * *

Between 1850 and 1900 printing spread to more than forty smaller towns in the Cape Platteland, every town at one time or another being offered its own newspaper and a printing service for local needs. This is hardly surprising when a craftsman, who could not expect to earn more than 36/- a week at case or at press, could expect a reasonable living as a master printer on a very small capital which might be recovered with luck in the first year of operations if he could find three hundred subscribers for a newspaper. Alfred Essex of Graaff-Reinet has left such a budget on record prepared by him in 1851 before he himself took the plunge and exchanged the compositor's frame for the management of a country newspaper. He expected to break even in the first year and to recover the whole of his capital expenditure. For income he needed three hundred subscribers at £1 a head, £250 worth of advertisements and £50 worth of jobbing, making a total income of £600. Against that he budgeted for a printing press £100, type and cases £200, paper and ink £100, and wages for two printers for twelve months £200, making a contra expense account of £600. This estimate he explained, "flattering as it looks is quite within the limits of probability", although he was careful to add that success was dependent upon the enjoyment of peace and security⁵²⁾. At the latest count there were thirty nine newspapers circulating in Cape country districts although many of them, through the process of rationalisation, are no longer printed in the towns whose names they bear⁵³⁾. It would be as tedious as it is unnecessary to recount the rise and fall of every country newspaper, but some of them are of more than passing interest and established a claim to permanent record.

Printing began in Cradock in 1850 with the birth and sudden death of the Cradock Despatch which ran from 21 November to 5 December⁵⁴⁾. J.S. Bold & Co's Cradock News appeared for the first time on 5 January 1858⁵⁵⁾. On 4 December 1860 the News carried the first of L.H. Meurant's sparkling Afrikaans dialogues on the subject of autonomy for the Eastern Province under the title Zamenspraak tussen Klaas Waarzegger en Jan Twyfelaar. The second contribution

in this series appeared on 11 December, and so great was the response that three thousand copies of each issue were printed, giving this obscure Cradock paper for one memorable fortnight the biggest circulation of any contemporary paper in South Africa. Bold founded a sister paper Het Cradocksche Nieuwsblad to carry the remaining four of Meurant's dialogues which were widely reprinted in other papers giving them coverage throughout the Colony⁵⁶⁾. Cradock News changed its title to Cradock & Tarkastad Register in 1863 and to Cradock Register in 1870 surviving under that title until it closed down in 1899⁵⁷⁾.

In 1890 Will Crosby who had spent some time on the Reef came to Cradock and in partnership with the Butler Brothers started the Midland News. Crosby himself left for East London in 1898 but the paper he helped to establish still flourishes⁵⁸⁾. Die Afrikaner established in January 1899 also continues to serve Cradock and district in the Afrikaans language medium. Over the years no less than eight newspapers have tried to establish themselves at Cradock but today only one printer remains to meet the needs of the town⁵⁹⁾.

Graaff-Reinet⁶⁰⁾ is particularly fortunate in the historical sense because the family papers of the Essex and Rabone families have been carefully preserved and Mr A. Rabone, grandson of the original William Rabone, is the enthusiastic custodian of all that relates to the history of printing in Graaff-Reinet. Much of this history is of more than ordinary interest as the original Essex and Rabone families learned an early form of shorthand from Sir Isaac Pitman himself. Their correspondence and their diaries were preserved in shorthand and only within the last few years have they been transcribed and published. The early printing by the Government in Graaff-Reinet has already been recorded. The first commercial printing appeared in the form of the Graaff-Reinet Courant published on 30 May 1851 by the proprietor D. Edwards & Co in the Market Square. The paper ceased in 1853. In the meantime, some ten years earlier, there arrived in South Africa a twenty-five-year-old printer named Alfred Essex from London whose first post on arrival in South Africa was as manager to the London Missionary Society's press at Kat River Mission near Fort Beaufort. Essex is

said by an authority on South African Printing to have been possibly one of the best printers in the country⁶¹⁾. He served throughout the War of the Axe and afterward tried farming, but his farm was destroyed in 1851 on the outbreak of the 8th Kaffir War and he returned to his trade as a compositor under John Paterson on the Eastern Province News in Port Elizabeth. He soon left the News and passed his time at carpentry or "grassing"* at the Telegraph or Mercury. In June 1852 he was offered a printing office at Graaff-Reinet and took the two weeks journey by ox-wagon to inspect the plant for himself. On 23 August 1852, two days before the appearance of the Graaff-Reinet Herald, he wrote his father in England to say he had accepted "the responsibility of editor, printer, proprietor and publisher" of the new paper. At the same time he enquired the price of a double crown Columbian press, cases, a matrix for casting leads, and an assortment of types. In the meantime he found a secondhand press available for sale in Cape Town. It was the property of Layton Sammons (Sam Sly) who had used it to print the African Journal which had only recently ceased publication. This press is said to have been an iron Stanhope inscribed "Walker Fecit No 98". In the meantime William H. Rabone who had married Alfred Essex's sister came to South Africa with the intention of joining his brother-in-law. The young married couple were shipwrecked almost within sight of Port Elizabeth and picked up by a boat which carried them to St. Helena. From there they were fortunate in obtaining a ship to Cape Town and arrived to be met by Sammons who was on the point of arranging for his press to be shipped to Graaff-Reinet through Port Elizabeth. The press was shipped in care of Sammons' son, Layton Sammons Jnr., who escorted the new arrivals with the press as far as Port Elizabeth. From there Rabone with his wife Harriett and the two-thousand pound press went by ox-wagon to Graaff-Reinet. Much interest and cer-

* "Grassing", now happily a thing of the past, was the custom of hanging around print shops in the hope of being given casual work.

tain good natured controversy surrounds the origin of this press. In Graaff-Reinet it was known as Old Fairbairn from a supposed but apparently erroneous idea that it had been used at Cape Town by John Fairbairn to print the South African Commercial Advertiser. As far back as 1885 Meurant pointed out that John Fairbairn was editor and publisher but never a printer and that the Advertiser had been printed by George Greig on wooden presses borrowed from the London Missionary Society. Meurant hazarded the opinion that the press might well have been the same which he remembered seeing in the Government Printing Office before he left Cape Town as a youth in 1828. Possibly it was sold in the disposal of 1829 or at some later date when the Government office had no further use for it. W.H. Rabone succeeded Essex as proprietor of the Herald and in that capacity attended the Grahamstown Press Congress in 1882. The paper ceased publication in 1884 and the press then passed to the Richmond Era. A well known authority on Africana has stated that the press later found its way to Mariannhill Monastery near Pinetown, Natal⁶²⁾. There is evidence that an old press was known there for many years and that some while ago it was offered to the Durban Museum who unfortunately were compelled to decline the offer whereupon the press was destroyed⁶³⁾. It seems more than likely that through this unfortunate mischance the press which would have been without doubt the oldest press in South Africa with a continuous record of active life was unhappily but inadvertently scrapped.

No less than ten papers have offered themselves to the reading public of Graaff-Reinet but the only survivors are the Graaff-Reinet Advertiser and Ons Koerant. The only printing office in town is now the Advertiser office run by the Knott-Craigs, a family for long associated with the country press, who own and publish the Oudts-hoorn Courant, Aberdeen Pos, Die Karoonuus which circulates in Willowmore, Die Murraysburger and the Uniondale Medium⁶⁴⁾.

Henry W. Bidwell (1830-1899) was born in Norwich and worked in London as a printer and lithographer. In 1862 he emigrated to the Cape to take up the position as sub-editor and shorthand writer on the Graham's Town Journal. After finding his feet he decided to strike out on his own and in 1864 left Grahamstown for Uitenhage

where he founded the Uitenhage Times. He retired in 1892⁶⁵⁾.

W.S.J. Sellick is another name associated with Uitenhage and district. He was born in Bristol, England, in 1846 and served there on the Times and Mirror, the Mercury, the Western Daily Press and on the Western Mail in Cardiff. In 1875 he joined the Cape Argus, then under Saul Solomon, but left almost at once for the S.A. Dominion in Port Elizabeth. He was disappointed in any prospect of permanent employment by the early closure of that paper and for the next two years he worked on the Eastern Province Herald. In 1878 he left for Humansdorp where he started the Echo which folded up in 1883, but nothing daunted he started the Re-echo. In 1892 he left Humansdorp to take over the Uitenhage Times from Bidwell, and in 1906 retired himself, turning it into a company under the style Sellick & Co, leaving Alfred J. Sellick as general manager⁶⁶⁾.

A.J. Sellick attended a meeting of the National Industrial Council for the first time at Bloemfontein in 1922 and was subsequently an active participator in its deliberations. He also served as eleventh President of the N.P.U. Another member of the Sellick clan was E.C. Sellick for long associated with the Somerset East Budget. E.C. Sellick was for fifteen years Secretary of the old Cape Press Union and played an important part in the formation of the enlarged Newspaper Press Union. Mr S.C. Watson, the present President of the Governing Board of the South African Typographical Union, started work in 1916 on the Humansdorp Advertiser as a solid typesetter, leaving to serve a major apprenticeship at the E.P. Herald office in Port Elizabeth which had been arranged for him by Mr Montgomery Hennegin⁶⁷⁾.

C.J. Langenhoven's first little book was printed by J. & H. Pocock in Oudtshoorn in 1909 and some other of his writings first appeared in the Oudtshoorn Courant which was established in 1879⁶⁸⁾.

Die Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners was born in Paarl on 14 August 1875, and their early literature in Afrikaans was printed in Paarl by D.F. du Toit & Co. The first Afrikaans newspaper, Die Afrikaanse Patriot, was printed there by P.J. Malherbe on 15 January 1876. The firm was reconstituted in 1905 as the Paarl Printing Co (Pty) Ltd and is today official printer to the N.G. Sending Kerk⁶⁹⁾.

A facsimile reprint of Die Patriot Vol. 1 No. 1 was issued in 1896 on the twentieth anniversary of publication⁷⁰⁾.

Personalities who spent some part of their printing and newspaper life in Queenstown include David S. Barrable, associated with the Queenstown Free Press, established 1859, Francis Joseph Dormer, founder of the Argus Printing and Publishing Co Ltd and second President of the Newspaper Press Union, Will Crosby who was the sixth President and A.K. McPherson, the fourteenth President, who lived to become the recognised doyen of newspaper men in South Africa⁷¹⁾. Robertson in the Cape is the home of a well known family business A.L. de Jong-Drukkers (Edms.) Bpk. originally founded by J.E. de Jong, a Hollander, at Worcester in 1880 and established in its present form by A.L. de Jong at Robertson in 1915. Since 1945 the business has been controlled by Johann de Jong, the third generation of the founding family⁷²⁾.

Pike & Byles published Swellendam's first paper, the Overbergse Courant, on 5 October 1859. They employed for a short time J.P. Borrius who came to them at the age of 19 from Het Volksblad and left for Grahamstown before trekking to the Transvaal. The Courant press was destroyed by fire in 1865 and the paper ceased publication. A framed copy of the Enterprise for 2 December 1885 printed by the Coldrey Brothers at Caxton House, Swellendam, may be seen in the Old Drostdy, now a museum: the paper ran from 1883 to 1886⁷³⁾.

THE SPREAD OF PRINTING TO CAPE COUNTRY DISTRICTS

1850 - 1900

Aberdeen	1869	Dordrecht	1872	Port Alfred	1864
Adelaide	1875	Fort Beaufort	1859	Queenstown	1859
Alice	1874	George	1864	Richmond	1870
Aliwal North	1870	Hopetown	1884	Somerset East	1864
Barkly East	1886	Humansdorp	1878	Stellenbosch	1859
Barkly West	1897	Indwe	1899	Sterkstroom	1899
Beaconsfield	1886	Kokstad	1882	Swellendam	1859
Beaufort West	1869	Mafeking	1899	Tarkastad	1876
Bedford	1878	Middelburg	1876	Uitenhage	1864
Britstown	1893	Molteno	1898	Upington	1898
Burghersdorp	1855	Mossel Bay	1871	Victoria West	1876
Cathcart	1877	Dudtshoorn	1878	Vryburg	1888
Colesberg	1859	Paarl	1876	Willowmore	1883
Cradock	1850	Philippolis	1892	Worcester	1865

Source: Union List of South African Newspapers (Grey Bibliography No. 3) Cape Town S.A.P.L. supplemented by South Africa in Print, Chapter IX compiled and published by the Book Exhibition Committee, van Riebeeck Festival, Cape Town 1952.

COMMERCIAL PRINTING IN NATAL

The future province of Natal was developed by settlers arriving by sea through Port Natal after 1835 and by emigrant farmers from the Cape who settled in the Pietermaritzburg district from 1837. There was no mass migration such as that of the 1820 settlers in the Cape but amongst the Byrne Settlers who arrived in 1847 there were three printers, Jeremiah Cullingworth and Samuel Lumb from Leeds, and Peter Davis from London¹⁾. Pietermaritzburg was less than fifty miles from Durban but the journey took two days and three nights in springless wagons drawn by fourteen oxen over poor neglected roads. Durban was for many years little more than an oversized village, its streets knee deep in driftsand which raised sores on the legs. In 1852 there were not more than 7,600 whites in the whole colony of whom about 1,100 were in Durban and about 1,600 in Pietermaritzburg. As late as 1877 there were only 16,000 whites in Natal and it was not until 1880 that a railway linked Durban with Pietermaritzburg reaching Charlestown on the Transvaal border by 1891 and Johannesburg in 1895. It says much for the pioneer printers that so virile a press developed at such an early date.

C.E. Boniface and C.P. Moll arrived at Port Natal from Cape Town in February 1844 and moved on to Pietermaritzburg where, with the assistance of Joshua Kincaid, a printer, and nothing more elaborate than a small wooden handpress, they produced on 15 March 1844* Natal's first paper, a small four-page weekly De Natalier & Pietermaritzburg True Recorder²⁾. Within a year Boniface quarrelled with Moll and the paper ceased in 1846 when Boniface brought a successful libel action against his former friend who had done nothing more serious than soften the tone of some of Boniface's more vitriolic articles. Moll's press was used from November 1846 to print The Patriot edited by Arthur 'Hooky' Walker, a formidable Natal advo-

* 15 March 1844 according to Grey but 5 April 1844 according to the Boniface biography in D.S.A.B.

cate who later died on the diamond fields. The Patriot removed to Durban in 1848 and was renamed The Natal Patriot but the change of name and domicile did not help and the paper soon ceased³⁾. Boniface lived in Durban in 1845-1846 then returned to Pietermaritzburg remaining until 1852. He was not further connected with the press except as the author and contributor of several virulent satirical outbursts on his critics. He returned to Durban poverty stricken, and in 1853 he committed suicide.

On 16 January 1846 David Dale Buchanan arrived at Port Natal with his wife, three daughters and an infant son. He carried a small hand press and some type, a parting gift from George Greig⁴⁾. He set up at 23 Church Street, Pietermaritzburg, trading as D.D. Buchanan & Co and on 27 February 1846 published the bilingual Natal Witness or De Natalsche Getuiqe. A year later it became an English-language paper and is today the oldest South African newspaper with a continuous record of publication under the same title. For some time Buchanan edited and printed the paper himself. In 1846 he allowed Boniface the freedom of his pages to attack Moll. Though a great lover of freedom and irked by Natal's subordination to the Cape Buchanan was never bitter until Sir Benjamin Pine arrived as Lieutenant-Governor in April 1850: for the next three years Buchanan, who earned himself the soubriquet Mr Double D. Blowcannon⁵⁾, indulged in a war of wordy invective scarcely paralleled in South African journalism. On 15 May 1854 Durban and Pietermaritzburg were proclaimed Boroughs in terms of Pine's Ordinance No 1 of 1854; Buchanan was elected the first Mayor of Pietermaritzburg and ceased to harry the Colonial administration.

Whilst in Natal between 1853 and 1855 Dr. W.H.I. Bleek, the philologist, augmented a small research grant from a German scientific institution by helping to edit the Witness⁶⁾. In 1852 Peter Davis joined the Witness and a little later was joined by Edward John May⁷⁾. In 1855 Buchanan withdrew after running the paper for ten years and established a law practice as well as devoting himself to municipal and political affairs. On his departure the firm became May & Davis until May's death in 1860 when Peter Davis became the sole proprietor. From 1862 the firm became Peter Davis

and Son trading in Longmarket Street and from 1866 the title was Peter Davis & Sons⁸⁾.

The fourth paper to open up in Pietermaritzburg within six years was Archbell's Natal Independent and General Advertiser printed by Samuel Lumb which appeared on 3 January 1850 in opposition to the Witness⁹⁾. The Rev. James Archbell, a sturdy Yorkshireman, entered South Africa with his young bride as a Wesleyan Missionary in 1818. In addition to his early works as translator and printer Archbell had a remarkable career as traveller and explorer being one of the first party of whites to reach the Witwatersrand and penetrating Mzilikazi's Great Kraal on the site of Pretoria North. He was a friend of Hendrik Potgieter and a favourite preacher amongst the trekkers. After a furlough in England Archbell, for reasons never satisfactorily explained, left the ministry in December 1847 when already fifty years of age and started a new life as farmer, banker, printer, journalist and citizen¹⁰⁾. Buchanan was at loggerheads with the authorities when Archbell set up business and Archbell obtained the contract for the Natal Government Gazette. From 1851 Archbell also printed the Times, Natal and South East Africa which ran for six years. In 1852 Archbell published the earliest historical account of the Great Trek in the form of three lectures delivered by Adv. Henry Cloete before the Natal Society in Pietermaritzburg. In the 'sixties relations between the Government and Peter Davis had evidently been restored and the Gazette contract was transferred to the Witness office¹¹⁾.

* * *

Jeremiah Cullingworth brought with him from Leeds a small Britannia printing press. He remained in Durban and in 1850 produced Natal's first almanac for the year 1851¹²⁾. A well known authority on printing says that the first two newspapers published in Durban were the D'Urban Advertiser and the Natal Mercury published in that order and within two hours of each other on 22 August 1851¹³⁾. The authoritative Grey Bibliography gives the titles as D'Urban Observer and Natal Times and gives the date of publication for both papers as 29 August 1851. In view of these differing reports on a matter of lively interest careful enquiries

were made at the Durban Municipal Library and at the Natal Archives in Pietermaritzburg. This search confirms the information given by McKinnell in 1952 in an unpublished M.A. thesis to the effect that the first paper was William Edward Scott's D'Urban Observer which appeared on 22 August 1851 and changed its title to D'Urban Advocate in 1852. The second paper was Cullingworth's Natal Times which appeared on 29 August 1851. Scott's Observer or Advocate had the influential support of the Lieutenant-Governor who needed a counter to Buchanan's Witness but the paper closed in 1854 Scott subsequently selling the plant and going out of print. Cullingworth and George Robinson, a fellow Yorkshireman newly arrived from Hull, went into partnership, Robinson as editor and Cullingworth as printer and publisher, to launch the Natal Mercury on 25 November 1852 from a modest wattle and daub building at the corner of Aliwal and Smith Streets¹⁴⁾. A few weeks later in January 1853 Cullingworth's Natal Times ceased publication. Next after the Witness the Mercury is South Africa's oldest paper with a record of continuous existence under the same title and by a firm which still bears the name of the original editor. The papers are alike in having maintained their independence in the face of the widespread tendency to amalgamate into larger groups: they are also unique amongst the larger municipal dailies in having preserved the nineteenth century pattern of successfully combining newspaper publication with a thriving jobbing and general business.

In 1855 Cullingworth and Robinson differed and parted. Robinson bought Scott's plant and continued the Natal Mercury. Cullingworth continued as a printer and on 22 August 1855 started the Natal Star & Journal of Durban Commerce afterwards known as the Natal Star & General Advertiser which ran until 1863¹⁵⁾. The Natal en Zuid-oost Afrikaan ran in Durban from 2 April to 27 May 1853 and lapsed until 6 October 1853 when it reopened in Pietermaritzburg as the Zuid-oost Afrikaan¹⁶⁾. On 6 May 1854 the Natal Commercial Advertiser appeared published by Arthur Spring and edited by George Hunt. Hunt whose office was in West Street stocked "commercial, law and custom house forms, bills of lading, etc. of all kinds" and printed "in a superior style at a moderate scale of charges and at short

notice cheque, receipt and waggon books"¹⁷⁾. The paper was taken over in 1855 by John Miller and George Henry Wirsing who changed the title to Natal Advertiser & Mercantile Gazette: it ran until 1860¹⁸⁾. In 1878 Peter Davis & Sons invaded Durban from Pietermaritzburg and launched the Natal Advertiser¹⁹⁾.

George Robinson retired in March 1860 and handed over the Mercury to his son John who was twenty-one and retained his father's name, trading as George Robinson & Son. The plant and goodwill of the Advertiser were taken over and the paper renamed Natal Mercury & Commercial Advertiser. In September 1860 Richard Vause joined the firm. The paper became a daily in 1878 and soon after the completion of the railway from Durban to Johannesburg it became a penny morning paper. Richard Vause brought his son William Vause into the partnership and when the younger Vause retired in the early 1900's the firm was incorporated as a limited company under the style Robinson & Co Ltd, the name by which it is still known. One by one the competing papers fell away until only the Mercury and the Advertiser were left. The Mercury continues under that title as a sturdy independent. The Advertiser, renamed in 1937 Natal Daily News, continues as one of the Argus group of newspapers.

* * *

In Pietermaritzburg De Natal Bode started in 1852 and ran ten years. The Godlonton paper Natal Courier & Pietermaritzburg Advertiser started in November 1859 and in February 1865 was incorporated in the Natal Mercury, not to be confused with the Durban paper of that name. In 1863 the Courier was printed on a Belle Sauvage machine which had been on show at the Great Exhibition of 1862. The combined Courier-Mercury was incorporated in the first of two papers named Times of Natal in August 1865²⁰⁾. Richard Vause from Durban became the proprietor and the printers in the 'seventies were Vause, Newcombe & Co. Newcombe fell on hard times and the paper passed into the hands of William Watson about 1885²¹⁾, Newcombe serving as a jobbing compositor in the Witness office until 1915²²⁾. In the 'nineties Watson also secured the Government printing contract. When he retired in July 1901 the

company was incorporated as Times Printing & Publishing Co Ltd²³⁾. The Times of Natal afterward became associated with Die Volkstem of Pretoria and J. Wallach represented both papers at the conference of newspaper proprietors in Johannesburg on 12 August 1912²⁴⁾. In 1913 W.J. Beaumont from Wallach's, who had at one time been a S.A.T.U. Pretoria Branch official, transferred to Pietermaritzburg and managed the Times. The paper closed in 1927²⁵⁾. Die Natal Afrikaner was the longest lived of Dutch-language papers in Natal: it ran from 1887 to 1932. Advocate E.G. Jansen, later Governor-General of the Union of South Africa was for a time editor. Munro Brothers were active in the mid 'eighties: they moved to new premises in Bank Street in 1902: the firm changed hands and was renamed City Printing Works in 1907, moved again to larger premises in 1910 and after going through bad times was resuscitated in 1915 by Russell and Nichols, two former employees of S.W. Leake & Co²⁶⁾. Mr T. Shirley left City Printing Works for Durban in 1911 where he set up as a Master Printer and later became active in the Natal Chamber of Printing²⁷⁾. In 1902 George Jones, for fifteen or sixteen years foreman at the Times office set up as Jones & Co. In 1918 A.J. Downes makes the first reference to an Indian printer who was in Retief Street, Pietermaritzburg²⁸⁾. In 1903 the Witness office was expecting a lithographic and process engraving plant²⁹⁾. The town's printers suffered severely in 1910 as the result of the transfer of Government business to Pretoria.

* * *

The story of one of Durban's best known businesses begins in 1875 when Richard Vause of the Mercury office began specialising in fine art printing and lithography. In 1877 the business established by Vause was purchased by George Davis, son of Peter Davis of the Natal Witness. George Davis went into partnership with Sutton Vane Bennett and the firm became Bennett & Davis. Another strand in the story began in 1891 when George A. Riches started business removing in 1902 to larger "and very ornate" premises in Smith Street. Riches was taken over in 1910 by the old established London firm of William Brown & Co Ltd to establish a South African base for production of orders which they had previously printed in

England for export to South Africa. The business was modernised and extended and traded as William Brown & Co (S.A.) Ltd. In 1921 Wm. Brown amalgamated with Bennett & Davis and traded as Brown & Davis Ltd. Yet another strand started in 1901 when Edward E. Platt who came to South Africa for the Advertiser in 1897, and H.A. Wilson, secretary of the local branch of the S.A.T.U. and foreman at T.L. Cullingworth & Co in Field Street, entered into partnership as the Electric Press. Electric Press then amalgamated with the Commercial Printing Co to form E.P. & Commercial Printing Co. In 1947 Brown & Davis joined forces with E.P. & C.P. and in 1960 they integrated to form Brown, Davis & Platt. In 1967 the company became part of the Barlow Group³⁰⁾.

The Natal Government Railways established their own print shop in Durban in 1889: it closed on the formation of the Union of South Africa and in 1911 the work together with some of the artisans employed was transferred to the Government Printing Works in Pretoria³¹⁾.

F. Hamett who worked at the Witness office in the 'nineties was one of the founders of Hamett & Hodge (Pty) Ltd. He was still active when Downes wrote of him in 1952³²⁾.

In 1901 two S.A.T.U. members started trading as Brown & Taylor in Smith Street. In 1902 two former S.A.T.U. Branch Secretaries, W.H. Shepherd and John Kirkwood, set up in partnership. The firm became W.H. Shepherd (Pty) Ltd and now trades as Shepco Printers (Pty) Ltd³³⁾. Josiah Jones, eleven years a craftsman at the Mercury also set up in 1902 as Josiah Jones & Co in West Street. The firm only lasted two years and its closure threw eight craftsmen out of work³⁴⁾. The S.A.T.U. "fair list" of 1902 named the Mercury the Advertiser, T.L. Cullingworth & Co., Platt & Wilson's Electric Press, Ramsay's Caxton Printing Works, Shepherd & Kirkwood, Woodroffe, Bennett & Davis, Brown & Taylor, and the office of the Natal Government Railways³⁵⁾. John Singleton was an early Durban lithographer and in 1900 published his own volume on the Battlefields of Natal. In 1903 the firm was John Singleton & Sons and was still publishing their own illustrated compilations³⁶⁾.

A link with the cradle days of Cape printing was broken with the

death of Austin Borain in 1902. He was apprenticed to George Greig, joined the Natal Witness in 1867 and transferred to the Natal Mercury in 1875 where he remained until shortly before his death³⁷⁾. In 1903 Oscar Frewin drew his clearance card from the S.A.T.U. in Durban prior to trying his luck in Johannesburg. He played an important part in creating the Country Newspaper division of the N.P.U.³⁸⁾.

* * *

Outside Durban and Pietermaritzburg Ladysmith was the first Natal town to have a printing press. Cornelis Moll, having started in Pietermaritzburg and moved to Durban, returned to Pietermaritzburg in 1855 where for a short time he produced the Natal Chronicle. He then established De Ware Patriot at Ladysmith in 1856 but in 1857 President M.W. Pretorius invited him to settle at Potchefstroom and his connection with Natal came to an end³⁹⁾. Ubaga was published at Umvoti (Groutville) in 1887 and Umsizi wa Bantu from Edendale in 1893. The Newcastle Echo started in 1881 and in the following year was joined by Charles W. Deecker from Pretoria⁴⁰⁾. In 1901 S.W. Leake and Peter Davis & Sons of Maritzburg both opened branches at Newcastle⁴¹⁾. De Nieuwe Republikein came from Vryheid in 1892 and in 1901 Frank Wilter of Vryheid printed a valuable reference work of Anglo-Boer War telegrams⁴²⁾. In the present century papers have been started and still flourish at Dundee 1901, Greytown 1904, Eshowe 1907, Port Shepstone 1945, and Estcourt 1946⁴³⁾.

The cradle days of printing in Natal are illustrated by the contents of a box sent by Dr. W.H.I. Bleek in May 1856 to Professor Petermann in Hamburg. Bleek who was a research philologist at the time living at Chief Umzabashi's kraal about eighteen miles from Durban, kept a diarised record of the contents of the box which is reproduced in full as an appendix. Bleek mentions the production of a lithographed map in 1855 which is the earliest recorded use of lithography in Natal.

Intertown rivalry between Durban and Pietermaritzburg delayed the formation of representative employer organisations in Natal. Pietermaritzburg stagnated industrially and lost much of the printing work load to Pretoria in 1910. Durban expanded rapidly and

soon overtook the older city. Pietermaritzburg today has twelve federated shops whilst Durban which had only ten fair shops in 1902 now has 89 affiliated members including some of the largest firms in the Republic. These together with thirteen country members form the membership of the Natal Chamber of Printing⁴⁰).

For convenience of administration the towns of Volksrust Tvl., Kokstad, Cape, and Matatiele, Cape, are attached to the Natal Chamber of Printing.

COMMERCIAL PRINTING IN THE
ORANGE FREE STATE AND KIMBERLEY

Bloemfontein was laid out by Andrew Hudson Bain in 1848 to the orders of Col. Sir Harry Smith. Thomas White's Friend of the Sovereignty first appeared on 10 June 1850. When the British abandoned the Sovereignty in 1854 and the country became a Boer Republic Robert Godlonton expressed his strong disapproval by resigning his interest and for several years White was sole proprietor printer and publisher from his office in Market Square¹⁾. The first book printed in Bloemfontein was the Oranje Vrystaat ABC spel en leesboek (1856). Thomas White printed the first Gouvernements Courant of the O.F.S. in 1857²⁾. In 1862 H.A.L. Hamelberg and Koos Heligers started the Dutch language De Tijd with a nationalist policy in opposition to that of the pro-English Friend. Hamelberg who came to South Africa from Holland after obtaining a doctor's degree in law settled at Bloemfontein in 1856. He played a controversial and not always happy role in South African affairs but did much to make the O.F.S. a "model republic". The paper closed in 1870 and the following year Hamelberg returned to Holland as a Consul-General of the O.F.S. in Europe³⁾. In the later 'sixties van Iddekinge & Co. maintained a press in Bloemfontein and in 1867 printed by order of the Volksraad a compilation of Resolutions, Regulations and Ordinances from the establishment of the Republic on 10 April 1854⁴⁾. F.X. Schermbrücker had been obliged to leave the Border in 1870 and spent the next three years at the Kimberley diamond diggings, the Lydenburg gold-fields and in Matabeleland, arriving in Bloemfontein in 1873. In 1875 he founded the Oranje Vrystaat Nieuwsblad Maatschappij and became manager and editor of its newspaper De Express. Schermbrücker's gruff and eccentric ways earned him the soubriquet "Der alte Fritz". He was not without ability and distinguished himself as a soldier and native administrator, and as a parliamentarian but he was no more successful with De Express in Bloemfontein than with his newspaper ventures in King William's Town. He left Bloem-

fontein abruptly in 1877 and so strongly was popular opinion opposed to him that he was burnt in effigy⁵⁾. The paper then passed into the hands of C.L.F. Borckenhagen who was the company's bookkeeper. Borckenhagen came of a Prussian military family and emigrated to South Africa in 1873 on account of ill-health being at first employed by Emmanuel Fichardt as a clerk at the Berlin Mission Station south of Bloemfontein. Although unacquainted with newspaper work and lacking a thorough grasp of English and Dutch Borckenhagen gradually built De Express into the most influential paper in the Free State whilst the company owned a fine printing establishment where school language books and other Government publications were printed⁶⁾.

In 1870 R.W. Murray, Snr. passed through Bloemfontein on his way from Cape Town to the diamond fields. He tried to persuade Thomas White to join him in opening a paper at the diggings but found White prosperous and no longer interested in pioneering ventures such as had brought him to Bloemfontein twenty years earlier. Murray had to content himself with an arrangement whereby his proposed paper would be printed in Bloemfontein⁷⁾. Ownership of The Friend passed to the brothers Nathaniel and Alfred Barlow who were members of the staff. Nathaniel Barlow died in 1888 whilst on his way to Cape Town to meet the first team of English cricketers to visit South Africa and Alfred became editor and head of the business. The paper continued as a twice-weekly bilingual publication until 1894 when it became English only and the proprietors issued De Burger as a companion paper in Dutch. De Burger had little success against De Express and closed three years later. From 16 March 1896 The Friend became an English-language daily. The Bloemfontein press continued as usual on the outbreak of the Anglo-Boer War but when British troops entered the city under Lord Roberts in March 1900 De Express was suppressed and the military governor sent for Arthur Barlow, son of Alfred Barlow, who was then editing The Friend and asked him to carry on under British rule. Barlow refused for as he said in later years "it would have been a traitorous act for a Free State Burgher to edit an enemy newspaper during a war". The British Military authorities then commandeered the works and issued the paper under the editorship of a group

of war correspondents which included Rudyard Kipling⁸⁾. As soon as war conditions permitted Thomas Sheffield from Johannesburg went to Bloemfontein to negotiate for a paper on behalf of the Argus Group. He avoided The Friend but bought Borckenhagen's plant out of hand together with the title to the Daily Express originally established in 1882 as the English language Daily News. The paper was reissued under the title Bloemfontein Post with F.R. Paver as editor. For about two years the Post was the only independent paper in the city⁹⁾. The Argus works also undertook jobbing as is evidenced by a concert ticket of 13 July 1901 in the Africana Museum of the Johannesburg Public Library on which the imprint is AR(gus) C(oy) BFX. The firm of R. Curling, trading as the Standard Printing Works, printed the Rules of the first O.F.S. Typographical Society in 1898. They continued to print during the military occupation, the Africana Museum showing an army pass issued in Bloemfontein on 9 April 1901 with Curling's imprint; there is also extant a broadsheet military notice printed by Curling dated 1 April 1900 announcing an 8 p.m. civilian curfew. The Orange River Colony Standard, produced as a daily from Curling's office in 1902 ran only seven months and a copy of the last issue, carefully packed in a cigar box, was decently buried in the firm's backyard. The firm later became Curling & Ibbeson¹⁰⁾.

Arthur Barlow restarted The Friend in 1902 and later floated it as a limited company with Abraham Fischer as Chairman. The story of the next few years is one of rivalry between The Friend and the Post. John Martin took over the management of the Post for the Argus Co. in 1909 but the paper was on the wrong side of the political fence at that time. After a period of intense competition for circulation and advertising revenue the papers came to a mutual understanding and raised their price to three-pence per issue but the Post was still no nearer becoming a profitable venture. John Martin left for London in 1913 and when he returned to South Africa it was to the head office of the Argus Co. in Johannesburg. In 1917 he came to an accommodation with The Friend and the Post ceased publication. In the meantime The Friend itself was in low water. Although well edited the plant was out of date and the business management needed refurbishing. The directors appointed a new manager,

Dominicus Mari Ollemans, a Hollander born in 1879 and apprenticed to printing after being orphaned at an early age. He arrived in Cape Town and went to work for Ons Land in 1898 then to the Victoria West Messenger in 1903 and to Bloemfontein in 1908. He instilled new life into all departments of the business¹¹⁾.

When the first Typographical Society was formed in Bloemfontein in 1898 there were about thirty artisans in the city¹²⁾.

In the nineteenth century no printing of consequence was produced in the Orange Free State outside of Bloemfontein except for the work done by Mission presses. In 1900 F.C. Hundermark at Jagersfontein printed a Republican view of the Anglo-Boer War showing the methods adopted by the Boer Generals to keep up the war spirit amongst the Burghers. In 1904 the same press produced a souvenir history of Jagersfontein 1870-1904. A paper called The Sun was later produced and Hundermark attended congresses of the Newspaper Press Union for several years¹³⁾. In the twentieth century country newspaper presses were established at Bethlehem, Ficksburg, Frankfort, Harrismith, Heilbron, Ladybrand, Reitz, Vrede and Winburg. Afrikaanse Pers Bep. has a considerable installation at Kroonstad. At the latest count there were ten federated printers in Bloemfontein, three in Kroonstad, and six in the country districts attached to the Free State Chamber of Printing.

* * *

The rush of newspaper men to the diamond diggings in and after 1870 was almost as exciting as the rush of diggers. Within a few years no less than six papers offered themselves to the diggers and to the crowd who came to relieve them of their gains. Within eighteen years no less than sixteen papers tried their luck¹⁵⁾. Estimates of the numbers who crowded around the diggings vary from forty to fifty thousand. Many of the big newspaper names either worked at the diggings or visited the locality to see for themselves. R.W. Murray, Snr. was one of the first to arrive: he travelled from Cape Town via Bloemfontein where he tried to interest Thomas White in a new venture. Glanville from Grahamstown was there to start yet another paper for the proprietors of the Journal. His son Ernest Glanville was there as a youth of seventeen

employed as a cub reporter on the opposition paper started by Murray¹⁶⁾. F. Y. St. Leger was there. He had resigned from the church and had gone from Grahamstown to the diggings in search of diamonds. The urge to write had already shown itself and he contributed to at least one of the early newspapers. David Dale Buchanan was there from Pietermaritzburg attempting to revive his fortunes, his law practice having suffered whilst he had been overseas. F.X. Schermbrücker was there from King William's Town having been obliged by adverse circumstances to leave the Border. There was an exciting race to see who would be the first to publish a newspaper. Murray won the race by publishing The Diamond Field at Klipdrift on 13 October 1870. Three days later Richards, Glanville & Co. produced The Diamond News at Pniel. Murray's paper was printed in Bloemfontein and Glanville's at the diggings; the two friendly rivals who knew each other well from Grahamstown days agreed to share the honours, Murray claiming the first paper on the diamond fields and Glanville the first diamond fields' paper. Murray encountered great difficulties in producing his paper on a press a hundred miles away. On one occasion the whole of the copy was lost as the carrier attempted to cross a flooded river and in 1872 Murray was persuaded to abandon the enterprise; however the paper was only temporarily in eclipse: it passed into the hands of the Vickers family consisting of father and two sons, Henry and George. They set up a press at the diggings, and produced the paper at New Rush from 1873 and the following year in Kimberley. It ceased in 1877 although this was not the end of the road for Vickers & Co. Meanwhile Mr. Glanville at The Diamond News was anxious to return to Grahamstown and George B. Attwell of the King William's Town Gazette was sent to relieve him. Attwell travelled by post cart from King William's Town to Queenstown and from there journeyed to Dutoitspan in four or five days of very rough riding by Ella's Diamond Fields Express, a spring wagon drawn by eight horses carrying thirteen or fourteen passengers. On arrival he put up at Benning & Martins hotel amidst an army of flies and fleas which had ruthlessly invaded the pan to add to the general heat and discomfort of a severe summer. It was "fleas and

flies, flies and fleas, and never a moment peace or ease". Attwell relieved Glanville in 1871 and increased the frequency of the paper to twice weekly. In 1872 the frequency was increased to three times a week, R.W. Murray being engaged as leader writer and Mr. Longland as reporter to assist with the additional work. The paper was produced at various camps, Dorsfontein, Dutoitspan, New Rush and from 17 July 1873 at Kimberley itself. Financially the paper was almost an instant success so much so that Mr. Richards and Mr. Glanville visited Kimberley together to persuade Attwell to remain, negotiating a three-year contract from 1 January 1872 from which Attwell benefited by about £1,200 a year. At the expiration of his contract, during which he had twice been laid low with fever, he asked for a third share in the business as the price of remaining but the partners were unwilling and Attwell not only left Kimberley he left the world of print and set up in business at East London subsequently starting an accountancy practice in Cape Town. The paper ran until 1884 and when it closed Murray became associated with the newly established Diamond Fields Times. The Mining Gazette ran through 1874 and 1875. In August 1875 Hartley's Independent began as a bi-weekly and in 1879 became a daily under the title Daily Independent. The paper which later became associated with the Argus Company ran until 1893¹⁷⁾. Vickers & Co. published The Advertiser & Kimberley Commercial Guide on Saturday 23 March 1878. From November of that year the frequency was increased from twice to three times a week and on Monday 10 February 1879 the name changed to The Diamond Fields Advertiser by which name it is still known. The ownership soon changed from Vickers to A.C.T. Bales, then about 1880 to John E. Radford and James Richards. In 1882 the D.F.A. became a daily. By 1883 Radford was alone: in 1885 the firm was Radford and Roper and in 1888 W. Roper. Radford participated in the inaugural congress of the Newspaper Press Union in 1882 and Roper was present at the Sixth Congress in 1890, the earliest congress from which minutes survive¹⁸⁾. Several more short-lived papers appeared in the 1880's: Turner & Dodson's Ace of Diamonds (1881)¹⁹⁾, The Griqualand West Investors Guardian (1881), The Diamond Field News (1882), The Dutoitspan Herald (1882), Murray's Diamond Field Times (1884), The Diamond Fields Express (1885), The

Diamond Fields Herald (1885), Diamond Fields Witness (1886), The Diamond Fields Mail (1888), and a little paper called The Critic, later The Wasp (1888). In 1898 The Diamond Fields Advertiser was floated as a company and forged links with the Cape Times²⁰⁾. The capital was subscribed by Fredk. Luke St. Leger, son of F.Y. St.Leger of the Cape Times, by Cecil Rhodes acting through a nominee and by Ferdinand Eugene Schuler, a Kimberley printer who became manager. G.H. Bonas²¹⁾, the Chairman, was one of Kimberley's most colourful characters. Born in London of Jewish parentage and educated in Dublin, he came to Kimberley in 1884 where he set up as a diamond merchant becoming associated with Cecil Rhodes and an original member of De Beers Syndicate. At the close of the century there were only three printers left in town. The D.F.A. undertook jobbing as well as publishing the newspaper. G.A. Ettling first appeared in the bibliographies in 1897 when he printed a set of rules for deep mining by shafts and tunnels²²⁾. T. Looney, formerly active in trade union affairs, published the Weekly Free Press from 1897: the title changed to Kimberley Free Press in 1904 continuing under that title until closing in 1907²³⁾.

In 1901 Mark Henderson's office became a Union shop. He started the Kimberley Star in 1903. In 1913 he installed a Typograph composing machine and a Babcock rotary press and changed the title to Kimberley Evening Star. The paper ran until 1923²⁴⁾.

In 1910 Creer and Wallace from Kimberley purchased the plant of the Charlestown Border News and brought it to Kimberley where they set up as jobbing printers in Jones Street. They subsequently bought two printing machines, some type and a guillotine for £20 from Ettling's deceased estate. The firm later became Holroyd & Creer and afterward Creer & Co.²⁵⁾

When the National Industrial Council was formed in 1919 there were six shops: the Advertiser, J. Sacks & Co., Creer, Henderson, Looney, and Longcake, although only two of them were rated "fair" by the S. A. T. U. Sacks employed two natives as compositors²⁶⁾.

Kimberley was the home of an early experiment in Bantu journalism inspired by Solomon Tshekisho Plaatje (1875-1932). Sol.Plaatje passed

standard four at a Berlin Mission School and then studied for the Cape civil service examination which he passed in seven months whilst working as a postman in Kimberley. In command of eight languages and with a working knowledge of several more he secured an appointment as Magistrate's clerk and court interpreter at Mafeking. He then studied journalism and became a competent typist. At Mafeking about 1904 he persuaded Chief Silas Molema to finance the first Tswana-English weekly Koranta ea Bechuana (The Newspaper of the Tswana) of which he became editor. He then moved to Kimberley and started Tsala ea Bechoana which first appeared on 2 July 1910. The title changed to Tsala ea Batho (Friend of the People) in 1913 and Plaatje struggled for some time to keep it alive but it folded up about 1915. Plaatje wrote numerous articles for English, Afrikaans and vernacular papers and produced longer works which were published at Lovedale, Morija, Johannesburg, London and New York²⁷⁾.

In 1922 control of the Diamond Fields Advertiser passed to the Argus Company. The jobbing department was subsequently separated from the newspaper and incorporated as Northern Cape Printers Ltd. These two companies together with Kimberley Litho (Pty) Ltd. now form the Central Areas Master Printers Association based on Kimberley.²⁸⁾

THE TRANSVAAL AND THE
GOVERNMENT PRINTING WORKS

Transvaal in the 1850's offered little encouragement to commercial enterprise and still less to literary development. During the 'forties and early 'fifties even the House of Assembly had no permanent meeting place. Partly because of local jealousies the House met in turn at Ohrigstad, Lydenburg, Rustenburg, Potchefstroom, at the future site of Pretoria, and even at certain farmsteads. Such lack of system was inconvenient for members and made settled administration difficult. Before he died in 1853 Commandant-General Andries Pretorius long cherished the idea of a central administration, probably at Rustenburg, and of a printing press to assist the work of Government¹⁾. The first printer, Cornelis P. Moll, and a pioneer newspaper editor, Jan F. Celliers, were both persuaded to come to the Transvaal by presidential invitation: it was not until the gold rush at Pelgrimsrus about 1874 and more particularly at Barberton in 1886 that commercial printers and newsmen awoke to the possibilities of the Transvaal.

* * *

Marthinus Wessel Pretorius (1819-1901) succeeded his father as Commandant-General and in 1856 became first president of the South African Republic making his capital at Potchefstroom²⁾. To Potchefstroom came Cornelis P. Moll whose history has been traced from Cape Town to Natal and who had latterly been associated with De Ware Patriot at Ladysmith. Moll set up his office in Kerk Street and received a contract signed by the President on 21 September 1857 to publish a weekly Government Gazette for a fee of £100 a year. The State Archives possess the only known copy of the first number of the Staats Courant der Z.A.R. which appeared on 25 September 1857. The Courant published Moll's own editorial opinions which were sometimes in conflict with the Government: for this reason the President bought Moll's press although Moll remained the printer. The Volksraad approved the purchase on 19 September 1859 but hinted that the publication of a free newspaper would be welcomed. A few days later the Staats Courant became the Gouvernements Courant der Z.A.R. and Moll produced De Oude

Emigrant which appeared on 15 October 1859. The following year Johannes Philippus Borrius arrived at Potchefstroom with Oberholtzer's party from Grahamstown. Borrius was twenty at the time and as Moll shortly afterward removed to Pretoria Borrius remained the leading printer in Potchefstroom until his death in 1892. At first Borrius worked for Herman Jeppe who was publishing De Oude Emigrant. Jeppe thought it prudent to take refuge in Rustenburg as the result of some objectionable articles in the press and Borrius became Government Printer; De Oude Emigrant was then succeeded by De Emigrant owned and edited by A. F. Schubart and printed by Borrius. The paper ceased on the outbreak of Civil War and the removal of the press to Pretoria in July 1863 left Borrius without employment. In 1866, with a legacy left to his wife, he bought the property which had housed the press and obtained an Albion press of his own. In June 1864 a Dutch monthly De Republikein appeared from Moll's press in Pretoria. This paper transferred to Potchefstroom in 1866 where it was printed by Borrius for the owners, Frederich Jeppe and H.C. Bergsma, as a bilingual weekly under the title Transvaal Argus: Weekly Gazette of the Z.A.R. In 1867 J.H. Roselt became proprietor and editor and in 1869 the printing and publishing was entrusted for a time to the only other printer in town, T. Ludorf's press in Retief Street. The same year the Argus was succeeded by the Transvaal Advocate and Commercial Advertiser owned by R. Rutherford and F. Ludorf, edited by Rutherford, and printed by Borrius. In 1871 Isaac van Alphen joined the Advocate later transferring to De Transvaal which ran from 1877 to 1881. Van Alphen then joined the postal service rising to become Postmaster General of the Republic³⁾. Borrius in addition to newspaper work printed much of historic interest including De Grondwet der Z.A.R. (1862), an edition of postage stamps for the Z.A.R. (September 1870)⁴⁾ and the Paardekraal Proclamation (December 1880) which he printed all night single-handed after his staff had absconded for fear of the British authorities. In 1880 and 1881 Borrius again printed the Staats Courant until printing was resumed in Pretoria in September 1881. In 1883 after recovering from a serious illness Borrius started De Potchefstroomer on his own

account in support of President Kruger. In 1888 Guest and Rose published Mr. Slade's English Medium Potchefstroom Budget in opposition to Borrius⁵⁾. For a few months in 1890 the intervention of Dr. A. F. Roosboom again secured for Borrius a share in Transvaal Government printing but an adverse judgment following an insurance claim so affected his mind that in 1892 he ended his own life. The Budget was incorporated in the Herald. Both went into recess in the Anglo-Boer War but were re-started by Mr. C. V. Bate in 1902. In the twentieth century Bate became the leader of the Potchefstroom press carrying on the Herald which still flourishes and launching a sister journal, Die Westelike Stem (1915).

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Pretoria⁶⁾ became the Transvaal capital on 1 May 1860 but the Government offices were slow to move and the Staats Courant was printed at Potchefstroom until 28 July 1863. On 18 August 1863 Cornelis P. Moll produced Volume VI No 25, the first number to appear from the press in Pretoria. Moll became Acting State Attorney in 1863 and was Landdrost of Pretoria from October 1864 to November 1867, being succeeded at the printing office by James Cooper Rous. It was under Rous that Isaac N. van Alphen received his early training. Pretoria's first newspaper was the bilingual De Republikein published by Moll in 1864. The bilingual Expresse appeared briefly in 1869 but beyond a solitary copy which survived in the family of John Robert Lys, a pioneer Pretoria trader, nothing is known of its history. On 4 April 1870 M. J. Viljoen printed the first Transvaal postage stamps to be produced in South Africa. The plates and the ready-gummed paper were sent out from Germany⁷⁾. With the publication of De Volksstem at Pretoria in 1873 the Transvaal acquired for the first time a paper of substance and standing comparable to the best of the press in the coastal colonies. The initiative for the foundation of De Volksstem came from State President T. F. Burgers who persuaded Jan F. Celliers (1839-1895), sub-editor of Het Volksblad in Cape Town, to come to the Transvaal as editor of the new paper. The Staats Courant in May 1873 announced the forthcoming publication but Celliers who travelled by sea to Durban intending to trek from there to the Transvaal, was stranded and lost his press resulting in considerable

delay. On arrival in Pretoria he purchased Moll's press which was then in the possession of J.C. Rous and traded as Celliers & Rous in Church Street⁸⁾. The newspaper, De Volksstem Nieuws- en Advertensie Blad appeared on 8 August 1873 with Celliers as editor, Rous as sub-editor, and a total staff of two compositors and two apprentices. In 1876 P.W.T. Bell joined the firm as foreman printer. The following year, the year of the annexation, Charles William Deecker (1849-1912), born in England, arrived in Pretoria and took over the Transvaal Argus which was transferred from Potchefstroom to Pretoria to become the first English-language paper in the Transvaal capital. Deecker traded as Deecker & Co. and his first major work, apart from his newspaper, was apparently a Transvaal Almanac & Directory for 1878. The difficulties of running an establishment in Pretoria before the railway had reached the Reef are touched upon in the preface to Deecker's Almanac for 1879 edited by Fred. Jeppe:

In submitting the second number to our subscribers, we must apologise for its late appearance, which has been caused in the first place by the unprecedented difficulties of transport, whereby the publisher's supply of paper was for a time entirely stopped, and in the second by a great influx of work and scarcity of labour in the printing department, and the impossibility of getting fresh reliable hands in the country⁹⁾.

At the time of the annexation Celliers and his collaborator, W.E. Bok, who afterwards became Secretary of State, clashed with the authorities and their paper temporarily ceased publication. The British authorities in their attempts to embarrass or intimidate Celliers confiscated the press (Moll's original) and gave the Government Printing contract to his rival Deecker at the Transvaal Argus. Celliers managed to renew publication by repairing an old broken press whilst General Piet Joubert took up a collection at a public meeting which went to purchase additional plant. When war broke out in 1880-1881 the official news sheet of the British authorities was produced at the Transvaal Argus office whilst the Staats Courant of the Z.A.R. was temporarily published by the Borrius's press at Potchefstroom. The Transvaal Argus ceased

in 1881 and did not resume publication. Deecker together with Charles Du Val printed and published forty issues of the News of the Camp under canvas with the military. Deecker then left the Transvaal for the Echo at Newcastle, Natal (1882) and for Cathcart, Cape, where he edited the Farmers Chronicle and in December 1884 married Marie Elizabeth, daughter of a local farmer. He returned to the Transvaal in 1886 and is next met with at Johannesburg¹⁰⁾.

Die Volkstem* represented and put into words the hopes, interests, fears and aspirations of the early Transvaal Boers as the Graham's Town Journal had for the early British Settlers in the Eastern Cape. Sir Theophilus Shepstone writing from Pretoria to Sir Bartle Frere in 1878 said "The Boers--- settle any doubtful point by saying: does it not stand so in the Courant? One Boer told me that his countrymen believed the Volkstem more implicitly than they do the Bible". The Dutch-language Boerenvriend published by the British as a counter to Die Volkstem and distributed free to the Burghers met with no success and was soon discontinued.

Celliers & Rous printed and published much of value beside the newspaper. In 1875 they produced Albert Broderick's Fifty Fugitive Fancies in Verse giving an amusing and informative account of Transvaal life before the gold rush. Celliers was both printer and publisher of De Staatscourant gedurende den Vryheidsoorlog van 1881 (1885) and he printed on behalf of the Government De Locale Wetten der Z.A.R. 1849-1885 compiled by Frederick Jeppe and corrected by J.G. Kotze (1887)¹¹⁾.

On 14 January 1882 the Transvaal Advertiser was started to fill the gap left by the demise of Deecker's Argus. It was printed by the proprietor John Keith, and edited by Dr. John Scoble both of whom remained associated with the paper throughout its twenty-five years life. H.C. (Hennie) Marais was one of the journalists and leader writers who helped to build the Advertiser's solid if somewhat Imperialist reputation.

* For convenience the modern Afrikaans spelling Die Volkstem is used throughout.

In 1888 Celliers for some undisclosed reason decided to dispose of his business and the Volksraad resolved to purchase the firm as a going concern for approximately £23,000 to form the nucleus of a proposed Staatsdrukkerij. With the business went Die Volkstem and a number of printing contracts with about two years to run. The paper was separated from the printing business and sold in the same year to the unfortunate Wichert Jonker who committed suicide in 1889. This tragedy unexpectedly opened the way for the appointment of Frans Vredenburg Engelenburg who was to exercise a decisive influence on Dutch Afrikaans journalism for a generation¹²⁾. Engelenburg (1863-1938) was a nephew of Marie Koopmans-de Wet and graduated in law at Leiden in 1887. Shortly afterwards he visited his aunt in Cape Town and in 1889 made his way to Pretoria intending to practice law. Instead he found himself editor and later owner of Die Volkstem remaining editor until 1924 and a director until his death. On 15 March 1890 De Volksstem Maatschappij Bpk. was registered with a capital of £15,000. Engelenburg introduced, albeit unconsciously, a standard of professional conduct which became the example and the guiding principle for a whole generation of Afrikaans writers so that it is legitimate to speak of an Engelenburg School of journalists.

The same year that Celliers left Die Volkstem a new paper, Land en Volk, appeared published as a weekly by J.F. Meyer & Co. and printed at the "steam printing works" of Flavell, Brown & Co. who also printed the monthly Witwatersrand Mining & Metallurgical Review. The following year the twin papers De Pers and the Press appeared and in 1890 the Transvaal Times. Land en Volk brought into prominence Eugene Nielen Marais (1871-1936)¹³⁾. On his father's side Marais was descended from Pieter, baron van Reede van Oudtshoorn whilst his mother was a direct descendant of Commissioner-General de Mist. Marais matriculated in Paarl at fifteen and entered a Pretoria attorney's office. Whilst still a clerk in his later teens he began contributing articles to the Transvaal Advertiser on which his brother Hennie was then serving. Eugene also became the paper's Volksraad reporter. In 1890 he became editor of Land en Volk and in 1891 he and J. de V. Roos bought the paper. Roos quietly withdrew in 1892 leaving the paper in Marais' sole control. In 1895 his

his wife died a few days after giving birth to their first child. The bitter experience seriously affected Marais who began taking drugs to which in time he became addicted. In 1896 Marais transferred the ownership of Land en Volk to J.Y. O'Brien and left South Africa for Europe. The Dutch De Pers and the English Press were both started by Alois H. Nellmapius, by birth a Hungarian, a large-scale farmer and financier and an outspoken supporter of President Kruger. Eugene Marais served as assistant editor of De Pers whilst still connected with Land en Volk. The editor for some time was P.G.W. Grobler, later Minister of Lands in General Hertzog's first Cabinet. Baron Gluckstein, first editor of the Press, had a disagreement with the owner and severed his connection in 1893. He was succeeded by Leo. Weinthal (1865-1930) who was born in Graaff Reinet and after education in Hamburg and at Port Elizabeth trained as a photographer¹⁴⁾. He was appointed State Lithographer to the Transvaal in 1889 and became on terms of personal friendship with the President who proposed his appointment to the newspaper. A few months later Nellmapius died and Weinthal persuaded the mining magnate J.B. Robinson to buy the papers, Weinthal himself remaining managing editor. He resigned after a difference of opinion in 1897 and left for Natal where he remained until returning to Pretoria the following year to start the Pretoria News. He left Pretoria for London in June 1902 which was to be his home for the remainder of his life. The Transvaal Observer flourished from 1886-1891 edited by F. Reginald Statham, a biographer of President Kruger, who also served at various times on the Kimberley Independent and the Natal Witness¹⁵⁾. The ubiquitous and energetic Eugene Marais also doubled for a time the editorship of the Observer and Land en Volk. During the Anglo-Boer War Eugene Marais remained in Europe and Franz Engelenburg accompanied by Izaak Wallach, the manager of Die Volkstem, made his way by a circuitous route to Portugal. The imprint of A.J. Momberg, Pretoria appears on an address presented to Field Marshall Lord Roberts on 10 July 1900 which is preserved in the Africana Museum, Johannesburg. Eugene Marais was the first to reach Pretoria and reopen a newspaper after peace was restored but his health was further undermined by his hardships and by a severe

bout of malaria contracted on the East Coast whilst waiting to re-enter the Transvaal. He restarted Land en Volk in September 1902 with Gustav S. Preller as editor¹⁶⁾. From 1891 when he finished his schooling until war broke out in 1899 Preller (1875-1943) gave no hint of the qualities which made him an outstanding writer, historian and lover of Afrikaans. He was at first a shop assistant and then a clerk rising to be chief clerk in the Department of Mines. In 1903 he left Marais to become assistant editor of Die Volkstem and was succeeded on Land en Volk by J.S.M. Rabie. After Rabie Marais again took over for a short time but in 1907 on the advice of General Botha the paper ceased publication. After hostilities Dr. Engelenburg again reopened Die Volkstem assisted by Nathan Levi who had joined him in 1896 and by G.S. Preller who came over from Land en Volk in 1903. In 1905 De Volksstem Maatschappij Bpk. was succeeded by Wallach's Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd. of which Dr. Engelenburg himself was first chairman and his old associate Izaak Wallach the first managing director.

A.J. Downes records the names of several leading trade unionists of circa 1898 who became Pretoria Master Printers in the early years of the present century, among them James Walker and A.J. Snashall (Walker & Snashall), L.P. Gindra and George Green (Caxton Printing Works) and R.J. Verbeek (Atlas Printing Works). About 1903 Lebbink & Co. in Schubart Street printed The Transvaal Reformer edited by Daniel Tucker. In 1907 the plants of the Transvaal Advertiser and of Land en Volk were sold at auction and as a result of the dispersal of the machinery three new jobbing printers set up in business, all of them former S.A.T.U. members¹⁷⁾.

After the war the Pretoria News changed to a pro-British policy and in 1906 Vere Stent, born in King William's Town in 1872, an admirer of Cecil Rhodes, sometime engineer at De Beers' Mine, became editor, a post which he held until 1920¹⁸⁾. In 1910 G.S. Preller who had been actively concerned with the Tweede Afrikaanse Taalbeweging helped to launch De Brandwag in Pretoria, of which he became joint editor, to provide an outlet for serious Afrikaans writing and for poetry. In 1915 Verbeek's Atlas Printing Works was taken over by the National Party to launch Ons Vaderland (later Die Vaderland). In 1925 G.S. Preller who had just succeeded Dr.

Engelenburg as editor of Die Volkstem left unexpectedly to assume the post of Chief Editor of Ons Vaderland. Eugene Marais had continued writing and contributing to the press but had no other connection with printing and publishing for twenty years until 1927 Preller offered his old friend a home and a job on Ons Vaderland. Early in 1936 he accompanied the Preller family into retirement at Pelindaba but recurrent bouts of malaria and the injudicious use of drugs had undermined his physical and mental stamina and he ended his own life. Although he made such a notable contribution to the Pretoria Press it is chiefly as a writer of Afrikaans and particularly as a poet that he is best remembered. Preller on retirement was appointed Government historian, an appointment which he retained until his death in 1943. His passing marked the end of an era for the Dutch and Afrikaans press in Pretoria, the great Dr. Engelenburg having predeceased him five years earlier. Engelenburg was succeeded at Die Volkstem by C.S. Coetzee in 1929 and he in turn was followed by H.C. de Kock in 1942. In 1949 the paper was transferred to Johannesburg and on 31 March 1951 it concluded a run of seventy-eight years, the longest run of any Dutch or Afrikaans paper except for the century long run of De Zuid-Afrikan (Ons Land) from 1830 to 1930.

* * *

When Celliers' plant was purchased in 1888 to form the nucleus of the Staatsdrukkerij, P.W.T. Bell remained with the plant and was appointed first Government Printer¹⁹⁾. In August 1888 he had with him two clerks, six compositors, and two machine minders. A larger building on Koch Street was built at a cost of £22,000 and was ready for occupation in 1896. The equipment, as the British in 1901 were willing to testify, was in the Dutch style and everywhere of a very high standard.

When Lord Roberts occupied Pretoria in June 1900 the Government Gazette section was put under the supervision of John Keith of the Transvaal Advertiser but shortly afterward it was decided to appoint a new set of officials. P. C. Falconer, who had been manager of Land en Volk, was appointed Controller of Printing, A.W.B. Murray was Works

Manager, and A.D. Skea Principal Clerk ²⁰⁾. The Intelligence Department recruited twelve men in Durban, all of them compositors, and these with three bookbinders formed the nucleus of the new staff. The S.A.T.U. has preserved the names of the twelve who became known as The Twelve Apostles or The Pilgrim Fathers. Fortunately two or three of them were capable machine minders as well as compositors. Their names were Alfred Archer, Sandy Aitken, Benny Bees, J. Davidson, Jack Day, J. Farrell, Sandy Fraser, Jack Humphrey, Tom Kirby, David Milne, J. Todd and Allan Weir. They left Durban with Military permits on 4 August 1900 and began work in Pretoria on the 8th. Jack Humphrey became foreman of the Composing Department, a position he was to occupy for many years. ²¹⁾

P.C. Falconer retired in March 1907 and died suddenly on 29 April. He was succeeded by F.W. Knightly, manager of the Railway Printing Works which he had started as a small print shop in Pretoria in 1901 and had subsequently removed to Germiston. Mr. A.W.B. Murray was still the works manager. With Mr. Knightly's appointment the Railway Printing Works closed and the plant was transferred back to Pretoria ²²⁾.

For many years after 1900 the future of the Government Printing Works was in doubt and the position of Government Printer one of both difficulty and delicacy. The Transvaal was a British Colony and the G.P. a civil servant open to service criticism from overseas and to local criticism from the public he was required to serve. In 1906 a Civil Service Commission report recommended the closing of the G.P.W. and five hundred people attended a protest meeting chaired by the Mayor at the City Hall. In December 1910 argument reached the floor of the Assembly: J.W. Jagger and Edgar Walton were for abolition: Harry Sampson, then President of the S.A.T.U., supported by Sir Percy Fitzpatrick, argued for retaining the G.P.W. In 1912 a fresh attack was made on the G.P.W. by Cape interests in what appears to have been an inter-provincial squabble rather than a reasoned argument for or against the G.P.W. It was pointed out that artisans' wages were then £3.10.0 a week in Cape Town and £5.15.0 in Pretoria but in fact then, as now, a large amount of Parliamentary and other Government printing was put out to tender and produced by private contractors so that the relative wage rates did not necessarily determine the prices quoted for Government work ²³⁾.

Mr. Knightly's original appointment was to the Transvaal Government but at Union in 1910 he was confirmed as first Government Printer to the newly formed Government of South Africa.

With the formation of the N.I.C. in 1919 and the serious discussions which ensued between the S.A.T.U. and the employers on the question of the Closed Shop the position of Union membership at the G.P.W. again came up for attention. Against the advice of the Union a substantial minority of the G.P.W. staff voted in 1923 to opt out of the N.I.C. for printing and asked to be placed under Public Service regulations. The Union officials then approached the matter from another angle and secured a substantial majority for a resolution that the G.P.W. should not be excluded from the scope of Conciliation Boards. The first Conciliation Act which gave legal recognition to Councils was passed in the following year and the Council, after registration under the Act, took over the work of the Boards in so far as they related to printing thus automatically including the G.P.W. staff within its area of jurisdiction²⁴⁾.

Fred W. Knightly remained in office long enough to see another new building occupied in February 1926 and in December 1926 left to take up, at the request of the British Colonial office, the post of Government Printer to the Colony of Kenya²⁵⁾.

Johannes J. Kruger, formerly with the Diamond Fields Advertiser, Kimberley, was appointed to succeed Mr. Knightly and assumed duty in 1927 being then 39 years of age. J.J. Kruger joined the Argus book shop and stationery store in Pretoria at the age of 14 in 1902. Except for a short spell at Potchefstroom Theological College 1904-1905 and for war service as a Captain in the 12th S.A. Infantry in the first World War, he spent the whole of his life in print and prior to becoming G.P. most of it had been with the Argus Group of Companies. In 1905 he joined the Star, Johannesburg but was sent almost at once to the Bloemfontein Post. In 1907 he was back at the Star; then followed a short time with the Publicity Department of South African Railways until in 1912 he joined the Argus Group in Cape Town at the invitation of Robert Muir. After war service he studied at the London School of Printing before rejoining the Argus in Cape Town in December 1918 on appointment as works manager of their jobbing department. In 1919 this department was sold

to Cape Times and J.J. Kruger was appointed advertising and circulation manager, an appointment which he held until transferred to the Diamond Fields Advertiser in 1922. The Government Printing Works expanded under his leadership both in numbers and in variety of equipment. The works which had been restarted in 1900 with fifteen artisans had a staff of about four hundred and fifty in 1916. The staff had risen to about seven hundred when J.J. Kruger took office and was approximately one thousand four hundred when he retired. The innovations with which his name is particularly linked include the installation of gravure printing for postage stamps in 1930, the substitution of photo-lithography for letterpress in order to print voters' rolls from typewritten originals and eliminate typesetting, and the installation of a 64pp. König & Bauer rotary letterpress machine for the more prompt and economical production of the Government Gazette. In the Second World War the Government Printer was promoted to Colonel and as O.C. Army Printing and Stationery Services was responsible for the manning and equipment of a complete mobile printing and lithographic map making unit which rendered valuable service in East and North Africa and in Italy. Col. Kruger's honorary services to the industry included a spell as Secretary of the Cape Chamber of Printing under Allen Thompson of the Cape Times 1920-1921: he assisted his chief Robert Muir at this time in the extremely difficult negotiations which led to the winding up of the Printers' ^{Benefit} Association in Cape Town, a major step forward bringing the Cape into line with the remainder of South Africa in relation to the affairs of the National Industrial Council. He was the first employer delegate to the National Industrial Council nominated from Kimberley and in that capacity attended the Fourth Meeting of Council at Bloemfontein in November 1922, thereafter he appeared regularly at Council meetings until his retirement in 1948. He was third Chairman of the National Printing Apprenticeship Committee, a position he held for eleven years. He was made an Honorary Life Member of the S.A.T.U. in recognition of his services to apprentice training. In July 1948 Col. Kruger retired and was succeeded by S.A. Myburgh who is still in office.

The staff of the Government Printer has contributed generously in

distinguished leadership to the S.A.T.U. Ivan Walker, A.J. Downes and T.C. Rutherford all left the G.P.W. to become fulltime officials of the Union and each in turn gave, in fact T.C. Rutherford is still happily giving, distinguished service as General Secretary Organiser. Ivan Walker went on from industrial to national service when Gen. J.C. Smuts appointed him Secretary for Labour in which position he materially assisted in architecting South Africa's Industrial Conciliation legislation.

* * *

After Pretoria the next Transvaal locality to have a printing press was Pelgrimsrus where the Gold Fields Mercury opened on the occasion of the gold rush in 1874 and ran until 1878. In the Anglo-Boer war the Staatsdrukkerij set up for a short time at Pelgrimsrus and some Republican paper money was printed there in 1900²⁶⁾. A short-lived periodical, the Wakkerstroom Wasp, was printed in that town in 1881²⁷⁾. A mad scramble of printers as well as miners descended upon Barberton in 1886. Within a few months there were three papers at the diggings and a fourth opened in the following year. Gordon Cameron's Barberton Herald started as a weekly on 4 May 1886. Percy Fitzpatrick edited the paper for a time after having been successively bank clerk, transport rider and hotel manager. He left for the Rand in 1889 but the paper continued until 1892. The Gold Field News and the Lowveld Leader also appeared in 1886. The News was incorporated in the Leader in 1947 and the combined paper still flourishes. The Jester opened in 1887²⁸⁾.

* * *

When the Rand diggings were proclaimed in 1886 there was an unprecedented rush of traders of all sorts, including printers. Jimmy Fraser, one of the Typo. Union Rand pioneers, later recalled that seven or eight papers appeared within three-and-a-half years of the proclamation. A.J. Downes lists four morning and three afternoon papers which appeared between 1887 and 1890²⁹⁾. In the latter part of 1886 or at latest within the first few weeks of 1887 William Crosby trekked to the diggings from Aliwal North and Charles W. Deecker re-entered the Transvaal from the Cape. They had a neck-and-neck race to publish the first paper on the Reef. Crosby had his own press office on Market Square

but Deecker made arrangements to have his paper printed in Pretoria. When Deecker injudiciously asked Crosby to print some announcement for him Crosby took advantage of him and put out his paper a day before Deecker. Crosby's Diggers News & Witwatersrand Advertiser appeared on Thursday 24 February 1887 and Deecker's Transvaal Mining Argus on the day following. Deecker's wife assisted on the Argus and has a claim to be regarded as South Africa's first professional woman journalist³⁰⁾. Deecker later secured his own printing press and as some compensation for his earlier disappointment turned the Argus into Johannesburg's first daily. Emmanuel Mendelssohn of Johannesburg in association with R.S. Scott of Queenstown published The Standard & Transvaal Mining Chronicle on Saturday 12 March 1887 as a four-page trifle produced by hand on a Columbian press under canvas. Scott's Standard and Crosby's Diggers News merged in 1889 as the Standard & Diggers News supported by and sympathetic toward the Kruger administration. In the records of the N.P.U. for 1890 the publisher is given as W.S. Rodworp. The proprietors were Mendelssohn & Bruce³¹⁾. The brothers Thomas and George Sheffield from Grahamstown arrived in 1887 and occupied a modest brick and iron shanty in President Street from which the Eastern Star reappeared on Monday 17 October 1887. There were about three thousand five hundred people at "the camp" as Johannesburg was then known and The Star at its best sold as many as 1,750 copies an issue which they claimed was several hundreds in advance of any other paper. When Francis J. Dormer came to Johannesburg intending to start a new journal he found six or seven already and changed his mind, deciding it would be better to buy out an existing paper. The Sheffields were approached but were unwilling to sell: they agreed to a merger of interest and the Staats Courant of 1 May 1889 published the prospectus of the Argus Printing & Publishing Co. Ltd. capitalised at £70,000 with offices in Johannesburg, Cape Town, Kimberley and London, England. Dormer himself was Managing Director, Thomas Sheffield was one of the six directors, and George Sheffield the acting Secretary. In March 1889 the title was shortened to The Star. In June the paper was printed for the first time from a newly built and enlarged works facing on Pritchard Street and on 1 July 1889 The Star

became a daily³²⁾. Several papers started in Johannesburg in the 'nineties although most were short-lived. The Critic started in 1890 edited by Henry Hess and produced by the Critic & Burlesque Printing & Publishing Syndicate. It was later renamed The Transvaal Critic and survived until 1919³³⁾. The Transvaal Argus ran 1893-1894. The Johannesburg Times ran 1895-1898 and The Transvaal Independent appeared briefly in 1896³⁴⁾. The Comet appeared in place of The Star for a few weeks in 1897 as described elsewhere. A little later The Mail & Sceptic appeared edited by F.J. Tiddy and printed at C. Coleman & Co's Eclipse Printing Works in Fordsburg³⁵⁾. The Transvaal Leader, associated with the Cape Times, took over the plant of the Johannesburg Times in 1899³⁶⁾. The paper survived until 1914 when it closed in terms of a friendly understanding with the Rand Daily Mail. The war-time Johannesburg Gazette was produced from June 1900 to December 1901 at the office of the Standard & Diggers News which had ceased publication³⁷⁾. De Rand Pos started in 1898 and published a daily oorloqseditie from October 1899 to May 1900³⁸⁾. In 1902 Harry Freeman Cohen bought the old Standard and Diggers News and reissued the paper as the Rand Daily Mail with Edgar Wallace as editor. Edgar Wallace was drafted to Simonstown with the Army Medical Staff Corps in 1896 and found time for writing news items and Kipling style poetry which was published by Cape Times, The Owl, East London Daily Dispatch, the South African Review and other papers. He bought his army discharge in May 1899 and covered the advance of Lord Roberts as a Reuter's correspondent³⁹⁾.

Most of the early newspapers undertook jobbing and a number of the larger offices were equipped for lithography. Early lithographic work survives from the Argus Printing & Publishing Company, the Caledonian Press at 43 Loveday Street and the Transvaal Leader office. The Africana Museum possesses a multi-coloured lithographed score of Het Volkslied from the Argus office 1891. The colour work is crude but is redeemed by finely drawn duotone portraits of Presidents Burgers, Kruger and Pretorius. The Museum also possesses colour lithographs from the Caledonian Press 1905-1911⁴⁰⁾. Offset lithography was introduced by Esson & Perkins about 1910⁴¹⁾.

In the years immediately before and after the Anglo-Boer war printers proliferated⁴²⁾. Unlike so many of the newspapers which died young a number of these early printers were well founded and still flourish. Several early members of the first Transvaal Typographical Society (1893) became successful master printers including G.M. Horne, Jack Radford, E.H. Adlington, David Frier, and Alexander Munro. Apart from the newspaper offices already listed one of the earliest printers was Marshall & Hayne (1893) later Hayne & Gibson and now T.W. Hayne Ltd., associated with Afrikaanse Pers Bpk. Fenwick & Co. were in existence at least as early as 1896: their plant in Marshall Square was taken over by two S.A.T.U. members, W.D. Alcock and E.C. Walker in 1902. R.G. McKowen & Co. dates from 1896. The firm, later Glover & McKowen, employed Jack Radford. Kenneth B. Dickinson arrived on the Rand in 1889 and set up on his own account in 1896. He served at Ladysmith during the war but reopened for business after hostilities and the firm of Kenneth B. Dickinson (Pty) Ltd. still flourishes.

W.E. Burmester & Co. traded in President Street: in 1897 they printed the earliest extant rules of the Transvaal Typographical Society. The Mercantile Printing Works were active in 1898 with G.M. Horne as the manager. Matthews & Walker were in business in Harrison Street in 1898. Mr. Walker was an elder brother of Ivan Walker who later made such an outstanding contribution to the S.A.T.U., the National Industrial Council and to Industrial legislation. The office was taken over by the military in 1900 and renamed the Imperial Printing Office. The partners did not resume after the war. E.H. Adlington managed the war-time office and at the close of hostilities opened with Charles Wright as E.H. Adlington & Co. The business merged with McKowen and Radford to form Radford, Adlington Ltd. In 1899 there is a reference to Wood & Co. but no note of their activities. Grocott & Sherry reopened in 1901. R.L. Esson who started business in Germiston in 1896 moved to Steytler's Buildings in Loveday Street in 1901. The firm became Esson & Perkins and in 1917 was incorporated as R.L. Esson & Co. Ltd. In 1903 they were officially appointed printers and stationers to Lord Milner. In 1902 a small firm Furnage & Folkey started business: Harry Sampson who later held Cabinet

office, worked here for a time as a Jack-of-all-trades, obtaining special permission from the Union to act as a general hand. In 1903 W.E. Hortor, a free-lance agent collecting print orders for execution overseas, started on his own with a few small platens. In 1907 he joined A. Downing who was managing the Johannesburg branch of the London firm Barrup, Mathieson & Co. The new firm took over both plants and was incorporated as W.E. Hortor & Co. Ltd. In 1914 or 1915 the company took over the plant and buildings of the Transvaal Leader. In 1905 the Rand Daily Mail closed their jobbing department and in the following year launched the Sunday Times, South Africa's first Sunday newspaper.

* * *

Before the end of the nineteenth century printing spread to a number of towns on the Reef and in the Transvaal Platteland beginning with Klerksdorp 1888 where H.M. Guest printed The Representative, later the Mining Record. He wrote and printed much connected with the history of the town and the conduct of the Anglo-Boer war. The Africana Museum possesses a menu on silk which he printed for a dinner in honour of State President Kruger on 9 December 1892⁴³⁾. The gold rush of 1889 brought the press to Lydenburg and to Steynsdorp⁴⁴⁾. In 1889 George Constable established George Constable (Pty) Ltd. of Boksburg specialising in printing for mining houses⁴⁵⁾. Brown's Zoutpanberg Review, first published at Pietersburg in 1890, was for some time the only paper north of Pretoria and the only paper serving an area of fifty-thousand square miles⁴⁶⁾. The Krugersdorp Times opened in 1894 and the Heidelberg News in 1895⁴⁷⁾. In 1893 Paul Gustav Schultz whose work for the Berlin Mission is described elsewhere, set up as a general printer in Middelburg, Transvaal, continuing until his death at the age of seventy eight in 1931⁴⁸⁾. J.P. Toerin,^e formerly associated with John Keith on De Republikein* at Pretoria, started Middelburg's first paper, the Courant, in January 1895⁴⁹⁾. In 1898 it

* A weekly publication (Grey 973a) not to be confused with the similarly named publication which came from Moll's press in 1864.

was renamed Middelburg en Belfast Heraut but it ceased on the outbreak of war. S. Shimeld & Co. started the Middelburg Herald on 25 April 1903 with Oscar H. Frewin as editor. The paper was republished as the Middelburg Observer under new ownership on 26 August 1904. Frewin bought the paper and published it on his own account from 30 October 1909⁵⁰⁾. Frewin took a leading part in the establishment of the Country Press Section of the Newspaper Press Union and was Chairman in 1945. He was an enthusiastic champion of the National Industrial Council and a keen collector of historical notes on the newspaper press. His presidential address to the Country Press delivered on 15 October 1945 and reprinted in pamphlet form under the title That Conference has long been a short popular introduction to the history of the Council and a tribute to the value of its work⁵¹⁾.

MISSION PRESSES AFTER 1850

In mid-century and succeeding years South Africa was fortunate in having the largest number of devoted and competent translators ever to serve this country in missionary labour at any one time. They included Robert Moffat, W.J. Davis, William Shaw, R. Haddy, John Ayliff, W.H. Shrewsbury, H.H. Dugmore, John Bennie, J. Laing, W.H. Garner, J.C. Warner, John Brownlee and his son Charles, J.A. Chalmers, Bryce Ross, James Stewart, Henry Calderwood, Henry Callaway, Bishop J.W. Colenso, the American Lewis Grout; J.L. Döhne and K.W. Posselt of the Berlin Mission; Thomas Arbousset, Paul Berthoud, Eugene Casalis and Francois Daumas of the Paris Evangelical Mission, and the Norwegian Schreuder. In addition to this wealth of linguistic talent there were several others who combined uncommon literary gifts with a practical knowledge of printing and bookbinding acquired before ordination or in preparation for their work. J.W. Appleyard, John A. Blair, William Crisp, Richard Giddy, J.H.A. Kropf, J.M.D. Ludorf, Adolphe Mabile, and John Ross were included in their number.

In 1849 the Wesleyans considered it safe to resume printing after the War of the Axe and took their press from Fort Peddie to King William's Town where it was reopened under the Rev. J.W. Appleyard. It was removed to nearby Mount Coke in 1853 where a large body of Mfengu (Fingoes) had been settled in the pacification which followed the war of Umlanjeni. Here Appleyard completed the Xhosa Bible, the second complete vernacular Bible, producing a revised New Testament in 1854 and the Old Testament in two volumes in 1858 and 1859¹⁾. Appleyard retired in 1873 and the press was removed to Grahamstown in 1876 when improving communications made it economical to send printing overseas²⁾. The press was later sold with the assistance of Mr. A.S. Coates, a Wesleyan layman on the staff of the Grahamstown Journal³⁾. Appleyard's printing office, now part of the Mount Coke Mission Hospital, was declared a national monument in 1958. It houses a fine Albion press of 1831 and used to print the Cathcart Chronicle and believed by local tradition to be Appleyard's original. Unfortunately documents which might have established the connection beyond doubt were sent to a waste-paper collection in World War II⁴⁾.

In 1857 was the highwater mark of achievement at the London Missionary Society's station at Kuruman. The Tswana Bible remains its chief claim to fame and although the press continued to print spelling books, hymn books, school text books in Geography and arithmetic and ephemeral papers, the general character of the work slowly changed and reprints or revisions replaced the original translations of an earlier period. Revised and enlarged editions of the Tswana Hymn Book were printed at intervals until 1893⁵⁾ and a Tswana Pilgrims Progress with illustrations originally printed in 1848 was reprinted in 1894⁶⁾. Between 1863 and 1866 the Kuruman Press printed the first works in Sindi-bele for the Inyati Mission in Matabeleland which Moffat founded in 1858. A translation of Line Upon Line originally issued in 1850 was reprinted in 1890⁷⁾. John Tom Brown's Geografi of 1892 was a revised and rather more comprehensive version of a similar work printed in 1862⁸⁾. Moffat's original iron press which had been carried by ox-wagon to Kuruman in 1831 was thrown out and forgotten until rediscovered by the diligence of Mr. John Ross, Kimberley City Librarian, and carried to the Kimberley Library where it is still to be seen⁹⁾.

Bishop Hans Peter Hallbeck of the Moravian Brethren arrived at the Cape in 1817 at the age of thirty three and made his headquarters at Genadendal¹⁰⁾. On a trip to Tyumie in 1828 he saw and admired the printing press and wished to have one at Genadendal. An old style wooden press, the gift of the brethren of Zeist in Holland was received in 1834, but there was no one to work it and it was put on one side for more than twenty years. In 1855 Benno Marx was director of the Mission's vocational training school, and with his assistant Andreas Gustav Hettasch he took the printing press out of its corner and about 1859 began to print. Difficulties arose and an appeal was made for a new and improved press. The Society for the furtherance of the Gospel then gave an iron Columbian press on which much good work was done. An old sketch shows the press with a crew of five in attendance, two pressmen - one to roll the ink, a flyboy and a spare hand. Whilst Marx was superintending the printing in one room Hettasch with three assistants was attending to the binding in another room. Some early text books were even bound in leather and gilt-edged.

For some years after 1864-65 the Mission passed through a time of financial stringency and the publication of text books was interrupted as it proved unprofitable. The Mission press survived into the present century but for a long time did not contribute significantly to the production of printed matter. More recently the press has been re-equipped and in 1966 produced a handsomely bound history of the Mission 1737-1869.

After completing the Sesuto New Testament in 1848 the outbreak of further violence brought printing at the Paris Evangelical Mission press to a standstill and work was not resumed until the arrival of Mr. Schuh in 1852¹¹⁾. Renewed fighting again brought the work to a halt in 1858. Another attempt was made to open up the work between 1862 and 1865 but it suffered further interruptions. Mr. Ellenberger became Missionary and part-time printer in 1866, removing the press for greater safety first to Bethesda and later to Masitise. The country remained in a state of turmoil and little could be done until British Sovereignty was established in 1869. In the meantime a second printing office had been started by Mr. Mabile for the Paris Evangelical Mission at Morija in what is now Lesotho (1860). He started with a small hand press and made it his main task to translate and print Scripture portions in Sesuto. Amongst other works he started a monthly vernacular newspaper The Little Light of Basutoland in 1864. In 1874 the press was transferred from Masitise and linked with that at Morija. The combined press now turned to the production of educational supplies and by 1879 had printed works on Geography, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Sesuto Grammar, English-Sesuto Exercises, and a Sesuto-English Dictionary. Adolphe Mabile brought a larger and improved press with him from Europe in 1882 and until his death in 1894 printed a succession of important works including a 442-page commentary on St. Luke, A 470-page Bible Dictionary and a 490-page Sesuto-English Dictionary which was completed a few weeks before his death. Few Missionaries understood so well the necessity for a native literature and none have done more to provide it.

In 1904 M. Charles Labarthe, a printer from Geneva, was appointed manager of the press. New machinery was purchased, a comprehensive pro-

gramme of modernisation was initiated, and power was provided by an oil engine. The field of publications was widened to include New Testament commentaries, school readers and grammars, science primers, studies of Sesuto Folk Lore and vernacular literature by native authors. The press was operated on a strictly business basis and has been financially self-supporting since 1870. It became a major source of vernacular literature for Sotho speaking Africans in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State whilst African printers trained at Morija not infrequently crossed the border in search of work. The press developed very much on the same lines as Lovedale with which a correspondence was maintained. By 1911 Morija sold sixty thousand cased books a year from its own production beside Bibles and Testaments printed for the Mission by the British and Foreign Bible Society. When M. Jacques Zurcher was appointed manager of the press in 1920 a further period of expansion began which continued during the thirty years of his leadership. During this period Morija could boast of having printed works in five European and twenty-five African languages.

The Anglican Church and their Missionary Body, the Church Missionary Society, were late starters on the Mission field but commanded very considerable resources and soon set about making up for lost time¹²⁾. Their earliest press was set up through the inspired leadership of John William Colenso (1814-1883) Bishop of Natal. Colenso had published an Elementary Zulu-Kaffir Grammar and a Kaffir(Zulu) Dictionary compiled by J. Perrin in London prior to his departure for South Africa¹³⁾. His first press was established at Ekukanyeni (Bishopstowe) near Pietermaritzburg shortly after his arrival in 1855 where he engaged as his first compositor a native named Magema Fuze who was found to be still alive at an advanced age in 1922¹⁴⁾. An Elementary Zulu Grammar was printed in 1859 and in the same year Colenso's First Steps in Zulu was given out to be printed by Peter Davis in Pietermaritzburg. A Zulu Exodus was printed in 1882.

Springvale Mission of the Church Missionary Society was founded in 1859 in the Ixopo district and a press was set up there by the Rev. Canon Henry Callaway M.D. who was consecrated in 1873 as first Bishop of Kaffraria. The Springvale press started work in 1866, producing

Callaway's Zulu Folk Lore in 1868 and his Religious Systems of the Ama-Zulu which was published in three parts 1868, 1869 and 1870. A Zulu Book of Common Prayer appeared in 1871 and Aba Profeti, a translation of the Prophets in 1872.

The Springvale press was moved to St. Johns, Pondoland about 1875 and here Callaway printed a Zulu reader Incwadi Yokukqala Yokufunda and a Zulu translation of the Pentateuch and Joshua entitled Ingenesisi Neyeksodu Nabalevi Nokubala &c. Other significant work in Zulu came from L.H. Döhne and later from the Mariannahill Monastery press. Döhne's Zulu-Kaffir Dictionary produced at the request of the Government in 1857 was the first complete dictionary in any South African language. Döhne had reached the letter F when Dr. Bleek visited him in 1855. The completed work was printed by G.J. Pike in Cape Town¹⁵⁾.

In the 80's the Anglican Church opened three further presses. The Church Missionary Society had a press at Bloemfontein under the Rev. William Crisp, the son of a printer who was himself trained as a printer before taking orders. At St. Cyprians College in 1880 he published Notes towards a Secoana Grammar which ran through four editions and became the standard text-book on the language¹⁶⁾. Another Anglican press opened at Zonnebloem College in 1883¹⁷⁾. The Zululand Mission press of the Anglican Church was first established at Isandhlwana and moved to Eshowe about 1890. The equipment consisted of an Albion hand press and a few cases of type; a small platen and a treadle operated crown cylinder machine were added later. A 16-page Catechism and several thousand Zulu Hymn Books were produced and a newspaper the Zululand Times was started in 1907. In 1916 Mr. T. George Tallentyre, a London compositor, took over the printing office and continued to run it as a commercial concern¹⁸⁾.

Paul Gustav Schultz (b.1853), a German printer, set up a Mission press for the Berlin Mission at Bothsabelo near Middelburg in the Transvaal in 1881. The principal of the Mission at the time was the Rev. Alexander Merensky, father of the prospector Dr. Hans Merensky. Schultz printed a New Testament, a Hymn Book and other Mission literature but closed the press in 1893 to commence business as a commercial printer in Middelburg¹⁹⁾. The original Mission building named Fort Merensky, erected in 1865, was

recently restored by the Simon van der Stel Foundation²⁰⁾.

An important press which survives to the present day is the Roman Catholic Mission press at Mariannahill Monastery near Pinetown, Natal²¹⁾. The Monastery was started in 1882 and within a year possessed, in addition to the monastic buildings, a bakery and workshops for tin-smiths, blacksmiths, printers and wagonmakers. Brother Charles (Karl Kroner) the present gatekeeper was printer to the Monastery for forty years. The plant includes an interesting German Phoenix IV press imported in 1900 after winning the Grand Prix at the Paris Exhibition and a modern Heidelberg platen installed in 1966. A.T. Bryant's Zulu-English Dictionary produced at Mariannahill in 1905 is still regarded as the best Zulu Dictionary. It contains twenty thousand Zulu words with many idiomatic illustrations. It is now being revised for the first time after a useful life of more than sixty years. Um Africa, a weekly paper in Zulu has been published since 1929.

Although Lovedale Mission was re-established after its destruction in the war of 1846-57 there was no printing or binding until 1861 when the Rev. William Gov^oen, first principal of the Lovedale Institution, collected £1,000 privately and with it opened a new press department. Robert Stocks, a printer, was brought from Scotland and the Rev. Bryce Ross was appointed translator and editor²²⁾. The press reached a new peak of activity under Dr. James Stewart of the Free Church of Scotland who became second principal of the Institution in 1870²³⁾. From the new Lovedale Indaba (The News) appeared in August 1862 and continued until February 1865²⁴⁾. In 1876 Dr. Stewart divided the bilingual The Kaffir Express, first established in 1870, into an English journal entitled Christian Express and a Xhosa Journal, Isiqidimi Sama-Xosa (The Xhosa Messenger), Isiqidimi ran for eighteen years and was latterly edited by J. Tengo Jabavu who left Lovedale in 1884²⁵⁾. Lovedale is notable for the early encouragement given to Bantu authors and translators. A Xhosa Pilgrim's Progress translated by the Rev. Tiyo Soga, the first fully qualified Bantu Minister, ran through three editions in 1875, 1880 and 1889. It is said of Soga's work that it is "as fine in Xhosa as Bunyan's is in English"²⁶⁾. Daniel Mzamo produced in Xhosa The Sermon of the Angel in

1875²⁷⁾, and Alfred Kropf's "scholarly and accurate" Kaffir-English Dictionary was produced here in 1899²⁸⁾. Lovedale also produced an early alphabet and spelling book in Chinyanja the language of the tribes near Lake Nyasa (1881)²⁹⁾. George McCall Theal, the historian, taught at Lovedale and his early works were produced 1873-1878 at the Institution press³⁰⁾.

Lovedale, like Morija, learned to live with the challenge of the commercial age and continued a vigorous existence through into the twentieth century³¹⁾. In 1928 Lovedale took the first steps towards putting the press on a firm commercial footing. The work of the press itself was separated from the missionary activities of the Institution and a director was appointed who had under him managers responsible for printing and for publishing. The press set itself to cater for the growing educational and literary needs of the Bantu producing books printed and bound by Bantu workers and sold at prices which their readers could afford. Their editorial staff continued the task of providing simplified and uniform orthographies for African languages. By 1941 Lovedale had a well-equipped plant, including a modern Monotype caster and keyboard with several hundred matrices for Bantu-language symbols, three letterpress printing machines, four platens, and a well-equipped bindery. There are eleven trained employees, nine trainees, and eight assistants, all Bantu*. Lovedale sold more than one hundred and twenty thousand cased books a year besides pamphlets and other ephemeral publications and was a major source of vernacular literature in more than twenty African languages. Lovedale assumed all the normal commercial risks of a publishing house and by 1945 had printed original works of twenty-four Bantu authors and composers³²⁾.

* The rates of pay were female assistants first year 6/-, second year 7/6, 3rd year 9/- per week; male assistants 10/- per week; bindery hands from 38/- to 45/- per week, composers and machine minders from 40/- to 50/- per week. In addition ten adult male employees enjoyed subsidised housing.

Although there was a decline in the relative and absolute importance of the Mission presses through the second half of the nineteenth century, their work was of permanent value altogether unrelated to its volume especially in the field of Bantu language and literature, Bantu education, and more particularly in introducing to the Bantu the choicest specimens of literature produced by western culture. In the twentieth century Lovedale and Morija trained and provided a steady flow of skilled Bantu workers for the new Bantu presses which supplied literature in the vernacular and of particular importance to the subsequent work of the National Industrial Council was the wage structure developed first by Lovedale and subsequently by the Bantu Press (Pty) Ltd. The managers of these Institutions were of the greatest help in establishing equitable terms for the employment of Bantu throughout the printing industry, particularly the employment of skilled Bantu in the service of their own people.

TYPE SETTING MACHINES AND THE
ROTARY NEWSPAPER PRESS

The introduction of the web-fed rotary printing press after 1893 and more particularly the type setting machine after 1898 brought about greater changes in ten years than in the whole of the previous century. The adoption of steam powered cylinder presses in the 'sixties and 'seventies had reduced the physical labour and significantly increased the rate of striking but did not introduce fundamental structural changes in the industry. The rotary presses introduced in the 'nineties were only capable of printing newspapers and their introduction marked a decisive break between newspapers and jobbing. Although typesetting machines were adopted by both newspaper and general printers it was in the offices of the larger urban daily newspapers that linotypes were installed in batteries and made their greatest impact. Improving communications for both gathering news and distributing newspapers coupled with the ability to produce large editions within a few hours enabled the more progressive urban dailies to establish something approaching local monopolies in the coverage of national and international news. But the new equipment required capital investment on a scale far greater than before and therefore favoured the large company against the small independent. The Argus Company, for example, was initially capitalised at £70,000 and when an increase to £100,000 was decided on towards the end of 1895 the additional £30,000 was at once subscribed by Barney Barnato¹⁾. The scramble for circulation and the growth in size and circulation of the more successful papers was accomplished by a series of mergers, take-overs, and mutual arrangements designed to reduce competition in urban areas resulting in the elimination of the less successful journals, an overall reduction in the number of survivors, and a degree of built-in protection for those which remained because of the very heavy expense of entering the field from

scratch as both J.B. Robinson and I.W. Schlesinger discovered to their cost²⁾. At the same time there was a change in the character of the country press which could no longer hope to compete in the field of national news coverage but was by force of circumstances constrained to report mainly local news.

The introduction of the typesetting machine created labour problems of a kind and on a scale for which the industry was unprepared. Each linotype did the work of three hand compositors and each machine installation caused the temporary redundancy of at least two men even if the employer was willing and one of the men adaptable for retraining. Many overseas trained operators were brought with the machines which aggravated the unemployment problem. The general upheaval caused by the Anglo-Boer war overshadowed the troubles in the printing industry so that their effects were not as serious as if they had taken place in a period of peace and of normal trade; however there were permanent effects which left their mark. The new breed of linotype operators formed an aristocracy within the trade and commanded higher wages for shorter hours than the hand-compositor or pressman. This was a break with the centuries old brotherhood of printers accustomed to think always in terms of equality amongst craftsmen and presented the newly formed S.A.T.U. with problems which were not entirely solved for a decade. Over-riding advantages for the future of the industry were the introduction of a more flexible wage structure which recognised differentials based on the responsibility and complexity of the work done and acceptance of the principle that the wage earner was entitled to a share of the benefits resulting from improved productivity.

The dislocation caused by this technical revolution forced employers and Chapels or local Union officials to meet for negotiating new basic rates and new piece scales for typesetting machine operators. The experience gained and ultimately the confidence engendered by these exchanges led to the formation of ad hoc local negotiating bodies which to some extent anticipated the subsequent work of Local Joint Boards. This was the first major step in the direction of negotiations at national level.

* * *

The power driven presses used by leading papers in the 'seventies and 'eighties were flat beds with a striking rate of about two thousand impressions an hour. The first generation of newspaper rotaries introduced between 1893 and 1899 were the reel-fed Cox-Duplex and Lancasters rated at about five thousand an hour. Their useful working life was cut short by the arrival of the second generation of newspaper rotaries after 1897 typified by the Victory stereo rotary machine with built-in folder capable of delivering twenty-thousand eight-page papers an hour. With the installation of these machines in the larger offices hourly machine capacity was increased ten fold in ten years.

For smaller offices of the period where the demand was still for something more advanced than a Wharfedale or similar cylinder machine Payne & Sons (later Dawson, Payne & Elliott) introduced the Cossar Press about 1903, an interesting example bearing the number C 139000 is still giving service at the office of the South Coast Herald at Port Shepstone. The earliest extant records refer to erection in 1921. The machine stood at Kimberley in 1934. From there it went to Ilanga lase Natal in Durban and from Durban to the Territorial News at Umtata. In 1966 it was removed to its present location³⁾.

South Africa's first web-fed rotary press was a Cox-Duplex installed by the Johannesburg Star in 1893 and christened Dora. It was replaced by a Victory in 1897 which Tom Sheffield proudly exhibited to the delegates attending the inaugural Conference of the S.A.T.U. in Johannesburg in January 1898. It was the last friendly encounter between Sheffield and the Union for some years as the Star was shortly afterwards declared a closed shop in a dispute over linotypes⁴⁾. In Cape Town the Argus installed a Cox-Duplex at a cost of £1,600 in course of a rebuilding and extension programme in 1895⁵⁾, and about 1897 Cape Times installed two reel-fed Lancasters. These were replaced by one Victory machine in 1899 and in 1904 the company found itself obliged to accept delivery of a three-reel Hoe rated at 27,000 an hour ordered under promise of a post war boom which in fact became a temporary depression⁶⁾. In 1899 the production of the Natal Witness was improved by the installation of a

rotary press⁷⁾ and the Natal Mercury installed a first generation rotary which brought congratulations from the staff to the management at the firm's annual wayzgoose*: the previous night it had produced five thousand copies of a twelve-page Mercury between 1 a.m. and 2.30 a.m. The machine was replaced by a Victory in 1905⁸⁾. Before long papers in some of the smaller centres installed new rotaries. In 1910 Wallach's Printing & Publishing Company installed a rotary for Die Volkstem and in 1913-1914 rotaries were installed for the first time in Kimberley and East London⁹⁾.

* * *

Proposals for mechanical composition were embodied in an American patent granted to Dr. Church as early as 1822¹⁰⁾. The earliest typesetting machines were patented by Mann and Sturdevant in the United States 1831 and by Young and Delcambre in England 1840¹¹⁾. The first commercially successful machines were invented by Robert Hattersley 1866 and Charles Kastenbein 186~~6~~⁹. Both arranged cold type drawn from magazines and required hand distribution¹²⁾. Ottmar Mergenthäler's linotype, built after ten years

* Wayzgoose: The origin of the printer's wayzgoose is not in doubt although the derivation of the word itself is much debated. O.E.D. merely says "etymology doubtful". In sixteenth and seventeenth century London when workshops had oiled paper windows a day was set aside near St. Bartholomew's Fair to renew the windows before winter. On this day no other work was done and the master gave his men a feast with money to buy ale. Printers attribute the name wayzgoose to the traditional "wayz" goose or stubble fattened goose which was served at table. The master's liberality arose partly from self-interest as the men declined to "light a candle", i.e. to prolong the working day into dusk by using artificial light, until after wayzgoose. Candles were extinguished at Easter. The custom is noted by Moxon, Mechanick Exercises (1632) and described by Howe & Waite 36. 37. 40. Roy Campbell is critical of the custom and calls it "a corroborree of journalists". (The Wayzgoose, London, Jonathan Cape, 1928).

work in association with James O. Clephane of Baltimore, was the first efficient and economical machine to justify lines of type automatically and to dispense with the need to clean and distribute type after use. The first production model was installed at the New York Tribune in 1886, the first in England at the Newcastle Chronicle in 1889, and the first in London at The Globe and the Financial News in 1894¹³⁾. The Monotype system was developed by Tolbert Lanston of Washington about 1889 and became widely used from 1897¹⁴⁾. Other early composing machines imported into South Africa included the Monoline, a keyboard operated slug casting machine sold in competition with the linotype, and the Typograph, a composing and line-casting machine which cast various type sizes from one universal magazine.

In and after 1898 typesetting machines came into South Africa from North America and from England for operators in the Cape, Natal and Johannesburg in such numbers over so short a time that it is difficult to be sure to whom the honour of installing the first machine must go.

As early as 27 June 1894 the directors of The Star recorded a minute to the effect that an investigation into the use of the linotype was preferable to the purchase of more cold type and when F.J. Dormer went overseas a few weeks later he undertook to investigate the economics of the linotype for use in newspaper offices¹⁵⁾. In 1897 a works manager from the Cape Times went overseas on a similar mission¹⁶⁾.

In February 1898 a letter reached the newly formed headquarters of the S.A.T.U. in Johannesburg saying that Linotype machines had arrived at Cape Town and that six more were on the water for the Transvaal. The Union unsuccessfully petitioned the Government to prohibit the importation of contract hands fearing that labour sent with the machines would aggravate local unemployment¹⁷⁾. 1898

The first Linotype in the Cape was installed at W.A. Richards & Sons and this machine, probably installed in January 1898, has strong claims to be the first in South Africa: an operator came with it¹⁸⁾. The February Journal records the arrival of two machines at the Natal Advertiser said to be the pioneers in Durban¹⁹⁾.

1898

On 1 February 1898 Model No 1 Serial Number 1466 was installed at a Natal newspaper office: this machine was without doubt the first English built machine to be installed and one of the earliest of any make to reach South Africa. A second machine from the same source was installed in August and two more in November making four in all. The records of the Linotype & Machinery Co Ltd at Altrincham are a little vague as to whether these machines were sent to the Witness in Pietermaritzburg or to the Advertiser in Durban with the balance of probability apparently in favour of the Witness²⁰⁾.

In January six Canadian built Linotypes arrived for the Johannesburg Star: they came into use in April powered by the company's steam engine²¹⁾. In March the S.A.T.U. Johannesburg Branch Committee received news of the anticipated arrival of linotypes for the Standard & Diggers' News and for the Johannesburg Times. Three newly arrived operators were interviewed and both papers were asked to give members of their staff an opportunity of learning to operate the machines²²⁾. In June the Committee had an unsatisfactory exchange with Tom Sheffield of the Star who declined to discuss rates of pay until the learners had had at least three months experience of keyboarding²³⁾. In October the Star and the Union came to an agreement which was on the whole favourable to the employers, the men being deterred from extreme action by the closure of the Johannesburg Times²⁴⁾.

The July Journal reported the installation of two Linotypes at Ernest Notcutt's S.A. Electric Printing & Publishing Co in Cape Town²⁵⁾ and other machines at the Times of Natal Pietermaritzburg²⁶⁾.

On 20 July British built Linotype Model No 4 Serial No 6310 was installed at Grocotts Penny Mail in Grahamstown²⁷⁾. W.E. Grocott and Mick Lawler were apprentices at the time and were trained on the machine. Downes says this was the first English Linotype to be brought to South Africa²⁸⁾, but the records of Linotype and Machinery Co Ltd show it to have been second in point of time although it was the first of the improved model 4's²⁹⁾. A more modest claim recently made for this machine is that it was the first linotype machine for newspaper work to come into the Cape Colony³⁰⁾.

The September Journal reports the installation of two more Lino-

types at the Natal Advertiser making four in all and refers again to the imminent arrival of machines for the Times of Natal in Pietermaritzburg³¹⁾. The Pietermaritzburg Branch Committee reported that ten men had been discharged already and that three more machines were expected. Three newly arrived contract hands were admitted to Union membership although the Branch President and the Treasurer were amongst the men retrenched³²⁾.

1898

Before the end of the year three Canadian linotypes were installed at Die Volkstem in Pretoria two of which were later transferred to the Government Printer and one to the Krugersdorp Standard³³⁾; there were also reports that linotypes had been ordered for the East London Daily Dispatch and for the Cape Mercury at King William's Town³⁴⁾.

In January 1899 the Union received a report that two Linotypes had been installed by van de Sandt de Villiers & Co and that several were on order for the Cape Argus where men were already practising on dummy keyboards. The delegates attending the Second Union Conference in Cape Town were shown the typesetting machines in operation at Ernest Notcutt's works³⁵⁾. Four linotypes were installed at the Cape Argus and a little later, because of the war, a fifth machine originally intended for the Star was installed in Cape Town³⁶⁾. Later in the year machines arrived for the Cape Times and for the South African News which started as a morning daily in opposition to the Times on 2 May 1899³⁷⁾.

1899

Three Canadian linotypes on order for the Times of Natal Pietermaritzburg arrived and more men were discharged.³⁸⁾

In June a dispute arose at the Johannesburg Star when it was learned that men were practising the Linotype in their own time without payment. Five operators were dismissed and the Star was declared closed to Union members, a rather miserable squabble which dragged on for several years. A few weeks later linotypes were received for the Standard & Diggers' News and the displaced men were re-employed. The installation at the Standard is the only recorded example of a negotiated settlement for the orderly introduction of the new machinery and the retraining of staff. Negotiations were carried out with severe formality by correspondence between the

management and the Companionship, ten men being selected for re- 1899
 training with a guaranteed 'stab wage for four weeks after which
 they were to operate the machines on an agreed scale of piecework
 charges³⁹⁾. In October three linotype operators were recruited
 by the Transvaal Leader to work the machines which that paper had
 taken over from the defunct Johannesburg Times.

In May the Pretoria News appears to have had linotypes as a
 dispute arose over the practice of slugging by 'stab hands⁴¹⁾.
 Two machines were installed at the Bloemfontein Express and three
 men were retrenched⁴²⁾. The Cape Mercury installed a linotype and
 discharged two men⁴³⁾. The East London Standard closed in Decem-
 ber only a few months after installing a linotype, which was then
 transferred to Bloemfontein⁴⁴⁾.

By 1900 the Cape Times had eight linotypes and it was alleged 1900
 that they were using type set up by learners in their own time.
 In June a bold type advertisement across two columns offered tuition
 on the linotype for a fee of £5 and a few men unwisely parted with
 their money⁴⁵⁾. In September the Natal Witness occupied new pre-
 mises rebuilt after a disastrous fire and installed seven linotypes⁴⁶⁾.
 Will Crosby's East London Daily Dispatch retrenched seven men, a
 very large proportion of the thirty journeymen who comprised the
 town's artisan staff; four could not find other employment and
 joined the army⁴⁷⁾. In December four linotypes were installed at
 the Natal Mercury in Durban and two men were discharged. The ma-
 chines were sabotaged and the guilty parties never discovered⁴⁸⁾.

With the country at war no new installations were reported but 1901
 the linotype from the defunct East London Standard was installed at
 the Bloemfontein Express and more men were discharged from the
Natal Mercury one of whom left the industry to become Chief Porter
 at the Royal Hotel⁴⁹⁾.

The S.A.T.U. membership count in Durban in 1902 was one hundred 1902
 and twenty four of whom seventy-five were hand compositors and ten
 linotype operators. The large proportion of compositors to total
 membership is noteworthy as well as the proportion already trained
 on typesetting machines⁵⁰⁾.

On reopening after hostilities the Bloemfontein Post installed

a third English linotype and the Times of Natal Pietermaritzburg 1902
 added two more making a total of six⁵¹⁾. Three Canadian built lino-
 types were installed by the E.P. Herald, Port Elizabeth, with an
 operator from the International Typographical Union of North America.
 One of the displaced compositors could not find alternative employ-
 ment and opened a stationers' shop⁵²⁾.

Three Canadian built Monoline machines were installed at the 1903
Port Elizabeth Telegraph and operated in friendly rivalry with the
 linotypes at the Herald although the Union frowned on speed tests.
 Three more Monolines were installed for a new weekly publication,
 the Eastern Province Standard printed by Chandler & Co, Port Eliza-
 beth: three contract hands were brought in. The Monoline machines
 were not very satisfactory and Mick Lawler subsequently assisted
 in their disposal to small town papers or for scrap⁵³⁾.

A Monotype, said to be the first in South Africa, was installed
 at the Pretoria News and a linotype at the Transvaal Advertiser.
 A Monotype installation of English make consisting of six keyboards
 and four casters was obtained for the Government Printing Works and
 local men were trained for operation. Several men were discharged
 from Die Volkstem and at this time twelve men were unemployed in
 Pretoria. The Union saw these additional machines as more "nails
 in the coffin which is being prepared for the last lingering remains
 of the old custom of hand-setting on piece"⁵⁴⁾.

The E.P. Herald now had four linotypes, three used on the news- 1904
 paper and one for jobbing⁵⁵⁾. The Cape Times installed Monotypes⁵⁶⁾
 and a dispute at the Pretoria News over the rates to be paid to
 Monotype operators led to the shop being declared unfair and closed
 to Union members for many years⁵⁷⁾. At about this time Jack Collins,
 assistant foreman at the Government Printing Works, and his son
 founded a Monotype trade typesetting service in Johannesburg⁵⁸⁾.

In 1909 Bill Hollington, a member of the S.A.T.U., obtained 1909-13
 three linotypes and set up a trade typesetting service in Pretoria
 contracting to supply sixty-thousand ens a day to Vere Stent's
Pretoria News when the paper was still in dispute with the Union.
 Hollington was severely criticized for undermining Union discipline⁵⁹⁾.

In 1910 Kimberley's first linotype, a Model 4 now preserved at

De Beers Open Mine Museum, was installed at the Diamond Fields Advertiser. Even at this late date no means had been found to introduce these machines without redundancies but pay cuts were restored for the men who remained in employment⁶⁰⁾.

In 1911 the Government Printer, Mr F.W. Knightly, brought in their first linotype installation consisting of five British built machines. No contract hands were engaged and local labour was used⁶¹⁾.

The Government Printer and the delegates to the Eighth S.A.T.U. Conference inspected the first Typograph machine brought into South Africa in 1911 and installed at Verbeek's Atlas Printing Works, Pretoria; another Typograph was installed at Henderson's Kimberley Star in 1913⁶²⁾.

The first rush was now over but a quick count shows that something between ninety and one hundred typesetting machines were imported within five years at a time when the total artisan labour force in South African printing was less than one thousand⁶³⁾. In the first rush to instal linotypes in England between 1890 and 1895 about two hundred and fifty machines were installed in the provinces and perhaps half as many again in London when London alone had between thirteen thousand and fourteen thousand compositors⁶⁴⁾.

The number of typesetting machines in South Africa continued to grow rapidly but the rate of increase declined in the period of bad trade experienced in the middle 'twenties: two hundred and ninety one machines were reported in 1923, three hundred and thirty one in 1925, and three hundred and eighty eight in 1927⁶⁵⁾.

At first local hands appeared reluctant to learn the typesetting machines but this reluctance soon passed and many men, especially the younger men, quickly set themselves to master the new techniques⁶⁶⁾. A Union sub-committee reported in 1899 that the linotype had not had such disastrous effects as anticipated⁶⁷⁾. Because so many of the early operators were imported with the machines they had few local loyalties: they were able to command premium wages and they rapidly displaced hand compositors as the aristocrats amongst craftsmen. Where linotypes were introduced there was a disposition on the part of management of the large urban dailies

to wean operators away from the traditional craft unions in order, it was said, to control them more effectively. The S.A.T.U. warned that this had happened in America, England, and Australia and added that it could well happen in South Africa unless the operators were willing to profit by past experience⁶⁸⁾. There was talk of forming a break-away Union and as late as 1909 Linotype operators in Pretoria had an unofficial operators' vigilance society which was eyed with suspicion by the S.A.T.U.⁶⁹⁾. The practice of setting type at piece rates did not cease overnight but as the Union had foreseen the composing machine led before long to the abolition of piece work: piece work by journeymen ceased as from 1 July 1922 and all piece work was abolished from 1 January 1927⁷⁰⁾. So ended the reign of the galley slave or pica puncher who had been the mainstay of the industry for four hundred years. If the take was early and the copy was clean with a little phat he might set two galleys in a ten-hour shift which at an average rate of 1/3d per thousand ens earned him 12/6d. He then distributed his type in unpaid overtime in readiness for the morrow. The effect of composing machines on the hand compositor was not altogether bad: once freed from the necessity of setting in quantity to earn a living he was able to study the niceties of layout and imposition for which he had neither time nor inclination when obliged to set solid matter on piece rates⁷¹⁾.

PRINTING AND PACKAGING
IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The progress of the industry in the twentieth century is marked by phenomenal growth, by technical development and by product diversification. In the Cape Town of 1897 there were only seven firms of any consequence: twelve firms were involved in the major strike of 1911 and in 1922 there were still no more than twelve firms actively associated with the Cape Chamber of Printing. The membership reached one hundred and fifty in 1967 and is still growing. Durban in 1902 had ten European owned shops rated as fair by the S.A.T.U.: the Natal Chamber of Printing now has eighty-nine members in Durban*. Twenty-three Johannesburg Master Printers were associated in negotiation with the Union of 1907 but the Johannesburg membership of the Associated Master Printers of the Transvaal now exceeds two hundred¹⁾. The industrial census of 1915-1916 recorded two hundred and twenty-two establishments who were required to make returns. When Minister F.S. Malan opened the first National Conference in 1919 there were two hundred and fifty eight establishments. The census of 1961-1962 recorded seven hundred and eight establishments. The membership of the Federation of Master Printers now exceeds seven hundred and sixty whilst in 1967 no less than one thousand five hundred and nine printing establishments were registered with the National Industrial Council²⁾. The growth in value of work done and in numbers employed has been equally spectacular. In 1919 capital employed was R3.68 million, the value of raw materials used was R1.18 million and the value added amounted to R2.6 million. In

* No reference is made here or elsewhere to the Natal Indian Master Printers Association. The important contribution which this association makes to the industry has not been overlooked but Nicprint 50 is only concerned with those bodies which are associated together as parties to the National Industrial Council for Printing.

1961-1962 R71.0 million was spent on raw materials and R75.2 million in added value. In 1919 R1.46 million was paid to 5442 employees and in 1961-1962 R34.0 million was paid to 32,996 employees. A recent reliable estimate of the total payroll including administrative and sales staff and the editorial departments of newspapers is in the region of forty-two thousand³⁾.

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Direct lithography from designs on stone was fairly widespread by the turn of the century being practised by the Argus Co, Cape Times, Ross & Cowen and van de Sandt de Villiers & Co in Cape Town, by Bennett & Davis and John Singleton in Durban, by the Natal Witness office in Pietermaritzburg and by the several Johannesburg printers listed in Chapter 8. The technical limitations of the methods employed and loopholes in the Cape Customs Tariff combined to restrict lithographers to book illustrations, local maps and plans, a little music composed locally and some security work such as share certificates and banknotes for some of the smaller country banks. Commercial lithography, bankers' cheques, packaging supplies and lithographed stationery were more advantageously imported under a customs provision which admitted engravings, lithographs, photographs and enlargements or reproductions of same free of duty. This provision was intended to refer to works of art but was so loosely worded and so liberally interpreted by the authorities that imported labels were cleared as lithographs and bankers' cheques as engravings without payment of duty. It was estimated in 1904 that if all the imported printed matter was produced in South Africa work would have been found for a further two thousand five hundred wage earners. The new customs tariff of 1906 levied twenty-five per cent ad valorem* on all printed advertising matter and in

* The general tariff on printed matter was fixed at 25%. The preferential rate of 22% applied to printed matter obtained from Great Britain or the Commonwealth. As most imported matter came from Great Britain the lower rate generally applied.

particular on catalogues, price lists, almanacs, calendars, labels, posters and show cards, account and cheque books, stationery, reports, post cards, pictorial and greetings cards; directories, guide books and handbooks relating to South Africa; cardboard boxes, paper bags, and printed wrapping paper. Although covering a wide range of printed matter the new tariff was in effect the colour printers' charter and whilst Master Printers had hoped for thirty-three and a third per cent they generally agreed that the 1906 tariff gave sufficient inducement to instal additional machinery⁴⁾. The introduction of offset lithography led to the production of commercial colour printing on an extensive scale. Since then the industry has kept pace with local needs and with overseas developments, installing batteries of small modern fast running presses for general work and some of the latest large sheet-fed offset rotaries for long runs of colour printing. The first four-colour sheet-fed press was installed by Keartland in Johannesburg and to this they added a Roland-Ultra, South Africa's only six-colour lithographic press⁵⁾. South African Litho Co Ltd were first in the Cape to instal a four-colour press and claim to be the only printers with two such presses⁶⁾. Hayne & Gibson in Durban are similarly equipped. Web-offset reel fed rotary lithographic presses have been installed by several of the larger newspaper and periodical printers including Cape & Transvaal Printers for Readers Digest; Friend Newspapers Ltd, Bloemfontein for Personality, Femina, and Farmer's Weekly; Hayne & Gibson, Johannesburg, associated with Afrikaanse Pers Bpk. (1968) for printing telephone directories, and South African Associated Newspapers, Johannesburg whose Hanscho press installed at a cost of eight hundred thousand rands is said to have been the largest machine of its kind in the world at the time it was built⁷⁾.

* * *

Photogravure printing produces monotone and multicolour work of high artistic merit and finds its main field of operation in the production of periodicals and packaging. Its development in South Africa falls wholly within the life time of the N.I.C. The Illustrated London News published its first gravure number on 12 October

1912 and in 1913 the Southend Standard became the world's first daily newspaper to add a gravure printing unit to a letterpress rotary. The application of gravure printing to flexible packaging began in the United States about 1930 with attempts to print on moistureproof cellulose film. Control of the key patents passed after litigation into the hands of the Shellmar Products Corp., now Shellmar-Betner Division of Continental Can Co, and from Shellmar the process reached South Africa between 1948 and 1951⁸⁾.

An early copy of the gravure printed Southend Standard came into the hands of George Sydney Bettison of the Cape Times who persuaded his directors in 1913 to order a Hoe gravure printer which, if delivered promptly, would have been one of the first in the world. Unfortunately the 1914-1918 war broke out and the press was not delivered until 1921 when it was attached to a four-reel Hoe newspaper press which the company had installed in 1917. The first gravure work printed in South Africa appeared with the Cape Times of 28 May 1921. On 7 May 1935 the Cape Times produced a 72pp gravure supplement to commemorate the Silver Jubilee of King George V. In the mid 'twenties the firm began commercial gravure work on a second-hand machine built by Pickup & Knowles of Manchester and in 1929 a gravure magazine press was installed at Keerom Street to print South African Ladies' Pictorial, Libertas, Fleur, and Milady. The Cape Town telephone directory was printed gravure from 1938 to 1947. The Cape Times sepia weekend supplement was a unique feature of South African journalism for more than forty years until the publication of Nasionale Fotobeeld in 1965, South Africa's first colour gravure newspaper supplement. George Bettison's son, Sydney Bettison, who followed his father at Cape Times, emigrated to India where he installed a gravure printing plant for the Times of India⁹⁾.

About 1929 Alex White of the White House Press, Johannesburg, imported the first sheet-fed gravure press for magazine work, more machines being imported after World War II and used to print Stage & Cinema, Farmer & Stock Breeder, Isacor News and the triennial Industrial South Africa. Apart from the Government Printing Works this firm is alone in using sheet-fed gravure: in 1968 they

installed a new Frankenthal Albert Palatia press¹⁰⁾.

Under Colonel J.J. Kruger the Government Printing Works installed their first gravure printer in 1931 for printing and perforating postage stamps. It was a Goebel 11-inch two-colour rotary which is still giving satisfactory service. After this preliminary appraisal of the gravure process the Government Printer installed a single-colour Johannisberg sheet-fed press in 1935, a 21½-inch three-colour Goebel reel fed-press in 1939, three 12-inch Chambon three-colour rotaries in 1950-1951 and a 35-inch five-colour Albertinia rotary in 1958. This gives the Government Printer the most varied and versatile, though perhaps not the largest, gravure installation in the Republic¹¹⁾.

Nasionale Tydskrifte Bpk. of Cape Town wrote a new chapter in magazine printing when they installed their first eight-unit four-colour Albert Frankenthal rotary press in 1963. The installation was designed by Nasionale Chief Factory Manager, J.H. Claasens, as a completely integrated unit in which machine, buildings, and ancillary services were designed as a project. The machine was used to print sixty-four page signatures for Die Huisgenoot, Sarie Marais, Landbou-weekblad and, later, for Fair Lady. A larger Frankenthal press was installed in 1967 with ten twelve-page units capable of delivering colour magazine sections of one hundred and twenty pages or broadsheet newspaper supplements such as Fotobeeld¹²⁾.

The success of Nasionale led other magazine publishers to examine their own methods. About 1966 Republican Publications (Pty) Ltd, Durban, supplemented their web-offset machine with an eight-unit Vomag rotary press of German origin¹³⁾. Die Afrikaans Pers (1962) Bpk., who had used web-offset, installed a Swiss Wifag six-unit Rotomaster 1,000 in 1967, inviting Mrs Betsy Verwoerd to press the starting button¹⁴⁾. In 1968 Trinity Printing & Publishing Co of Johannesburg installed an Italian Cerutti press for printing Drum and Post¹⁵⁾. In 1969 the Argus Printing & Publishing Co Ltd ordered an eight-unit Super Albertinia magazine press which will be installed in Durban and will take over the printing of certain magazines (but not the newspaper) now printed at The Friend office in Bloemfontein¹⁶⁾.

The first gravure printed flexible packaging was produced by the late Paul Fontenoy of Pakcel (Pty) Ltd at Cape Town about 1947. He brought to South Africa a number of second-hand table model Chambon rotary presses for printing cellulose film sweet wrapping coils. The machines, which are judged to have been built about 1929-1930, passed to Transwrap Ltd of Cape Town and in 1960 to Pretoria Paper Products (Pty) Ltd of Retreat, where one of them is still in regular use. Pretoria Paper Products' engineers designed and constructed the first gravure printing machine built in South Africa, a thirty-three inch five-colour press erected at Port Elizabeth in 1957: a larger press fifty-one inches wide was built in 1961¹⁷⁾. When Arthur W. Hayes left Pretoria Paper Products in 1965 he became associated with CAP Converting Co which built a four-colour press for Quix Products of Isando, the first gravure press to be installed by a South African manufacturer to print wrapping material for their own use¹⁸⁾.

Roto Gravure (Pty) Ltd, Cape Town, were pioneers in printing by the gravure process on aluminium foil. Their first gravure press was an American four-colour Hi-Roto installed in 1948 with technical assistance from Shellmar who continued for some time to export the printing cylinders from the United States to South Africa. Roto Gravure installed a thirty-inch Cerutti press, South Africa's first six-colour press, in 1958. In 1951 E S & A Robinson (Pty) Ltd, then located at Germiston, installed a four-colour twenty-six inch press built in England by a sister company, Strachan & Henshaw Ltd. The press was converted to five-colours in 1956. In 1959 Roto Gravure became associated with Robinson and the whole of the gravure facilities were grouped together at Ndabeni, Cape Town. In 1966 the company installed South Africa's first eight-colour gravure press¹⁹⁾.

Pactrite Industries (Pty) Ltd, a division of Nampack, installed an eighteen-inch five-colour press at Epping, Cape, which was later converted to six colours and joined by a second machine. Another Nampack associate, Herzberg Mullne (Transvaal) Ltd, installed a twenty-four inch six-colour Thrissell rotary gravure press in 1967 which was the first in South Africa designed with cutting and creasing heads for the production of complete printed carton blanks

from the reel²⁰⁾.

In 1963 British Flexible Packaging (Pty) Ltd, a Wiggins Teape Associate, installed a Halley New World six-colour press at Springs, Tvl.²¹⁾.

In 1968 Interpak Printing Division of Elandsfontein, Transvaal, a Lion Match subsidiary, installed a thirty-six inch eight-colour Bobst Champlain rotary gravure press with sheeting, cutting, creasing, and re-reeling attachments which at time of installation was and still is the largest installation of its kind in the packaging field²²⁾.

Specialised gravure installations include those of Alcan Aluminium of S.A. Ltd at Pietermaritzburg and of Duroplastic Penta Industries (Natal) (Pty) Ltd, near Durban. The former consists of two small machines installed in 1954 and 1956 respectively and a five-colour Kroenert Corona gravure press installed in 1964, all designed for colouring, decorating, or printing unbacked aluminium foil²³⁾. The latter firm installed South Africa's only central impression cylinder gravure press built to order for accurate colour printing on extensible plastic film. It is a six-colour press built for them by Beasley French & Co Ltd of Bristol, England. To this they added in 1969 an Italian built Cerutti machine²⁴⁾.

About 1955 two immigrant craftsmen, Rene Jantz and Kurt Moewes, established themselves as Kew Photogravure at Kew on the northern outskirts of Johannesburg and started the first trade cylinder engraving service. The original partnership was dissolved in 1958 and the firm later incorporated as Gravure Cylinder (Pty) Ltd removing from Johannesburg to Springs²⁵⁾. Dean's Printplate Service (Pty) Ltd established as a trade service house at Durban 1925, opened a gravure cylinder department in 1965²⁶⁾.

* * *

The South African Bank Note Co (Pty) Ltd was established at Pretoria in 1959 at a cost of approximately R1.0 million by the South African Reserve Bank jointly with Bradbury, Wilkinson & Co Ltd of New Malden, Surrey, to print in South Africa the South African currency notes which Bradbury, Wilkinson had hitherto printed in England. The process used is that of printing from steel plates engraved with elaborate patterns of incised lines designed to defeat

attempts at forgery. The original engraving engine was invented and patented by Jacob Perkins in 1819. He entered the partnership of Perkins, Bacon & Co, later Perkins, Bacon & Petch, whose earliest connection with South Africa was engraving the dies for the triangular postage stamps of the old Cape Colony in 1853²⁷⁾. The South African Bank Note Co began appropriately by printing the new rand decimal currency notes introduced in 1961²⁸⁾.

* * *

The introduction of photo-composition, teletype setting, computer controlled justification and the automatic typesetting machine have wrought a revolution at least as great technically as that touched off by mechanical composition after 1898. The effects have been controlled because the number of employees affected is relatively small and the Council provides a framework within which appropriate adjustments can be negotiated.

Photo-composition was first introduced into South Africa by the Government Printing Works under the direction of S.A. Myburgh in 1952. Westover's Roto Foto system was used and the original installation consisted of two line machines, one proofing and one paging machine. The manufacture of these machines was shortly afterwards discontinued and as spares were unobtainable the plant was written off and donated to the S.A. Museum where part of the installation is on permanent display. The subsequent development of film setting at the Government Printing Works was based on the valuable experience gained with the Roto Foto system. The Hadege system was installed in 1956, primarily for mapping work, and the Mono-photo film setter for general work was installed in 1957²⁹⁾.

South African Associated Newspapers were pioneers in applying electronics to hot metal composition³⁰⁾. The copy to be set is punched on a random tape after which the unjustified tape is fed into a computer which in turn calculates the spacing required to effect justification of the lines. The justified tape is then fed into an Elektron Linotype which automatically produces slugs at the rate of fifteen newspaper lines a minute. Spicers Ltd, South African agents for Linotypes, announced in July 1967 that three Elektron Linotypes were in use by the Rand Daily Mail and that three

more were on order for the Rand Daily Mail, the Natal Mercury and Cape & Transvaal Printers. The Johannesburg Star shortly afterwards installed computer controlled justification for use with taped typesetting machines. In 1968 Afrikaanse Pers installed the first inter-town hook-up when a high speed communication system incorporating automatic typesetting provided a continuous link between the editorial offices of Die Vaderland in Johannesburg and Hoofstad in Pretoria³¹⁾.

* * *

The printing press is useful for administration, for education, and for communication in any organised community but a demand for locally produced printed packaging materials only arises when industrial development, and particularly the food processing industries, have reached the point of producing supplies for retail sale to urban communities. It is no accident that the first printed packaging produced in South Africa was wrapping material for biscuits, butter, and fruit. An indication of the growth of demand may be had from the following time scale: the first sweet factory was opened by John Pyott at Port Elizabeth in 1884: in 1893 Adolf Anghern and Adolf Piel established the Federal Supply and Cold Storage Co Ltd and Hulett's produced their first refined sugar. In 1897 Rhodes Fruit Farms began exporting dried fruit and canned jam from the Western Cape. The following year Joseph Baynes started Natal's first dairy on the farm Nels Rust. The Imperial Cold Storage & Supply Co Ltd was formed at Cape Town in 1902 and at about the same time the Wellington Co-operative Dairy Association was formed the better to compete with imported Australian and Dutch produce. Machinery for biscuit making was imported by Bakers Ltd into Durban in 1900 and by a sister company into Cape Town in 1918. William Hind produced Nutrine in 1906, the South African Dried Fruit Co began the orderly grading and packing of fruit in 1908 and Lever Brothers began the manufacture of household and bar soap at Maydon Wharf in 1911³²⁾.

* * *

The packaging industry which developed gradually in response to this growing demand had been developing in Europe and North America

from the middle of the nineteenth century. Anatole France gave what is perhaps the oldest eyewitness account of flexible packaging: he recalls visits as a boy about 1840 to a fairy palace where young ladies were busily engaged, some in covering cakes of chocolate with a thin leaf of silvery brightness, others in enveloping these same cakes, two at a time, in white paper wrappers with pictures on them³³⁾. A little later Cadbury started wrapping cakes of chocolate in tin foil and greaseproof with an outer wrapper of printed paper. Between 1844 and 1846 Elisha Smith Robinson of Bristol, England, systematised the manufacture of paper bags by hand and converted paper bag making from a part-time occupation for grocers' apprentices into an organised factory industry³⁴⁾. The first commercially successful paper bag making machine was patented in 1859 by James Arkell, Benjamin Smith, and Adam Smith of Canajoharie, New York State³⁵⁾. Waxed paper was patented in the United States in 1866. Thompson & Norris began the manufacture of corrugated boxes in 1875 based on patents granted to Oliver Long in 1874. Five years later Robert Gair stumbled on the principles of cutting and creasing folding cartons³⁶⁾. In 1883 Carl F. Dahl of Danzig developed the sulphate process for producing strong kraft pulp used in the manufacture of paper for bags, corrugated wrapping materials and, later, for multi-wall paper sacks. In the same year the first machinery for self-opening grocery bags was built by Union Bag & Paper Corporation, now part of the Union Bag-Camp Corporation of New York³⁷⁾. Louis Chambon's first reel-fed rotary carton printing, cutting and creasing machine won a grand prix at the Paris Exhibition of 1900³⁸⁾. Flexographic printing combined with paper bag making was perfected by Charles & Auguste Holweg of Strasbourg about 1903 for which they were granted a British patent in 1908³⁹⁾. The first Bates automatic cement sack filler was used commercially with fabric bags in 1906. About 1911 strong single walled paper bags were used with indifferent success but in 1924 Adelmor Bates, at the suggestion of Mr (later Sir) Foster G. Robinson, successfully introduced the first multiwall paper sacks to the Lehigh Portland Cement Co⁴⁰⁾.

* * *

There was a tendency for packaging manufacture to be started by, and to remain in the hands of specialists. The earliest South African packaging firm was established by W.E. Laughton from London, who emigrated to Cape Town in 1896 and set up as a packaging and stationery supplier in Loop Street. He soon purchased a cropper and began making printed bags by hand. He moved to larger premises in 1919 and to the present site in Tollgate in 1921. Shortly after the move he installed four Potdevin paper bag making machines. Mr Laughton became a well known figure in town as he canvassed for orders on a bicycle invariably dressed in a black frock coat with flowered buttonhole and not infrequently mistaken for a dominee on huisbesoek. Printed glassine tobacco packets made and printed by Laughton about forty years ago for Spies Brothers of Oudtshoorn are the oldest known surviving South African made paper bags. The business is carried on by his son⁴¹⁾.

The earliest packaging business in the Transvaal was started by a Hollander, Hendrik Gerhard Ysebrand in partnership with an Englishman, Isaac Isherwood. Ysebrand, who gave his name to the company, was born in Amsterdam in 1871 and came to South Africa as a young bachelor. He returned to his home town to marry and settled with his bride in Schoemann Street, Pretoria in 1897 taking service with the Netherlands-South Africa Railway Co. After fighting with a Boer Commando at Elandslaagte in 1900 he returned to Johannesburg but was unable to resume his former employment and was obliged to look for other work. In 1902 he set up in partnership with Isherwood in Commissioner Street as manufacturers' agents carrying stationery and packaging supplies in their range of merchandise. In 1904 they began making cardboard boxes. Ten years later Isherwood withdrew and the firm was incorporated as Ysebrand & Co Ltd. After the 1914-1918 war Ysebrand retired and Abraham Marks, the firm's financial backer and a well known Johannesburg attorney, offered the management to Elias Gordon. The business expanded and in 1927 Gordon was joined by three friends: one, a relative, was Willie Lion Kalmanson; the others were W.D. Fulton, agent for the Klip River Paper Mills, and David Blumberg whose son George Blumberg is the present Managing Director of the company. Between 1927

and 1930 the firm installed paper bag and carrier making machinery and at the Empire Exhibition, Milner Park in 1936 displayed the most varied and comprehensive range of paper bags, waxed paper, and printed wrapping paper on show⁴²⁾.

When Cape Explosive Works Ltd started to produce explosives at Somerset West in 1902 the local packaging industry was not sufficiently advanced to manufacture the wrappings required and the company began making packaging, not only for its own use but for sale. The paper cartridge making house was ready in April 1903 and special paper was imported from California for the manufacture of explosive wrappers. In 1924 Cape Explosives joined other companies to form the nucleus of African Explosives and Chemical Industries and shortly afterwards began to manufacture paper bags and waxed paper on a substantial scale. In 1925 the company operated four Potdevin self-opening bag machines with printers, a Strachan & Henshaw flat and satchel bag machine mainly occupied in making explosive bags for the company's own use, and a waxing plant. The output was approximately 250,000 assorted paper bags and 2½-tons of printed waxed paper per nine-hour day. The self-opening bag machines were eventually sold and exported by the purchaser, Amalgamated Packaging Industries to a branch in the British West Indies⁴³⁾.

Shortly after the 1914-1918 war the packaging industry began to develop more rapidly. In 1920 the firm of Herzberg Mullne was established in Cape Town⁴⁴⁾, and in 1921 E S & A Robinson (South Africa) Ltd imported the first bag machine from its parent company in England, the original plant consisting of two flat and satchel bag machines, four drab sealing bag machines and one machine for making drapers' bags. The local market preferred the American self-opening bags and in 1922 the company obtained four Union bag machines followed in 1923 by three Potdevin machines and two German machines built by Windmüller & Holscher. In 1923 Robinson bought two envelope making machines from Union Bag Manufacturing Co of East London, a company primarily engaged in making up cotton bags for the flour trade. Evidently Robinson had second thoughts about entering the stationery trade for the following year the machines

were sold to John Dickinson & Co (Africa) Ltd who undertook to take over and execute the first order placed by a South African buyer for envelopes made in South Africa, an order from the Standard Bank. In 1925 Robinson imported a forty-five inch Strachan & Henshaw waxing machine with a one-colour aniline printer. Waxed bread wrapping paper had become widely adopted in the industrial North of England and had been introduced to a wider public by Smith, Nevil & Co of Acton, London, who built and operated a complete automatic bakery with bread wrapping machines at the Wembley Exhibition of 1924. In 1927 Robinson installed a forty-eight inch two-colour Northern rotary reel-fed letterpress machine at the then phenomenal cost of £1948 and used it to produce export citrus fruit wrappers⁴⁸⁾.

In 1926 Liberty Box & Bag Mfg Co started in Johannesburg in terms of an arrangement to make cigarette boxes for the Rand Tobacco Co. In 1931 Rand Tobacco Co obtained a laube domed lid and boxmaking machine from van Erkoms in Pretoria and withdrew their support from Liberty who were obliged to diversify and look elsewhere for trade. They they became general cardboard box makers and added the manufacture of self-opening paper bags. Mr H. Herbert Gundelfinger joined the firm about this time as a representative becoming a director in 1939 and the sole shareholder in 1949. The ship which brought in three Potdevin self-opening bag machines for Liberty also carried three machines for a Johannesburg Stockbroker, John Robinson, who set up as a paper bag maker trading as Robin Bag Co, one of the firms which later formed the nucleus of Amalgamated Packaging Industries Ltd⁴⁶⁾. In 1931 South Africa went off the gold standard and because of the uncertain business climate Seligson & Clare Ltd decided to retrench some members of their Cape Town staff, including Leonard J. Smith. Whilst still employed by Seligson & Clare, but expecting shortly to leave, Mr Smith was asked to obtain settlement of monies overdue for payment on a bag machine which had been purchased through the agency of Seligson & Clare by J. Gluckstein and Norman Jeffs. The upshot was that Mr Jeffs withdrew and Leonard Smith with his friend Cyprian Thompson, son of Allen Thompson, then manager of Cape Times Ltd, entered into partnership with Mr Gluckstein and set up in the bag business. The company was incorporated

in 1933 as the Assegai Paper Bag Works (Pty) Ltd, now Assegai Packaging Co Ltd⁴⁷⁾.

In 1929 E S & A Robinson installed the first paper corrugating machine. It was a thirty-one inch fine flue machine for making the corrugated greaseproof pieces used as internal protection in packets of biscuits⁴⁸⁾. The following year Herzberg Mullne imported South Africa's first heavy duty paper corrugating plant for making the familiar corrugated containers. The corrugating machine was made by Muller of Dresden, sixty-four inches wide and with a maximum speed of thirty feet a minute. In view of the present popularity of corrugated cases it is strange to recall that it took the firm eighteen months to get their first order. The firm's representatives were on occasion physically ejected and warned not to insult the buyer's intelligence by suggesting that corrugated containers could be used as a satisfactory substitute for wood. One of the first orders was from K.W.V. for twenty thousand cases for packing grape juice bottles in dozens. It was only obtained after the firm had agreed to pay the full cost of breakages. The late Mr Sydney Mullne, recalling the incident, said "we had to take the risk as we could not expect buyers to have confidence in our cases if we did not". There was one claim for nine broken bottles. In 1932 the firm of Herzberg Mullne Ltd amalgamated with Automatic Paper Products Ltd and extended the range of packaging products to include waxed bread wrappers and laube cigarette boxes. In August 1934 the company acquired Weinberg Bros (Pty) Ltd, now Pactrite Industries Ltd. Originally makers of egg fillers and carrier bags, their range was extended to include paper bags and other forms of flexible packaging⁴⁹⁾.

The first multiwall paper sack making company in South Africa, Paper Sacks South Africa Ltd, was registered in 1932 with its head office in Cape Town and a factory in Port Elizabeth. It was associated with the E S & A Robinson Group and had certain cement companies as shareholders. By 1936 the output from Port Elizabeth was fifteen million sacks per annum and by 1939 South Africa was fifth in the world in volume of paper sack production.

Amalgamated Packaging Industries Ltd started making paper sacks

at Durban in 1946 and at Cape Town in 1950. Paper Sacks South Africa Ltd built in Cape Town in 1952 and at Durban in 1955 to which their head office was transferred in 1958. Cape Paper Sacks (Pty) Ltd began making paper sacks at Philippi, Cape, in 1955 mainly for use by their principals, the Anglo-Alpha Portland Cement Group. Hypack Products (Pty) Ltd was formed at Durban in 1965 as a subsidiary of the Hulett Group. First call on their production is group requirements for paper sugar sacks, self-opening paper sugar bags and baler bags. General Packaging Manufacturers (Pty) Ltd, associated with Union Corporation, make paper sacks, supermarket check-out bags and balers⁵⁰⁾.

In 1965 South Africa produced about thirty-six thousand tons of multiwall paper sacks worth an estimated R7.0 million. By 1969, and notwithstanding the development of heavy duty plastic sacks, the production of paper sacks exceeded forty thousand tons⁵¹⁾.

* * *

The discovery of "Cellophane" transparent film by Dr. Brandenberger, a Swiss textile chemist, and more particularly the subsequent development of moistureproof film by E.I. du Pont de Nemours of Wilmington, Delaware about 1927, opened up new opportunities for the packaging industry. At first the new film was in short supply and relatively expensive so that it was only used as a luxury wrapping. In the late 1920's Thomas M. Royal, a bag maker of Philadelphia, U.S.A., designed a method of inserting a narrow window of transparent film in the face of a paper bag. This new development reached South Africa from England in 1932 when E S & A Robinson added a window-bag attachment to one of their machines. As production of cellulose film increased, strength improved, and price fell: the window bag was replaced by the more attractive and functional all-film bag. The first machine brought into South Africa for making cellulose film bags was an American Weber satchel-bottom machine installed by Robinson in 1935. It had indifferent success probably because it required technical supervision of a very high order which was not then available in South Africa⁵²⁾. The first commercially successful printing and converting of cellulose film was achieved in Durban by E.P. and Commercial Printing Co Ltd who

began flexographic printing on reels and wrappers in 1938. The first cellulose film bags were made in 1942 on a machine which the company designed and built at a time when war made it impossible to import machinery from overseas. Mr H. Olivey was responsible for these quite remarkable local developments. Output was severely restricted by wartime difficulty in obtaining raw material but after 1943 supplies of film began to trickle through once more. A second four-colour flexographic press was built in 1944 but it was not until 1947 or 1948 that the company was able to secure delivery of a Holweg flat and satchel film bag machine. Expansion continued until 1955 but the department was then allowed to run down being closed about 1960⁵³⁾.

The years immediately following the Second World War saw a further rapid advance in packaging as firms tried to make up for time lost during the war or tried to take advantage of the many new packaging developments which had arisen from wartime experience in devising ways of protecting and transporting supplies. The financial stringency which obliged South Africa to adopt import control in 1948 also encouraged the growth locally of industry which reduced dependence on imports.

In 1946 E S & A Robinson entered into partnership with Modern Packaging (Pty) Ltd of Johannesburg and three years later opened a factory in Germiston designed and equipped to print and convert cellulose film, waxed paper and aluminium foil⁵⁴⁾. In 1948 Waxed Papers (S.A.) (Pty) Ltd, a subsidiary of an English company of the same name, opened a factory at Industria, Johannesburg⁵⁵⁾. Gummed Tapes (Pty) Ltd installed at about this time a giant sixty-inch Hudson Sharpe waxing machine with the evident intention of making the popular boxed household rolls of waxed paper⁵⁶⁾. Amalgamated Packaging Industries Ltd substantially increased their penetration into the flexible packaging field. Arthur W. Hayes left Robinson about 1948 to start Pretoria Paper Products (Pty) Ltd in the Transvaal capital with the intention of specialising in chemically treated printed wrappers for citrus fruit. Mr Hayes was an ingenious engineer and the remarkable machine which he constructed printed and treated eight large reels of paper simultaneously

delivering eight sheets forty-five inches square yielding two hundred wrappers nine inches square with every cycle of operations. The machine was sold to a group of Northern Transvaal citrus growers in 1950 and the firm turned to the printing and conversion of cellulose film to provide a work load to replace the fruit wrappers. A branch was opened in Port Elizabeth where fruit wrappers were produced for growers in the Sundays River Valley. This machine was also sold to the growers by which time the firm had expanded its conversion of cellulose film to the point where it could withdraw from the citrus wrapper trade⁵⁷).

In 1953 British Waxed Wrapping (S.A.) (Pty) Ltd opened at Springs to manufacture in South Africa the packaging previously exported from England by a parent company of the same name. In 1957 Waxed Papers (S.A.) (Pty) Ltd was absorbed and in 1960 British Waxed Wrappings, at that time associated with Spicers, passed by take-over of the parent company into the Wiggins Teape Group. The following year the name of the company was changed to British Flexible Packaging (Pty) Ltd in view of diversification outside the waxed paper field⁵⁸).

Those early postwar years also saw the establishment of new paper bag makers in Port Elizabeth, East London, Durban, and on the Reef, several of them now forming the General Packaging Group under the umbrella of Union Corporation with minority participation by General Mining & Finance Corporation Ltd.

Aluminium foil, plain, printed and converted into various packaging forms has grown in popularity both with manufacturers and with the public. Alcan Aluminium of South Africa Ltd, Pietermaritzburg, has produced and marketed foil in South Africa since 1949 selling foil as a raw material or as semi-processed stock to the packaging industry for further processing and also selling certain products such as cigarette foil and metal milk bottle tops direct to users. Until 1954 only plain foil was supplied but in that year Alcan installed a thirty-inch two-colour lacquering and printing machine designed by an associate Swiss company, Aluminiumwerke of Rorschach, and built in Alcan's own South African workshop. The quality of print obtained by rubber roller coating was not altogether satis-

factory and the company soon installed a gravure coating unit with a drying tunnel to improve both quality and production. As described earlier Alcan added a second small gravure machine in 1956 and a larger five-colour press in 1964⁵⁹⁾.

* * *

The most remarkable development in packaging for rate of growth in both volume and value is in the corrugated box sector. After a slow start in the 'thirties and a period of marking time during World War II very rapid development began after the war which still continues. The tonnage of paper annually converted into corrugated containers now substantially exceeds that required for any other single purpose. By 1953 the tonnage converted was about forty thousand, all of it imported, and this was a sufficient base load to induce the directors of South African Pulp & Paper Industries Ltd to commence the large scale manufacture of kraft paper at Mandini on the Natal North Coast. Within ten years the tonnage converted had approximately trebled reaching 127,000 tons valued at R25.0 million in 1965 and running at an estimated level of 150,000 tons valued at R30.0 million in 1969⁶⁰⁾. The equipment required is relatively capital intensive but the rapid growth rate has attracted several companies into this field and the industry is over-machined. There is a tendency for the industry to rationalise into three broad streams. The one stream is under the umbrella of Union Corporation with minority participation by General Mining and Finance Corporation: a second stream is controlled by National Amalgamated Packaging Ltd with participation by the St. Regis Corporation of New York, and the third stream is under the umbrella of Thomas Barlow & Sons Ltd with participation by Weyerhaeuser of New York. The Nampack Group, incorporated in its present form in 1968, includes the original firm of Herzberg Mullne Automatic Products which was founded in 1920 and began the manufacture of corrugated cases ten years later together with Corrugated Containers Ltd (1930), Transvaal Box Manufacturers (Pty) Ltd (1936), Phoenix Corrugated Packings Ltd (1941), Amalgamated Packaging Industries Ltd (1944), and National Containers (Pty) Ltd (1948)⁶¹⁾. The Union Corporation sphere of influence was organised into its present form in 1969: it includes the Cardboard Packing

Utilities Group started by Henry Wacks from Universal Paper Co and W.D. Fulton from Ysebrand; Holdains Ltd, founded in 1938 by Edwyn Holness and Albert E. Mallandain; Union Corrugated Cases (Pty) Ltd of Springs, and Kohler Brothers Ltd. Kohler was originally in timber in the Eastern Province but the second generation of younger executives recognised the growth potential of paper packaging and diversified into corrugated products⁶²⁾. Barlow teamed up with Weyerhaeuser in 1964 and operates in Johannesburg, Pietermaritzburg, and the Western Cape. The Group also participates with the Schlesinger organisation in Consolidated Citrus Containers which makes containers for the citrus crop from the Schlesinger estates in the North Eastern Transvaal⁶³⁾. A number of joint ventures have been established to cater, amongst others, for the export fish trade from South West Africa and now for the citrus trade in the Transvaal Lowveld.

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One further group to be mentioned is the group of companies which manufacture stationery in bulk. This group numbers within its membership several firms amongst the oldest still trading in South Africa but they have only in recent years become fully identified as members of the Federation of Master Printers with the fortunes of the Printing and Newspaper Industry. When the Council was formed in 1919 the names of Dickinson, Spicer, and Alex Pirie were already well known but they traded as merchants selling from South African warehouse stationery manufactured in bulk at their parent companies' British factories⁶⁴⁾. The economies of large scale production of such standard items as envelopes, writing pads, various account books and educational stationery far outweighed the advantages of relatively small scale production near the point of sale. In the early years of the National Industrial Council the employers regularly attempted to persuade the S.A.T.U. to relax the rigid rules relating to the reservation of ruling and book-binding work for skilled craftsmen on the ground that such relaxation was essential if this volume of imported stationery was ever to be made profitably in South Africa. In 1922 the volume imported was said to be such that even if one half of it was made in South

Africa work would be found for at least a further one thousand employees⁶⁵⁾. As the years passed the stationers gradually introduced these manufacturers into South Africa until, as the Council approaches its jubilee, there are eleven bulk stationery manufacturers in the Republic who between them can make and supply almost everything South Africa requires. In 1969 co-operation between Johnson and Johnson, makers of bandage material in East London, E S & A Robinson in Cape Town, and John Dickinson at Isando resulted in the manufacture for the first time in South Africa of the linen faced cartridge envelope paper required for the official post office registered envelopes, until this time just about the only item of official stationery which had to be imported from overseas. The development of local manufacture may be illustrated by reference to the progress of Dickinsons in South Africa. The British parent company opened an office at Cape Town in 1894 and a year later an office and warehouse at Johannesburg. A warehouse was opened at Cape Town in 1910 and in 1917 Dickinson African interests were separately incorporated as John Dickinson & Co (Africa) Ltd. When the Council was formed the company had warehouse stocks in Cape Town, Durban, East London and Johannesburg. Between the wars company policy regarded overseas territories primarily as markets for the manufactures of the U.K. factories but from 1945 a new overseas policy was pursued based on decentralisation and provision for local manufacture. "If a machine can be kept fully employed at the point of consumption", said the company minute, "it is readily made available"⁶⁶⁾. As a result of this policy factories were built at Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town, and warehouses erected at Port Elizabeth, East London and Bloemfontein. In 1919 the stationers had their own association and were regarded by the printing industry as trade or supply houses. Later the Federation of Master Printers contrived a form of associate membership which brought the stationers closer to the printers. As the stationers moved from being primarily importers to being primarily manufacturers they were constituted as a group within the F.M.P. in terms of a provision which permits classification of groups of firms on the basis of the character of the section of the industry undertaken⁶⁷⁾.

FURTHER NOTES ON THE STRUCTURE
OF THE INDUSTRY IN THE
TWENTIETH CENTURY

Three further facets of the twentieth century structure remain to be noticed. The first is the establishment and growth of a new Afrikaans oriented sector of the press which, although politically inspired, is commercially minded and accepts the challenge of competition in the market place. The second is the growth to prominence of a handful of groups of exceptional size who between them dispose of a large part of the total resources of the industry. The third is the changing pattern of ownership and in consequence a change in the ultimate control. The better-than-average annual growth rate forecast by successive Economic Development Programmes has drawn attention to the printing industry and more particularly packaging, as a field for investment. As a result ownership is no longer the preserve of the master printer alone but must be shared with mining groups, finance houses, and the public. The ultimate consequences for the industry have yet to be evaluated but one thing is already clear. Investors, if not yet printers themselves, see the industry as a straightforward field for investment and value their investments as in any other industry on the basis of security, growth, and yield. This must ultimately force those who gain their livelihood from the industry to throw overboard the centuries old mystique that there is some fundamental difference in character which distinguishes printing as a service industry from the provision and sale of any other service for which there is a public demand. It is to be welcomed if the printing industry accepts that it is merely trustee for so much of a nation's limited resources as the investing public is prepared to place at its disposal and accepts the responsible judgement of the stock exchange for comparing its own performance with that of others*.

* A list of public companies who are in membership of the F.M.P. and N.P.U. will be found in the references.

The closure of Ons Land in 1930 and of Die Volkstem in 1951 cut the last links with the Dutch-Afrikaans press of the nineteenth century of which it might be said, not unkindly, that it survived largely on a sentimental attachment to Afrikaans as a language medium. The set-back to Afrikaner aspirations occasioned by the Anglo-Boer war inspired more ardent hopes based on political power and on securing for the volk a fair share in the economic growth and prosperity of a united South Africa. Shortly after the abortive 1914 rebellion a group of leading Afrikaners under the leadership of William Angus Hofmeyr formed Nasionale Pers in Cape Town and in 1915 launched Die Burger¹⁾. The editorial chair was offered jointly to Jan Hofmeyr de Waal, nephew of Onze Jan Hofmeyr, and to Dr. Daniel Francois Malan. De Waal declined but Dr. Malan accepted and exchanged the pulpit for the press with results which are now a matter of history. The early years were times of struggle and Dr. Malan afterward described Die Burger as a child of pain and hope. The determined opposition of the English-language press and the difficulty experienced by the Afrikaans press in getting blocks from local engravers led Nasionale Chairman Dr. Charles Robert Louw in 1918 to take over McManus Bros. (Pty) Ltd., which was financially in low water at the time. This not only assisted Die Burger but once more turned McManus into a flourishing concern. In time his son, the late Andries Louw, became Managing Director and he was in turn succeeded by Gideon J. Horn who still holds office. In 1918 an Afrikaans Group of businessmen led by two Nasionale Pers executives formed Sanlam and Santam. Sanlam is a recognised pillar of Afrikaans economic strength providing through its various agencies, finance, managerial manpower, banking and insurance, administrative, strategic planning and supporting services. Sanlam through Federale Volksbeleggings is deeply involved in a mining, banking and industrial empire with assets in excess of four hundred million rands including a substantial investment in packaging. Nasionale Pers is now a big business in its own right controlling six subsidiaries, Nasionale Boekhandel, Nasionale Handelsdrukkery, Nasionale Koerante, Nasionale Tydskrifte, and two publishing houses. In 1926 the Bloemfontein Volksblad of which Dr. A. J. van Rhyn was sometime editor, became associated with Nasionale Pers and

in 1937 Dr. Malan opened a branch in Port Elizabeth where Dr. J. H. O. du Plessis edited Die Oosterlig. In addition to newspapers and magazines Nasionale has general printing and bookbinding works at Elsies River (Cape), Bloemfontein, and Port Elizabeth. Nasionale competes in all sectors of the general printing and bookbinding trade. In addition to the English-language Fair Lady much of its general printing and bookwork is in languages other than Afrikaans. In its last financial year Nasionale Handelsdrukkery printed approximately four and a half million books comprising seven hundred and thirty-two titles in English and Afrikaans and eleven Bantu languages. Group assets exceed R5.5 million.

R.J. Verbeek's Atlas Printing Works in Pretoria was taken over by the National Party and used in 1916 to launch Ons Vaderland²⁾. The title was changed to Die Vaderland in 1932 and the paper moved to Johannesburg in 1936. In 1937 Die Transvaler was started in Johannesburg by a group of Cape leaders under W.A. Hofmeyr and Dr. D.F. Malan who were convinced of the need for a "purified" National Party organ in the Transvaal at a time when Die Vaderland still followed General Smuts. Dr. H.F. Verwoerd left Stellenbosch University to become editor of the newspaper. In 1939 Die Vaderland broke away to support the Afrikaner party of General Hertzog and N.C. Havenga. Gradually the Afrikaanse Pers Vaderland and Voortrekkerpers Transvaler moved closer politically and Dr. Verwoerd was Chairman of both companies until his untimely death. Voortrekkerpers assets rose from R361,000 in 1938 to close on R2.0 million^{by 1962.} In 1968 Voortrekkerpers took over the Durban Afrikaans weekly De Nataller and from its inception on 1 April 1968 Voortrekkerpers shared with Afrikaanse Pers in launching Hoofstad, the first Afrikaans afternoon daily to be printed and published in Pretoria. Dagbreek* was started in 1947 as the first Afrikaans Sunday newspaper. In its present form Afrikaanse Pers (1962) Bpk. is an amalgamation of Dagbreekpers and Afrikaanse Pers Beleggings. The group has followed Nasionale Pers in breaking into English-language journalism with the S.A. Financial Gazette, it has also promoted vernacular work publishing Bona on its own account, and the old established Imvo Zabantsundu through

* Later Dagbreek en Sondagnuus, now Dagbreek en Landstem

a subsidiary company. Another subsidiary Elata Commercial Printers (Pty) Ltd. is established in Umtata and undertakes much of the printing required by the Transkeian Government. Apart from King William's Town and Umtata commercial printing works are maintained in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Kroonstad and Pretoria. The company claims that the T.W. Hayne Ltd. (Hayne & Gibson) factory at Doornfontein, Johannesburg is the biggest single printing works in Southern Africa*. Several subsidiary companies are engaged in publishing, bookselling and property ownership. Group assets are approximately R6.8 million (1968) and more than 1,400 persons are employed.

With its willingness to be judged by commercial criteria the Afrikaans press has also offered full co-operation with, and participation in Chambers of Printing, the Newspaper Press Union, Apprenticeship bodies and the National Industrial Council and has accepted responsibility for its share in maintaining relationships and promoting the general welfare of the industry. The four members who represented the N.P.U. on the National Industrial Council in 1967-68, for example, although elected in their personal capacity, were drawn from the Argus Group, South African Associated Newspapers, Nasionale Pers and Afrikaanse Pers. First to break the language barrier and be elected to high office was H.J. Otto of Die Burger who was president of the Newspaper Press Union in 1939-1941. His colleague E. Hugo of Die Oosterlig was Chairman of the Midlands Chamber of Printing 1942-1945. J. H. Claassens of Nasionale Pers and G.J. Horn of McManus Brothers served as Chairman of the Cape Chamber of Printing in 1960-1961 and 1961-1963 respectively; they have also served with distinction on many trade bodies and are the longest serving members of the

* A similar claim is made on behalf of Cape & Transvaal Printing & Publishing Co's 405,000 square foot factory at Parow, Cape. A claim might well be entered on behalf of the Government Printing Works in Pretoria if the Government Printer cared to join the contest. The present author does not presume to pronounce a verdict which in any case may well be found to depend on the basis of measurement, e.g. superficial area, number of employees, capital employed, or revenue earned.

Technical Education Sub-Committee of the National Printing Apprenticeship Committee, a sub-committee with a distinguished record of service to apprentice education³⁾.

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A reliable estimate of the total operating capital employed by the members of the F.M.P. and the N.P.U. is of the order of one hundred and fifty million rands. This is based on the calculations of the F.M.P. cost adviser who obtained returns from a sample of one hundred and sixty seven firms employing resources of R99.6 million in respect of their financial years ending on or within a few months prior to 30 June 1967.

There are eight groups each employing five million rands or more whose capital resources together amount to about eighty-five million rands or something of the order of sixty per cent of the total resources of the industry. Two of the eight are the Afrikaans Pers Group and the Nasionale Pers Group; the others are National Amalgamated Packaging Ltd. (Nampack) the Argus Printing & Publishing Co. Ltd., The Dickinson Robinson Group, South African Associated Newspapers, the Kohler-Holdain-General Packaging consortium, and Cape & Transvaal Printing & Publishing Co. Ltd. The features common to all eight are organic growth and profitability with a high rate of re-investment: most have increased their growth rate by successful take over and merger. The Argus and the Cape & Transvaal Group have roots in the nineteenth century but they owe their phenomenal growth in the main to the business opportunities of more recent years. The other groups all have their origins and subsequent development within the lifetime of the Council.

The Argus Printing & Publishing Co. Ltd. was formed in 1889 with headquarters in Johannesburg and an initial capital of £70,000 to take over the Cape Argus and the Johannesburg Star. In 1892 the company started the first newspaper in Rhodesia. In 1918 the Argus company acquired The Natal Advertiser, later renamed The Daily News, in Durban. In 1921 a controlling interest was obtained in the Diamond Fields Advertiser of Kimberley. In 1927 a separate company, The Rhodesian Printing & Publishing Co. Ltd., was formed to take over the assets in that country. In 1929 the Argus company took over The Pretoria News. In 1939 the company took over The Sunday Tribune founded

three years earlier by I.W. Schlesinger, and in 1947 it acquired control of The Friend Newspapers Ltd. Apart from its magazines, Personality, Femina, Farmers' Weekly, South African Garden & Home and the rest, the Argus company has recently branched into literature directed more particularly to sectors of the non-white population, The World, published in Johannesburg and Ilanga in Natal for the Bantu, and in 1969 The Cape Herald which circulates amongst the coloured people of the Western Cape. The capital employed in 1968 was R13.0 million and the Argus Group had approximately four thousand employees⁴⁾.

The Cape & Transvaal Printing & Publishing Co. Ltd. traces its origins to the foundation of the Cape Times in 1876. In 1895 the Cape Times took over the plant of J.B. Robinson's S.A. Telegraph and in 1898 the company was incorporated as Cape Times Ltd. The installation of linotypes and rotary newspaper presses in the period 1897-1904 led to a split between the newspaper and jobbing activities, the former remaining in Burg Street whilst the latter moved to Keerom Street. In 1904 the company bought the assets of its rival W.A. Richards & Sons, then in liquidation. In 1919 the company took over the Cape Town jobbing department of the Argus Co. which in its heyday had employed about one hundred and fifty persons. In 1935 the company took over Townshend, Taylor & Snashall. In 1949 the jobbing department moved from Keerom Street to a 405,000 square foot factory standing in fifty acres at Parow. The company took over G.W. McPherson (Pty) Ltd. of Johannesburg in 1951 to form the nucleus of a Transvaal branch and three years later built a factory at Malvern. In 1962 the company changed its name to Cape & Transvaal Printers Ltd. and formed a subsidiary company named Cape Times Ltd. to run the newspaper in which Cape & Transvaal printers had an eighty per cent interest, the remaining twenty per cent being held by South African Associated Newspapers. In 1965 the parent company acquired Hortors (Cape) Ltd. which had been formed out of Whitehead Morris & Co. acquired by Hortors in 1919 and Weeden (Pty) Ltd. which joined Hortors in 1953. In 1965 the company acquired Rustica Press (Pty) Ltd., in 1968 they purchased Ken MacMaster Continuous Stationery (Pty) Ltd., and in 1969 acquired the plant and stock of Howard Brukman & Co. (Pty) Ltd. from the Cope Allman Group.

In 1968 the name of the holding company was changed to Cape & Transvaal Printing & Publishing Co. Ltd. to give expression to its widespread interests in both printing and publishing, and a subsidiary company Cape & Transvaal Printers Ltd. began with effect from 1 January 1969 to co-ordinate the operations of the printing divisions. At 31 December 1968 group capital resources were R6.04 million and approximately two thousand four hundred persons were employed⁵⁾.

The third great English language newspaper group, South African Associated Newspapers Ltd., disposed of its jobbing interests as far back as 1905 and depends solely on newspaper and magazine publishing and on income from trade investments in pulp and paper making, newspaper distribution and related fields. The company owns and publishes the Rand Daily Mail, Sunday Times, Sunday Express and Business News. A subsidiary company, Eastern Province Newspapers Ltd., publishes the Eastern Province Herald and the Evening Post. In addition interests are held in the publishers of the Pretoria News, the Financial Mail and the Cape Times. In 1966 assets exceeded R10.7 million and capital employed was approximately R8.4 million⁶⁾.

The other three members of the Big Eight are heavily oriented towards packaging. Holdains Limited, as a result of proposals published in June 1969, will become the Republic's largest manufacturer of corrugated containers, paper bags and balers with a stake in general printing through control of Hayne & Gibson Holdings Ltd. Ultimate control of the consortium will be in the hands of Union Corporation with a minority interest in the hands of General Mining & Finance Corporation. The corrugated box interests were described in the previous chapter. The paper bag and baler bag interests are held through General Packaging Holdings Ltd. The operating companies in the Republic are Assegai Packaging Co. Ltd., General Packaging Manufacturers (Pty) Ltd., Holdall Paper Products (Pty) Ltd., and Topic & Nell (1960)(Pty) Ltd. There are two companies domiciled in Rhodesia. Additional capital will be required to finance the formation of the enlarged group. The capital employed by Holdains in 1968 was R6.7 million and by Hayne & Gibson R2.27 million. The total resources now being pooled will be of the order of R10.0 million⁷⁾.

The Dickinson Robinson Group was formed by a merger of Dickinson and

Robinson interests in South Africa with effect from 1 January 1968 following the merger of the respective British parent companies in 1966. The growth of Dickinson in South Africa was outlined in the previous chapter. E.S. & A. Robinson (South Africa) Ltd. was incorporated in U.K. and began trading in Cape Town in 1921. Paper Sacks South Africa Ltd. was formed in 1933. In 1947 Robinsons acquired Modern Packaging (Pty) Ltd. established by Frederick Gygax and in 1959 the Robinson interests were registered as a South African company, E.S. & A. Robinson (Pty) Ltd. In 1951 Adhesive Tapes S.A. (Pty) Ltd. was formed which has grown through further acquisitions and now trades as Sellotape & Adhesive Products (Pty) Ltd. The Group moved into Salisbury in 1952 and into Bulawayo in the following year. In 1954 Paper Sacks acquired Multibag (Pty) Ltd., Durban and two years later established for the combined company a new head office and factory in Durban. In 1959 Robinson acquired the Cape Town company Rotogravure (Pty) Ltd. In 1966 and 1967 the Group moved into plastics through the establishment of Modern Packaging (Pty) Ltd. and the acquisition of S & P Plastic Moulders (Pty) Ltd. DRG has a total of approximately 2,500 persons in ten factories in the Republic and employs a capital of R10.5 million (1968).

The largest of all in South Africa is National Amalgamated Packing Ltd., formed in 1968 with a capital employed of R23.7 million. The business results from an ultimate merger of three main streams. The first stream centres around Herzberg Mullne interests established in Cape Town in 1920. The second began with the initiative of Mr. Aron Fruman in Natal and Transvaal. The third is represented by Amalgamated Packaging Industries Ltd. formed from an amalgamation of nine packaging companies in 1944. The formation and growth of A.P.I. will always be associated with the name of the late Dr. John Kalmanson. The first two streams came together some years ago to form National Packaging Co. Ltd. (Natpack) and then merged with the third stream through the formation of a joint holding company, Nampack. At the time of the merger the Natpack Group comprised Twenty-two and the A.P.I. Group nine separate companies widely diversified over the whole

field of general printing and packaging. The main interests are in the Republic but four companies are incorporated in Rhodesia, one in Zambia and one in Botswana. Aron Fruman, who is Chairman and Managing Director, was born in Lithuania and entered in South Africa in 1925 with nothing. By 1928 he had saved four hundred rands and set up in business in a small way on his own account. He still rises at 5.30 a.m. and his business day begins at 6.30 a.m. His recipe is drive, enthusiasm and plain hard work⁹⁾. At the time of the merger the St. Regis Paper Company of New York, credited with being the second largest paper company in the world, owned more than fifty per cent of the capital of A.P.I. and a very substantial holding in Natpack. It was anticipated that St. Regis would retain its interest in the company and in fact St. Regis nominated five members of the twelve-man board¹⁰⁾.

It is not yet apparent how, if at all, the restructuring of so considerable a part of the industry into a handful of large groups will affect industrial relationships and will lead to any modification of the role played by the National Industrial Council. Some changes must be anticipated. The ultimate control of a large part of industry is now vested through the Stock Exchange mechanism in shareholders. Day-to-day control is exercised by men who are Master Printers in name only, the term having lost much of its original connotation. A typical operating unit with approximately six hundred and fifty persons working together on one site under one management is headed by a group of five directors and a secretary responsible for leading, planning and co-ordination, marketing, purchasing, finance and administration, technical management and works supervision. Only one executive has the technical background associated with apprenticeship and the only profession to which all can be said to belong is the profession of management. The newspaper groups' chief executives lean heavily toward law and accountancy rather than printing and journalism. Carrying the analysis a stage further the staff of six hundred and fifty contains only one in nine of journeymen trained in the old craft skills. For every two journeymen there is one supporting staff member drawn from the fields of line supervision, planning, progressing, mechanical and electrical maintenance, elec-

tronics and services. For every seven journeymen there is a Science Graduate or a laboratory technician. Four per cent of total staff are University Graduates in the fields of chemistry, mechanical or chemical engineering, commerce, fine art, accountancy and business administration. The cost of factory wages regulated by the National Industrial Council Agreements, which at one time in sectors of the jobbing industry was in the areas of one-half to three-quarters of the total cost of the product, is now below fifteen per cent in capital intensive sectors of the packaging industry. This means that the relative contribution of Trade Union members to industry is declining even though in absolute terms numbers employed and total of wages paid continue to increase. It also suggests that employers with expensive machines to keep running will be less tolerant of anything which may be construed as an unreasonable restraint upon production but at the same time there may be less reluctance to keep wages in step with rising productivity.

THE NEWSPAPER PRESS UNION

In the previous chapters an attempt has been made to sketch the origins and main lines of growth of the industry from humble beginnings in the closing years of the eighteenth century until today. This and the next succeeding chapters will trace the origins of those associations which developed within the industry and in time became the parties to the National Industrial Council. These parties, three in number, are the Newspaper Press Union founded in 1882, the South African Typographical Union (1898), and the Federation of Master Printers (1916).

The South African press had developed through the 'sixties and 'seventies into a vigorous organ of political and public opinion. Since the grant of a Constitution for the Cape Colony on 11 March 1853 with a Legislative Council and a House of Assembly the cut and thrust of political debate, both in speeches and in leading articles, employed language and expressed sentiments which by present day press standards would be considered in bad taste, if not downright scurrilous: in consequence editors and publishers not infrequently faced threats, intimidation, and libel actions. It will be remembered that Schermbrücker was burnt in effigy¹⁾ in Bloemfontein and on one occasion Francis Dormer in Johannesburg was attacked and stripped to his shirt²⁾. Before Dormer left Cape Town for the Reef he had discussed with R.W. Murray of the Cape Times the possibility of founding a body which would represent all South African newspapers irrespective of language or politics and would look after the business and technical aspects of newspaper production³⁾. Similar ideas were being canvassed amongst newsmen in the Eastern Province and after a number of editors and managers had been approached what proved to be the inaugural conference of the N.P.U. convened in Grahamstown on 27 November 1882 with Richards, Slater & Co as hosts. Minutes were evidently printed and circulated but no known copy has survived⁴⁾. A conference photograph in possession of the

N.P.U. depicts twenty-three of the delegates several of whom have been identified. Fortunately the Graham's Town Journal, published on the day of the conference, carried a fairly full account of the proceedings. R. Vause of the Natal Mercury, and a former Mayor of Durban, was elected to the chair and those present were:

W. Anderson	-	Somerset Advertiser
H. Bidwell	-	Uitenhage Times
H.D. Blewitt	-	Kaffrarian Watchman
- de Beer	-	Bedford Advertiser
W. Dewey	-	Alice Times
F.J. Dormer	-	Cape Argus
- du Toit	-	Paarl Patriot
H. Guest	-	Port Alfred Budget
H. Goodwin	-	East London Advertiser
T.H. Grocott	-	Penny Mail
Wm. Hay	-	Cape Mercury
George Impey	-	E.P. Herald
James Kemsley	-	P.E. Telegraph
E. Morris	-	P.E. Advertiser
R.W. Murray	-	Cape Times
J.A. Pocock	-	Dudtshoorn Courant
W. Quinn	-	Fort Beaufort Advocate
W.H. Rabone	-	Graaff-Reinet Herald
J.E. Radford	-	Diamond Fields Advertiser
W.S.J. Sellick	-	Humansdorp Echo
T. Sheffield	-	Eastern Star
Josiah Slater	-	Graham's Town Journal
H.H. Solomon	-	Observer of S.A. Affairs
R. Turkington	-	Cradock Register
E.H. Walton	-	E.P. Herald

Messages of sympathy with the aims of the congress were received from the Bloemfontein Express, the Kimberley Independent, the Mossel Bay Advertiser, the Northern Post (Aliwal North), the Victoria West Messenger, Volksblad and De Zuid-Afrikaan.

The veteran Hon. Robert Godlonton, then aged 88, was to have delivered an inaugural address but was prevented from doing so. Louis

H. Meurant, from his retirement at Riversdale, wrote a letter of good wishes which has been preserved in Sixty Years Ago:

I have noticed with much satisfaction that it is intended to hold a Press Congress in Graham's Town as being the birth-place of the Press in the Eastern Province. Having been accoucheur at the birth on the 30th September, 1830, when I brought to life the first Printing Press in the Eastern Province in Graham's Town, I hope I may be permitted to express my sympathy with the movement, and to bear my humble testimony, which I would have been glad to have done personally, to the invaluable services rendered to the Colony, but especially to the Eastern Province, through good report and evil report (for there was enough and to spare of the latter) by my dear and highly-esteemed old friend, the Hon'ble Robert Godlonton. I rejoice to know that he is alive, and that he will be able to be present at the Congress, and I hope will be further able to give the Inaugural Address. Editors, or Pressmen, as they are now called, have no idea now-a-days of what the labour of conducting and printing a newspaper was fifty years ago. Not only had my dear old friend to write leading articles, but we had to take off our coats and to print the papers ourselves, he "inking" the "formes", first with "balls" and afterwards with improved "rollers", until our hands were blistered, once-a-week, for a very considerable time. I regret very much I cannot be present, not only to add one to the number of "Pressmen", but to join in drinking the health of my dear old friend, Robert Godlonton, and prosperity to Graham's Town, a city in which I spent the best and happiest portion of my life, and which is as dear to me as ever.

Do not lose sight of the remarkable fact that the two proprietors of the Journal of Fifty Years ago are still alive, the one past four-score, and the other past three-score years and ten.

Please hand my hurried note to the Secretary of the Congress, and beg him to assure those present that the movement has my sincere sympathy⁵⁾.

The first business was consideration of a proposal to form a Press Union, it being resolved unanimously that: This Union is

formed for the purpose of promoting all objects of common interest to the South African Press, and for the protection of its members in the proper discharge of their public duty.

The committee consisted of H. Bidwell, F.J. Dormer, W. Hay, George Impey, James Kemsley, R.W. Murray, Tom Sheffield, Josiah Slater and R. Vause with Impey as president, Murray as Treasurer, and Sheffield as Secretary.

The members were primarily managers and editors who joined in their personal capacity and banded themselves together in this way for mutual protection. It was not until later that the character of the N.P.U. was changed to that of a representative body in which proprietors engaged in their corporate capacity. Although Dormer and Murray had taken an active part in the formation of the Press Union the Cape papers lost their initial enthusiasm and drifted apart from their Eastern Province colleagues who, sometime later, sent a strong deputation to Cape Town to rekindle their enthusiasm. The early Press Union thus became in fact, if not by intention, a body drawing its main strength from the Eastern Province. Of the first eight presidents whose terms of office spanned thirty-six years, all came from the Cape and six of them from the Eastern Province. It was not until John Martin of the Star was appointed president in 1918 that the office was held outside the Cape.

Apart from its purpose of providing a common platform for mutual support and a forum for the discussion of common problems the press in the next twenty years had to fight a battle against authority. If the battle of the 1820's was fought for the right to publish the battle of the 1880's was fought for the right to criticise, for the right to turn the searchlight of report on public men and events and for the right to comment. This battle continued in some part to the arena regardless of the party in power. Theophilus Shepstone complained of the Dutch press in Pretoria⁶⁾ and President Kruger was equally critical of the English Press in Johannesburg. Both tried without much success to start or to subsidise papers which would be favourable to their point of view. Kruger allowed irritation to outrun discretion and on 24 March 1897 purported to suppress the Star for a period of three months. The authorities evidently rea-

lised that they had been precipitate and a discreet word was passed to the Argus Co that no objection would be taken to a face-saving gesture. The Star was then replaced by the Comet which came temporarily from the same management and the same press. On April 12 the Star attacked the order in the Supreme Court of the Transvaal and it was set aside by Mr Justice Ameshoff with Mr Justice Morice concurring. In a leading article the editor then wrote:

No Government ever yet rendered its people happier or justified itself in the eyes of posterity, by trying to stifle the voices of its critics. Expedients of that description only serve to drive discontent to earth⁷⁾.

At the Congress of 1885 Impey was succeeded as president by Francis J. Dormer who held office until removing to Johannesburg in 1887. He was succeeded by James Kemsley who in turn was followed in 1889 by H.D. Blewitt⁸⁾.

In 1890 the railway from Cape Town reached Bloemfontein and the O.F.S. festival authorities offered the Newspaper Press Union free railway tickets to Bloemfontein and free accommodation for ten delegates for the duration of the celebrations. Unable to decline so generous an offer the Sixth N.P.U. Congress convened in Bloemfontein on Thursday 18 December 1890 with Blewitt in the chair⁹⁾. A loyal address was presented to State President F.W. Reitz and the work of the N.P.U. reviewed in detail. The N.P.U. was still heavily oriented towards the Cape. Thirty-six publishers responsible for forty-three newspapers adhered to the N.P.U. convention on advertising charges. Of these twenty-nine publishers were in the Cape, two each in the Orange Free State and Natal, and three in Transvaal. Unfortunately not all of these publishers were in subscribing membership of the N.P.U. and Congress complained of those who accepted the benefits without undertaking the responsibilities. In the course of the Congress the two Bloemfontein publishers, Barlow Bros & Co (Friend of the Free State) and C.L.F. Borckenhagen (The Express and The Government Gazette) joined in membership. Dr. F.V. Engelenburg of Die Volkstem was introduced to the Congress but it was no more than a visit of courtesy.

The Rev. Mr Flint, a local clergyman, held a proxy for the

Diamond Fields Advertiser and the Bishop of Bloemfontein, in addition to allowing Congress the use of St. Andrews College, invited the delegates to lunch. The range of activities at this period included administration of a substantial libel defence fund, negotiation with the railways which succeeded in transferring railage on paper and printers materials from the second class to the third class rate, negotiation with the postal authorities on free postage on "exchange" copies, press passes on railways and shipping lines and agreement on space charges for advertisements.

When war broke out the Kaffrarian Watchman ceased publication and Blewitt retired to East London but retained the presidency until 1902. He passed away in 1904. The first post war president was T.H. Grocott. Full scale congresses were held at this period approximately at five-year intervals and that of 1903 was the first to be attended by A.K. MacPherson of Queenstown who became president of the N.P.U. in 1928-1929 and lived to become the recognised doyen of the country press, attending congresses regularly for upwards of forty years. The stalwarts of 1903 in addition to T.H. Grocott were Bill Crosby of the East London Dispatch, Edmund Powell of the Cape Argus, James B. Kemsley of the P.E. Telegraph, James Pocock of the Oudtshoorn Courant, and J. Tengo Jabavu of King William's Town¹⁰⁾.

In 1909 Oscar H. Frewin of Middelburg, Transvaal, canvassed the idea of a Country Newspaper Association and of a closer link between the Cape and Transvaal press. An informal gathering convened by Frewin took place at the Victoria Hotel Johannesburg attended by Frewin himself, printer and publisher of the Middelburg Observer and the Witbank News, C.V. Bate of the Potchefstroom Herald, H.H. Guest of the Klerksdorp Record and W. Brown of the Zoutpansberg Review, Pietersburg¹¹⁾. Frewin had been in correspondence with E.C. Sellick of the Somerset East Budget who was Secretary of the Cape Press Union but nothing came of these approaches mainly because the Transvalers were not attracted to the Cape organisation nor did employers in the Transvaal, where the industry was all white, wish to associate with Cape employers who tolerated non-white employees¹²⁾.

The Twelfth Congress was held at Cradock in January 1910 at the invitation of Mr J. Butler and although only seven delegates attended it marked a turning point in the work of the N.P.U. and the begin-

ning of an important forward movement¹³⁾. The presence of several newsmen at the Port Elizabeth Agricultural Show in March 1910 provided an opportunity for valuable informal exchanges. Toward the end of Grocott's presidency moves took place which transformed the N.P.U. into a representative national body. The N.P.U. Council met in Port Elizabeth on 8 June 1912 prior to a delegation leaving for Cape Town to meet representatives of certain of the larger papers which had latterly taken little or no interest in the Union's work. The delegation was led by the Vice-President, R. Hind of Grahams-town, supported by E.C. Sellick, the Secretary, with A.J. Sellick, W. Crosby, and Norman Harris. They were received at the Cape Times building on 10 June 1912 by T.G. Howe and D.M. Smail of the Cape Times, C.P. Schultz of Ons Land and S.A. News, Robert Muir, Cape Argus; G.H. Kingswell, Rand Daily Mail, and A. Palmer of the South African Review. Mr Hind pointed out that only twenty-seven papers out of a total of eighty-seven South African newspapers were members of the N.P.U. In the Eastern Province practically every paper was in membership and he expressed the hope that as a result of their meeting the Western Cape papers would lend their support. The discussion foreshadowed a growing cleavage of interests between the larger urban dailies and the Country Press. Most of the discussion centred around advertising practices and charges but when Mr Kingswell raised a question of linotype apprentices it was agreed that working rules were best left to the Master Printers. The N.P.U. delegation attended a meeting of the Associated Master Printers of the Cape on the following day and took part in the discussion. The immediate result was to add S.A. News, Ons Land, Sunday Post, and Pretoria News to the membership of the N.P.U. and to create a climate conducive to closer co-operation between North and South¹⁴⁾. The report of the Cape Town deliberations was widely circulated and a desire expressed from the Transvaal to meet an executive delegation of the N.P.U. with a view to extending its membership and influence. This meeting was convened at the Carlton Hotel, Johannesburg on 12 August 1912 by W.E. Fairbridge, General Manager of the Argus Printing and Publishing Co, who took the chair¹⁵⁾. The leading speakers were R. Hind, J.P. of the Graham's Town Journal and

E.C. Sellick of the Somerset East Budget who had then been N.P.U. Secretary for fifteen years. He explained that the commercial and administrative aspects of newspaper work had developed and were now as important as the editorial and news-gathering side so that the time seemed ripe for better organisation and co-operation between newspaper proprietors on a national basis. The meeting achieved its purpose and of the delegates attending those who did not belong to the N.P.U., about twenty in all, then joined. In view of the enlargement of the N.P.U. by this accession of membership it was felt that there should be no delay in convening a General Congress. This Congress was the Thirteenth since the foundation of the N.P.U. in 1882 and met in the Municipal Council Chamber at Bloemfontein on 15 October 1912. The membership had more than doubled since the previous Congress and for the first time a majority of members were from outside the Cape Province, the total being fifty-two and the distribution Cape twenty-five, Transvaal sixteen, D.F.S. six, Natal four, and Lourenco Marques one¹⁶⁾.

T.H. Grocott did not live to see the completion of this forward movement: he resigned in 1912 through ill health and died a week before the Congress, at which R. Hind, the Vice-President, took the chair. Forty-two delegates representing about forty-five papers were personally present and comprised the largest muster of pressmen that had ever assembled in South Africa. Mr Will Crosby of the East London Dispatch was unanimously voted to the presidency of the reconstituted N.P.U. and took over the chair. His name was by this time a household word in the newspaper world. He was born in Colchester, England, in 1855 and had already served on newspapers in East Anglia and in Yorkshire before coming to South Africa in 1875 to join the Eastern Province Herald. In 1877 he partnered Francis J. Dormer in acquiring the Queenstown Representative. In 1880 he started the Tarka Herald. In 1884 he removed the plant from Tarkastad to Aliwal North and started the Border News. When gold was discovered on the Reef he made tracks for Johannesburg and started Johannesburg's first newspaper, The Diggers' News & Witwatersrand Advertiser. For a short while he had a hand in producing a bilingual newspaper in Pretoria, but for the next few

years foresook journalism for mining ventures. In 1890 he joined the Butler brothers in founding the Midland News at Cradock. In 1898 David Rees, then proprietor of the East London Dispatch, invited Crosby to take control of that paper. He turned it into a penny daily which by 1906 claimed a circulation larger and more widely distributed than any Colonial paper published outside of Cape Town¹⁷⁾.

The arrangements for the Congress were in the hands of John Martin, then managing editor of the Bloemfontein Post who subsequently became the first Transvaler to be elected to the presidency of the N.P.U. 1918-1921 and the first Chairman of the National Industrial Council in 1919.

The Fourteenth Congress scheduled for Pietermaritzburg was overshadowed by the outbreak of war in 1914 but a well attended and representative Fifteenth Congress assembled at the City Hall, Port Elizabeth on 13, 14 and 15 September 1915 under the presidency of Norman E. Harris of the E.P. Herald¹⁸⁾. On the last day of Congress the presence of printers from all parts of South Africa was made the occasion for the first National Conference of Master Printers, a conference to which the Federation of Master Printers owes its origin. Oscar Frewin's dream of a Country Press Division of the Newspaper Press Union materialised in 1933. At present it represents about ninety-seven newspapers, thirty-nine in the Cape, twenty-four in the Transvaal, eleven in the Orange Free State, eight in Natal, and five in South West Africa. These papers are alike in providing for the local news scene as opposed to the national and world scene of the Metropolitan dailies although, in fact, the so-called Country Press serves sizeable towns, such as Benoni, Boksburg, Germiston and Windhoek, as well as embracing such survivors as the Murraysburger and the Cathcart Chronicle which serve areas with a white population of less than a thousand¹⁹⁾.

THE SOUTH AFRICAN TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION

The printing trade craftsmen who came into South Africa, mainly from England and Scotland, in the second half of the nineteenth century brought with them a number of inbred characteristics which were inseparable from their craft heritage and early training. They had a tradition of association for mutual protection and goodwill extending over more than two hundred years. This was expressed nowhere more explicitly than in some of their trade customs. Every house had its Chapel to which all craftsmen and apprentices belonged. The elected head was not chairman or president but father implying the brotherhood of all the members. Within the Chapel an even tighter knit unit was sometimes to be found: the 'ship or companionship consisting of a group of craftsmen accustomed to work together at a common task, particularly the production of a newspaper. The men of a companionship were prepared to say with whom they would or would not work and are known to have refused to receive apprentices into their company. These early craftsmen had a number of working practices which carried an authority second only to that of Holy Writ: some of these practices, even if not legally enforceable, had been hallowed by centuries of usage. The Chapel extended its interests beyond the confines of the work place and into the homes of the craftsmen. Taking a wife or the birth of a child were proper occasions for communal rejoicing and a man introduced a bride to the Chapel with the same ceremony that he introduced her to his family. On the other hand there was bred or instilled into these men a great love for their trade and a great pride in their craft. When they came as strangers to a strange land they immediately sought out likeminded companions and formed a local association. In the circumstances it would be unthinkable if they did otherwise. But their associations had few if any political overtones, they were rarely militant, and when they fell out with their employers they rarely lost their loyalty to the industry. Discipline

amongst early printing craftsmen was a corporate self-discipline enforced within the Chapel and based on a higher loyalty to the craft than to an individual employer. The penalties enforced for breach of custom ran all the way from a trifling fine to a severe beating, the victim being laid across the stone whilst another workman gave him "£10 and a purse" or eleven blows on the buttocks with a paper-board, once given with so much violence that the victim "pissed blood, and shortly after dyed". It is not surprising that men so reared had a conservative approach to working practices, a capacity for combination, and a large measure of independence in their relationships with management¹⁾.

* * *

The Stationers' Company of London existed from the early years of the sixteenth century and received its first charter in 1557²⁾. In 1582 working rules were laid down in London governing the proportion of apprentices to journeymen and these rules received definition by a Star Chamber decree of 1586. The following year rules were adopted designed to ensure a steady flow of work for journeymen. Today they would be called restrictive practices. Not more than 1250 copies of a book could be struck from standing type or 1500 copies if the text was set in nonpareil or brevier. After that the type had to be pried and reset³⁾.

The first recorded printers' strike took place in Plantin's office at Antwerp in 1572⁴⁾. In 1621 a Brotherly meeting of Masters and workmen took place at Stationers' Hall in London regarding wages and in 1666 London journeymen petitioned for a limitation on the number of apprentices. A scale of pay for London compositors negotiated in 1785 is sometimes taken to mark the beginning of the Trade Union spirit⁵⁾. The Society of London Compositors was constituted in 1801 and reformed in 1848. The registers of the Stationers' Company from 1730 to 1815 record the name of each apprentice, the name, profession and address of the boy's father, and the amount of premium paid, if any. Premiums were paid for about one third of all apprentices and varied from £2.10.0 to £200. "Premiums were paid according to the sort of training the boy was expected to receive. Lads destined to become managers, partners or masters would be trained

for positions of responsibility. Those who were probably destined to remain journeymen for the whole of their working lives were placed with a master who was prepared to take them for nothing or for a nominal fee"⁶⁾. When such men came out of their time they were ready-made recruits for the Trade Union movement.

In the 1850's trade in London was bad, the tramping system* had evil consequences, and emigration was seen as a remedy. An Emigration Aid Committee was founded by the London Society of Compositors in 1853 and by 1856 had paid out £1000 to forty-eight emigrant families most of them bound for Australia though some no doubt stopped at the Cape. The annual expenditure on aid for emigrants invariably showed an increase for a year or two after a bad patch of unemployment. There were continuous outgoings from 1870 with peak payments in 1872, 1879, 1886-88, 1892 and 1893⁷⁾. In addition to men who came with assisted passages there was a continuous recruitment of journeymen for the early Cape and Natal offices on the contract system.

* * *

A Society of Compositors was formed in Cape Town as early as 1841 and in July of that year received Government sanction to enforce a wage of 36/- a week, the men threatening strike action against masters who refused to pay on the established scale⁸⁾. A Cape of Good Hope Printers' Protection Society is mentioned in the Cape Almanac for 1843. The officers were J. Woolf president, P.J. Theron vice-president, S. Brink treasurer, J. Bathie secretary, and J.C. Eckley steward. Bathie is known to have been a compositor: Eckley may have been the man of that name who assisted Greig on the Commercial Advertiser⁹⁾. Absenteeism was evidently a problem for Suasso de Lima, advertising for a compositor in 1847 wryly remarks "no one need apply who is fond of fishing or hunting during the day"¹⁰⁾. On 21 March 1857 the Cape of Good Hope Printers and Bookbinders Mutual Benefit Society was formed under the presidency of J.W. Barwell¹¹⁾. A strike of com-

* A system under which unemployed craftsmen were given money by their mates on condition they went elsewhere to look for work.

positors occurred at the Natal Mercury in March 1862. The 'stab rate was 44/- a week and with overtime the men earned up to 64/- a week but absenteeism was rife "the men having their own boats on the bay"¹²⁾. The first substantial evidence for a printing house Chapel comes from the Natal Witness office in 1875. Peter Davis was violently opposed to the Trade Union movement but apparently acquiesced in the formation of a Chapel. W.H. Walker was father, T. Bennit the clerk and F. Oldfield the constable. The compositors were the moving spirit and true to tradition the Chapel was formed for "the mutual benefit of employer and employees and for the proper regulating of the office". The rules closely follow those noted by Moxon as early as 1632 and underline the men's sense of responsibility for the proper performance of the work. For failing to "dis" his type and clear it away by one o'clock on a Saturday a compositor was fined three-pence; for throwing rubbish, swearing or using indecent language the fine was threepence and for striking a fellow workman without provocation the fine was half-a-crown. The attention of men was drawn to the fact that "authors' names on the general work of the office be not mentioned out of doors"¹³⁾. A.J. Downes assumes on reasonable but not on explicit grounds that the first typographical association was formed in Cape Town about 1880. When Edwin Plint arrived in 1879 to work on contract for Saul Solomon he looked in vain for a local association. Walter Townshend, known to have been prominent in the early days of the association landed in 1880. A character known as "the doctor" was reputed president of an association in 1881. There is explicit evidence for an association in 1883 although it became moribund for a time and seems to have been reformed in 1889. The earliest extant rules date from 1896¹⁴⁾.

The Eastern Province Typographical Society was established in Port Elizabeth in 1883 and the name changed to, or perhaps the Society was reformed as, the Port Elizabeth Typographical Society in February 1897. In June 1897 the Society minuted a proposal to create a branch in East London at the request of two printers employed in the office of the Daily Dispatch¹⁵⁾.

The Natal Typographical Society was formed in Durban in 1888 and a Pietermaritzburg branch was established in 1889¹⁶⁾.

The first Transvaal Association was established at Barberton about 1889 and that same year an attempt was made to form a branch in Johannesburg. Although the Reef Diggings had only been proclaimed in 1886 and the first printing office set up in 1887, it is a surprising tribute to the rapid growth of the craft and the hardiness of the pioneer printers that an attempt was made within two years to start an Employee's Society. The Printers' Trade Society of Johannesburg folded up within a year but the Transvaal Typographical Society was successfully launched on 4 August 1893. From the start the Transvaal Society developed hardy leadership and with the Transvaal Typographical Society well on its way the formation of a National body was only a question of time¹⁷⁾.

The first Annual Report of the Transvaal Typographical Society refers to the inauguration of a branch in Pretoria, but other reports claim that Pretoria started independently: all agree that a Society was started in the Transvaal capital in 1894 but the minute books for the years 1894-98 have disappeared and recollections of this period depend upon the memory of old stagers¹⁸⁾.

On 23 November 1895 the Griqualand West Typographical Society was formed at Kimberley. The inaugural meeting resolved to "include all branches of the printing craft" in Kimberley. It subsequently becomes apparent that this meant journeymen only but the principle incorporated from the start of the printing Trade Union movement and expressly stated here for the first time has happily given South Africa the unitary Union structure which differentiates it from Craft Unions and Brotherhoods in Europe and in North America¹⁹⁾. By contrast London in 1885 had no less than fourteen printing Trade Unions with a total membership of 11,205 ranging from the London Society of Compositors with 6,500 members to the Pocket-Bookmakers' Society with only 76. In several instances there were two or more Unions catering for the same class of workmen. There were three Unions of bookbinders, and no less than four Unions for a relatively small number of lithographers²⁰⁾. All this dispersal of effort and the problems arising, which bedevil Great Britain and have not yet been resolved, were happily avoided by the wisdom of the early South African Trade Union organisers.

One further branch was established in South Africa just as the South African Typographical Union came into being. Harry Sampson, having been victimised with some of his mates for fomenting a strike at W.A. Richards & Son in Cape Town in 1897, made his way to East London where he took the initiative in forming a local Society. The East London branch was established on 19 February 1898 and affiliated to the S.A.T.U. two months later²¹⁾.

Kimberley branch is credited with the initiative that called the inaugural conference of the S.A.T.U. Through 1897 arrangements went ahead and at the conference on 5 January 1898 representatives of the local Typographical Societies met at the Oriental Hotel, Pritchard Street, Johannesburg where the South African Typographical Union was officially launched. The Union plainly intended to concern itself with wages, hours and working practices, but the men also proposed the early establishment of a Mortality Fund and an Emergency Fighting Fund, the publication of a Union Journal, the regulation of apprenticeship and the better organisation of workers employed in small towns²²⁾.

As A.J. Downes points out the National Body was not immediately accepted by all concerned. There were some who held aloof, some even went as far as to talk of forming independent bodies; not every Typographical Society immediately affiliated to the National body nor did some of the affiliated societies change their name to "branch" until later. Inter-Provincial tensions existed and some branches were unwilling to surrender their autonomy. As the first issue of the South African Typographical Journal stated "Rome was not built in a day and neither can the South African Typographical Union be built up in a day. Sufficient is it that the foundations have been laid and upon each individual member now rests the responsibility whether or not the issue shall be crowned with success". The Union was formed "without a dissentient voice with the unanimity that was as surprising it was pleasing and a code of rules was drawn up which, if adhered to, should be the means of consolidating and bringing the various Societies into one strong body who will now be enabled to deal with the many and complex questions of our trade in a thoroughly practical manner"²³⁾.

In September 1898 there is evidence for the existence of a Typographical Society in Bloemfontein but it seems to have fallen by the way and an effort was made to restart a branch there in 1904²⁴⁾.

The Johannesburg branch suffered severely and was unable to function during the Anglo-Boer War. It was reformed in 1902 with ninety-two members, fifty of whom were on the staff of The Star. The branch rapidly re-established itself and by the end of that year had one hundred and thirty seven members on the book²⁵⁾. As late as 1905 the president Harry Sampson had to refer to the coolness with which some of the branches had received the centralisation scheme, and had to scotch suggestions that the executive council had shown a certain leniency in matters affecting the Transvaal²⁶⁾.

From 1903 to 1912 the Secretary's duties were performed by Thomas G. Town in an honorary capacity. By 1911 it had become apparent that without a permanent secretariat and a full time general secretary the desired central organisation was unlikely to take shape. A report to this effect was subsequently approved by ballot and provision made for the appointment of a general secretary at a salary of £345 per annum. Jos. Briggs of Walker & Snashall was the successful candidate and took office in July 1912. He died unexpectedly in February 1914 and was succeeded by Ivan Walker who took over on 1 July 1914 and remained in office until joining the Civil Service in October 1924²⁷⁾.

EARLY EMPLOYER ASSOCIATIONS

The Federation of Master Printers of South Africa is a Federal Body whose membership is organised into eight regional Chambers of Printing or Associations of Master Printers together with a few special members in country districts who are linked directly with the Federation headquarters in Johannesburg. The regional bodies are the Cape Chamber of Printing based on Cape Town which draws its membership from the Western Cape and the South Western Districts; the Midlands Chamber of Printing based on Port Elizabeth; the Border Master Printers' Association, East London; the Natal Chamber of Printing, Durban; the Free State Chamber of Printing, Bloemfontein; the Central Areas Master Printers' Association, Kimberley; the Associated Master Printers of the Transvaal, Johannesburg; and the Northern Transvaal Chamber of Printing in Pretoria. Of the eight, four of their predecessor bodies were in existence in 1915 and came together in 1916 as foundation members of the Federation of Master Printers. They were the A.M.P. of the Cape as the Cape Chamber was then known, the Port Elizabeth Master Printers Association which spoke only for the employers in that city, the Master Printers' Associations from Durban and Pietermaritzburg which later merged to form the Natal Chamber, and the A.M.P. of the Transvaal which then covered Pretoria as well as the Reef. Some attempt is now made to sketch the origins of the foundation associations beginning with the Cape Chamber which was founded in March 1911.

For many years the Chamber relied on the services of an honorary part-time secretary and had no office of its own and the minute books covering the years 1911 to 1921 cannot now be traced. Although the members managed to remain in contact through the years it was on the principle of necessity on the adage that "if they did not hang together they would almost certainly hang separately". As late as 1930-1931 when Thomas Smith of Rustica Press began an eleven-year term as honorary secretary he inherited "a very loosely knit and often

antagonistic brotherhood"¹). At times, as in 1904, the employers were obliged to co-operate in their own interests to present their case to the Government for tariff protection but it was primarily Trade Union pressure following a serious strike in 1897 which, more than any other factor, obliged the employers to form a common front.

Between 1892 and 1896 the workmen made several attempts to better their conditions of employment through negotiation with individual employers²). Early in 1896 Jack Farrell, later elected first President of the Union Executive when that body was formed in 1898, became President of the Cape Typographical Association supported by a strong and active committee. Six meetings were recorded between May and September 1896 and a General Meeting held on 23 January 1897 voted for a new and more militant course of action. They sent an ultimatum simultaneously to all employers in town demanding an increase of wages, failing which a general strike was to be called on 1 February. Townshend, Taylor & Snashall conceded the men's demands three days before the ultimatum expired. The men at the Cape Times were not called out on strike but paid 2/- in the £ into a fund to help the strikers. By 3 February Dennis Edwards & Co and F.H. Clarke & Co conceded the men's demands and were permitted to resume work. At the Cape Argus the eighteen men of the news companionship declined to strike but the jobbing and binding departments stopped work until the eighteenth of the month when a settlement was reached. On the sixteenth van de Sandt de Villiers, proprietors of S.A. News and Ons Land, came to terms. W.A. Richards & Sons continued to resist as they held the Government Printing contract and were precluded from recovering any addition to cost by raising prices. The Mayor, Sir John Woodhead, intervened in the dispute with Richards and assisted by the Rev. Dr. F.C. Kolbe, a prominent churchman and educationist, Thomas J. O'Reilly, a former Mayor and member of the Cape Legislative Assembly, and Archdeacon Lightfoot, he negotiated a settlement which became effective on 22 February.

The employers had evidently been taken off guard and had the worst of the encounter: there is evidence that they had some discussion on how to avoid a similar crisis in future. Mr Eric Kemp, whose memory for anything connected with the industry is phenomenal

"very clearly remembered that the late Monty Hennegin showed him a printed sheet almost identical to the Monthly Record which recorded a meeting of the Cape Chamber in 1898³⁾". If his memory is to be further trusted the Secretary was George England of Bon Accord Press.

There is no record of activity amongst the masters during the Anglo-Boer War but in 1901 a contemporary Cape Times report speaks of a meeting of Master Printers resolving to ignore workmen's demands for improved conditions⁴⁾. The Journal for May 1902 expressed the view that a strong Master Printers Association was needed to eliminate competition and arrange a scale of charges, a euphemism for raising prices by agreement to make possible the payment of higher wages. The first recorded round table talks to fix uniform rates applicable throughout the town took place at the Cumberland Hotel, St. George's Street, on 12 May 1903⁵⁾. F.L. St. Leger and C.R. Godspeed of the Cape Times and David Smail from Richards represented the employers: the men's delegation was led by R. Allister, afterwards General Manager of the Cape Times, who later became President of the Federation of Master Printers and Chairman of the N.I.C. He was supported by Messrs. Effland, Higgie, Kensley, Lucas, Pfister, Rudolph, Thomas, Tooley, Turner and Sparham. A settlement was reached after negotiation. J.J. Kensley and C. Pfister were to serve on the 1911 strike committee.

In March 1904 the Master Printers' Association presented a memorandum to a Select Committee on Customs supported by more than nine hundred signatures, urging the imposition of a duty on imported printed matter⁶⁾. Mr A.M.J. Ross of Ross & Cowen was prominent as an employer spokesman. Further evidence for an Association about June 1904 is to be found in some manuscript notes contributed by Oscar Frewin to the N.I.C. archives about 1946⁷⁾. He records that A.W. Townshend of Townshend, Taylor & Snashall was chairman whilst an unsigned handwritten note adds that Mr Bolton was Secretary.

It is evident that some firms continued to stand aloof. In 1905 van de Sandt de Villiers & Co were in dispute with the Union and appealed to the M.P.A. for support but the Association declined to intervene as the firm was not in membership⁸⁾. C.P. Schultz and

M.N. de Villiers of van de Sandt de Villiers were afterwards to play a leading part as employer negotiators. In March 1906 the local Typographical Association, which had tardily taken to describing itself more correctly as the Cape Town Branch of the S.A.T.U., proposed the formation of a Local Conciliation Board but the employers' reaction was negative⁹⁾. In 1909 and 1910 disputes between management and the Union first at the Cape Argus and then at the Cape Times centred around the employment of non-Union hands but the men concerned were discharged and harmony temporarily restored¹⁰⁾. In the meantime the Cape Times jobbing department had secured a renewal of the Government printing contract: for several months there had been growing bad feeling between the composing room staff and the Works Manager due in part to a breakdown in personal relationships and in part to the demands of the work. The men were required for sixty or seventy hours a week when the Legislative Assembly was in session but in the recess the Company made shift to retrench staff sometimes looking for excuses to dismiss men who were in the Manager's bad books: the men complained, for example, of the instant dismissal "without just cause" of a reader who had led a deputation to the management¹¹⁾.

The period 1906-1911 has been described as a time of industrial upheaval, of numerous disputes often accompanied by militant behaviour and the formation of a political labour movement with parliamentary ambitions. There was no effective legislation providing for conciliation or for the recognition and registration of trade associations. The Transvaal passed an Industrial Disputes Act in 1909 which, however, failed to avert Tramways Strikes in Johannesburg in January and in May 1911. In March 1911 the Associated Master Printers of the Cape was formally constituted with A.W. Townshend of Townshend, Taylor & Snashall as the first Chairman. In the meantime "the militant spirit which the tramway workers had displayed in Johannesburg spread to Cape Town"¹²⁾ where the printers began the longest and most bitter strike ever to take place in the industry. The ostensible object was to secure recognition of the closed shop principle and the spark which set fire to the flames was the provocative employment by the Cape Times of one Stone, a

non-Union hand and a notorious strike breaker. Stone applied to the Union for a provisional card of membership to enable him to take up work. This was given to him subject to payment of a fine which was normal Union procedure in the circumstances. He asked for time to pay which was granted but when there was further default the men demanded his removal. The reply of the management was to discharge the Union Secretary. A General Meeting of the Branch then declared the Cape Times an unfair shop and began a strike on Monday 8 May 1911. On May 9 the Cape Times appeared as an abbreviated three-column single sheet distributed gratis giving the townsfolk the first broadside in an exchange of verbiage which was to engage the parties for the next seven weeks. On the following day the men replied through the Cape Town Herald edited by Jack Glasson a contract compositor on the Cape Times who was afterwards killed in France in World War I.

In this, the first test of solidarity since the formation of their Association, the employers stood together with the Cape Times and within twenty-four hours either by strike or by lockout, every shop in metropolitan Cape Town was closed¹³⁾. The leading spokesmen for the employers were Dr. Maitland Park, editor of the Cape Times since 1902, Mr F. Howe the General Manager who somehow throughout the whole of this tense time retained the respect of the men, and Mr Ainsworth, the unpopular Works Manager described as a "pig headed tyrant"¹⁴⁾. Other spokesmen were Mr J.W. Miller of the Cape Argus, Mr C.P. Schultz of S.A. News and Oms Land, and Mr David Smail¹⁵⁾. The men were greatly incensed that Mr F.E. Ingram of the Salvation Army Citadel Press sided with the employers¹⁶⁾.

The men's leaders claimed to be fighting for the recognition of the closed shop principle but the issues were less clear to the rank-and-file. The pages of the Herald spoke of hours and wages¹⁷⁾, of Union solidarity¹⁸⁾ and parliamentary representation; there were hints and later concrete plans for the establishment of a co-operative printing works to fight the employers at industrial level in the market place¹⁹⁾, and in one revealing sentence the editor of the Herald confessed that the Cape Town men had no real quarrel with the employers but "the dispute was entirely between this man Stone and his fellow workers"²⁰⁾. Walter Madelay and Dr. Haggart, two well-

known Left Wing parliamentarians from the Transvaal, remained in Cape Town when Parliament went into recess and by their overt support lent political overtones to the dispute²¹⁾.

The employers used any and every means to continue production and break the strike. Out-of-town printers supplied type and matrices²²⁾; in at least one case apprentices were accommodated on the employer's premises: strike breaking was encouraged and men escorted to work under police protection: men who had been out of the trade were brought back: men were brought in from other towns: older men were visited at home and threatened that they need never again expect employment and energetic steps were taken to recruit contract hands overseas. It was a fight with no holds barred and seen in retrospect it was not a very creditable spectacle. Within days scratch staffs were putting papers back on the streets. On May 16 a workers' delegation requested General Smuts, then Minister of the Interior, to prevent strike breakers from landing but he replied that he had no legal power to do so unless they were illiterate²³⁾. By May 19 the Cape Times, centre of the controversy, had gathered together a "heterogenous staff" and was again in business: this destroyed any remaining hope the men may have had of a negotiated settlement before a return to work.

On June 6 six contract hands landed from the Saxon under police protection after employers' representatives had been allowed on board to secure from the men ratification of their service contracts*. The strike funds had been drained and strike pay reduced but the men by majority vote refused to hear Mr Howe and turned aside an attempt at mediation by the Mayor, Sir Frederick Smith²⁴⁾. The men had by now lost public sympathy and the authorities used the Magistrates' Courts to exert pressure. Men began to complain of the frequency with which they were involved in civil cases and of criminal proceedings "for trifles"²⁵⁾. Magistrate Lotter found against Jimmy

* Under South African law service contracts signed overseas were treated as declarations of intent and required ratification by signature obtained on or after arrival. Union men were not allowed on board to warn arrivals of the dispute. If they had £20 in their possession immigrants could land even without a contract.

Trembath, a member of the Union Executive and of the Strike Committee, for loitering contrary to a Municipal Regulation framed under a forgotten provision of the Master & Servant Act of 1866. The practical effect of the judgment was to declare picketing unlawful²⁶⁾.

By mid-June there was a steady return to work and on 29 June the strike was called off unconditionally. The daily strike list for that day was signed by three hundred and ninety five workers of whom one hundred and seventy four voted to return to work and seventy seven against with five spoiled papers and one hundred and thirty nine abstentions. The Union historians Walker and Weinbren insist that the strike was broken "by the importation of scabs from overseas"²⁷⁾. It is difficult to accept this as a complete or satisfactory explanation: at the height of the stoppage estimates of the numbers out of work vary between five hundred and six hundred and three hundred and ninety five were still out on 29 June but the black-list compiled by the strikers themselves contains the names of fewer than thirty importees²⁸⁾.

It is to the great credit of all concerned that there was no violence such as marred many strikes on the Reef.

Whatever the merits of the affair the strike was eventually seen as a challenge to established authority. It left two legacies, the South African Co-operative Printing Co Ltd and The Printers' Benefit Association. The workers in Cape Town never again challenged the employers and the Master Printers' Association began an existence which has been continuous to the present day. Good relations between the parties were not fully restored until the formation of the Council in 1919 when the men obtained by negotiation what they had not been able to obtain by direct action. One curious sidelight on the strike is that George Ambler Evans, known as "Gambler" Evans, an active strike picket and a member of the Strike Committee, lived to become President of the Federation of Master Printers, and Mark Lazarus, manager of the S.A. Co-op. Printing Works became a Master Printer in Port Elizabeth.

The only other Union to give practical support to the striking printers was the Amalgamated Society of Engineers which on 17 May instructed those of their members who worked in printing or newspaper houses to hand in a week's notice²⁹⁾. The Engineers then became partners with the Typos in the South African Co-operative Printing Co Ltd which was registered 15 June 1911 with a capital of £15,000. The directors were William Freestone, Tom Maginess, Tom Blinkhorn and Tom Bowman of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers with Tommy Town, Harry Boyd, Jimmy Trembath and Mark Lazarus of the S.A.T.U. Lazarus was Manager and George Evans Secretary³⁰⁾. Union members were urged to take up 10/- shares which were payable as 2/- on application followed by four weekly instalments of 2/-. The company announced its intention of undertaking general jobbing work and of publishing the Labour Herald in support of the parliamentary Labour Party. "The directors do not make any promises whatsoever in regard to future dividends or as to the amount of business which the Company might possibly secure. The workmen will be the best in Cape Town. They will be paid the standard rate at present being demanded by the S.A.T.U. and they will work only 48 hours per week. The company promises nothing except that it is formed and will be run for the benefit of the working classes"³¹⁾. Sufficient capital was raised to induce the directors to proceed, plant was obtained on hire purchase and a start was made in August 1911 but there was insufficient working capital and Evans, after stumping the country unsuccessfully at his own expense to raise more money, resigned. He considered it prudent to leave town to seek work elsewhere and finished up at the Witness office in Pietermaritzburg reduced to his last few shillings³²⁾. The Co-op. Printing Works carried on under great difficulties until March 1912 when it closed, involving the shareholders in a loss of about £1000³³⁾.

In April 1912 Samuel Griffiths arrived in South Africa from Swansea, having negotiated in London for the purchase of the assets of the S.A. Co-op. Printing Works, and carried on the business at

83 Bree Street under the title Samuel Griffiths & Co., Carmelite Press*. In August 1913 the Company was incorporated as Samuel Griffiths & Co Ltd and in the latter half of 1913 the firm, having secured a contract for printing De Kerkbode, was permitted to lease De Roggebaai Nederduits Sending Kerk colloquially known as the Fisherman's Church, which was then close to the water's edge. In 1924 the Company bought the premises and in 1947 rebuilt on the same site, remaining there until removing to their present premises at Observatory in 1966. Mr Horace R. Lawley who joined Samuel Griffiths in 1921 is now the Chairman of the Company and the present President of the Federation of Master Printers³⁴).

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A Master Printers' Association was formed at Port Elizabeth in 1912 and it was here that the first National Conference of Printers was held on 15 September 1915. In 1919 Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage formed a combined Association but at the first onset of the post war depression the Association disintegrated. An Association was again formed at Port Elizabeth in 1922 following a visit of Robert Allister who was then President of the Federation of Master Printers. There is good ground for presuming that the local M.P.A., or to give it its present title, the Mid-

* Several erroneous accounts of the origin of the name Carmelite Press have been widely circulated: Downes (page 229) says "It was reopened under the title Samuel Griffiths & Co., Carmelite Press, the business having been purchased by the London firm of that name". Rosenthal mistakenly confuses the R.C. with the D.R.C. and says (page 33) "it was later taken over under the name Carmelite Press after an old Roman Catholic Church in which it was housed". The company states that before coming to South Africa Samuel Griffiths worked for the Harmsworth brothers at Carmelite House in London and adopted the name Carmelite Press for sentimental reasons.

lands Chamber of Printing, has had a continuous existence since the reformation of 1922. The extant minute books only date from 28 February 1929 and the earlier history of the Employer Association in Port Elizabeth has to be pieced together from secondary sources.

There is an indication of the formation of a loose association of employers in Port Elizabeth at least as early as 1901³⁵⁾. When the Union decided on a forward move in 1898 they wrote separately to each employer and each firm negotiated separately with the Union but in 1901 when the Union again communicated certain proposals to individual employers by Registered Post they received a single reply from Norman E. Harris of the Herald acting as spokesman for all the employers in town proposing a round table conference which was later held with Edgar H. Walton in the chair. Ten Union delegates attended and it was evidently felt that this was too large a body for detailed negotiations as an agreement was reached for the appointment of a five-a-side negotiating body which may fairly be described as the earliest Local Joint Board of the Printing Industry. James B. Kemsley, proprietor of the Cape Daily Telegraph, was in the chair, the other employer representatives being Mr Brewster; J. Ware of Ware & Co, who had been one of the foundation members of the E.P. Typographical Society in 1883 (although his firm was a non-Union house), Mr Gray, proprietor of H.C. Gray & Co., and Norman Harris of the E.P. Herald. The Union representatives were A. Bushby, Acting Branch President, D.G. Don, J. Dowie, S. Gladstone and H. Dart, the Branch Secretary. The employers put forward a novel proposal to start a consumers' co-operative society, a sort of printers' buy-aid, with goods priced at ten to fifteen percent below the market but the scheme met with a cool response and was not proceeded with. An orderly settlement was arrived at for both 'stab and piece rates of pay.

In 1902 there were further round table negotiations with Norman Harris as Employers' Convenor-Secretary and wage adjustments were amicably agreed upon but in 1903 more Union demands found the employers in disarray, some resisting and others yielding to pressure. In the end the Union threatened a mass walk-out which would have

paralysed trade and the employers conceded an increase which raised the 'stab wage from about £2.10.0 in 1898 to £3.12.6 in 1903.

In 1907 T. Cheesman Elgar, formerly sub-editor of the Cape Daily Telegraph, became proprietor of the P.E. Advertiser and joined Jack Walton and Norman Harris as leading spokesman for the employers³⁶⁾. A period of bad trade in 1907-1909 led to unemployment with a consequent scramble for work; it was not a propitious time for the employers' association as keen competition for a shrinking volume of business inevitably bred rivalry, suspicion, price cutting, and pressure for reduced wages. Several employers induced men to accept wages below 'stab as an alternative to retrenchment.

In 1909 a strike at the Herald office was accompanied by much bitterness and divided the employers into factions for and against a settlement which further hindered the effective working of the employer body. A relationship of trust and mutual respect between the Herald and the Union was not fully restored until Norman Harris and Ivan Walker came to an understanding at a meeting in 1916³⁷⁾.

In 1912 a local Master Printers' Association was formally constituted and evidently enjoyed a fruitful existence for several years. Jos. Brigg, the General Secretary of the S.A.T.U., on his first official visit to Port Elizabeth in 1913 noted that the M.P.A. had been formed on a good workable basis and was to some extent preventing price cutting although two local houses, one of them the Herald, still refused to recognise the Union.

In 1915 the Port Elizabeth M.P.A. acted as host to the first national meeting of South African Master Printers and at the inaugural meeting of the Federation held in Cape Town the following year the Midlands area was represented by Norman Harris from Port Elizabeth and H.P. Harper of Uitenhage, Harris being elected to the first Federation Council³⁸⁾. At the first Annual General Meeting of the Federation held at Pretoria in 1918 Port Elizabeth was again represented by Norman Harris³⁹⁾. At East London in 1919 Uitenhage was embodied with Port Elizabeth as the Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage Associated Master Printers⁴⁰⁾.

At the first signs of post war depression the Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage A.M.P. fell apart although the firm of E.H. Walton & Co continued in individual membership of the Federation of Master Printers. A visit to Port Elizabeth by the Federation President Robert Allister in 1922 resulted in the resuscitation of the Association with James Scott as Chairman, whilst Norman Harris, J.L. Watson and T.C. Elgar continued prominent in Association affairs⁴¹⁾. T.C. Elgar, chairing a meeting of the Association in December 1924, pointed out that their Constitution did not comply with the requirements of the new Industrial Conciliation Act and the Association resolved on re-constitution as the Midlands Chamber of Printing embracing Port Elizabeth, Uitenhage, Grahamstown, Cradock, Middelburg (Cape), and Graaff-Reinet⁴²⁾.

The first names of committee members recorded in the extant minutes of 1929 are Messrs Elgar, Sykes, Myers, Harris and Lazarus⁴³⁾. Mark Lazarus, a member of the 1911 Cape Town strike committee, a director and manager of the short-lived South African Co-operative Printing Co Ltd, and Secretary of the Port Elizabeth Branch of the South African Labour Party in 1913, was now a Master Printer and a Committee member of the Employer Body. 87-year-old Mr S.R. Siberry formerly of Siberry and Burgess, who was Chairman of the Midlands Chamber of Printing in 1942 and who lives in retirement in Port Elizabeth, joined the trade in 1911: since the death of Douglas Sales at Cape Town in 1968 he is believed to be the only Master Printer now living who was active in the industry at the time of the formation of the Port Elizabeth M.P.A., and at the subsequent inauguration of the F.M.P.⁴⁴⁾.

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The employers of Natal found it hard to agree amongst themselves and equally hard to sit at the negotiating table with their employees. It is not easy to be dogmatic about reasons although it is possible to propose some plausible suggestions. Inter-town jealousy between Pietermaritzburg and Durban was a contributory factor especially after 1910 when the Natal Government printing given out in Pietermaritzburg was transferred to the Government Printing Works, Pretoria whilst

Durban, formerly of less importance than Maritzburg, was forging ahead as Natal's largest city and most important industrial centre. The personality of Peter Davis I of the Natal Witness was a factor: typical of much that was best in the pioneering days of the nineteenth century his ways became something of an anachronism when carried over into the twentieth century. His independence of character militated against co-operation with fellow employers whilst his pathological prejudice against the Trade Union was such that no negotiated settlement was possible in Pietermaritzburg in his business life time. The first round table settlement in Maritzburg was not reached until 1917 when Peter Davis laid aside the responsibilities of office at the age of 80, and on this historic occasion the chair was taken by his wife. At Durban in 1910-1912 the Mercury office employed at least half the total craft membership of the S.A.T.U. and as the proprietors were acknowledged to be fair employers and had very little labour trouble there was no incentive for them to promote a Master Printers' Association. The News, the rival publication to the Mercury, was owned and published by Peter Davis & Sons. The smaller offices in Durban were reluctant to federate and commit themselves to the observance of minimum wage standards as they feared the consequences of Indian competition operating with unregulated wage rates. Throughout the early years of the century when collective bargaining was becoming accepted practice elsewhere the two sides in Natal found it impossible to discuss their problems and when forced to face each other from time to time it was to submit to arbitration without any serious attempt at negotiation.

At the first annual dinner of the Durban Branch of the S.A.T.U. in February 1898 the Chairman, D. Wilson, in the presence of the Mayor and of two members of the Natal Legislative Assembly said that the men had been trying without success since 1890 to bring about a conference with the employers to avoid friction and eliminate strikes. He deplored the fact that these overtures had been brushed aside and referred to the unfriendly attitude of Peter Davis⁴⁵⁾.

In March 1898 the Mayor of Durban, Councillor B.W. Greenacre, chaired meetings of employers with representatives of the S.A.T.U. from

Maritzburg and Durban to draw up scales for the newly installed Linotypes but only interested firms were represented. In the early months of 1902 the Union approached the masters for an increase to meet post war inflation and the Journal for July 1902 makes mention for the first time of Master Printers' Associations in Maritzburg and Durban. The rules of the Durban Association bound members to refrain from engaging employees from other offices except by mutual consent, and to satisfy their need for more labour by importing men whenever possible⁴⁶⁾. The Durban M.P.A. collapsed in 1903 and no more is heard of it until 1907 when the Union described it as a shadowy intangible combination which only seems to bob up when it wants to attack the workers⁴⁷⁾.

A Master Printers' Association was formed in Durban in 1912, the date being vouched for from Union sources⁴⁸⁾ and being clearly implied in the oldest extant minute books of the Chamber. The Association was known as the Durban Master Printers' Association and the first entry refers to a meeting held on 13 May 1914, but at the Association's Annual General Meeting on 26 April 1915 the Chairman, Mr G.A. Riches, congratulated the Association on "this, the third year" of its work⁴⁹⁾. Durban and Maritzburg were founding members of the Federation of Master Printers in October 1916, G.A. Riches of William Brown & Co (S.A.) Ltd being elected to the first Council. The Natal Associations were represented at Cape Town by H.A. Wilson, G.A. Riches, and A. Fishwick, all of Durban⁵⁰⁾.

The M.P.A. of 1912 was formed primarily to try to regulate ruinous competition and not with any intention of negotiating wages. In the early years of World War I the Peter Davis philosophy still held sway and the parties were unable to meet without a catalyst. The men were restless because of the wartime increase in the cost of living and the Mayor of Durban, Councillor J.H. Nicholson, succeeded in arranging a joint meeting of three-a-side at which the Mayor's tact and diplomacy assisted in reaching a settlement. A further approach to the Durban employers in 1917 resulted in arbitration by the Mayor with two assessors. In 1919 yet another approach by the men met with a refusal to negotiate which was followed by a strike. After some weeks of ten-

sion the Ministry of Labour pressured the parties into accepting arbitration. Relations then improved to some extent and a Joint Board was established although it did not meet regularly but was convened only when there was a specific problem to discuss⁵¹⁾.

H.A. Wilson and G.A. Riches again represented Natal at the first Annual General Meeting of the Federation at Pretoria in June 1918⁵²⁾. An M.P.A. dinner in June 1919 with F.P. Rowell in the chair was attended by Frank Fahey, a prominent member of the S.A.T.U., and relations between the parties might for the first time be described as cordial⁵³⁾.

The retirement of Peter Davis in 1917 and his death at the age of 82 in 1919 prepared the way for changes in Maritzburg. The Witness office was opened to the Union and the members freely permitted to organise⁵⁴⁾. In 1917 W.J. Beaumont of the Times of Natal became President of the M.P.A. and a negotiated settlement at a meeting chaired by Mrs Davis provided for the setting up of a Local Joint Board to be convened when necessary. In the early months of 1919 a wage dispute went to arbitration before Mr Justice Boshoff. F.P. Rowell from Durban presented the employers' case and an award was made valid for nine months. When this award was about to expire the parties met for discussion under the chairmanship of George Ambler Evans, the newly appointed general manager of the Natal Witness. These negotiations were overtaken by the march of events and the scene shifted to Johannesburg where the Inaugural Conference of the National Industrial Council was convened 10-15 November 1919. Natal was represented by F.P. Rowell and T.A. Shirley with G.A. Evans and H.A. Wilson attending in an advisory capacity⁵⁵⁾.

By April 1923 fierce price cutting in Durban had so undermined confidence that the Association was in danger of falling apart. Robert Allister visited the town and at a meeting at the City Hall he endeavoured, without much success, to improve matters but at least he succeeded in preparing the way for a visit from Monty Hennegin later in the year⁵⁶⁾. Hennegin, in October 1923 attended a meeting under the chairmanship of Evan Jones at which representatives were present from Durban and Pietermaritzburg. A majority vote

favoured the formation of a combined Natal Chamber of Printing but the Maritzburg employers refused to surrender their independence; however the Durban Master Printers' Association assumed the title Natal Chamber of Printing which appears in all subsequent minutes⁵⁷⁾.

Fifteen years after the event the loss of the Government business still rankled in Pietermaritzburg and the cut-throat competition between Durban and Maritzburg continued to exacerbate feelings. Speaking at the Ninth Annual General Meeting of the F.M.P. at Durban 29 September 1926 Mr Breakwell said Maritzburg was in a very unhappy position as the Government printing had gone elsewhere and had left them with idle equipment for which work had to be found. Mr Shirley of Durban instanced a job worth £90 taken by Maritzburg for £45 and Mr Evans, defending Maritzburg, replied that for years all lithographic work had gone to Durban but a Maritzburg printer had recently installed a lithographic plant and wanted to keep the work at home. "Durban printers did not seem willing to release this work without a struggle" but so long as they "competed with Maritzburg printers for Maritzburg work they could expect Maritzburg printers to undertake Durban work of every description"⁵⁸⁾.

In October 1930 a further attempt at co-operation was engineered at Maritzburg under the chairmanship of G.A. Evans. Maritzburg now indicated support for a truly representative Natal Chamber with separate branches in Maritzburg and Durban, a proposal which was endorsed at a Special General Meeting on 21 January 1931. Evans himself was elected Chairman with T.A. Shirley of Durban as Vice-Chairman. The next meeting was symbolically held at Inchanga, as nearly as possible halfway between Durban and Maritzburg on 15 February 1931 when the principal officers were renamed President and Vice-President respectively and the following Committee was appointed:

<u>Member</u>	<u>Alternate</u>
D. Taylor	J. Williams
J. Wishart	J.C. Emslie
G. Hodge	-
C.W. Russell	R. Russell
S. Ferreira	S. Schulzer
R.C. Morris, Secretary	⁵⁹⁾

The Transvaal Master Printers' Association was formed in 1904 and appears to have had a more or less continuous existence until the constitution of the Associated Master Printers of the Transvaal in 1914. The difference, for reasons which will appear presently, was primarily one of membership. A handful of large and important newspaper proprietors remained outside the T.M.P.A. and it was not until they were willing to co-operate that it was possible to form a truly representative employer body in the Transvaal. From the Trade Union side there was apparently very little difference in the two bodies and they continued to refer to the T.M.P.A. for more than a year after the change of title. It was not until 1916 that the Journal began referring to the A.M.P. of the Transvaal.

Apart from the few firms who stood aloof there were on the whole good and orderly relationships between employer and employee in the Transvaal. There were no old style autocrats such as Solomon or Richards in Cape Town or Peter Davis at Pietermaritzburg and an unusually high proportion of master printers in both Johannesburg and Pretoria were former trade unionists who made the change from employee to employer without abrogating the good relationships which existed between former colleagues. The enactment of a Transvaal Industrial Disputes Prevention Ordinance in 1909, whilst it did not deter militant hotheads, made more responsible parties reluctant to press differences to the point of strike or lock-out because the dispute would then of necessity have been referred to third party conciliation and by choice printers preferred to settle their differences within the family. The only hindrances to completely harmonious relationships were the intransigence of Tom Sheffield which began with a dispute over linotypes at the Star in 1902 and a disagreement over monotypes at Vere Stent's Pretoria News in 1903. Both were declared unfair shops and nominally closed to Union members. The News remained a non-Union shop until 1913 and the Star until 1914. The reopening of these shops to Union labour paved the way for a truly representative Association of Master Printers. As will be seen the willingness of the Star to endorse the closed shop principle in 1919 was a material factor

in creating an atmosphere favourable to the formation of the National Industrial Council.

Johannesburg remained under martial law until mid-1902 when the Union Committee presented the employers with comprehensive proposals for uniform rates and working rules throughout the town covering linotype operators as well as 'stab rates and piece rates for hand composition. The master printers met the men but do not appear to have had an association although an early attempt was evidently made to bring about closer co-operation. Tom Sheffield contracted out of the settlement and the Argus Company became a non-Union house, the Union retaliating by declaring the Star closed to Union members. As nearly fifty of the Union's ninety-two journeymen members were employed at the Star this failure to come to terms compromised any immediate hope of complete co-operation in employer-employee relationships. Apart from this unfortunate problem area there were good relations between the employers and the Union in Johannesburg where much of the Union leadership found employment. In 1903 Union talent in Johannesburg included Frank Fahey, Jack Farrell, Harry Sampson, and Ivan Walker⁶⁰).

The employers and the Union were drawn closer together in 1904 by the bad state of trade which was in part due to the aftermath of war but more particularly to the withdrawal of the former tariff protection which went with the demise of the old Transvaal Republic. Employer representatives Hayne, Holgate, McKowen, Walker, and Snashall met the Union Johannesburg Branch Committee in August 1904 to draw up and to present to the Transvaal authorities a memorandum asking for protection. The Journal for October 1904 reported the formation of the Transvaal Master Printers' Association under the presidency of E.J. Edwards, Manager of the Transvaal Leader. Co-operation with the Union in seeking the imposition of duties continued into 1905 and relations were evidently good as Edwards took the chair at the S.A.T.U. Branch banquet supported by Ted Adlington, a former Branch official who had set up as a Master Printer⁶¹).

The first Annual Meeting of the Transvaal Master Printers' Association was held on 20 September 1905 when the President,

E.J. Edwards, dealt with the tax on imported printed matter and on the adoption of a proper costing system as a counter to the fierce and unregulated competition which existed between jobbing printers. The continued existence of the T.M.P.A. and some indication of its activities can be inferred from brief Journal reports which appeared from time to time. In 1906 the Association declined to deal with wages on a city-wide basis and left individual members free to negotiate. In January 1907 the Association met a deputation of eight from the Union but both sides realised that times were bad and agreed in a friendly spirit to adjourn discussion in the hope that trade would improve. Later the M.P.A. received a request that overtime be reduced in the hope of offering opportunities of employment to out-of-work craftsmen. Trade still being bad the Association initiated a move for an all-round thirteen per cent reduction in pay. This led in 1907 to the first delegate conference of its kind, a forerunner of the National Industrial Council, at which twenty-three Master Printers met a large and representative deputation of craftsmen. Mr J. Raphaely, an employer, was elected to the chair and an agreement was reached firm and binding on the parties for twelve months, the first occasion anywhere in South Africa that a fixed period was included in a printing industry wage settlement. At the Annual General Meeting of 1908 Izaak Wallach of Pretoria was in the chair and J. Raphaely was elected for the ensuing year⁶²).

The first case to come before a Conciliation Board constituted under the Industrial Disputes Prevention Act was heard before Patrick Duncan, assisted by F.H.P. Creswell and C.H. Mullins, on 1 July 1911. The dispute centred round a proposal by the Transvaal Leader to become an open house following a refusal of the Union to allow their members in the Leader jobbing department to work on an order for Stuttafords transferred from the Cape Times to Johannesburg by reason of the strike in Cape Town. The Chairman's report published in the Government Gazette of 15 August 1911 says "arbitration is always a poor substitute for agreement between the parties --- voluntary agreement between a strong, well organised and prudently led Union on the one side, and a similar association of employers on the other,

appears to us to be the most satisfactory method at present available of settling such questions in the best interests of the industry and the community at large"⁶³⁾.

In 1912 a meeting of six-a-side was convened in Pretoria to discuss apprenticeship. Five of the six employer delegates had been S.A.T.U. members in the recent past⁶⁴⁾. The following year Vere Stent of the Pretoria News and Ivan Walker for the S.A.T.U. came to an understanding. The News again became a Union Shop and the Company joined the Master Printers' Association⁶⁵⁾. In March 1913 the Star under the management of J.W. Miller, was evidently drawing closer to the other employers, Miller being invited to read a paper on costing to a meeting of the T.M.P.A. In 1914 the Star was declared an open house which cleared the way for complete co-operation between employers and led to the formation of the Associated Master Printers of the Transvaal⁶⁶⁾. About this time the Association received from the Union a revised and comprehensive set of working rules which almost exactly anticipated the rules adopted as the basis for the first National Industrial Council Agreement in November 1919.

An attempt was made in 1915 to strengthen the Master Printers' Association in Pretoria to co-operate with the Union in their label campaign* and if possible to reduce the cut-throat competition in the industry⁶⁷⁾.

The A.M.P. of the Transvaal was one of the founding associations of the Federation of Master Printers in 1916 and was strongly represented by a delegation consisting of E.H. Adlington, W.E. Hortor, T.B. Hovelt, John Martin, and J.W. Miller from Johannesburg; J. Wallach from Pretoria, C.V. Bate from Potchefstroom, and Oscar H. Frewin from Middelburg⁶⁸⁾.

* A sustained campaign to have all printed matter produced under fair conditions by Union labour identified by the inclusion of the so-called Union label. The Council sign ⁺ now serves the same purpose.

In 1916 the Transvaal employers successfully postponed the appointment of a Conciliation Board by pleading that their Association was not an employer within the meaning of the Act. The Union then brought a case before the Board citing Adlingtons, Hortors, and McKowen & Radford. The Board's award was for a fixed period of one year and for the first time anywhere in South Africa the Board's award recommended the formation of a Local Joint Board which, if it did not possess legally enforceable powers, would at least have possessed the power of moral persuasion, but this part of the Board's recommendation was not implemented until later⁶⁹⁾.

A further dispute over wages arose in 1918 between the Associated Master Printers and the three Union Transvaal Branches, Johannesburg, Pretoria and East Rand. By agreement the case was submitted to arbitration before the Chief Magistrate Mr T.G. MacFie who referred in his report to the establishment of Whitley Councils in Great Britain and urged the parties to establish the Local Joint Board which had been approved in principle in the 1916 award⁷⁰⁾.

Proposals submitted by the S.A.T.U. Pretoria Branch delegates for discussion at the Witwatersrand Joint Board in August 1918 closely foreshadowed the main lines of agreement arrived at by delegates to the inaugural conference a year later⁷¹⁾.

The February 1919 Journal contains the text of an agreement between the A.M.P. and the three Union Transvaal Branches which was concluded after three meetings, the final meeting being held in the Argus Company's Board Room, John Martin and J.W. Miller being present. Downes writes that this Agreement marked a distinct turning-point in the relationships between the parties and in the method of handling disputes. The Transvaal Industry Joint Board was established and met regularly. A determined effort was made by the A.M.P. to enrol all employers whilst member firms agreed to the posting of notices calling on employees to join their respective trade unions* and to establish Chapels in each office. The breach

* There were separate unions for craftsmen and assistants at this time.

between the Union and the Star was finally closed in June 1919 when J.W. Miller convened a meeting of employees for the purpose of forming a Chapel⁷²⁾.

It was due at least in part to the success of the Witwatersrand Local Joint Board as a negotiating body that John Martin lent the weight of his influence to the formation of the National Industrial Council⁷³⁾.

THE FEDERATION OF MASTER PRINTERS

By 1915 the stage was set for the formation of a national employer body. There were responsibly led and well founded employer associations in Cape Town and in the Transvaal. There were associations in Port Elizabeth and in Natal which were sufficiently cohesive at that time to play a part in federation. Firms of substance were established in centres such as Bloemfontein, East London, Kimberley and Queenstown. The S.A.T.U. had been in existence since 1898 and had a full time national organiser since 1912. Trade Union pressure undoubtedly played an important part in conditioning employers to accept the need for appropriate national responses to the Union demands. The outbreak of war in 1914 brought other problems which required co-operation in dealing with Government agencies whilst the four years since the Union of the provinces in 1910 had blunted the edge of provincial differences and had helped to build a national consciousness.

The Fifteenth Congress of the N.P.U. convened in the City Hall, 13, 14 and 15 September 1915 under the chairmanship of Norman E. Harris of the E.P. Herald. They were welcomed by James Kemsley J.P. in his capacity as Mayor. On the last day of Congress the newsmen were amongst those who reconvened as the first national conference of Master Printers. Although minutes were printed and circulated no known copy has survived. It is clear from what happened subsequently that the Conference authorised the Associated Master Printers of the Cape to work out a draft constitution for a national federal body and the associations represented at Port Elizabeth agreed to meet again at Cape Town the following year. The second Conference, which proved to be the inaugural Conference of the Federation of Master Printers of South Africa, convened at the Library of the Cape Town City Hall on 5 October 1916. A.B. Godbold of Whitehead, Morris & Co (S.A.) Ltd was voted to the chair. Apart from delegations representing employer associations in Cape Town, Transvaal, Durban, Maritzburg and Port

Elizabeth there were individuals attending from Bloemfontein, East London, Jagersfontein, King Williams Town, Queenstown and Uitenhage. The Transvaal delegation had representatives from Johannesburg and Pretoria as well as individuals from Middelburg and Potchefstroom. The Chairman claimed that a well founded federal body would establish a united labour policy, improve working conditions*, create a sense of need for better costing methods, ensure better training for apprentices and form a truly representative body capable of speaking with authority to Government Departments and Public Corporations on such matters as custom tariffs and conditions of contract. The members present then agreed to the formation of the Federation of Master Printers which was constituted with A.B. Godbold as first President, J.W. Miller of the Argus Printing & Publishing Co Ltd as Vice-President and Robert Muir, also of the Argus Co as Treasurer. The five employer associations affiliated whilst J. Crosby of East London and A.K. MacPherson of Queenstown joined as representing their firms, there being no employer associations in their centres. The first Council consisted of

A. Thompson	Cape Times Ltd, Cape Town
A.W. Townshend	Townshend, Taylor & Snashall, Cape Town
J. Wallach	Wallach's Ptg. & Pub. Co Ltd, Pretoria
W.E. Hortor	Hortor & Co Ltd, Johannesburg
E.H. Adlington	Adlington & Co, Johannesburg
T.B. Hovelt	Basson & Timberlake Ltd, Johannesburg
G.A. Riches	Wm. Brown & Co (S.A.) Ltd, Durban
H.A. Wilson	Electric Press, Durban
N.E. Harris	<u>E.P. Herald</u> , Port Elizabeth
J. Crosby	<u>East London Daily Dispatch</u>

* It is not clear from the context what the Chairman meant by "improve working conditions". In the opinion of the present author this is intended to mean an attempt to secure removal of some of the restrictive practices enforced by Trade Union rules.

The Honorary Secretary was Ernest Notcutt of the S.A. Electric Printing Co, Cape Town. It was agreed to hold the first annual meeting of the Federation in Pretoria in 1917, in the meantime delegates were to report back to their respective associations and ~~to the~~ ^{seek} ratification of the proposed constitution and rules. Not all centres were prepared to ratify and the proposed meeting of 1917 did not take place. One of the prime objects of the Federation was to secure the greatest possible adherence of printing houses by encouraging local associations to canvas all eligible firms and by forming associations in centres where none existed. Provision was made for extension of individual membership where there was no association. Article VII introduced the principle of the loaded vote, members or their proxies being entitled at general meetings to cast one vote for every guinea annually subscribed*. Article IX enshrined the principle of collective responsibility. Associations and individual companies agreed not to take unilateral action in any matter which was of importance to the trade as a whole but first to consult the Council.

The first General Meeting eventually met in Pretoria on 10 June 1918. Both the President and Vice-President were unable to be present and John Martin of Johannesburg was invited to preside over a very sparsely attended meeting numerically dominated by delegates from the Transvaal. Robert Allister recalled many years later that the meeting very nearly broke up after ten minutes¹⁾, but it was saved from fiasco by John Martin who urged the necessity of making a fresh start. The meeting reaffirmed the establishment of the Federation, agreed "that all oversights should be condoned and a new start made in the work for which the Federation was formed". F.W. Knightly, the Government Printer, was present and accepted an invitation to become an honorary member of the Federation.

* In terms of the present constitution the voting at general meetings of the Federation is, in the first instance, by show of hands. Only if a poll is demanded does the principle of the loaded vote apply: Constitution of January 1968, 6(7).

Several important Bills were before Parliament at this time and representations were made in connection with the Factory Act, the Wages Bill, and the Workmen's Compensation Amendment Act. The members saw grave difficulties in attempting to implement a national wages policy but agreed to keep each other informed on local rates by using the Honorary Secretary as a clearing house. Technical training was discussed and at this time Cape Town led in the provision of instruction for apprentices. Since 1914 the Associated Master Printers of the Cape had paid for the rent and light of rooms and for apparatus needed for instructing apprentices in the trades of machine and hand composition, ruling and bookbinding. The instructors were paid by the School Board. G.A. Riches of Durban thought that the Government Printing Works in Pretoria might be developed as a national apprentice training centre. All thought that a seven year apprenticeship was essential although this presupposed that youths left school and entered industry at the age of fourteen.

The Second Annual General Meeting was held at East London on 18 August 1919. Uitenhage had combined with Port Elizabeth in a united employer association and an association had been formed at East London. George Foster replaced Ernest Notcutt as Honorary Secretary. A.B. Godbold was sick and J.W. Miller took the chair. For the first time a federation meeting was attended by invited members of the Newspaper Press Union including Major A.J. Sellick OBE of Uitenhage, C.V. Bate of Potchefstroom, H. Guest of Klerksdorp, G. Black of Johannesburg, T.G. Tallentyre of the Zululand Times, James Butler of Cradock and G. Gooding Field of Worcester. Evidently members were anticipating the inaugural meeting of the National Industrial Council which took place three months later in Johannesburg. Arguing in support of an application to Government for a protective duty of 33 $\frac{1}{3}$ % ad valorem or 3d. a pound the Chairman stressed that they were protecting the livelihood of "good, clean, honest labour, almost exclusively white and an asset to any country". Two minority voices expressed doubts about the wisdom of protection and advocated that the industry should rather strive for efficiency and improve the quality of its pro-

ducts. J.W. Miller pointed out that at sixpence per factory employee per annum the total Federation income for all purposes would be less than £100 a year and appealed for a realistic financial policy to put the Federation on a business basis. On the proposition of Robert Muir seconded by D.M. Smail it was agreed that the incoming Council take such steps as may be necessary to arrange national wages, hours etc., throughout South Africa. D.M. Ollemans then proposed and Norman Harris seconded a resolution that it be an instruction to the Council to meet representatives of the Newspaper Press Union and the Stationers Association with a view to the formation of an amalgamated Federation to organise the printing and allied trades in South Africa. The stage had been set for employer co-operation in setting up South Africa's first National Industrial Council.

The third Annual General Meeting of the F.M.P. was held in Cape Town on 3 December 1920. It was the first to be held subsequent to the formation of the Council and in the course of the meeting John Martin presided over a joint session of F.M.P. and N.P.U. delegates to co-ordinate their views prior to the next meeting of the Council. By this time the East London M.P.A. had expanded into the Border M.P.A. including Queenstown and King Williams Town in its area of jurisdiction. There was now an employer association in Bloemfontein. George Foster had resigned some months earlier and from January 1920 T.B. Glanville, Joint Secretary of the Council from its inception, became Acting Secretary of the F.M.P. The need for a bulletin was stressed and the thought expressed that such an organ might serve both the F.M.P. and the N.P.U. The first positive steps were taken to secure the adherence of all employers especially those who had hitherto stood aloof. Attempts at recruitment were first made peaceably through the Local Joint Boards. Where peaceful persuasion proved insufficient it might be pointed out that Union labour could be withdrawn from non-federated employers. This was a two-edged weapon as at this time there were non-Union artisans as well as non-federated employers. In the end patience and wisdom combined to avoid precipitate action and in time the Hennegin-Walker partnership pressured the few remaining reluctant employers into the Federation. Labour difficulties were discussed and the principle of paying apprentices a percentage of

the journeyman rate was approved, a principle subsequently embodied in legislation. There was a discussion in depth regarding a proposal to launch an unemployment fund under the control of the Council. John Martin at his forceful best pointed out that unemployment should be a charge on industry. The Government Printer cautioned against action in advance of Government legislation and said that precipitate action by the printers would be used as a lever by workers in other trades and in Government Administration. Martin retorted that the Council should never be deterred from doing what it believed to be right through fear of embarrassing other industries but in spite of the Chairman's advocacy the proposal was for the time being rejected. The Regulation of Wages Bill 1920 was discussed. The Bill provided for setting up local Wages Boards which might legislate for classes of labour not covered by regular agreements between employers and employees. In the case of the Printing Industry this meant particularly assistants and juveniles including apprentices. The Chairman pointed out that "the Minister had the power to register such agreements as the Council might come to voluntarily whereupon the agreements would have statutory effect and there might not arise any need for Wages Boards as such". It was realised that Wages Boards acting on a local level might prescribe rates which differentiated between geographical areas or might cut across the structure prescribed by N.I.C. Agreements. This did in fact happen, the Wages Board in East London prescribing wages for assistants which were substantially higher than those operating in Port Elizabeth, King Williams Town, Grahamstown and Queens-town. The effect of the Regulation of Wages Bill promoted a move towards bringing assistants within the scope of the National Industrial Council. However in 1920 there was resistance from Natal on the Council assuming responsibility for the fixing of wages of semi-skilled or unskilled workers. There was in existence in Natal an Indian Printers' Assistants' Association and the S.A.T.U. was in touch with this Association with a view possibly to organising it into membership of the S.A.T.U. Although Cape coloured members helped to establish the Union in 1898 no Asiatics had as yet been admitted to membership and it was not until 1929 that with certain misgivings they too were

organised by the S.A.T.U.

There was a discussion on S.A.T.U. working rules. For many years the Union had drawn up their own working rules and had presented them to the employers with what tacitly amounted to an ultimatum that these were the terms on which the artisans agreed to hire out their services. It was now necessary to point out that the Union was no longer in a position to prescribe working rules but must negotiate such rules in Council. The areas where discussion was anticipated covered the reward for increased productivity expected to follow from the installation of automatic feeders on printing machines, the employment of engineers on Linotypes and further discussion on the ever recurrent problems of the bookbinders.

The Fourth Annual General Meeting held in Durban on 2 November 1921 met under the shadow of the first signs of post war depression. This had resulted in the dissolution of the Port Elizabeth Master Printers' Association although the firm of E.H. Walton & Co remained a member of the Federation. The depression had also delayed the formation of a projected employer body in Kimberley where the city was hit in March 1921 by the stoppage of De Beers Diamond mining operations. Discussion at the meeting centred around the continuing need for uniform costing, the need for additional Customs protection, proposals for a joint unemployment scheme, and proposals which proved to be of far reaching importance, for the employment of a full time Organising Secretary. An application was received in the early part of 1921 from Mr Montgomery Hennegin who was Organising Secretary of the Scottish Alliance of Employers in the printing and kindred trades. Mr Hennegin asked in the first instance to be invited to South Africa for the purpose of delivering a series of lectures on costing systems. As a result a correspondence developed and he formally applied for the appointment as Organising Secretary, the application being referred to a Joint Meeting of the Federation of Master Printers and the Newspaper Press Union. T.B. Glanville resigned thus opening the way for a fresh appointment if the parties so desired. Complaints were made of increasing competition due to Inter-Provincial trading. It was agreed that each Master Printers' Association would establish a schedule of costs for its own district, such schedules and any subsequent revisions being submitted to the

Executive of the Federation of Master Printers for noting, the Federation undertaking to effect an interchange of schedules between Associations. The Third Meeting of the National Industrial Council was held in Durban from 7 to 10 November 1921 immediately following the Fourth Annual General Meeting of the Federation of Master Printers. Ernest Notcutt, delegate from the Associated Master Printers of the Cape, on returning to Cape Town complained of alleged partiality by the Chairman expressing the opinion that he was sympathetic to the Union, that he favoured the Transvaal and that he favoured newspapers at the expense of the Master Printers' Associations at the coast. For the first time there were put into words feelings that have been expressed in various ways from time to time in the intervening years "the industry is practically being dragged at the tail of the big newspapers". The voting in the National Industrial Council showed the unusual spectacle of a split in the employer vote, the Transvaal voting with the Trade Union against the Master Printers' Associations of Natal and Cape whose delegates read into speeches of A.J. Downes and Ivan Walker that small firms were really of no importance and that if "businesses in other places suffer extinction that is possibly regrettable but of no real importance". The near tragic result was that after only two years of struggling to establish itself the Council was threatened with the withdrawal of the Natal delegation whilst the Cape gave notice to resign from the National Industrial Council. The threat of disruption was taken seriously and Counsel's opinion obtained which was to the effect that individual Chambers were not parties to the Agreement within the meaning of the Constitution of the Council and had no power either to contract out of the Agreement or to give notice of termination²⁾. Had the Council disintegrated at this critical juncture it may have been many years before industrial harmony was restored and the lost ground recovered. Fortunately Montgomery Hennegin was able to establish a thoroughgoing understanding with Ivan Walker and later with A.J. Downes and these three gentlemen must be regarded as the architects of the Council in the form in which it finally emerged from its early teething troubles.

By 1922 the Master Printers' Association in Port Elizabeth had been restored following a visit of Robt. Allister and the Fifth Annual

General Meeting of the F.M.P. convened in Johannesburg on November 2 with E.D. Madden of the Cape Times office as Honorary Secretary. The Chairman strongly urged the appointment of an Organising Secretary whose duty would be to educate members as to the necessity of running their businesses on sound economic lines, of establishing schedules of costs and co-ordinating their interests in every part of the country. He paid tribute to Ivan Walker of the S.A.T.U. who had been of the greatest assistance during the previous year in obtaining larger output and in settling minor differences between employers and employees. He then called for financial guarantees to underwrite the expense of bringing Monty Hennegin to South Africa. The appointment was then authorised on an unusual basis: he was guaranteed travelling expenses and a sum of £1000 a year out of which he was expected to defray his own office expenses. The cost was underwritten by a levy of 5/- per factory employee throughout the industry supplemented by guarantors whose respective contributions give some indication of the relative size of the leading firms of that day. A total of £975 was underwritten by twelve firms, Cape Times and the Argus Company each pledging £200; Hortors and The Friend each £100; E.P. Herald, Wallach's Printing & Publishing Co., Nasionale Pers, the Natal Witness, the Natal Mercury, Radford Adlington and the East London Daily Dispatch each £50, and the Queenstown Representative £25. The Council agreed to call up 5/- per employee and to call on the guarantors for any deficiency. The part played by the large newspapers is worth noting although most of them still had jobbing departments and were concerned with both printing and publishing.

In a letter to executive members of the Federation 28 June 1923 Robert Allister advised the arrival of Monty Hennegin and intimated that the introduction of cost finding systems would be high on his list of priorities. Allister's suggestion for a basis of calculation of hourly rates is many years ahead of its time and even today embodies principles which have not been as widely accepted as might be thought desirable. He recommended dealing with depreciation by allowing 10% of current replacement value of plant in actual operation, interest at 7% to be charged on the sum represented by plant, stock and

working capital; interest on investments in land and buildings to be treated as rent. Repairs and renewals to be separately budgeted and included in the cost rates. An additional point of considerable interest copied from contemporary American practice was the budgeting of 5% on total capital employed for "expansion of the industry". Allister significantly finished his exposition with an admonition that "profit as such is not included in the hourly cost rates".

One of Hennegin's first acts was to start the Members' Circular, the first monthly number appearing on 28 July 1923, five weeks after his arrival in South Africa.

In 1925 Allister in his last year as F.M.P. President represented South Africa at an International Printing, Stationery & Allied Trades Exhibition in the Royal Agricultural Hall, London. He met and compared notes with delegates from Great Britain, France, Holland, America, Sweden, Peru, India, Australia and Zanzibar and found that South Africa's industrial legislation and printing trade organisation compared favourably with any other country³⁾. In 1929 Cape Times Ltd was awarded the only gold medal at a Printing Exhibition at Olympia, London, for enterprise and for the introduction of new printing processes in the British Dominions⁴⁾. The South African printing industry had at last achieved internationally adult status.

THE NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL

With the formation of the Federation of Master Printers in 1916 the stage was set for national negotiations. Ivan Walker had succeeded Jos. Brigg as General Secretary Organiser of the S.A.T.U. on 1 July 1914 whilst that same year the Argus Group came out of its isolation and under John Martin was ready to give a decisive lead from the employers' side. At the Tenth S.A.T.U. Conference in Johannesburg in 1917 W. Sadler, the Branch President, said that he believed employers were beginning to realise that collective bargaining was beneficial to them as well as to the employees. His audience included Councillor J.W. O'Hara, Mayor of Johannesburg, Councillor G.B. Steer, Deputy Mayor and President of the South African Labour Party, and Tommy Boydell M.L.A.¹⁾. The year 1918 was decisive for what followed. The end of hostilities in Europe brought for a while visions of a new age and in particular a new deal for the working man. The setting up of Whitley Councils in England gave promise of a new spirit in industrial negotiations and raised hopes which were high at the time although not altogether fulfilled in the years that followed. Magistrate MacFie's 1918 award in the Johannesburg arbitration case had drawn attention once again to the wisdom of negotiation. The tinder was ready to burn and the spark which set it alight was a meeting between John Martin and Ivan Walker who happened to find themselves sharing the same railway journey between Durban and Johannesburg. There are four accounts of this meeting which proved decisive for the future of the industry. The only contemporary account is that of John Martin himself who referred to the occasion briefly in his closing remarks to the inaugural conference in 1919²⁾. The incident was again described in a memorandum prepared by the N.I.C. Secretariat for submission to a Government Commission of Enquiry into the Press. The memorandum is undated and anonymous but was no doubt prepared by Mr E.P. Kemp about 1953³⁾. John Martin's

account is further elaborated and recorded in Today's News Today, the history of the Argus Group of Companies which was published in 1956⁴⁾. Ivan Walker's account did not appear until 1961 when his history of the Trade Union movement 2000 Casualties was published in Johannesburg⁵⁾.

In 1919 John Martin was General Manager of the Argus Group and the newly elected President of the Newspaper Press Union. Labour troubles had marked his first few years at the Argus but he came out strongly for settlement rather than strikes and had established good personal relationships with leading men of the S.A.T.U. Ivan Walker's companions on the historic train trip were Harry W. Sampson who later entered the Cabinet, and Frank Fahey who afterwards transferred from the printing industry to the Board of Trade. John Martin asked Ivan Walker when he was going to stop causing trouble in the trade in one centre after another. Walker replied that the S.A.T.U. was a national organisation and would be willing to negotiate a National Wage Agreement. With this encouragement John Martin took the initiative and within a year was successful in bringing both employers and employees to the Council table. The First National Conference met in Johannesburg City Hall from 10 to 15 November 1919 with John Martin himself in the chair. The delegates of the Newspaper Press Union and of the Federation of Master Printers had received a prior mandate to enter into an agreement if possible. The delegates representing the S.A.T.U. reported back to their caucus on the 17th and received authority to conclude an agreement to which the representatives of all three parties affixed their signatures on the 19th; 19 November 1919 is therefore the birthday of the National Industrial Council movement in South Africa. The Inaugural meeting of the British Joint Industrial Council for Printing took place on 1 July 1919⁶⁾ but as the South African Council enters upon its second half century effective and very much alive, the British Council has regrettably been dissolved as it no longer functioned effectively.

The delegates to the inaugural conference were welcomed by R.L. Esson⁷⁾, a pioneer master printer and president of the A.M.P. of the Transvaal. He asked for what he described as the Conference Spirit saying that the conference was not so much a sign of the times as a

part of the times, a tacit admission that the strike and lockout was "morally, socially and economically disastrous to employer and employee". He also appealed to the delegates to use their reason and by implication appealed to them not to be hidebound by preconceived adherence to Caucus instructions: he quoted Burke to the effect that a representative's duty to his principal is to exercise "not his industry only, but his judgement".

After John Martin had been voted to the chair H.W. Sampson M.L.A., introduced Senator the Hon. F.S. Malan, the Minister of Mines and Industries who officially opened the Conference⁸⁾. Senator Malan alluded briefly to his own connection with the printing industry which, he said, had given him satisfaction. He graciously refrained from mentioning that on at least one occasion it had landed him in gaol. As responsible editor of Ons Land, the mouthpiece of the Afrikaner Bond, he was charged with libel on account of a letter published by that paper in November 1900 although he himself was absent from Cape Town at the time: he was found guilty and sentenced to a year's imprisonment with hard labour which he served at Tokai*. The experience left him with a feeling of bitterness from which he freed himself only by an inward struggle which culminated in a determination to make reconciliation a prime objective of South African politics⁹⁾. His presence at this first national attempt at industrial reconciliation obviously gave him great satisfaction for an industry is in some measure a microcosm of the State and relationships in the larger body can be no better than in the sum of its parts. The ultimate object of industry, said Minister Malan, is to promote the interests and the welfare of the country as a whole.

Two resolutions were then put and passed unanimously. T.G. Strachan, S.A.T.U. delegate from Pietermaritzburg proposed, and M.N. de Villiers,

* Senator F.S. Malan had another, though slight, connection with printing. He married as his second wife Anna Elizabeth Jacoba Attwell, born Brümmer (1874-1967) who by her first marriage became daughter-in-law of George Brooke Attwell of the Graham's Town Journal, King Williams Town Gazette and The Diamond News and of his wife Marianne Attwell who was Robert Godlonton's granddaughter.

employer delegate from the Cape, seconded

That in the opinion of this Conference it is desirable to enter into a National Agreement to govern wages and other conditions of labour in the printing and newspaper trade of South Africa.

R. Ward Jackson, Newspaper Press Union, Johannesburg then moved, and A.J. Downes, S.A.T.U. delegate from Pretoria, seconded

That in the opinion of this Conference it is desirable to form a National Industrial Council for the printing and newspaper trade in South Africa equally representative of bona fide employers' and employees' associations¹⁰⁾.

Councillor G.B. Steer was now the Mayor of Johannesburg and in entertaining the delegates to lunch he expressed the hope that any agreement reached would be "binding on all sections" of the industry. Delegates on both sides shared this view which was voiced during the proceedings by Harry Sampson from the Union side and by Izaak Wallach, an employer delegate from Pretoria, but the Minister did not rise to the bait and five years elapsed before legislation was passed in terms of which Industrial Councils could be registered and their agreements made legally enforceable not only on parties who voluntarily entered into agreements but on all who carried on activities for which wages and working rules were prescribed. The first agreement was therefore a gentleman's agreement depending solely on the honour of the parties for force and effect and binding only on those who comprised the contracting parties, that is only those firms on the employer side who were in membership of the Master Printers' Associations or Newspaper Press Union and on the employee side only those artisans who were in membership of the S.A.T.U. On the one hand this left out of account all employers in the country districts as well as several urban employers who preferred to remain aloof; on the labour side the agreement did not cover those artisans who had refused to join the Union nor did it extend to assistants and labouring grades. The Local Joint Board system was adopted as part of the recognised conciliation

machinery of the Council and was the channel through which persuasion was used to obtain the adherence of non-federated employers in the various areas of Joint Board jurisdiction: the S.A.T.U. delegates also said in Council that they would endeavour henceforth to organise all ranks of technical labour.

The conference debated at length the need for legislative sanction for industrial councils and for their agreements and resolved

That it is desirable that the National Industrial Council (when formed) should take steps to ensure the passing of such a resolution as might procure for industrial agreements the sanction of law¹¹).

The Conference appointed a five-a-side negotiating committee to hammer out details of an agreement, a practice which has been continued with success at each succeeding negotiation. Negotiation across the table differed from English practice where the parties exchange formal letters. The agreement reproduced in facsimile as an Appendix covers wages of artisans according to prescribed and defined areas, hours, overtime, holidays and working rules. The working rules were not negotiated on this occasion but reflect the accepted practices in use at that time and had been drawn up by the Union for the proper regulation of its craft membership. One of the by-products of the agreement was the discovery by the Union that they could no longer unilaterally prescribe working rules but that they became subject to negotiation. Willingness to revise the rules in the direction of greater flexibility and to take account of technical progress was part of the price the Union had to pay for benefits secured on behalf of their members.

One of the most important matters raised during the closing session of the Conference was the possible clash of loyalties which might arise if the Union found itself called upon by some larger grouping of labour interests to act in a manner which conflicted with its obligations to the employers in terms of its National Industrial Council Agreement. If a syndicalist body declared a General Strike what would be the position of the S.A.T.U.? The position was one of some difficulty and delicacy. The International

idea of working class solidarity was emerging as a major force in world politics. Harry Sampson acknowledged that a combined trade union movement had arisen in South Africa about 1909 inspired by a syndicalist spirit and in 1914 a Federation of trade unions had called a strike in which some S.A.T.U. members joined. Sampson agreed that there could not be divided loyalties, "there could not be two governing bodies in connection with matters affecting the industry"¹²⁾. After the Union Caucus had discussed the matter Sampson proposed that

The National Council being the supreme authority over the parties represented in the Council, no affiliation with other organisations shall be entered into which subverts that authority. No federation shall have the power to call a strike or lock-out in the printing trade.

This resolution was passed unanimously, Ivan Walker pointing out that the resolution equally restrained employers from acting contrary to agreement at the behest of, for example, a Chamber of Commerce or Industries. It is perhaps not too much to say that this principle more than any other has given to South African labour relations their industrial and non-political bias. This principle also helped to crystallise Union policy which for some time had been flirting with several alternatives. Who, for example, should be organised? At first only skilled white workers comprising 70% of the technical labour force were organised. With the formation of the South African Typographical Union in 1898 the National Body for the first time became aware of obligations to a handful of Coloured artisans in the Cape who further laid claim to consideration by supporting their white colleagues in the 1911 strike. In an endeavour to keep the Union "skilled" and "white" the S.A.T.U. for a time turned its eyes towards administrative and clerical grades and journalists, but this line was not pursued. One of the by-products of the 1911 strike was the Printers' Benefit Society which guaranteed benefits to all non-Union technical labour in the Cape including those assistants who were later organised as Grade II members of the Union. The Cape employers argued strongly that they had moral and contractual obligations which must be discharged if these people were

to be admitted to the Union and the P.B.S. dissolved prior to a general recognition of the closed shop principle. In the event the Union turned away from any thought of an all-white union of skilled staff to a multi-grade multi-racial industrial union. The union in its early years also flirted with politics and encouraged political action by supporting the political labour party and by support for selected individuals who were encouraged to run for public office and for parliament. The best known is Harry Sampson himself who became a Cabinet Minister. Tommy Strachan went to Parliament and Frank Fahey to Provincial Council, although the most significant contribution to labour relations was that of Ivan Walker as Secretary for Labour - a non-political appointment. There was a gradual swing from political to purely industrial unionism and within ten years of the establishment of the Council there were few signs of political bias in Union affairs.

It is difficult to imagine a period less favourable to the growth of the Industrial Council movement than the early and struggling years of the N.I.C. for Printing. There was a world-wide depression from which South Africa could not disengage herself; trade was sluggish; wages fell; unemployment, whilst not high by British standards, was as high as it had ever been in South Africa. Every penny levied in unemployment pay was disbursed in those early years. The Council rested fairly and squarely on the honour and integrity of the parties. Black sheep existed on both sides and could not be brought to book except by moral persuasion. The competition from country areas and non-federated houses put great strain on those firms who loyally accepted their Council obligations. Conflicting awards by Local Wages Boards cut across established pay scales for assistants and juveniles, but the Council proved its utility and survived every threat to its continued existence.

The National Industrial Council was the first to apply for registration in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924. Delay was occasioned by the discovery that some employer organisations represented on the Council had not been registered in accordance with Section 14 of the Act and that in any case registration was not possible until their constitutions were amended in order to bring them within the term "employers' organisation" as defined in Section 24.

The Secretary for Labour also declined to accept a printed copy of the agreement but required an original document bearing the manuscript signatures of the authorised representatives of the parties. The constitution of the Council itself had to be amended in minor matters and at the express wish of some members of Council ways had to be found of making sure that the registration of the agreement would not cause hardship or unemployment in country areas. The delays in what seemed so simple a matter were "exasperating and unforeseen" but there was no doubt about the Government's sincere desire to try out the Industrial Conciliation Act "by taking the Agreement of the Printing Industry as a model"¹³⁾. It was finally promulgated in Government Gazette 442, 13 March 1925.

THE JOINT BOARD SYSTEM

By the time the Council was formed in 1919 the system of local negotiation between small representative groups of employers and employees had a long and fruitful, if somewhat checkered, history. At one time or another the system had proved its value in all the main centres and the establishment of the Witwatersrand Local Joint Board in 1918 had influenced John Martin of the Argus Co to such an extent that he had thrown his personal weight as well as the prestige of his company into the formation of the National Council. When the inaugural conference met in November 1919 the integration of the Joint Board System into the Constitution of the Council was almost a foregone conclusion and the only aspect debated was how the extension of the System could be effective at local level without conflicting with functions reserved for the Council itself. The delegates recognised the value of rapid action, of local knowledge, and of using local bodies to lighten the load of detail which would otherwise overwhelm the Council, they also recognised the value of having local bodies as a first court of reference with the Council serving as a body to which matters might go on appeal. After these thoughts had been aired the Conference voted unanimously to recommend the extension of the Joint Board System to all areas and to define the relationship between Joint Boards and the Council when the Constitution was drafted. One delegate in his enthusiasm for the System said "They could have a Joint Board with one printing house, one man representing the employer and one the employees" but this disregarded the principle that no man should be judge of his own cause and the value of the Joint Board System is that members are equally representative of the parties and are knowledgeable but disinterested¹⁾. Originally Joint Boards had negotiated wages, hours and working conditions. These and similar matters of major importance were now negotiated at national level and to this extent it might be said that the status of the Local Joint Boards was much reduced. It remained to be seen whether the work delegated to them would be of suf-

ficient importance to secure the support and maintain the enthusiasm of men of calibre.

When the first formal Constitution was drafted one of its stated objects was

To promote the establishment of local Joint Boards consisting of two or more members equally representative of employers and employees in every town or group of neighbouring small towns²⁾.

The framers of the Constitution evidently expected that there would be numerous boards each with a circumscribed area of jurisdiction and made provision for Provincial or District Joint Boards to deal with matters at provincial or district level or matters referred to them by local Joint Boards. This, in effect, placed one intermediate reference point between the Local Joint Board and the Council. A Natal Provincial Joint Board convened in September 1920 and functioned for a year or two whilst local Joint Boards exercised jurisdiction in Durban and Maritzburg but the Provincial system proved clumsy and was soon abandoned³⁾.

In the light of experience the powers of Joint Boards were more precisely defined in successive constitutions until in the third constitution, effective 1 January 1924, the provisions relating to Joint Boards were cast into a form which proved so effective that they remain substantially unchanged. After a few years of working experience the idea of a multiplicity of boards grouped into Provinces or Districts gave way to the more workable alternative of Boards corresponding to the areas into which the Republic was divided by the S.A.T.U. for administrative purposes. In all save a few minor exceptions the areas of jurisdiction of the various employers' Chambers correspond with those of the S.A.T.U. The only constitutional changes worth noting since 1924 are the deletion of references to Provincial or District Boards, a provision that the Joint Honorary Secretaries of the Council shall be ex officio members of all Joint Boards and a clause entitling the Secretary of the Council to attend all meetings of Joint Boards and to speak⁴⁾. Joint Boards are empowered to make recommendations, to consider and to decide questions affecting employers and employees in their area of jurisdiction, to enquire into and to report upon matters remitted to them by the Council, its Executive or

its Standing Committee, to prevent disputes and to try to settle them when they occur, to prescribe procedure for testing the competence of employees, to issue certificates of competence, and to recommend to the Council proper occasions for the issue of licences or certificates of exemption⁵⁾. A Joint Board may not give any decision which purports to alter or amend the Agreement, interferes with a Council decision, conflict with the Constitution, or is within the exclusive jurisdiction of a superior body⁶⁾.

Within three months of the coming into force of the first agreement John Martin was able to report that several additional Joint Boards had been established and were doing valuable work. Cape Town was the only important centre without an established Joint Board⁷⁾. Within a year the organisation spread to smaller centres including Kimberley and Oudtshoorn⁸⁾. Then teething troubles became apparent. Difficulty was experienced in convening the Durban Board and obtaining the attendance of members: the Durban Chamber on at least one occasion declined to be bound by the action of its representatives: the Maritzburg Board experienced temporary trouble allegedly due to the dominating influence of the Witness office: the Port Elizabeth Board disintegrated because the employers' organisation temporarily fell apart. Three years is but a short time in the life of the Council and by September 1923 teething troubles had been largely overcome: Boards were established and functioning in every centre except Port Elizabeth and Grahamstown⁹⁾. A Board had by then been functioning in Cape Town for some time and Mr Ivan Walker expressed great appreciation for its work¹⁰⁾. At the third meeting of Council in November 1921 the important status quo rule was enunciated which has proved of utmost value over the years and still applies:

Where a dispute arises between the Chapel and the management which is made the subject of reference to a Joint Board, the condition or practice previous to the dispute shall continue until a decision is given by the Joint Board¹¹⁾.

The status quo rule is one of the most effective peace keeping formulae enunciated by the Council, as useful now as when it was first put into words nearly fifty years ago. It ensures that in the event of a dispute over working practices work continues whilst negotiation pro-

ceeds. An early problem concerned the means to be adopted for enforcing Joint Board decisions. There was, in fact, no method other than persuasion until the Council was registered under the Industrial Conciliation Act and secured legal authority for its agreements. By 1924 the voluntary system was working smoothly and Monty Hennegin reported to the employers that:

Joint Boards have discussed ways and means of overcoming the competition of office duplicating machines, reporting the existence of type setting machine to the Apprenticeship Committee. The question of a librarian sending large quantities of volumes overseas to be rebound called for an investigation by the Joint Board. The reported allocation of a large contract for public work to a supply house was of sufficient importance ... to warrant an investigation as to whether the work was to be executed locally or overseas, or whether it was to be produced under fair conditions or otherwise. In addition Boards have settled local differences of opinion regarding the working of the Agreement which have arisen from time to time¹²⁾.

Joint Boards printed their minutes and, using the FMP Secretary as a clearing house, interchanged minutes between employer chambers throughout the country. Without doubt the most remarkable Joint Board Meeting of this period took place in Johannesburg on 9 January 1922 when the Rand Miners' Strike was made the occasion for attempts to engineer a general stoppage of work. The Transvaal Joint Board comprising J.W. Miller, E.H. Adlington, R.L. Esson and I. Wallach for the employers and Ivan Walker with Messrs. Drummond, McKay and Bradshaw for the Union unanimously agreed on steps to be taken if work stopped through force majeure. The employers undertook that no employee would be given notice and the Secretary of the Joint Board "was instructed to communicate with all members of the Master Printers' Association and to emphasize the assurances of the representatives of the Typographical Union that the National Agreement would be carried out"¹³⁾.

The Industrial Conciliation Act was gazetted on 13 March 1925¹⁴⁾, and three days later the N.I.C. Agreement became enforceable at law. Immediately there was a rush to persuade officials of the Labour Department to institute prosecutions against recalcitrants but the De-

partment was unwilling to be drawn into what it regarded in the first instance as domestic disputes and was firm in its attitude that the industry should police its own affairs with patience and perseverance only referring to the Department when other legitimate means failed.

Joint Boards, said Mr Hennegin

"must allow employers time to know the National Agreement and the Law. Very few people read the Government Gazette, he had therefore gone round several offices in Cape Town and suburbs with Mr Pryor, a former Secretary of the Cape Town Branch of the S.A.T.U. issuing circulars and informing employers what was expected of them in terms of the National Agreement, the Industrial Conciliation Act and the Apprenticeship Act.

Mr Cousins, The Secretary for Labour, had made it clear that the Department expected the Council to use its powers to the fullest extent before appealing to the Government for assistance, ... failing a local settlement matters may be referred to the Council which now has the powers of a Provincial Division of the Supreme Court to summon witnesses and if the final instructions of the Council are not obeyed we may secure a prosecution ..."¹⁵⁾

There was a further well remembered reason for caution in the matter of instituting prosecutions. Within less than a month of landing in South Africa in 1923 Monty Hennegin had been involved in an investigation of alleged infringements of the regulations governing wages of Printers' Assistants and Cardboard Box Makers made by the Cape Peninsula Wages Board under the Regulation of Wages, Apprentices and Improvers Act No 29 of 1918. A Committee of inspection consisting of the Chairman of the Board, the Inspector of Labour, Monty Hennegin and Ivan Walker found some of the shops visited "a disgrace to any civilised community" and uncovered more than one hundred infringements within three days. Several prosecutions followed and the exercise had a salutary effect not only in Cape Town but in other areas. No further mass prosecutions were instituted but the Labour Department officials were ruffled as the exposure of widespread illegalities gave the im-

pression that the officials were not discharging their duties as assiduously as perhaps they should¹⁶⁾. The Council was at pains to emphasize that in the future Joint Boards were not at liberty to initiate prosecutions but only to recommend, leaving it to the Executive or to the full Council to authorise action.

The Sixth Meeting of Council decided that the time had arrived for the publication by the Council of a monthly record of the work of Joint Boards, the Standing Committee, and the Executive Committee, and recommended that Joint Boards hold their meetings early in each month so that copy could be collected and edited in time for publication on the first of the next succeeding month. This publication made it unnecessary for Joint Boards to print and circulate their own minutes and amongst those to whom it was proposed to circulate this publication were all members of such Boards¹⁷⁾. In accordance with this decision the Monthly Record of the N.I.C. for Printing was first published from P O Box 393, Cape Town on 1 December 1925 and has become an indispensable part of the Council's line of communication. The pages have been numbered consecutively one-up and have now reached six thousands. There has been remarkably little change in the subject matter of proceedings over more than forty years, the same basic problems cropping up over and over again. The following matters were reported upon in Vol. 1 No. 1 and every one of them can be found in a selection of recent numbers of the Monthly Record taken at random from the files: grant of exemption certificates, exemptions to do guillotine cutting, remuneration of foremen, failure to comply with working rules, alleged underpayment of wages, shortage of typesetting machine operators, payment for Sunday work, trouble over an immigrant journeyman, the case of a machine minder who did a bit of comping on the side, and a reminder about stamping unemployment books. The only difference of note between 1925 and 1969 is an increase in the number of items reported commensurate with the growth of the industry and the adoption of a condensed and less discursive style of reporting designed to save time and space.

WORKING RULES

The detailed nature of the Council's Agreements and in particular the working rules, incurred the strongest criticism of the Board of Trade in 1953 which in turn called forth the most vigorous defence from the Council¹⁾. The main points made in defence are still the best available exposition of why such rules are necessary. Agreements are detailed in order that they may be enforced. It would be a waste of time to draft an Agreement in general terms and find it unenforceable for lack of particularity. There are two main reasons why working rules are specifically included in Agreements: first because the industry believes in joint consultation, and second because if working rules were not mutually agreed it would mean in practice that rules would be prescribed by the Trade Union alone and that management would have no say since it is common knowledge that Trade Unions, if free to do so, will draw up working rules for the regulation of their craft members. In the final analysis rules are interpreted by the courts. This means that management is safeguarded against unreasonable interpretations and men are safeguarded against exploitation. It is also relevant to recall the power of exemption possessed by the Council which is exercised on the recommendation of Local Joint Boards. Between 1 January 1968 and 31 August 1969, for example, no less than four thousand nine hundred exemption certificates have been issued authorising journeymen to do work other than that for which they are registered or to permit employees to do work other than that appropriate to their normal grade²⁾. There are three broad groups or classes of employees in the technical departments: journeymen including apprentices in the designated trades, assistants, and factory labourers. The principle on which agreements have been constructed hitherto is to define skilled work and restrict it to journeymen or apprentices; to define in considerable detail the tasks which may be performed by labourers and to leave undefined a broad spectrum of semi-skilled tasks which fall to be performed by assis-

tants. Craft skills are necessarily restricted within the framework of designated trades but assistants with a Grade II card from the S.A.T.U. may be employed in any semi-skilled capacity without restriction. As the industry has expanded and its product range has become diversified there has been a national tendency for assistants to acquire their skill in a particular sector of the industry such as binding or stationery manufacture or packaging or the printing machine room, but there is no restriction on the employer as long as he selects potentially suitable material and provides the training or retraining required for the performance of his work. Whatever may be said for or against this system on theoretical grounds it at least has the merit of working well in practice. The industry has been remarkably free from demarcation disputes because there can be little argument on what constitutes skilled work, labourers are restricted to specifically defined tasks, and everything in between must be paid for at the appropriate assistants' rate. What constitutes skilled work or what should properly fall within the scope of labourers' duties may be called in question and renegotiated whenever an Agreement comes up for renewal. To this general labour pattern there are a few exceptions, the most important being the creation of a class of workers intermediate between assistants and journeymen who are permitted to do skilled work subject to a limitation on the size of the machine. These platen pressmen (many of them women) and litho-operatives are the lineal descendants of the old cropper hands.

No working rules were negotiated at the first agreement. The status quo was adopted and the existing working rules of the S.A.T.U. accepted; after legislating for wages, working hours, overtime and holidays, the agreement simply stated "that all other customs which at present prevail shall remain undisturbed"³⁾. The "foundation trades" practised in the South African industry at the time were bookbinding, ruling, cutting, composing, proofreading, letterpress machine minding, stereotyping, process engraving and lithography. There was virtually no change in working practices in the Agreements of 1922-23 and 1924-25 except that the relevant rules were tabulated and set out in schedules annexed to the respective Agree-

ments.

The state of the bookbinding and stationery sectors caused the first serious onslaught on traditional practices. Loose leaf ledgers had been introduced between 1906 and 1910 and at the Fourth Meeting of the Council at Bloemfontein in 1922 Mr Pryor, a S.A.T.U. delegate from Cape Town, said "the loose-leaf ledger has been a big factor in destroying the binding trade"⁴⁾. In edition binding the Republic still suffers from the fact that most books read in South Africa are imported from overseas. In the binding departments South African craftsmen are left with more than their share of the less interesting and less rewarding tasks because the volume of genuine bound work and even of cased work is relatively small. The S.A.T.U. continues to fight a rearguard action to safeguard the position of those of its members who many feel to be engaged in a dying trade; time alone will tell also whether craftsmen will rise to the challenge of change and welcome rather than reject the new opportunities which plastics and mechanical bindings have placed at the disposal of industry. Historically the negotiation of working rules for bookbinders in Council is of particular interest as it shows the Council faced for the first time with the need to deal with changing patterns of technology. The negotiations provide the earliest example of the dilution of a skilled trade to attract more work to South Africa whilst endeavouring to protect the position of local craftsmen. The conditions appeared for the first time in the Agreement of 1926-27 which provided for male and female quarterbinders to undertake work "which the SATU claim is the work of journeymen binders"⁵⁾. The Union conditions for conceding dilution were embodied in two key clauses to the Controversial Schedule F of the Agreement, first that one journeyman bookbinder be employed for each three or less of quarter binders, and next that no journeyman be dismissed as a result of the concession. The first stipulation is an example of the much debated manning ratio: the second is the first expression in a Council Agreement of the no-redundancy rule. The Union negotiators faced many disappointed and angry men at Branch level and narrowly avoided repudiation of the Agreement, a reminder of the limitation placed on delegates in a democratic society. The employers were none the less obliged to seek fur-

ther concessions to encourage trade and the agreement of 1934-35 incorporates for the first time special provisions relating to the repetitive manufacture of stock items made in batches. The SATU struggled for many years to keep the manufacture of loose leaf systems entirely within the hands of skilled craftsmen and as recently as 1959 the making of loose-leaf ledgers, transfer binders and covers was reserved for journeymen⁶⁾. After more protracted negotiation the agreement of 1964 contained the first formal mention of plastics in bookbinding and contained detailed provisions under which general assistants and factory labourers might share in the more routine and repetitive tasks associated with the assembly of loose leaf mechanisms⁷⁾. The general and unfortunate feeling that there is not much future in bookbinding has inhibited recruitment of apprentices and is having an adverse effect on the skilled labour force. The total of journeymen in the trades of bookbinding/ruling/cutting increased from 351 to 408 between 1955 and 1965 but fell back to 399 in 1968. The number of apprentices entering the trade is about 20 per annum and is insufficient to replace natural wastage⁸⁾.

Bookbinding is the oldest trade in the industry but the trades employing the greatest numbers are those of compositor and letterpress machine minder. Together they employ substantially more than half of all craftsmen in the industry: 3031 out of 5027 in 1955, 3927 out of 7105 ten years later, and 4094 out of 7699 at the latest count⁹⁾. Although early printers were equally at home at the case or as pressmen the trades have become divorced in modern practice. Since the 1968 agreement a large measure of interchangeability has been permitted but the natural line of demarcation is the door of the machine room. The compositor can undertake some of the preparatory work formerly reserved for lithographers or process workers, whilst the letterpress machine minder can qualify as a dual purpose minder covering the trades of letterpress, lithography or gravure. There is however one relic of the nineteenth century general purpose journeyman occasionally to be met with in country press offices. He is the dual purpose machine minder - compositor who operates in terms of an exemption for which provision was first made in the agreement of 1932-33¹⁰⁾. The arrangement is confined to country districts covered by areas formerly designated B and C

in successive agreements and at the last count 31 December 1967 there were not more than twelve remaining dual purpose compositor/minders to recall to mind how all newspapers were once produced¹¹⁾.

To ensure a broadly based training and to secure equality of opportunity for both hand and machine compositors the SATU has steadfastly set its face against the training of apprentices solely as typesetting machine operators maintaining that a proper knowledge of type and of the case is an essential prerequisite for proficiency as a compositor whether by hand or machine. This view has not always been shared by employers particularly in earlier times when typesetting machines were multiplying rapidly and there was a chronic shortage of operators. Even the critical Board of Trade Report acknowledges however that the South African system produces craftsmen who in general have a more rounded training than overseas where specialisation is carried to extremes¹²⁾. On both sides of the Council there is now general acceptance of the view that a broadly based general apprentice training should precede specialisation.

At a very early stage in its existence the Council appointed J.W. Miller of the Star and Ivan Walker as a sub-committee to report on the training of linotype operators. Their report was presented on 26 October 1920 and formed the basis of working rules appended to the 1922-23 Agreement. The youth was required to spend at least three years at the case before touching the keyboard and the agreement stated that "no persons shall be specially indentured to learn typesetting machine operating, but all indentured apprentices in the composing department shall be entitled to instruction on typesetting machines during the last six months of apprenticeship". The Agreement also contained an unique provision, not applicable to any other trade, in terms of which journeymen compositors who had not had an opportunity of practising machine composition must be allowed to train on linotypes in their own time¹³⁾.

Linotypes require precise engineering maintenance for consistent performance and the Agreement of 1922-23 contained a provision, the first of its kind, relating to maintenance, that "mechanics must be employed where more than four machines are in use"¹⁴⁾. This led to one of the very few demarcation difficulties in the South African printing industry. Just

where did maintenance end and operation begin? Members of the Associated Engineering Union had been employed for many years on maintenance in larger newspaper shops and demonstrated their solidarity with the SATU in the Cape Town strike of 1911¹⁵⁾ but after the Council was formed and the closed shop principle endorsed there was a movement in SATU circles to narrow the principle still further and to restrict mechanical work of whatever sort for its members. The difficulty was resolved in 1928 by a reciprocity arrangement between the two unions¹⁶⁾. Members of the A.E.U. employed on maintenance in the printing industry are not obliged to transfer their union membership but may do so if they wish: after a year of experience in the industry the SATU will receive them into membership on a Grade I card. There are now the two gateways into engineering services in the printing industry; direct entry through apprenticeship as printers' mechanics or entry through transfer from the A.E.U.

In the early 'sixties composing again became an area of major technical progress with the introduction of photo composition, teletype setting, computer controlled justification and tape-fed composing machines. The circumstances are interesting in that by agreement between the parties the problems of staff selection and retraining in newspaper composing departments was turned over for investigation and report to the National Institute for Personal Research associated with the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. It is the first time a problem posed by changing technology has been referred to an independent body for scientific treatment as a preliminary to negotiation in Council¹⁷⁾. The Agreement of 1964 contained for the first time working provisions relating to photocomposition and teletypesetting. The journeyman strength at 31 December 1968 of compositors including mechanics was 2854 of whom four were listed as typograph operators, a living reminder of the beginnings of machine composition in South Africa¹⁸⁾.

The technical changes in newspaper production which began at the turn of the century and had made considerable progress by 1919 led to a separation between the letterpress machine minder employed on jobbing work and the rotary minder on a newspaper press.

At the time the Council was formed in 1919 the S.A.T.U. had only just averted the formation of a rival lithographers' and process workers' asso-

ciation and the difficulty of assimilating the imported Linotype hands was a recent memory. The S.A.T.U. having successfully established its hold over all branches of the trade was not anxious to encourage a stratification of its ranks based on privileged trades or differential remuneration. The 10% premium paid for machine composition was regarded as an exception, not a precedent. However, neither party to the Council could overlook the inevitable pressures in a changing labour market where supply and demand is the ultimate arbiter of the going rate paid at any particular time. The first official notice of the rotary machine minder was included almost by accident in a Schedule to the Agreement of 1922-23 relating to the importation of contract hands¹⁹⁾ and a differential wage structure for "Rotary machine minders on newspaper and magazine work" was incorporated in the Agreement of 1928-1929 and in subsequent Agreements, the premium being 10% above the minimum rate for journeymen²⁰⁾.

The existence of Platen hands as a distinct group within the general body of Printers' assistants was first given recognition at the Sixth Meeting of the Council in Cape Town 1925 and an agreed definition produced by a six-a-side committee read "one who is able to make ready and print all work on any platen machine, including locking up formes in the machine chase"²¹⁾. The definition was incorporated, and wages prescribed for the first time in the Agreement of 1926-1927²²⁾.

At the Seventh Meeting of Council in Port Elizabeth 1927, agreement was reached on a system of registration for platen hands. All proficient hands with two or more years experience were required to be registered with the Council on or before 31 March 1928. Thereafter persons selected for training as platen hands were required to be registered as learners with the Council. The name was changed to Platen Pressmen and the provisions relating to their employment incorporated in the Agreement of 1928-1929²³⁾.

Platen pressmen are usually selected for training from persons who have shown competence after some years as general assistants in the industry and on completion of learnership qualify, when registered with the Council, for wages of 90% of the minimum prescribed for journeymen. The provisions applying to platen pressmen illustrate the Council's pragmatic approach to the situation created by the multi-racial composition of the semi-skilled

labour pool in South Africa and a desire on both sides to provide progressive employment for persons who for one reason or another would find it difficult to obtain craft apprentice training. Platen pressmen are largely drawn from the ranks of the Cape Coloured in the Western Cape and from Indians in Natal: in the Transvaal, Eastern Province and Border white women form a substantial portion of the workforce.

The journeymen strength at 31 December 1967 included 245 rotary machine minders of whom 200 were dual purpose machine minders and stereotypers. The average annual intake of apprentices is about 13²⁴⁾. There were 661 platen pressmen registered with the Council²⁵⁾.

The artistic origins of the lithographic process and its use as a medium of artistic expression outside the printing industry bequeathed problems to the Council which to this day have not been completely resolved. The earliest working rules give the impression that the Council was willing to leave well alone. As late as 1928 the working rules dismissed the whole practice of lithography in a single sentence "no persons other than journeymen lithographers and indentured apprentices shall be permitted to transfer on plate or stone, make ready on or take charge of any lithographic machine"²⁶⁾. "Lithographic and commercial art" appears amongst the first list of trades designated in terms of the Apprenticeship Act of 1922 and incorporated in the Agreement of 1930²⁷⁾. Commercial Art is a field far too wide to be contained within the printing industry and in the listing of 1934 and subsequent Agreements the Council more modestly claimed jurisdiction over "Printers' and lithographic art"²⁸⁾. Much of the artwork used by the industry, both original and in black-and-white for reproduction, is now supplied by advertising agencies or freelance artists who cannot by any means be brought within the Council's jurisdiction. Even within the industry creative artists are generally regarded as members of the salaried staff and only those employed in the reproductive trades operate in terms of NIC Agreements. A good case might be made out for incorporating the function of the lithographic artist in the process trades. At 31 December 1968 there were 561 journeyman lithographers and 331 photo lithographers but fewer than sixty printers' artists²⁹⁾.

The Agreement of 1936 first noticed the growing diversification of the industry when wages were prescribed for paper bag making employees. In the Agreement of 1942 working rules were first prescribed for monotype caster attendants and wage rates were prescribed for envelope punchers and learners on paper sack tubing machines. Paper Sack making employees were included with paper bag making employees and their wages prescribed in Table VIII. A Supplementary Agreement relating to office duplicating services was gazetted in Government Notice 2643 of 24 December 1942 and incorporated into the unexpired portion of the Agreement of 1942-43. The Agreement of 1942-43 also contained for the first time comprehensive provisions relating to wages and working conditions of labourers specifying duties of a semi-technical nature which they might perform, mainly in newspaper offices. Formal provision was also made for the uniform treatment of casual labour. The Agreement of 1944 first prescribed working rules for corrugated board and corrugated case manufacture and that of 1946 incorporated a supplement covering all aspects of the silkscreen printing³⁰⁾. A wage schedule of 1 February 1947 incorporated the first reference to cellulose film conversion. A certain amount of tidying up took place in the Agreement of 1950. The trade of monotype caster attendant was incorporated in the general group of trades known as composing (hand and machine). Photogravure is mentioned for the first time although it had been practised in South Africa for nearly thirty years. Working rules were incorporated in a comprehensive section relating to photogravure, lithography, and the process trades. The Agreement of 1953 was given a new look by incorporating working rules relating to specialised sections of the industry in self-contained chapters establishing a pattern in drafting which has been followed and further developed with each succeeding agreement. Chapter 3 was devoted to the corrugating section³⁰⁾, Chapter 4 to fibre container manufacture³¹⁾, Chapter 5 to silk screen, and Chapter 7 to duplicating. The Agreement of 1959 added separate chapters on flexible packaging and on paper sacks. Some of the new provisions in the Agreement of 1964 have been mentioned: they include comprehensive treatment of photo composition and teletypesetting, references to plastic materials and loose leaf mechanisms and provisions relating to bulk stationery manufacture more in line with modern development in the industry. The Agreement of 1968 contained

the first comprehensive plan of interchangeability creating two areas, the process side and the machine room, in which journeymen could with proper safeguards acquire and use multiple skills. The ultimate objective envisages two broad categories of skilled craftsman, the process worker and the machine minder, one preparing the standing matter and the other undertaking the printing.

The main picture that emerges is of a body sufficiently flexible to adjust to change and sufficiently conservative to avoid unnecessary change. Along the road travelled over fifty years a certain amount of rubbish has accumulated but if it is true that "industrial peace can be bought at too high a price" it is also fair to say that it is not easy to assess the cost of industrial unrest³²⁾. It is a known fact that leaders of Britain's fractionated printing unions regard the South African system with respect amounting to admiration and it is a matter of record that the South African economy has experienced unprecedented expansion with no industrial unrest.

THE N.I.C. AND THE BANTU

In the Twentieth century Mission presses other than Lovedale, Mariannhill and Morija bore little relation to the great presses of the classic period and might better be described as denominational presses for disseminating propaganda and raising funds. Wages and conditions generally left much to be desired. As late as 1938-1941 very few trained native compositors and machine minders received more than £5 a month; one mission charged the parents of Bantu youths £3 or £4 a term for board and tuition and used their labour to produce print for sale, and it was unfortunately not unknown for European businesses to treat mission trained natives as a source of cheap labour¹⁾.

The commercial Bantu press showed a similar contrast between the few firms of substance and the small print shops in which conditions were generally unsatisfactory and often deplorable. Ilanga lase Natal (The Natal Sun) was started by the Rev. John L. Dube at Phoenix, Natal in 1904²⁾, and Umteteli wa-Bantu, the Journal of the Chamber of Mines, about 1930³⁾. The Bantu Press (Pty) Ltd was established in 1931 and first published The Bantu World (now The World) in 1932⁴⁾. In 1940 thirteen Bantu presses were registered with the Council⁵⁾. A survey made in 1941 showed that Ilanga paid trainees 20/- per week and trained men from 30/- to 40/- per week. The rates paid by the Bantu Press in Johannesburg were 30/- a week for trainees and from 32/6 to 45/- for trained men⁶⁾. By 1945 at least ten Bantu papers were published in South Africa, most of them with white business management but native editorial and works staff.

In 1968 The World edited by M.T. Moerane who holds degrees from Fort Hare, from the University of South Africa and from Natal, had the third largest circulation of any Transvaal daily paper and the fifth largest in South Africa. Its circulation had quadrupled within five years and claimed a daily readership of nearly half-a-million. A weekend edition appears on 30 June 1968 with a starting circulation of 100,000 copies⁷⁾.

* * *

A regular and orderly flow of trained native labour went from Lovedale to the vernacular urban press but it was inevitable that sooner or later Mission trained natives would come to town in search of work with commercial houses. It was to be expected that a certain type of employer would welcome their services and it was equally certain that white craftsmen would resist the employment of "unorganised cheap labour"⁸⁾.

At the turn of the century some commercial firms were employing native compositors at about half the rate of wages paid to white craftsmen⁹⁾. The Coloured population of the Western Cape had worked at the trade alongside whites for years before the Trade Union came into existence: their special position in the industry was acknowledged and accepted provided they were paid the rate for the job although in practice white journeymen in Cape Town were commonly paid a premium of 7/6 to 10/- a week whilst coloured journeymen worked for 'stab'¹⁰⁾.

The Durban Branch of the Union had no objection to admitting Indians to membership but this was resisted in the Transvaal and Orange Free State so that no mandate could be obtained before 1929 for the effective or large scale organisation of Indian workers¹¹⁾. In 1902 two Mission trained natives were employed in a Durban shop, one as a compositor and the other as a machine minder. The Local Branch of the Union, by threatening to withdraw their labour, secured the dismissal of the compositor but permitted the minder to continue as minders were scarce¹²⁾. In 1903 a Mission trained native applied to join the Durban Branch of the Union but was advised to organise a Native Trade Union¹³⁾.

The real or assumed threat from non-white, and more particularly from native labour, came to a head at the fourth Union Conference held at Kimberley in 1903 when it was resolved "that no Kaffir or Asiatic labour be permitted which infringes on the work performed by members of the S.A.T.U."¹⁴⁾. Union delegates from the Cape spoke in defence of the Coloured workers and it is significant that although in a minority their stand was respected. Perhaps because this resolution has never been formally rescinded the author of Board of Trade Report No 353 of 1953 quotes it as if it was still

definitive Union policy although the Union had moved a long way in the half century between 1903 and 1953. When the National Industrial Council was founded in 1919 the labour force was 70% white and it was still possible to dream of an all white industry*. By 1956 the proportion of whites had fallen to 54%, and by 1965 to 42% of the labour force. In 1965 Bantu males made up 28% of the labour force and although described as "predominantly labourers" many were in fact authorised to do work formerly reserved for semi-skilled labour¹⁵⁾. The growth of the total labour force was such that the actual number of white operatives continued to rise and no displacement of white labour has taken place.

Although the 1903 resolution was emphatic incidents occurred from time to time. In 1916 the Union disciplined a Bloemfontein member for allowing a native to do skilled work¹⁶⁾ and in 1921 a report was made to the Governing Board of two native compositors employed in Kimberley¹⁷⁾. The relationship between natives, white workers and management was often marked by mutual respect and loyalty. During a dispute at Pietermaritzburg in 1916 a native labourer was arrested and fined 10/- for refusing to work whilst his white baas was on strike and his fine was promptly paid by the Chapel¹⁸⁾. A Council minute of 1942 observed that a very intelligent and loyal type of native was to be found in the larger white establishments; it was usual for a firm to employ members of one tribe and in some cases members of the same family had long records of continuous service¹⁹⁾.

When the National Industrial Council was formed in 1919 it was in no position to deal with the problem of Bantu labour. There was no legislation in terms of which the Council itself could be registered or legislative effect given to its agreements. These agreements were only binding on the parties and excluded country printers, native printers, private printing plants, non-federated urban employers, and Mission presses which

*The total of 5,442 employees was 69.7% white, 16.8% coloured (confined to the Western Cape and the coastal towns of the Cape Province), 4.6% Indian and 8.9% Natives. (Source: F.S. Malan, Minister of Mines and Industries, addressing the first National Conference, Johannesburg, 10 November 1919, proceedings, page 5).

were beyond the Council's jurisdiction. After the registration of the Council in terms of the first Industrial Conciliation Act of 1924 its Wage Agreements had legal and national force and effect²⁰⁾. In the absence of exemption all employees were then entitled to be paid at the rate specified for work done irrespective of race or sex. At the sixth meeting of the Council at Cape Town in 1925 the Chairman drew attention to the need for special rates for native newspapers and for institutions such as Lovedale²¹⁾. The Executive evidently felt that it would be wise to make haste slowly and first to gather as much information as possible; accordingly they appointed Mr Monty Hennegin and Mr A.J. Downes as Council inspectors to "secure further information with regard to the labour employed on native newspapers"²²⁾. The Executive had just heard for the first time of a native compositor in membership of an African Trade Union²³⁾.

In 1926-27 Hennegin and Downes made two hundred and seven inspections, most of them on non-federated houses in areas outside the jurisdiction of the Council's local joint boards covering ground "of which the Industrial Council had little or no previous knowledge"²⁴⁾. At the seventh meeting of Council (1927) a report was made but the only item on the agenda relating to native printers was withdrawn without discussion²⁵⁾. Exemptions and other facilities continued to be granted freely to Mission presses and native printing establishments²⁶⁾ but some presses, either through ignorance or inadvertence, omitted to apply for exemption and laid themselves open to heavy claims for short-payment of wages, one claim made on behalf of a native being for £2,000²⁷⁾.

Further inspections of denominational and native presses in 1935-40 showed that printing, in common with other industries, faced problems arising from the introduction of native labour into skilled occupations under irregular conditions without regard to training or to the prospect of employment when trained²⁸⁾. Some denominational presses "which were supposed to work for the good of their fellows paid their staff a mere fraction of the wage deemed necessary by the commercial community for the maintenance of a reasonable standard of living"²⁹⁾.

The Council was by now evidently under pressure to act. It had to

take account of the needs of the native community, the natural aspirations of the many Bantu who had acquired industrial skill, the risk that disaffected Bantu would become prey to agitators and possibly join Unions controlled by disruptive elements, the not unreasonable criticism that was being voiced by the more responsible and articulate sections of Bantu opinion*, and against all this the evident impossibility of integrating Bantu into the industrial white community on a co-equal basis. The Council Executive appointed a Native Affairs sub-committee which met at the Star office in Johannesburg under the Chairmanship of Sisson Cooper, General Manager of the Argus Coy., on 30 April and 1 May 1941³⁰⁾. The other members were A.J. Downes of the S.A.T.U., T. Atkinson, Manager of Lovedale press, and B.G. Paver, Managing Director of Bantu Press (Pty) Ltd. Mr Atkinson reviewed the past twenty-five years at the Mission presses and drew a comparison between the state of the country printers who had by this time been regulated by the Council and the state of the Mission presses which "had no regulations, often no management: the wage rates were chaotic and there was no educational qualification for trainees". He warned that if employees were not given encouragement they would probably fall prey to agitators and he pleaded for fair working conditions which also took account of the need for literature amongst two million native children of school age.

The sub-committee, with no precedents to guide it, recommended an "arrangement" subsequently accepted and implemented by the Council, formulating for the first time principles for the orderly training and employment of all classes of natives, including skilled workers, engaged in service to their own community. The task was performed so well that no significant change of principle has since been necessary. It was accepted as a fact that the living expenses of natives are less than those of whites and the criteria adopted for the determination of fair native wages were the estimated value of work done, the ability

*The Bantu Forum for August 1940 drew attention to the number of native compositors in missionary presses who had served a lifetime and were paid about 90/- a month. The Territorial Magazine for May 1940 campaigned for reasonable wages that would enable natives to maintain a decent standard of living.

of native presses to pay, the need to attract and retain natives of the required education and mental ability, and conditions which affect all wages such as changes in the cost of living. It was recommended that as a first step all wages be raised to the level of Lovedale and the Bantu Press (Pty) Ltd. Trainees were normally to be recruited between the ages of 16 and 18 with a Standard VI education and assigned to firms where there were at least two skilled men to ensure their proper instruction. Training was to be for seven years, five years as a trainee followed by two years as a senior trainee. Skilled status was recognised by the issue of a certificate by the Council. The agreed schedule of wages was taken to reflect the cost of living at 31 December 1941: changes in wage rates with fluctuation in the cost of living were to be proportional to those prescribed in the main agreement: overtime rates and holidays were granted in accordance with the provisions of the Factories Act: piece work was prohibited and it was agreed in principle to make provision when circumstances permitted for the orderly retirement on pension of elderly employees. Whilst still in draft these proposals were discussed with Senator Rheinhold Jones, representing native interests in Parliament, who evidently wondered if the proposals were not a little too generous as he urged the Council not to risk closing any of the Mission presses "or in any way contract the field of employment for natives in the printing industry"³¹⁾. The sub-committee also recommended the appointment to the council staff of a translator to act as a public relations officer and to assist council officials when interviewing natives.

The "arrangement" was approved and came into force on 1 January 1942. Where the gap between existing and newly prescribed wage scales was large the Council issued exemptions to assist employers to make adjustments over a period of time, one such exemption providing for six increments at intervals over several months³²⁾. After an experimental period the arrangement was embodied in a Supplementary Agreement and annexed to the Main Agreement between the parties. The Native Affairs Sub-Committee was given the status and functions of a Joint Board and has since been known as the Bantu Affairs Joint Board. Miss G.T. Green was appointed first translator and stationed in Johannesburg. Within a year Miss Green, apart from

assisting Council officials, had made twenty-four inspections and personally interviewed about 450 natives to collect data on native employees. White employers were without exception helpful; natives were often suspicious "until they realised that the sole reason was the desire to assist them by benefit schemes of one kind or another. They then appeared eager to co-operate"³³⁾.

The industry was now organised for practical purposes on a three-deck wage structure, the "fair wage" conditions of the main agreement for all work sold on the open market, and the lower scale applicable to work produced by natives wholly or mainly for natives, whilst the Council continued to grant exemptions to Mission presses who limited their production to religious literature not sold for profit. Fortunately administration was not unduly difficult as the products of the printing industry generally indicate both their source and their intended end use.

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In 1937 the Governing Board of the S.A.T.U. noted for the first time the existence of an African Printing Workers' Union which was organising native employees in the industry³⁴⁾. When arrangements had been made in Council for the regular employment and reasonable remuneration of natives the S.A.T.U. made an attempt to organise an African Section of the Union so that natives would not fall prey to outside influence. In Durban an African Workers' Section was established in 1943 with about 100 members to whom George Crombie attempted to explain the objects of trade unionism. A.J. Downes addressed the first annual meeting in 1944 with the assistance of an interpreter, a native employed by Brown & Davis³⁵⁾. The White branches in Johannesburg and Pretoria co-operated in 1943 in an attempt to organise a Reef Native Section and a constitution was prepared for the purpose³⁶⁾. In the same year about sixty natives in Cape Town were present at a meeting to hear Stanley G. Raddall on the organisation of labour. The Council itself lent some colour to the movement by allowing Miss Green to act as interpreter³⁷⁾. A similar movement took place in Kimberley³⁸⁾. The formation of the African Section of the S.A.T.U. resulted in a friendly warning from the Department of Labour that the Union's own registration was in danger and the African Section was wound up. A separate African

Printing and Allied Workers Union was then formed and functioned under the guidance and with the practical assistance of the S.A.T.U. White Branch Presidents chaired meetings of the local Bantu branches whilst S.A.T.U. Branch Secretaries administered the secretarial and financial affairs of the Bantu Union. This arrangement again attracted the unfavourable notice of the Department of Labour although no objection was raised to the S.A.T.U. continuing to act as spokesmen for Bantu workers at N.I.C. negotiations. The African Printing and Allied Workers Union was then dissolved. Although the S.A.T.U. is under no obligation to speak for the Bantu and the employers equally under no obligation to recognise the S.A.T.U. as spokesmen for the Bantu the parties to the Council have tacitly and honourably accepted the position that the Council has a duty to provide for and to legislate reasonable working conditions for all factory employees on the basis of work done irrespective of racial origin. The S.A.T.U. maintains that Bantu workers have a right to expect that representations "be made on their behalf whenever their working conditions are under consideration and the most equitable way for them to be represented is by the Trade Union Movement"³⁹).

The statutory duty of watching the interests of Bantu in industry is vested in the Central Bantu Labour Board but the Board cannot be construed as an employee body within the industry and cannot be bound as a party to an industrial agreement. The Board would be at a great disadvantage in discharging its responsibilities were it not for the willingness of the parties to include Bantu workers within the scope of their negotiations.

It has been the practice of the Chairman of the Council to invite the attendance of representatives of the C.B.L.B. whenever major negotiations affecting Bantu are likely to take place. The Board has responded by sending its Chairman or some very senior official. The address given by a Board member to the Council on behalf of Bantu workers usually takes the form of a brief indication of any relevant aspects of Government policy often accompanied by appropriate statistics and followed by a plea, very movingly presented, "to grant some form of increase which will bring labourers nearer to what you might call a comfortable plane of existence ... and if you cannot come along with a

direct increase all of a sudden, that you will have a progressive scale of increments over a certain period"⁴⁰⁾.

"The Bantu", said the Chairman of the C.B.L.B. on another occasion, "has no trade union. He is dependent on the voice of my Board. We then, the Central Bantu Labour Board, are the only official voice for the Bantu worker in the whole of the Republic, hence my presence here to say a word on his behalf"⁴¹⁾.

The effects of the 1942 Arrangement were quickly apparent and led to a rapid improvement in Bantu welfare. In July 1944 when the Supplementary Agreement on natives had been in operation for about two and a half years Mr Paver reported that forty employees of the Bantu Press and Ilanga lase Natal had saved £500 between them whereas previously they had never been able to save⁴²⁾. The position of skilled and semi-skilled Bantu employed on work for their own people was independently assessed by Dr. R.H.W. Shepherd of Lovedale in 1945 in these terms:

The wages of skilled Bantu are subject to regulation and steps are taken to ensure that they are engaged only on vernacular printing or on work intended chiefly for a native clientele. The production of books by native workmen, although their wages are relatively high, helps to avoid costs that would make the prices beyond the means of Bantu readers. The development of printing and bookbinding would mean an increased number of natives engaged in an honourable industry"⁴³⁾.

The improvement in the position of Bantu labourers employed in White industry in terms of the Main Agreement has been equally notable. The General Secretary of the S.A.T.U. in recently reviewing the results of twenty-five years continuous attention by the Council to Bantu affairs could say "many trained Bantu workers are now earning the rate for the job and there are also many others employed as semi-skilled workers in the industry. When the first negotiations on behalf of labourers took place the agreed rate was R2-50 a week"⁴⁴⁾. When the Council celebrates its jubilee in 1969 the national minimum for adult labourers with two years experience will be R13-37 per week. By 1965 the 13,700 persons, almost all Bantu, in membership of the Council's Labourers Benefit Fund, were numerically the largest racial group of wage earners in what was not so long ago regarded as a "white" industry⁴⁵⁾. By December 1968 the membership had grown to 14,500.

WELFARE

From its beginning the Trade Union Movement has attempted to ensure a reasonable standard of living for its members during their working life and to provide for sickness, incapacity, unemployment, old age and death. There was no actuarial basis for such funds because they were mutual funds to which members contributed without thought of legal entitlement to benefit or to a return of contributions. The answer to a temporary shortage was a whip round or a levy. When the Council was formed it was impossible to tackle every aspect of welfare at once and the parties dealt piecemeal with the problems they inherited deciding priorities according to areas of greatest need. The most urgent problem was chronic temporary unemployment and next after it the provision of retiral allowances. The journeyman work force included many men who because of indiscriminate selection, backdoor entry, inadequate training, incapacity or old age were unable to contribute work to the value of the new uniform minimum wages but on humanitarian grounds it was impossible to discharge such men into poverty. As a short term palliative Local Joint Boards were empowered to recommend exemptions in individual cases so that wages were fixed at the estimated value of work done. For the future the Council agreed that standards should be maintained by insistence on minimum educational requirements for apprenticeship, by attention to training and by the provision of welfare funds so that the unfit and the aged could be removed from the labour market. There would then be no excuse for failure to pay the agreed wages whilst proper management backed if necessary by Union discipline, maintained acceptable standards of performance.

Unemployment was tackled first. The Union had its own unemployment scheme which since 1904 had paid out £10,000 in benefits, £1923 of it in 1920 alone. A meeting of the Executive Council held at Johannesburg in August 1920 was presented with a proposal to provide unemployment benefits for journeyman members of the Union, Ivan Walker maintaining that the S.A.T.U. had done its share and that unemployment should now

be a charge on the industry. At the Second Meeting of the Council at Cape Town in December 1920 certain employers felt that unemployment should be a state responsibility whilst Cape delegates recommended extending the services of the Printers' Benefit Association to other areas. At the close of a frank debate in which several employer delegates were induced to withdraw their opposition it was resolved without dissent, the voting being twenty-three in favour with two abstentions, that just efforts be made to remove all causes of unemployment within control of the Council, and an acceptable scheme be devised whereby joint provision of unemployment benefit could be made¹⁾.

This resolution was discussed in Executive in April 1921 and the Standing Committee, consisting of John Martin and Ivan Walker, drafted a scheme which was circulated from Johannesburg on 8 August 1921 for consideration by members at the Third Meeting of Council which convened in Durban on 7 November 1921. The draft went beyond Ivan Walker's original scheme by including with journeymen all other employees in the mechanical departments who had two years experience in the industry. The terms Grade A and Grade B, roughly corresponding to the present Grade I and Grades II and III, were introduced to distinguish the two classes of employees. The scheme was to be national, uniform, compulsory in regard to all eligible employees, and to be administered by the S.A.T.U. under the supervision of the Council. On 9 November 1921 there was a unanimous vote in favour of inaugurating a Joint Unemployment Benefit Fund since known as the J.U.F. In April 1922 the Executive decided to implement the scheme from 1 June 1922 but there were delays in collecting initial contributions although the first £1000 had been received by October²⁾. The scheme as amended and shaped into its final form by the Executive on 4 January 1924 came into operation on 1 March 1924 and under the heading of Schedule C was incorporated into the Agreement of 1924. The J.U.F. is now one of the General Benefit Funds of the Council administered in terms of an instrument known as the General Benefit Funds Agreement entered into by the parties in 1963 under the provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act 1956 and printed in full in the Handbook of 1964. Its objects are to pay benefits in cases of unemployment and of prolonged sickness and - an interesting survival of an old craft custom - "the payment of travelling expenses to enable an unemployed member of the

S.A.T.U. to take up employment in some other centre". In recent times the incidence of unemployment through shortage of work has been mercifully slight and cases of prolonged sickness make most demands on the fund. The J.U.F. does not pay benefits so long as an unemployed person receives payments from the State but undertakes that benefits will be paid in necessitous and eligible cases for a maximum of thirteen weeks in any period of six calendar months. The Standing Committee may authorise benefits for a further seven weeks after taking into account the applicant's period of Union membership, the nature of his complaint and his financial position³⁾.

Next after unemployment and sickness the Council hoped to tackle the problem of orderly retirement of the aged or incapacitated. The Chairman (Robert Muir) reported to the Eighth Meeting of Council that the Council's financial position was not strong enough to enable a comprehensive superannuation scheme to be put in hand but a start had been made in order to assist the most necessitous cases. The Joint Honorary Secretaries, Hennegin and Downes, had placed a memorandum before the Executive Committee on 29 June 1928 in which it was estimated that a surplus of £150 a month from the revenues of the General Fund could be appropriated and would serve to provide a weekly allowance of thirty shillings for not more than twenty beneficiaries. This fund, known as the Extended Unemployment Benefit Fund (EUB) came into operation on 20 January 1929 when sixteen applicants were placed in benefit. The E.U.B. still operates but is now known as the NIC Benevolent Fund. It is fed by half-yearly transfer, currently at the rate of twelve thousand rands, from the J.U.F. and is used to make weekly payments to those with long service in the industry, ex-employers as well as employees, who do not qualify for a pension. It is one of the Funds administered in terms of the General Benefit Funds Agreement of 1963⁴⁾.

In 1933 the S.A.T.U. established the Union Retirement Fund (URF) which came into operation on 1 January 1934 when twenty-six members who had reached the age of sixty-five and had completed at least twenty years of ordinary Union membership, were retired on ex-gratia allowances of twenty-five shillings a week⁵⁾.

In the depression of the early 'thirties there had been negotiated pay cuts ranging from five shillings a week for journeymen in Bloemfontein to

ten shillings a week on the Witwatersrand. When conditions improved the employers were urged to restore the cuts but in subsequent negotiations offered instead to contribute five shillings weekly for journeymen and half-a-crown for Grade II members of the Union to establish a provident Fund to pay retiring allowances for members and mortality grants for the dependents of members who died before reaching retiring age. The Eleventh Meeting of Council appointed a Committee which met under the Chairmanship of Robert Muir in Johannesburg on 13 November 1935 and produced a scheme which, with minor modifications, was adopted, appended to the Agreement of 1936-38, and came into operation on 1 January 1936. The fund made no claim to actuarial soundness and conferred no legal rights to benefit nor was any attempt made to buy in the element of past service in respect of those then in employment who were expected to benefit. 31 December 1920 was adopted as a fixed datum to make possible the immediate retirement of persons who had attained the age of sixty-five on 1 January 1936 and had completed fifteen or more years of ordinary membership of the S.A.T.U. Benefits were declared payable at rates varying from thirty shillings a week for fifteen years service to a maximum of fifty shillings after forty years. The U.R.F. was wound up and the members in benefit on 31 December 1935 were transferred to the N.I.C. Provident Fund. Mortality grants were declared payable at the rate of £6 for each year of ordinary membership up to a maximum of £200. Females were to receive a retiral grant at pensionable age of £1 for each completed year of SATU membership. Paragraph 8 of the rules expressly stated that nothing in the provisions of the fund conferred a right to benefit and the Governing Board in consultation with the Standing Committee was empowered to maintain the financial stability of the fund by limiting the number of beneficiaries, postponing consideration of applications for benefit or by reducing the weekly allowances. A Union Pension Fund (UPF) was started as a domestic fund of the SATU in 1946 to supplement grants paid by the Provident Fund. The Pension Funds and Friendly Societies Act of 1956 required benefit schemes to be actuarially sound and to confer legal entitlement on all contributors. In 1963 the NIC Provident Fund was re-registered as a Pension Fund in the knowledge that it was not actuarially sound and that problems would arise in connection with any proposal to improve benefits. In 1966 additional contributions of fifty

cents per week in respect of journeymen and others pro rata were applied as to thirty cents to improve the stability of the fund and twenty cents to improve benefits as a result of which pensions were increased by ten per cent⁶⁾.

The Unemployment Benefit Fund Act No 25 of 1937 placed certain obligations on the industry which obliged the Chairman in 1939 to announce that an Unemployment Fund was being established and that a Supplementary Agreement might be required. There was delay whilst correspondence passed with the Department but the Agreement of 1942 contained for the first time provisions relating to unemployment benefits for non-technical employees which ranged from lift drivers to the commissionaire at the Rand Daily Mail. The necessity for maintaining the fund fell away on 31 December 1946 after the promulgation of the Unemployment Insurance Act No 53 of 1946. The fund had obligations which might involve it in liabilities for a period of three years from the last receipt of contributions and therefore fixed 31 March 1950 as the final date for lodging claims. At 30 June 1954 the credit balance stood at £59,000⁷⁾. The capital sum was appropriated in 1963 to form the nucleus of a redundancy fund to alleviate some of the problems which may well arise if the rate of technical development is further accelerated. In principle the fund will be used to provide for the payment of allowances to employees who have been displaced from their normal employment or have suffered a reduction in earning capacity directly resulting from technical change. The fund may also contribute to the cost of retraining⁸⁾.

A Joint War Service Fund was established by the Council on 1 January 1941 to provide benefits for employees who enlisted for active service. Contributions were shared by employers and by Union members who remained in civilian employment. Benefits consisted of supplementary payments not exceeding £9 a month for journeymen to bring war pay and allowances to the level of normal earnings. When the need passed the fund was wound up⁹⁾.

A Health Maintenance Scheme was started in 1949 on the initiative of Douglas Sales and regulations were incorporated for the first time in the Agreement of 1953. The scheme was designed to assist sufferers from Tuberculosis who were prepared to undergo treatment and guaranteed them up to eighty per cent of the established minimum wage for their grade. Within ten years one hundred and ninety seven persons were assisted of whom one

hundred and twenty nine had been cured by timely treatment and had been able to return to work. The fund operates as one of the General Benefit Funds of the Council and is maintained by a half-yearly transfer currently at the rate of three thousand rands, from the J.U.F.¹⁰⁾.

A Housing Fund Agreement was first promulgated in Government Notice No 925 of 20 April 1951 and was incorporated in the General Benefit Funds Agreement of 1963. To the end of 1968 one thousand two hundred and fifteen SATU members had been assisted to the extent of R610,353. Members may be assisted in one of three ways to purchase a home for their own occupation; in the case of municipal and national housing schemes a sum to cover the deposit may be advanced at a low rate of interest; building loans at low interest may be advanced for projects under the Housing Emergency Powers Act, and collateral security may be provided with certain Building Societies¹¹⁾.

The last of the Funds benefiting members of the SATU and administered in terms of the General Benefit Fund Agreement of 1963 is a Medical Aid Fund of the standard pattern¹²⁾. For non-technical employees in the industry and self-employed persons who are not protected by house schemes the Federation of Master Printers offers a pension and life assurance scheme in operation since 1 May 1963 and assured by the Legal & General Assurance Society Ltd¹³⁾.

* * *

As far back as 1941 the hope had been expressed that it would be possible to make provision for the orderly retirement of elderly Bantu. It took twenty-five years to realise this dream but as far as is known the printing industry was still the first to inaugurate an industry-wide pension scheme for Bantu. In terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act the welfare funds relating to labourers do not discriminate on grounds of race but it is in accordance with the normal population pattern that the majority of them are in fact Bantu. Wages and working conditions for labourers were embodied for the first time in the Agreement of 1942 and further provisions relating to unskilled workers were embodied in the Agreement of 1944 and subsequent agreements. From wage determinations it was but a short step to Welfare Funds built up under the guidance of the Bantu Affairs Joint Board under the chairmanship of the late D.H. Ollemans. The funds, built up over the years, were consoli-

dated under the title Printing Industry Labourers' Benefit Fund and an agreement between the parties in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1956 is annexed to the Council's Agreement of 1964¹⁴⁾. It collects subscriptions from and provides benefits for all labourers and other employees other than drivers of motor vehicles who are employed in the industry and for whom wages are prescribed in the Main Agreement, but who are not required to contribute to the J.U.F. This covers approximately the whole of that part of the factory personnel not in membership of the SATU together with canteen staff, cleaners, messengers and the like. The benefits provided cover sick pay, medical aid and mortality grants and the agreement contained a provision empowering the Management Committee to apply the surplus of income over expenditure to a Labourers' Extended Unemployment Benefit Fund account out of which the committee was authorised at its discretion to make temporary allowances of up to eighty per cent of the minimum wage to persons undergoing treatment for tuberculosis and to make weekly or monthly allowances to employees who by reason of age or infirmity "are likely to experience extended periods of unemployment". By careful husbanding the surplus on Benefit Fund Account at 31 December 1964 was R541,000 and in consultation with actuaries it was resolved to set aside R500,000 to form the nucleus of a pension fund which came into operation on 1 January 1966¹⁵⁾. The fund covers labourers and screen workers in the silk screen section of the industry who are known as Class II members and certain others known as Class I members who are for the most part workers in receipt of wages approximately equivalent to those prescribed for assistants in the main agreement. The total contribution to the LBF is twenty-two cents per week for each labourer and twenty-four cents for each screen worker of which the worker contributes only five cents and the employer the balance. These modest contributions provide sick pay of three rands a week for a maximum of fifteen weeks in any calendar year after twenty-six contributions have been made, up to eight rands in any year for medicine, a T.B. allowance of up to eighty per cent of the minimum rate prescribed, and a pension on reaching the age of sixty-five with a minimum of ten years service rising to a maximum of R1-50 a week after twenty-five years service. Ex-gratia allowances may be awarded to aged and infirm persons not eligible for any other benefit¹⁶⁾.

PRODUCTIVITY

The Council, in common with similar negotiating bodies throughout the industrial world, has been feeling its way forward throughout the years to new and better methods of determining how funds generated in industry should be apportioned between the agents of production. The industry has progressed from medieval custom and usage through the rough and tumble of the industrial revolution to local and eventually to national negotiation at the Council Table. At one stage labour did not scruple to propose self-centred methods employed at the expense of others: "raise prices", was the cry "so that you can pay us higher wages". The next stage was to link wages with cost of living so that relative standards as between different industries were fairly maintained and cash wages kept in step with the value of money. The stage on which the parties propose now to enter is the principle of productivity bargaining in which employers and employees first combine to improve productivity and enable the industry to pay non-inflationary increases that will at least maintain, and in ideal circumstances will improve living standards without prejudice to other sections of the community. The deep seated desire of the worker to be consulted and to be made ~~up~~ to feel more than a cog in the industrial machine was referred to in moving terms by Harry Sampson at the inaugural conference of 1919. The working man "wanted better status in his industry. He sold his labour for wages and was not allowed to take any further interest in the industry which meant so much to him. Working men felt a certain patriotism toward their occupation or craft", and Harry Sampson concluded by saying "he wanted that sentiment improved upon"¹⁾. John Martin from the chair sounded a note of caution in relation to reliance on incentive payments and profit sharing schemes. He did not believe that profit sharing was a solution to industrial relationships because "even with loyal and efficient service there was no certainty in a competitive business that profits would be earned.

The employee had no control over any number of factors which affected profits and the reward in the form of a share of the profits was indefinite and uncertain". Martin shrewdly sensed that much depended on the men's state of mind and their will to work: he concluded "conditions governing employment should be made sufficiently attractive to ensure satisfaction and contentment, and with contentment goodwill"²⁾.

At a meeting of Council chaired by Mr G.M.C. Cronwright on 22 February 1966 it was decided by the

parties to form a small committee to study how productivity in the industry could be increased. It was realised that improvement in remuneration and working conditions was dependent upon the productivity and therefore the profitability of the industry ... modern inventions and techniques must be incorporated within the historic framework but ... the position of the individual must be protected as far as possible. Existing and long-established trades would be affected and might, in some cases, even disappear as a result of the new technology. It is the duty of the committee to study this problem to see how the industry can adapt itself to use new methods ... and to secure the livelihood of those at present engaged and to ensure a suitable training for those who will enter the industry in future³⁾.

The five-a-side Productivity Committee met for the first time in Johannesburg on 18 April 1966 when by a fortunate chance it was able to hear Professor J.J. Jehring, Director of the Centre for Productivity Motivation, University of Wisconsin, who happened to be in the Republic on a US-SA Leader Exchange programme. Outlining the possible relationships between Labour and management he characterised them as competition, arbitration, shared ownership, and production sharing. He added that there is an increasing tendency in the U.S. to move in the direction of productivity or production sharing and concluded that "productivity was everybody's business". The committee decided on the formation of a small two- or three-man Productivity Research Group based on Cape Town with Mr T.S. Cleary as convenor to investigate all related matters and to report through the

Productivity Committee to the Council. The mandate given to the Research Group and the order of priority was first education in general and in particular means of bringing home to individual employers and employees that increased productivity was the concern of both and in the best interests of both. Next followed consideration of suggestions for improving performance, market surveys, study of new techniques, problems of redundancy, methods of training including management training, the desirability of introducing a technician class into the industry including their possible function and training and a general study of ways and means⁴⁾.

On 24 August 1966 Mr T.C. Rutherford reminded the committee that "the Research Group should give priority to the question of determining some method for the measurement of productivity in the Industry in order that the Council would be aware of the state of productivity in the industry from time to time ... and some method evolved in order that those responsible for any increase in productivity would be suitably rewarded". Mr C.R. Thompson said that the employer delegates were in agreement with the thought that employees should benefit from increased productivity "but in view of the diverse nature of the industry care would have to be exercised in arriving at the method of measurement"⁵⁾. Commenting on the same subject at a subsequent meeting Mr G.M.C. Cronwright said that a productivity index would not lead to automatic adjustments of wages. Whatever the formula adopted it would serve as a guide and would provide the parties with a better means than they now had with which to negotiate⁶⁾. The Research Group consisting of Mr T.S. Cleary and a representative each from the FMP and the SATU visited all major centres in the Republic in the third quarter of 1966 to meet representative groups and to introduce the productivity drive through meetings and film shows. They had what must surely be an unique experience of being received at between forty and fifty firms large and small, representative of all sectors of the industry, and of discussing obstacles to productivity freely and in confidence with executive management, foremen and Chapel officials. Their report was later accepted and substantial extracts widely circulated throughout the industry. The Research Group has been used to institute an educational framework for management and technical training which, whilst not designed

to produce spectacular or short term results, should produce the next generation of management at all levels. They worked closely with apprenticeship bodies, colleges and the Department of Education on a complete set of courses for craft apprentices on the new system of block release: a National Diploma of Printing Management has been instituted and in 1969 the first of the few who have made the most rapid progress enter their third and final year of studies. The Diploma is the first in South Africa to be offered in Management Science applicable to a single industry. All the groundwork has been laid for the introduction of a similar diploma on the technical side. To be known as the National Diploma in Printing Technology it is hoped to recruit the first students in 1972 when suitably qualified young journeymen will have completed the first of the complete series of three year blocks. For holders of the Diplomas in Management or Technology there will be available licentiate or associate membership of the newly formed South African Institute of Printing which is intended to operate as an autonomous professional body in which management or potential management material from all departments of the industry can associate together to maintain and enhance the standards of performance and improve the public image of the craft. For the assistance of men already in the industry who would value shorter courses to improve their performance a start was made in co-operation with the National Development and Management Foundation on courses for foremen. Investigation has been made and reports rendered on various matters remitted by the Council to the Research Group notably in regard to the introduction of computerised typesetting in newspaper offices. Their report was endorsed by the Productivity Committee and accepted by the Council, forming the basis of working rules incorporated in the Agreement of 1968. Difficulties in negotiating terms for the introduction of computers in the composing trade which were encountered overseas, notably in New York, were avoided by the objective review and recommendation made possibly by the Council's productivity machinery⁷⁾. The major task still awaiting completion in order to bring the committee's work to the conclusion of its first phase is the framing of structures to define productivity in objective terms and to construct one or more indices which will indicate and measure change and possibly the rate of

change. This part of the Productivity Committee's task is now in the hands of the Bureau of Census and Statistics whose officials appear sanguine that the difficulties are not insuperable. Although much inspiration was derived from Prof. Jehring's original visit and from subsequent correspondence it is intended if possible to depart from American practice in at least one important respect. In U.S.A. productivity agreements are usually shop agreements between management and men in one establishment or at least in one undertaking, moreover the objectives are set by management and the rewards tied to the achievement of more or less arbitrary norms. The pattern which emerges from the vision for the future of the South African printing industry is agreement between the parties on the basic principles to be applied but calculation of relevant indices will be in the hands of an independent authority which enjoys the confidence of all⁸⁾.

POSTSCRIPT

Every Council works in the final analysis on the basis of personal relationships. Good personal relationships outweigh deficiencies of organisation but the finest system will not produce results if personal relationships are poor. The Council meets only occasionally in formal session and contact between the parties is regularly maintained in smaller groups, the Standing Committee meeting monthly and the Joint Honorary Secretaries maintaining the day-to-day contact. Although a great burden of responsibility rests upon successive chairmen and on the appointed delegates to the Council it is on the shoulders of a small number of permanent officials that the principal responsibility lies for lubricating the machinery of the Council. Honorary part time officials shared the secretarial office from the inception of the Council until the appointment of Mr E.P. Kemp as the first fulltime salaried Secretary-Treasurer in 1928. At the inaugural conference the secretarial work was shared by T.B. Glanville, then Secretary of the A.M.P. of the Transvaal, Harry Sampson M.L.A. of the S.A.T.U., and George Foster C.A., secretary of Hortors Ltd., who generously gave credit many years later to Ivan Walker for having taken the lion's share of the load¹⁾. The first Standing Committee of the Council was a two-man combination of John Martin and Ivan Walker. The mutual respect and developing partnership between them piloted the Council through its early difficulties. The duties they performed have grown in volume but have not changed in character and are now shared between an enlarged Standing Committee and the Joint Honorary Secretaries. As John Martin was obliged to withdraw Montgomery Hennegin arrived in South Africa to take up an appointment as first salaried Secretary-Organiser of the F.M.P. and his contact first with Ivan Walker and afterward with A.J. Downes set the pattern for effective co-operation between the principal spokesmen for the parties. Monty Hennegin had a roving career until he came to South Africa in 1923 but the country captured his love and loyalty and he remained

until his death at Pretoria in 1944. Montgomery Hennegin was born at Salina, Kansas in 1886 and after education at St. Louis and at Los Angeles started out as a male nurse. In 1908 he entered the printing industry as a bookbinder under Joseph A. Borden of Spokane who later became Secretary of the United Typothetae of America. Hennegin soon left the trade side for the study of costing, a subject then in its infancy. He married in 1911 and crossed into Canada shortly before World War I, sure that America would not come in at first and anxious for a scrap. He went to Europe with the Canadian forces in 1915 serving with distinction on the Western Front and being mentioned in dispatches. After demobilisation he joined the British Federation of Master Printers where he gained further experience of administration and then moved to the Scottish Alliance at Glasgow from which post he transferred to South Africa. In addition to his primary task of organising the F.M.P. he served as honorary secretary of the Council and as secretary of the N.P.U.²⁾ He resigned the secretaryship in 1928 to become manager of the S.A. Electric Printing Co at Cape Town but the move was not a happy one and he left Cape Town a few months later for Bloemfontein³⁾. In a reorganisation of 1931 Hennegin again became fulltime salaried Secretary-Organiser of the F.M.P. first at Bloemfontein but later making his headquarters in Johannesburg. At the same time permanent salaried secretaries were appointed to the employer organisations in Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg. The local chambers ceased to be registered as employer bodies and became recognised as branches of the F.M.P.⁴⁾.

When Ivan Walker left the S.A.T.U. to join the Government service in October 1924 he was followed at the S.A.T.U. headquarters by Albert James Downes who was to play a distinguished part in South African industrial affairs for the next twenty-five years. Bert Downes was born in 1884 and joined the S.A.T.U. in 1910, his first post being as a monotype mechanic at the Cape Times in Keerom Street. He soon left for Pretoria with which he was ever afterwards associated. He joined the S.A.T.U. Pretoria Branch Committee in 1912 serving as Secretary from 1914 to 1925. He represented the Pretoria Branch at the Inaugural Conference in 1919 and the three great loves of his life were the Union which he served as General Secretary-Organiser from 1925 to 1950,

the National Printing Apprenticeship Committee on which he served from its inception in 1923 until 1950 and the Council on whose executive he served from its establishment until he handed over to Mr Rutherford in 1950. His services to the wider Labour movement are too long to catalogue but indicate the breadth of his interests and his deep compassion. His impartiality was beyond question and he served as arbitrator or mediator in disputes involving leather workers, furniture employees, building operatives and bank clerks. He attended meetings of the International Labour Organisation between 1932 and 1946 at Geneva. He was an Alternate Member of the Governing Board from 1937 to 1945. He served the country in many honorary offices, notably as a member of the Prime Minister's Advisory Committee on labour from 1940 to 1943 and as chairman from 1943 to 1947. He was a member of the National Executive of the Governor-General's War Fund 1943-47 and a member of the Governing Board of the S.A.B.C. from 1946 to 1952. He was sworn a Commissioner of Oaths in 1926 and a Justice of the Peace in 1938. He edited the S.A. Typo Union Journal from 1925 to 1950. When he laid aside his many offices in 1950 the S.A.T.U. bestowed on him their golden emblem. He went on pension in 1951 and devoted himself to the preparation of his classic history of the S.A.T.U. published in 1952 under the title Printers' Saga. He died aged 75 in 1959⁵⁾.

Under A.B. Godbold's chairmanship the decision was taken to establish a permanent council secretariat with a salaried secretary-treasurer. The choice fell on Eric Percy Kemp who took office in April 1928 and served with distinction for nearly forty-one years, retiring in December 1968. Eric Kemp was born in North London in 1903 and was educated at Highgate School where he won colours for athletics and acquired a passion for physical fitness which remained with him throughout his working life. He entered an attorney's office in 1922 and a year later joined the staff of a South African bank coming to this country in 1926. A.B. Godbold chaired the Selection Committee and after the appointment told Eric Kemp that he too had been at Highgate 1880-1883 adding "I did not tell any of those present as I did not want anyone to say you were appointed on the strength of the Old School tie". In 1938 Eric Kemp was made a Commissioner of Oaths and also became secretary of the NPAC. His adventures on visits of inspection with Bert Downes or Monty Hennegin would fill a

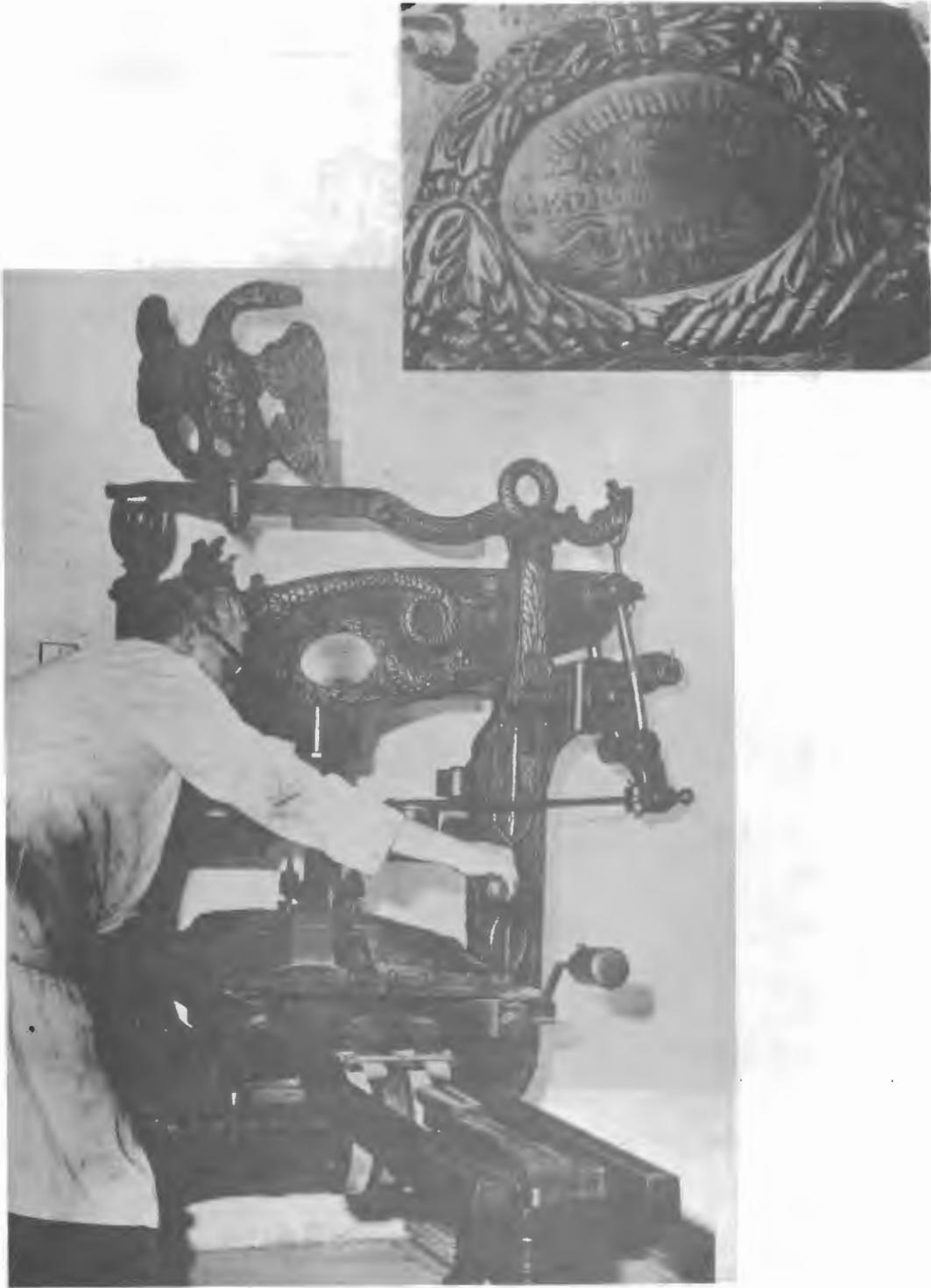
volume: there were many occasions when his athletic prowess stood him in good stead sometimes for gaining entry and at others for avoiding assault. Eric Kemp is married and has five daughters: he is an elder of the N.G.K. and since 1960 has taken an active part in civic affairs at his home town, Bellville⁶⁾.

Two men on whom much of the burden now falls assumed office in 1947, C.R. Thompson at the F.M.P. and T.S. Cleary at the Council Secretariate. Bob Thompson was educated at Abbeydale School and at the London College of Printing and apart from war service has been in print since 1930. He served with Bomber and Training Commands of the Royal Air Force in World War II and joined the F.M.P. in 1947 being appointed general secretary in 1948 and director in 1966⁷⁾. Under his administration the composition of the Employer panel on the N.I.C. has been altered from purely geographical representation by Chambers to a combination of geographical representation supplemented by four sectoral representatives appointed for their special knowledge of packaging or silk screen; a permanent and successful cost advisory system has been built up with a cost adviser in Johannesburg and an assistant adviser in Cape Town, and since 1959 an annual Survey of Management Statistics has been undertaken providing participants with an extremely valuable tool of management. He is one of the Joint Honorary Secretaries of the Council. Mr Thompson is married and has two sons. After education at Christian Brothers College, Pretoria, Tom Cleary joined the Public Service and obtained the legal qualifications required for appointment to the Magistrate's bench. He served in the State Attorney's office and as a Public Prosecutor and Acting-Magistrate. He was appointed assistant secretary of the Council in 1947 and took responsibility for much of the Council's legal business. He succeeded Eric Kemp on 1 January 1969 as Secretary of the Council and of the N.P.A.C. As convener of the Council's Productivity Research Group he has been the moving spirit behind the productivity drive and if the proposed productivity index takes shape this together with the South African Institute of Printing will stand as memorials to his enthusiasm and tenacity of purpose⁸⁾. Apart from secretarial duties Mr Cleary is administrative head of an organisation which is now a considerable business in its own right. The Council employs a staff of fifty-eight in Cape Town

and six in Johannesburg: it has an annual budget of approximately R230,000, a payroll of R102,000 and funds under administration exceed R12 million. The organisation would be even larger and more costly if the S.A.T.U. did not undertake the administration on very modest terms of the Council's welfare funds⁹⁾.

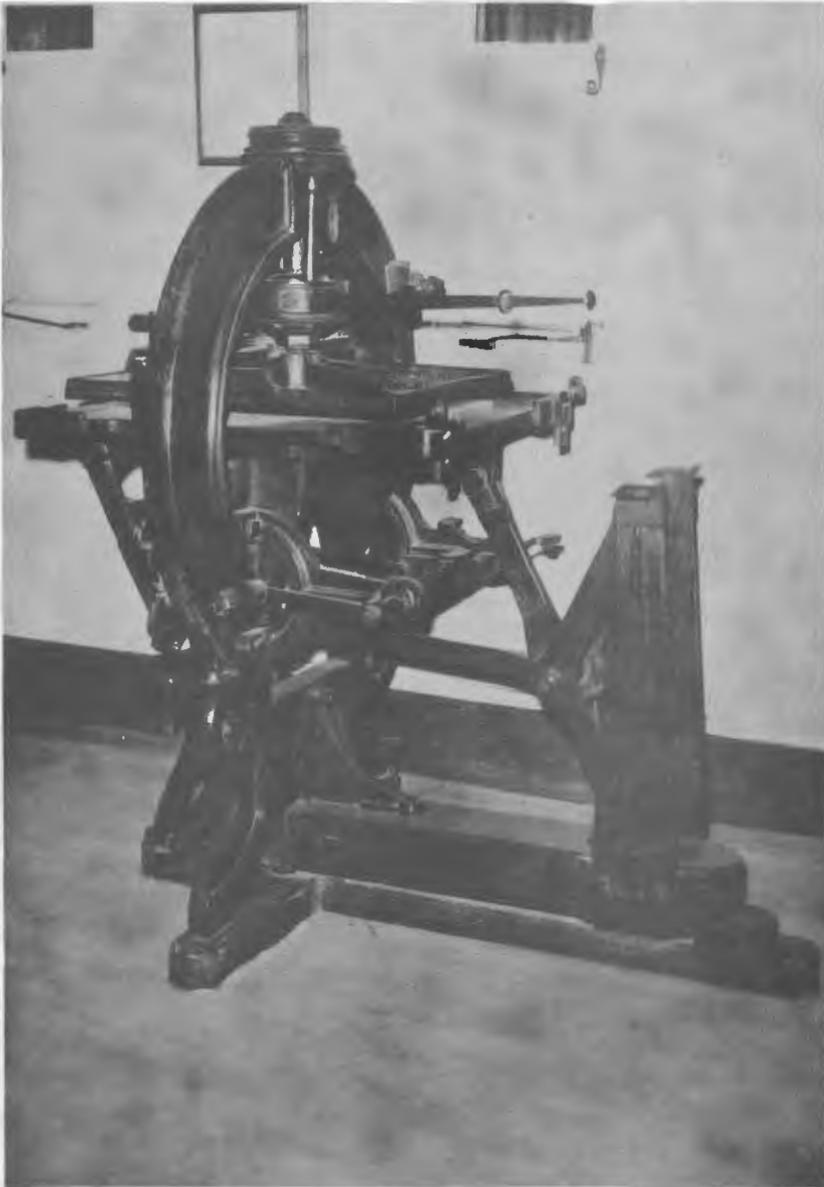
Mr G.G.A. Uys, Secretary of the N.P.U., was born in 1921 and like Mr Cleary entered the Department of Justice, serving in various parts of the Republic. After passing the qualifying examinations he was appointed prosecutor of the Transvaal Industrial Court in 1949. He resigned in 1951 on appointment as Assistant General Secretary of the F.M.P. working in close association with Mr Thompson until taking up his present position in 1958¹⁰⁾.

Of the group of distinguished officials concerned with Council affairs the one with the longest record of service to the industry and to the Council is Mr T.C. Rutherford who, when Council celebrates its jubilee in 1969, will have served the industry for forty-five of the fifty years. Thomas Charles Rutherford was born in 1907 and educated in Pretoria beginning as an apprentice compositor at the Government Printing Works in 1924. He became a Chapel official whilst still an apprentice and was appointed full time secretary of the S.A.T.U. Pretoria Branch in 1934. He served the local sub-committee of the NPAC from 1934 to 1948 and as honorary secretary of the Pretoria Joint Board from 1936 to 1948. In 1939 he was appointed to the N.I.C. Executive, to the NPAC and to the original Technical Education Subcommittee. He became a designated agent of the Council in 1940 and the Vice-Chairman in 1941. In July 1950 he succeeded Bert Downes as General Secretary-Organiser, as editor of the Journal, as leader of the S.A.T.U. delegation to the Council and as a Joint Honorary Secretary. His work for the Trade Union and Labour movement and his deep concern for the underprivileged extend far beyond the printing industry: many unorganised workers in other industries have benefited from his skill as a negotiator. In 1955 the S.A.T.U. awarded him their emblem of merit in silver and to this in 1960 they added their emblem in gold¹¹⁾.



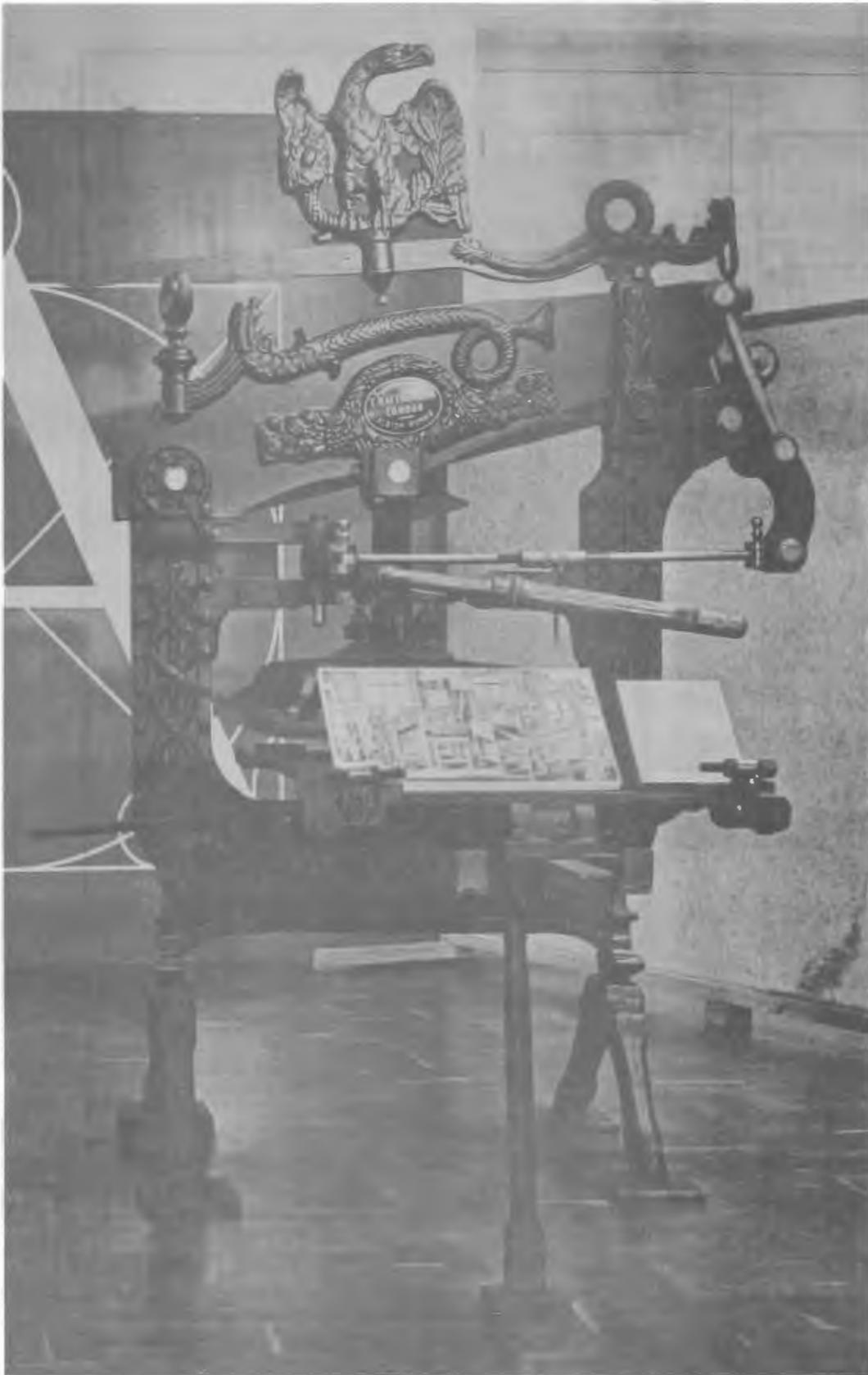
Believed to be the oldest dated press in South Africa this Columbian Press in possession of T.A. Beatty (Pty) Ltd, Durban is numbered 96 and dated 1821. It is said to have been brought to South Africa from Mauritius.

Courtesy: Mr D. Beatty



Robert Moffat's press brought into South Africa 1825, set up at Kuruman 1831.

Kimberley Library.



Columbian Press (undated) with a modified lever mechanism of a type first introduced about 1824, built by T. Matthews & Son of London: used to print the Mafeking Mail in 1899 and afterwards by Townshend, Taylor & Snashall at Cape Town.

South African Museum



Albion Press built by Fredk. Ullmer of London, imported by the Wesleyan Missionary Society 1832.

Moroka Missionary Institution, Thaba N'Chu, D.F.S.



SPECIMEN.

PRINTING TYPES.

TWO-LINE BREVIER TUSCAN.
Pica, Full Face.

TWO-LINE PEARL ITALIAN.
ENGLISH ORNAMENTED, FULL FACES.
ROMAN, ITALIC.
Long Primer, Italic, Full Face.

MINION, FULL FACE.
ENGLISH ORNAMENTED.
Two-Line Pica Script.
Long Primer Black.
BREVIER CANCERIN, OUTLINE.

PARAGON ITALIAN, GRADED.
Brevier Nonpareil Antique.
LONG PRIMER, ITALIC, FULL FACE.
Great Primer Black, Open.
Great Primer Script.
Brevier Antique.

TWO-LINE PEARL, OUTLINE.
BREVIER TUSCAN.
Long Primer, Full Face.

TWO-LINE PEARL TUSCAN, ORNAMENTED.
BREVIER, FULL FACE.
Avery Heavy Type.
LONG PRIMER, ITALIC.

Great Primer, Roman.—Great Primer, Italic.
English, Roman.—English, Italic.
Pica, Roman.—Pica, Italic.
Small Pica, Roman.—Small Pica, Italic.
Long Primer, Roman.—Long Primer, Italic.
Brevier, Roman.—Brevier, Italic.
Minion, Roman.—Minion, Italic.
Nonpareil, Roman.—Nonpareil, Italic.

TOGETHER WITH A VARIETY OF LARGE TYPE.



BRINK, MOLLETT, ROUBAIX, AND KEEVE,
PRINTERS,
11, St. George's Street, Cape Town.
FIRM,
BRINK, MOLLETT, & Co







Early type specimen sheet (reduced) from the office of Brink, Mollett & Co, Cape Town. Circa 1840.



Columbian Press built by James Cox of London and used to print the first number of The Natal Mercury 1852.

The Mercury Office, Durban



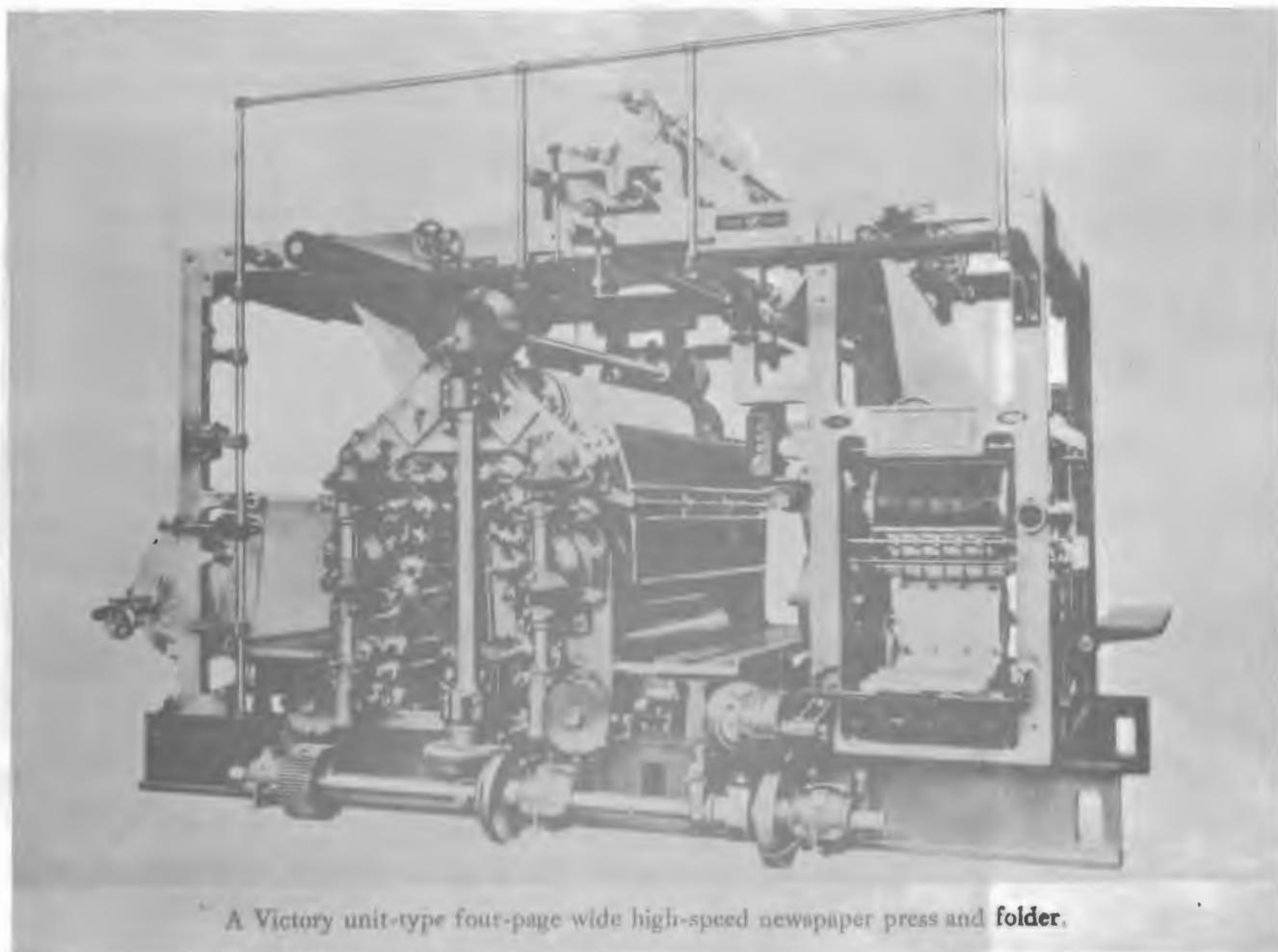
Albion Press built by Hopkinson & Cope, London in 1862 and still used as a proof press.

Cape & Transvaal Printers Ltd, Parow, Cape.



Albion Press built by Fredk. Ullmer, London, in 1869 and used at Paarl 1876 to print Die Afrikaanse Patriot.

Huguenot Museum, Paarl.



A Victory unit-type four-page wide high-speed newspaper press and folder.

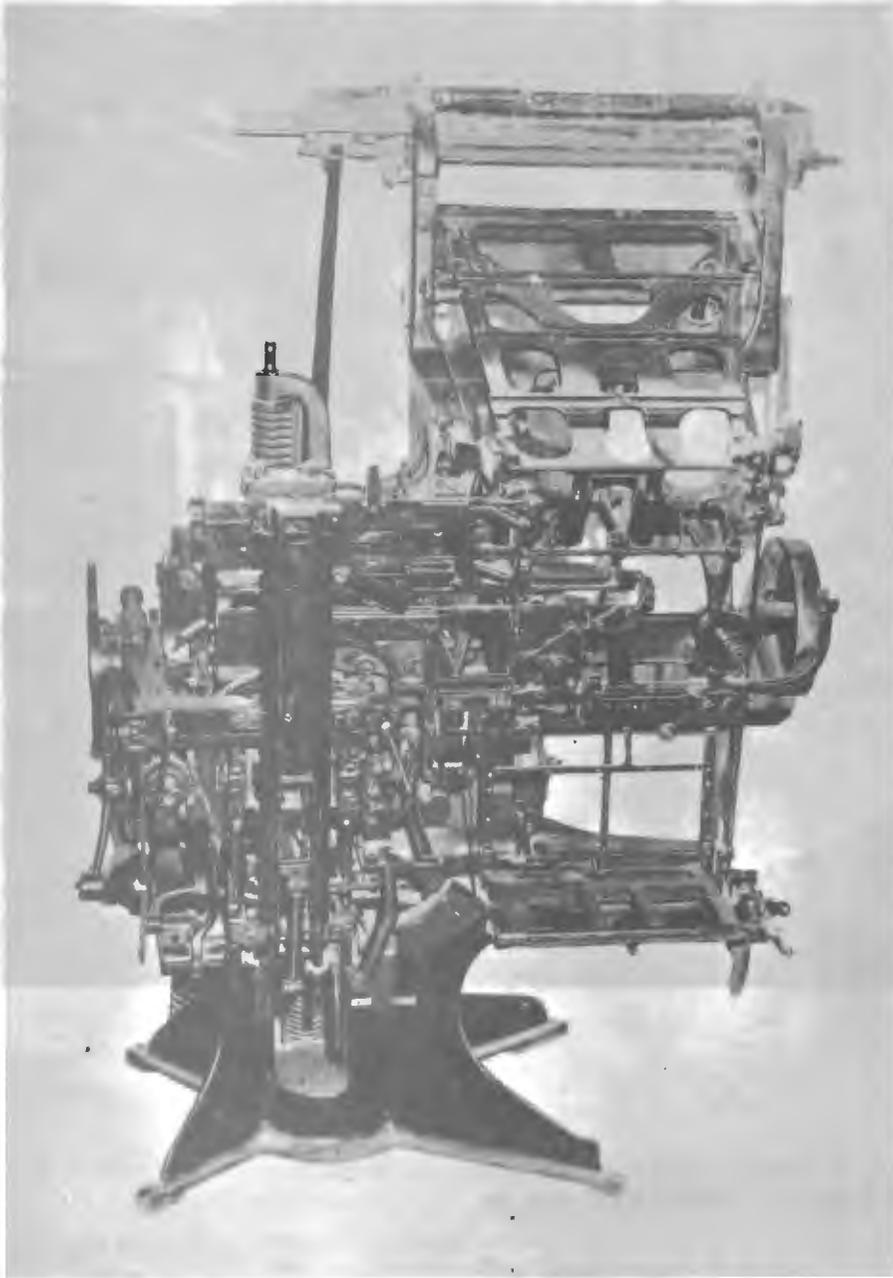
The Victory printing and folding machine patented by Duncan and Wilson 1879. Machines of this type were installed by the Star 1897, the Cape Times 1899, and the Natal Mercury 1905.

The Times Publishing Co Ltd.



COSSAR FLAT-BED WEB-FED NEWSPAPER PRESS

First introduced 1903 and typical of the best available for newspapers with a medium circulation in the first decade of the twentieth century. The early history of the press illustrated is not known with certainty. Indications are that it was first erected in South Africa in 1921 at Kimberley and that it was in Kimberley at least until 1934. It was subsequently used to print Ilange lase Natal in Durban, then the Territorial News in Umtata, and since 1966 the South Coast Herald at Port Shepetone where it is still in use.



The first linotype in Kimberley: an English built model No 4 installed by the Diamond Fields Advertiser in 1910 and presented to Kimberley Open Mine Museum in 1965. The machine was belt driven direct from a D.C. electric motor (not shown) which is also preserved at the Museum.

Courtesy de Beers Consolidated Diamond Mines Ltd.



The first five British Built Linotypes to be installed at the Government Printing Works, Pretoria, in 1911.

The Government Printer.



Mr W.E. Laughton who founded South Africa's earliest paper bag and packaging business, now W.E. Laughton & Co (Pty) Ltd, at Cape Town in 1896.

Courtesy Mr W.E. Laughton, son of the founder.



Hendrik Gerhard Ysebrand who in partnership with Isaac Isherwood founded the oldest paper bag and packaging company on the Reef at Johannesburg 1902. The company is now Ysebrand & Co (1933) (Pty) Ltd.

Courtesy: Mr G. Blumberg

"DEFENCE—NOT DEFIANCE."

Cape Town Herald

STRIKE EDITION.

No. 1.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 10th, 1911.

GRATIS.

THE PRINTERS' STRIKE.

From the Men's Point of View.

THE slip of paper referred to as an abbreviated form of the 'C'...

The Capetown Branch of the S.A. Typographical Union adopted, with the whole-hearted support and concord of its entire membership, the following resolution:—

Cape Times

TUESDAY, MAY 9, 1911.

GRATIS.

PRINTERS' STRIKE.

Causes of the Dispute.

Unprecedented Situation.

A General Lock-out.

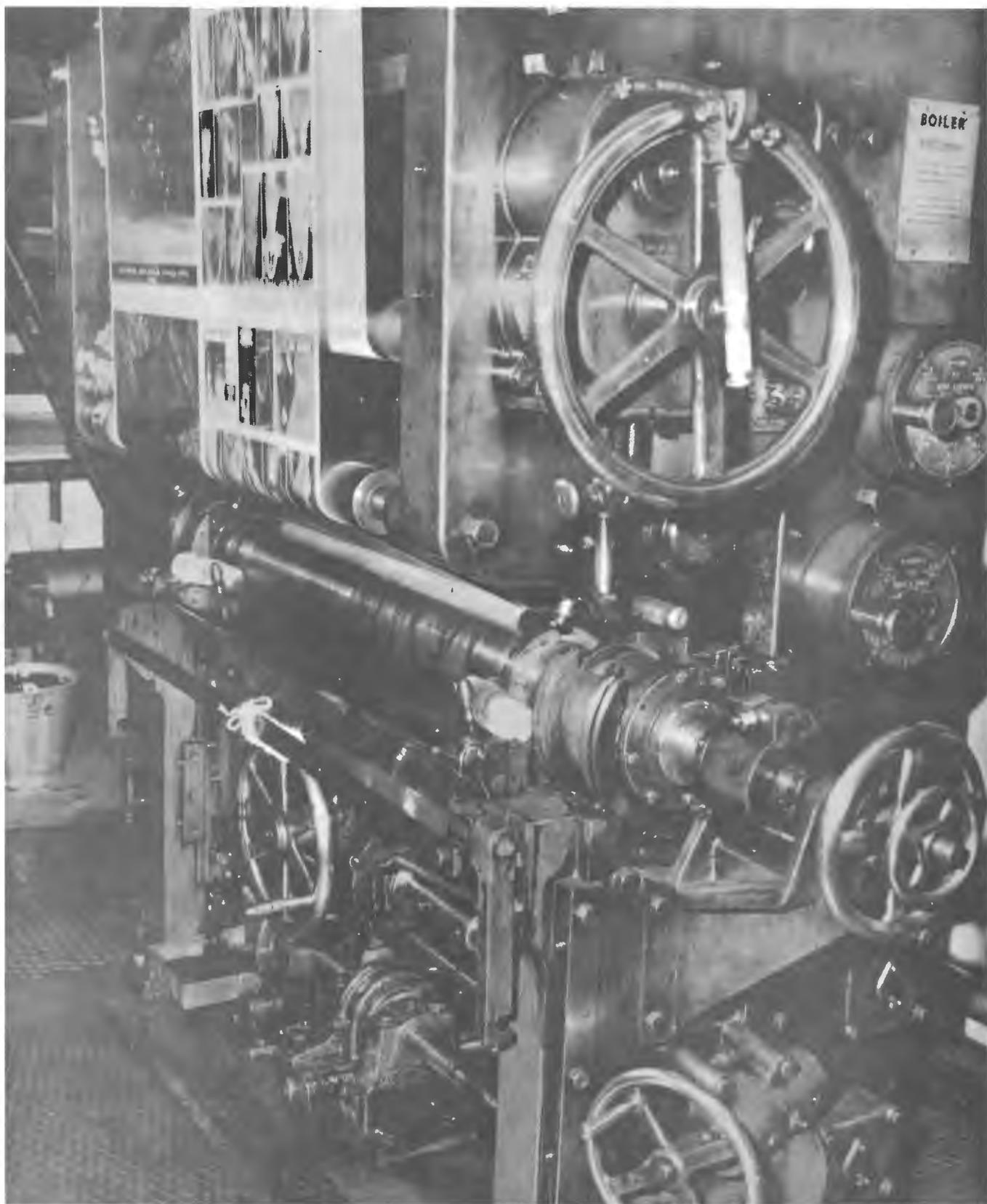
THE REASON WHY.

The facts of the position which have compelled the "Cape Times" to appear this morning in this extremely abbreviated form, are set out below. We only desire to express our profound regret, not only at the...

well as in Keerom-street were called out. Such a position was plainly intolerable; and it will be seen that all the mast printers of Ca... a disregard of a self-sacrifice the most co... have unit... declin... nition

Two sides to the question: the Cape Town strike of 1911; Cape Times for 9 May and the Strike Herald for 10 May.

Cape Chamber of Printing.



The first gravure printing machine brought into South Africa: built by Hoe, London and installed by the Cape Times 1921.

Cape Times, Cape Town.

Certificate of Agreement

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

National Agreement

WE, the undersigned, hereby formally notify our adherence to the National Agreement as printed in the Report of November 1921 Conference of the National Industrial Council, which Agreement has been signed by and on behalf of the Federation of Master Printers of South Africa, the Newspaper Press Union of South Africa and the South African Typographical Union.

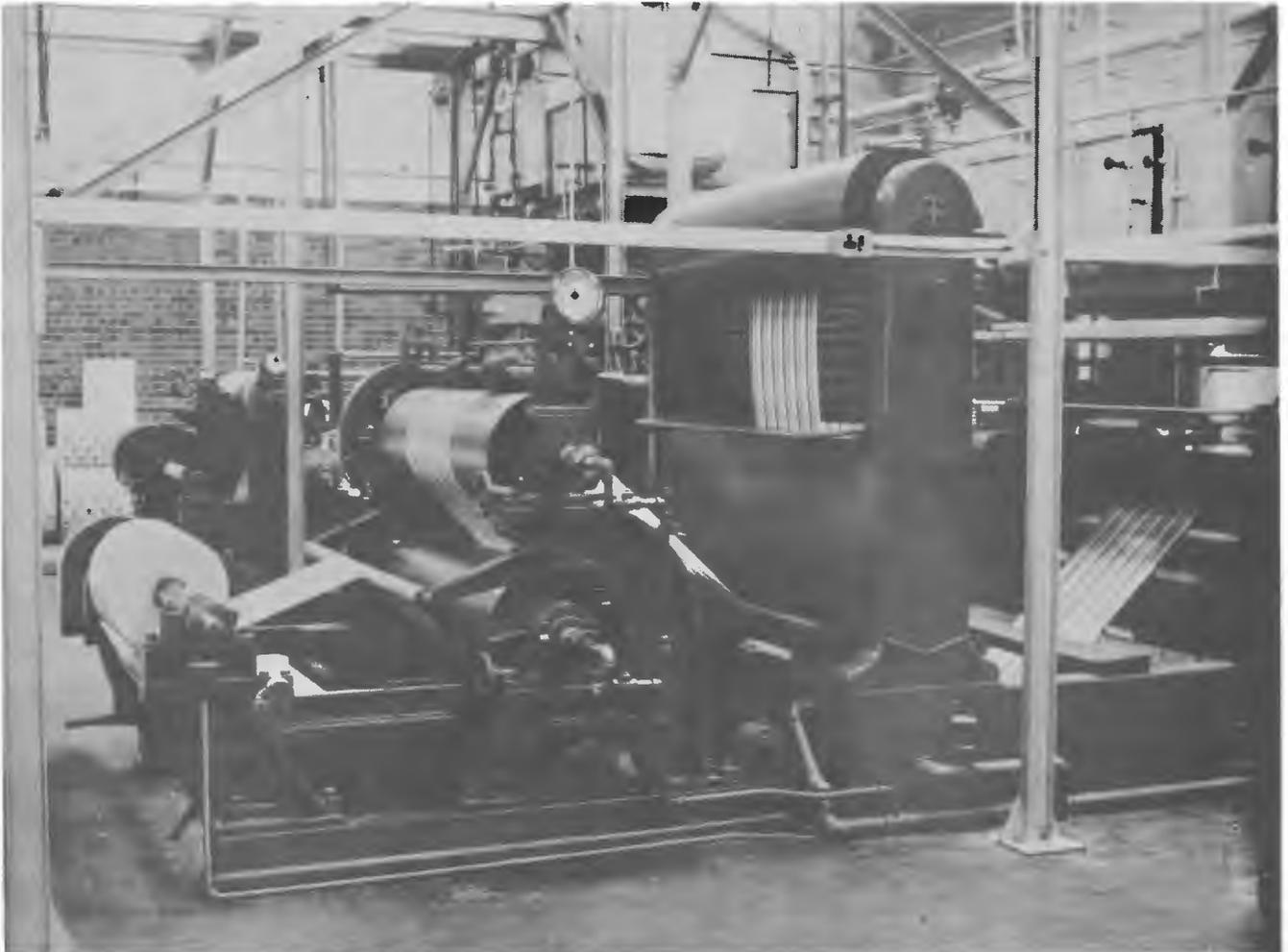
Name :

Address :

Member of

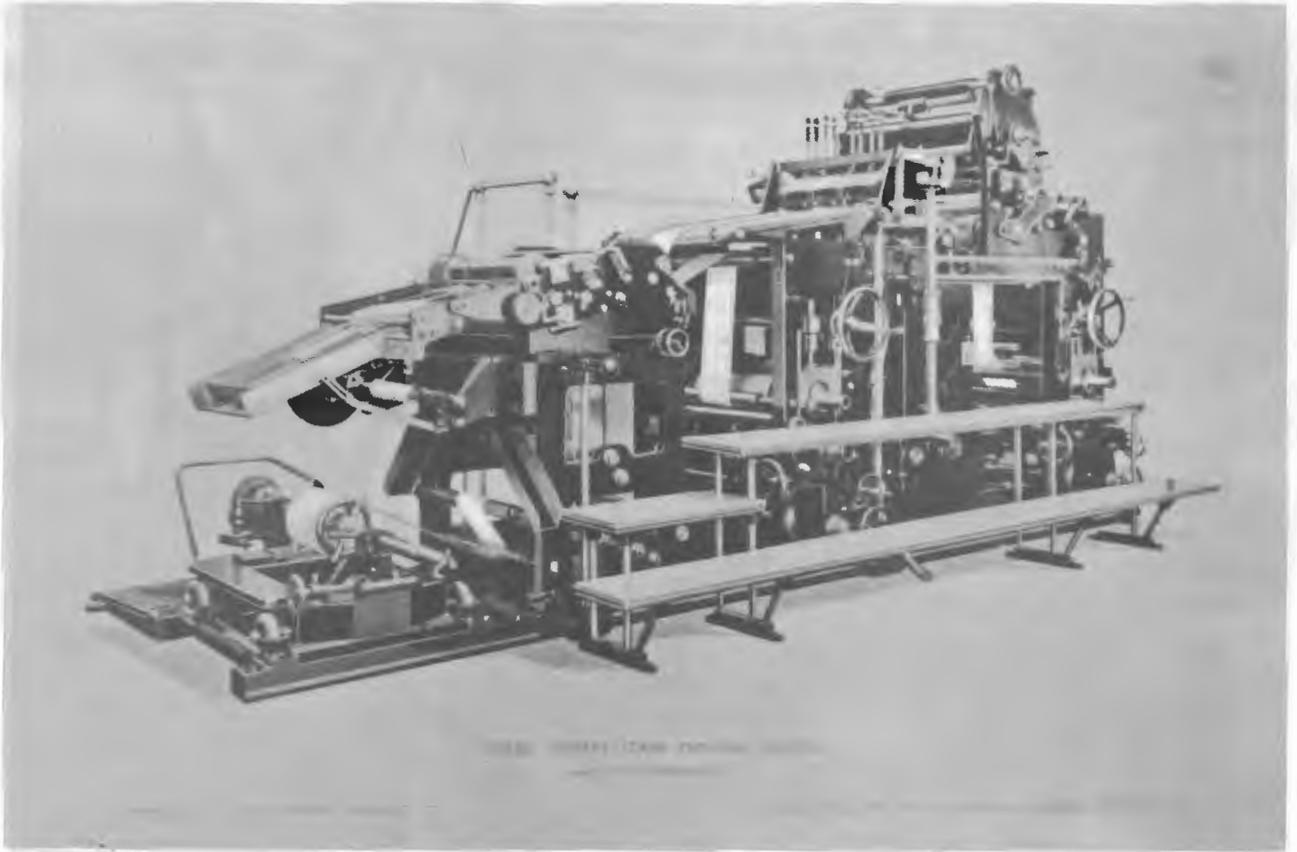
The period of "The Gentleman's Agreement". Formal Notice of Ratification signed by Employers before the introduction of the Industrial Conciliation Act provided for the registration of industrial agreements.

N.I.C. Archives.



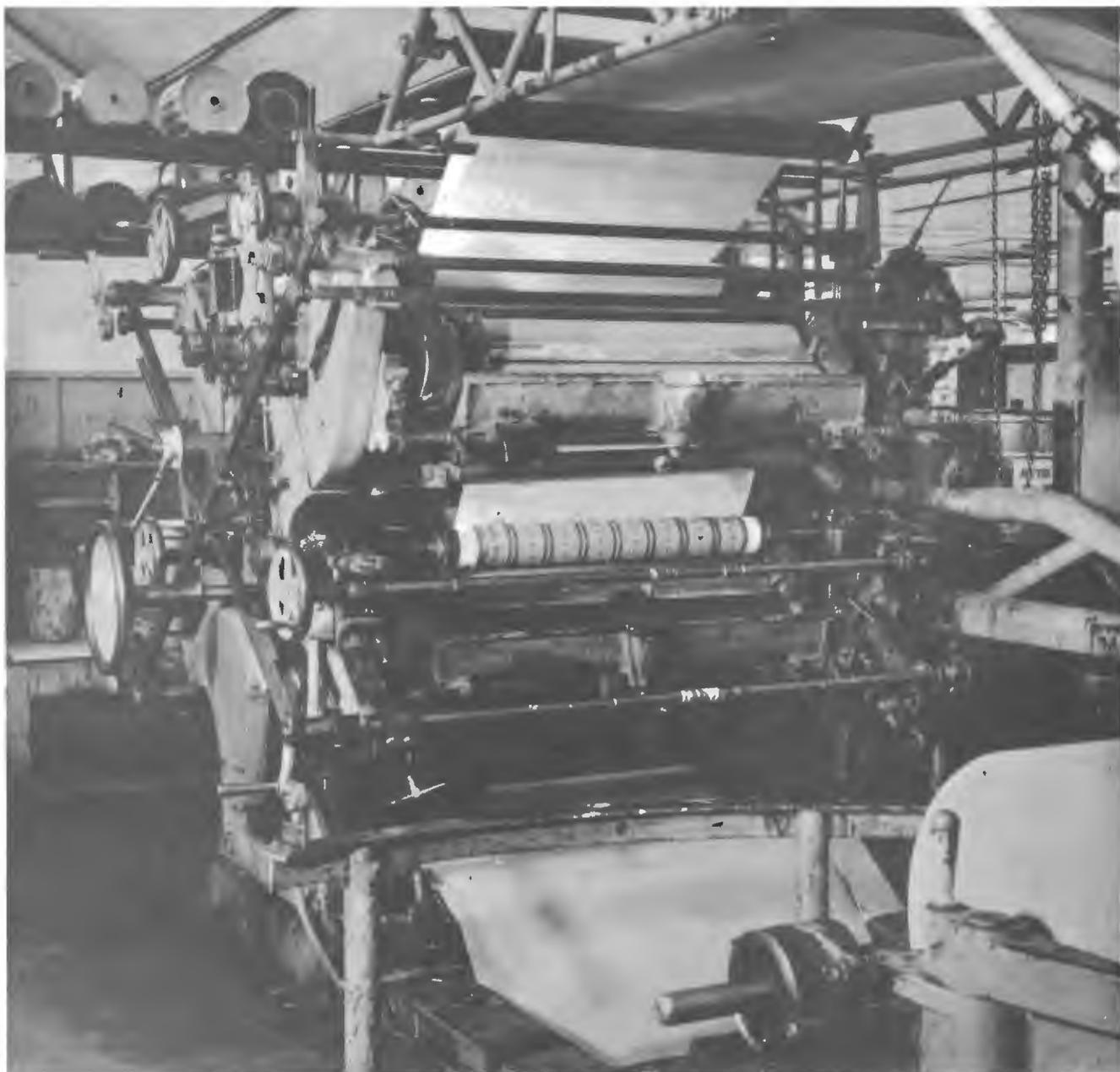
The first waxing machine to be brought to South Africa. Waxcoating of paper is generally taken to mark the earliest phase of the manufacture of protective packaging. Built by Strachan & Henshaw Ltd, Bristol, England and installed by E S & A Robinson (South Africa) Ltd, Cape Town 1925.

DRG Africa (Pty) Ltd.



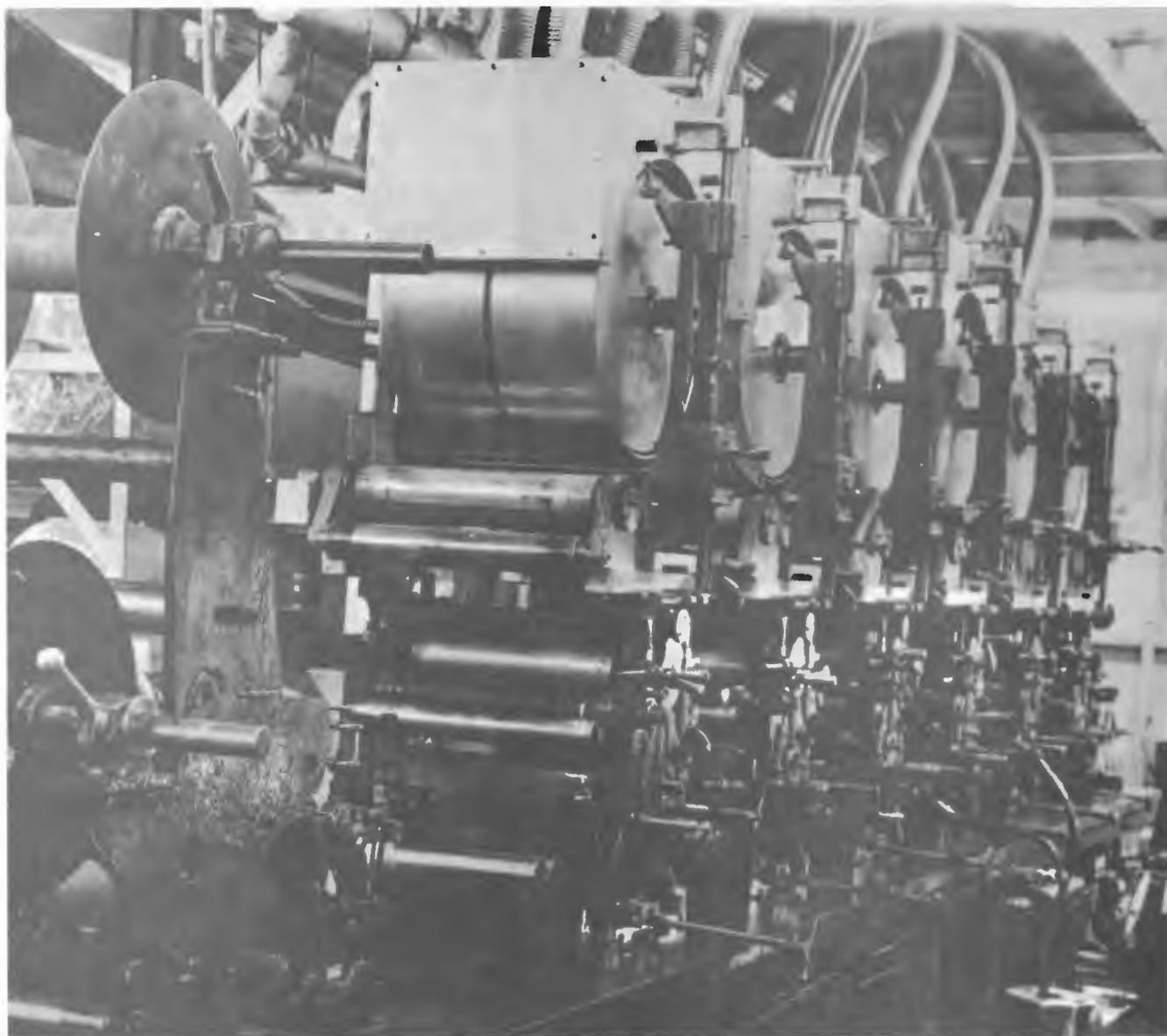
The first gravure printing and stamp perforating machine to be installed at the Government Printing Works, Pretoria. Built by Goebels and installed 1931.

The Government Printer.



First multicolour Rotary flexographic printing press brought into South Africa. Built by Strachan & Henshaw Ltd, Bristol, England and installed by E S & A Robinson (South Africa) Ltd. 1933.

DRG Africa (Pty) Ltd.



The first multicolour Rotary gravure press for printing flexible packaging materials to be brought to South Africa. Built by Chambon about 1929 and installed by the late Paul Fontenoy of Pakcel (Pty) Ltd in 1947. Subsequently passed into the possession of Transwrap Ltd and in 1960 into possession of the present owners.

Pretoria Paper Products (Pty) Ltd, Retreat, Cape

CHAIRMEN of the Council



Douglas A. Sales 1938-1956

Photos courtesy of G.M.C. Cronwright, Esq. & Argus P. & P. Co.



L.E.A. Slater appointed 1966



G.M.C. Cronwright 1956-1966



R. Allister 1929-1931



John Martin 1919-1922

Photos courtesy of K. Godbold, Esq. & Newspaper Press Union



Robert Muir 1931-1938



A.B. Godbold 1922-1929

C.R. THOMPSON (right)
General Secretary of the F.M.P.
from 1948, Director since 1966
and Joint Honorary Secretary of
the Council.

T.S. CLEARY (bottom right)
Assistant Secretary of the Coun-
cil from 1947, succeeded Mr Kemp
as Secretary-Treasurer from
1 January 1969.

G.G.A. UYS (below)
Assistant General Secretary
of the F.M.P. from 1951,
appointed General Secretary
of the N.P.U. in 1958





T.C. RUTHERFORD
General Secretary-Organiser of the
S.A.T.U. and Joint Honorary Secretary
of the Council since July 1950.



E.P. KEMP
First full time Secretary-Treasurer
of the Council, appointed April 1928
and continued in office more than
forty years retiring in December 1968.

M. Hennegin who entered South Africa in 1923 to become the first full-time Secretary of the Federation of Master Printers.



A.J. Downes who became a founder member of the National Industrial Council in 1919 and led the S.A.T.U. delegation to the Council from 1925 to 1950.

APPENDIX IMEMORANDUM ON THE HISTORY OF PAPER MAKING

True paper, i.e. dried and matted cellulose pulp, was first made according to tradition in China about 105 A.D. The knowledge passed to the Arabs who captured some Chinese paper makers at Samarkand and started to make paper at Baghdad about the eighth century. The knowledge was carried by Moors to Morocco about 1120 and from there reached Europe via Spain about 1150. In the next three centuries paper making spread slowly across Western Europe being traced to France (1190), Italy (1260), Germany (1389), to Switzerland and the Low Countries early in the fifteenth century, and to England where John Tate started a mill at Hertford in 1490. The great paper making nations of today did not receive the knowledge until much later, Sweden in 1532, North America in 1690 and Norway in 1698.

Through the 18th Century neither the supply of rags for raw material nor the capacity of the paper factories kept pace with increasing demand. The supply problem was overcome by the development of wood-pulp as a source of raw material and the manufacturing problem by the invention of the paper making machine.

The first machine constructed on sound principles was designed by Nicolas Louis Robert for which a French patent was granted in 1799. Robert was sponsored by Saint-Leger Didot, a wellknown Paris printer and publisher with whom he afterward quarrelled, Didot being left with the patents. Didot handed the information at his disposal to his brother-in-law, John Gamble, an English paper maker, who obtained financial backing from the brothers Henry and Sealy Fourdrinier, London stationers, and technical assistance from Brian Donkin, an engineer. Three additional patents were secured and the first Fourdrinier machine was set up at Frogmore, Herts. in 1803: a second was set up at nearby Two Waters about 1805. John Dickinson, working independently, produced and patented his cylinder machine which was erected at Kings Langley about 1809.

Straw pulp was patented in England by Koops in 1802 and mechanical or groundwood pulp, the basis of newsprint, was first produced by Keller and Voelter in Germany in 1844. Ten years later Watt and Burgess in England patented chemical wood pulp made by the direct digestion of wood with caustic soda under pressure. Esparto from North Africa was successfully pulped by Thomas Routledge of Oxford in 1861. Strong sulphite pulp was invented by B.C. Tilghmann of Philadelphia U.S.A. in 1866 but he ran into practical difficulties which were overcome by C.D. Ekman in Sweden about 1872. The process was commercially successful and operates on a large scale.

The sulphate process, yielding strong Kraft pulp and marking the beginnings of the paper packaging industry, was due to C.F. Dahl of Danzig about 1880. He was looking for a cheaper process than the soda process for pulping and tried sodium sulphate in place of the more expensive caustic soda. The process was not only cheaper but yielded paper of greater strength and utility. The Kraft process spread rapidly in Northern Europe and Scandinavia and reached North America through Canada in 1907.

* * *

Premier Paper Mills Ltd. started the first paper mill in South Africa at Klip River between Alberton and Meyerton, Transvaal, in 1920. It was a modest venture with an annual capacity of 1000 tons of wrapping and industrial paper increased to 10,000 tons in 1948.

South African Board Mills Ltd. commissioned its Umgeni mill at Durban with a capacity of 11,000 tons of paperboard in 1938, increased to 38,000 tons in 1950 and to 44,000 tons in 1957. A second mill with a capacity of 14,000 tons was opened at Springs, Transvaal, in 1954 and a third mill of 10,000 tons capacity at Bellville, Cape, in 1963. A fourth mill is to be built at Springs near the company's existing mill.

The S.A. Adamas Fibreboard and Paper Mill opened at Port Elizabeth with a capacity of 4,000 tons in 1952, later increased to 12,000 tons. The mill is now associated with South African Pulp and Paper Industries Limited. Ngoye Paper Mill, established 1953 with a capacity of 28,000 tons, is unique in South Africa in using bagasse, the residue from sugar cane. Piet Retief Paper Mills Limited started in 1963 with a capacity of 24,000 tons per annum subsequently expanded to 40,000 tons.

The giant amongst South African mills is the Union Corporation subsidiary, South African Pulp and Paper Industries Limited (SAPPI) who commissioned South Africa's first integrated pulp and paper mill with a capacity of 15,000 tons of writing and printing paper at Enstra, near Springs in 1938. The Tugela Kraft mill opened with an initial capacity of 60,000 tons in 1954. A newsprint mill for 40,000 tons per annum was commissioned at Enstra in 1961. The capacity of Tugela was increased to 150,000 tons of Kraft in 1963 and a newsprint mill designed for 70,000 tons per annum was commissioned near the Kraft mill in 1966. In 1967 an 80,000 ton chemical pulp mill was opened at Ngodwana in the Elands River Valley of the Eastern Transvaal. At time of writing (1969) the consumption of paper and paper board in South Africa is estimated at about 600,000 tons per annum.

Sources: Paper: its making, merchandising, and usage: London, National Association of Paper Merchants, Second Edition 1967 and Surveys compiled by the Association of Pulp, Paper and Board Manufacturers of South Africa, Johannesburg.

Appendix II

Extract from a Manuscript Volume of PLACCAATTEN judged to be of about 1814 in possession of Kimberley Public Library, transcribed by Peter van Heusden.

DRUKPERS

- P 21 July 1800 Permission has been granted to Walker and Robertson to set up a printing press and to publish a newspaper weekly.
- D 10f 335 They are considered to be the sole printers to the Government and to be the only privileged printers in the Colony.
- Nobody but them may publish in either their weekly (newspaper) or by handbill a public order, vendue or announcement of sale, bill of sale or advertisement, under penalty of risking prosecution according to the Law; whereby every offence against this order carries a fine of 1000 Rix-dollars besides the loss of the printing materials.
- KC 10 Oct. 1801 Confiscated by Court of Law and placed under Government custody with the provision that the newspaper shall be published weekly under the same title as before for 12 Rixdollars per annum and that the charge for advertisements will be much less; because it seems improper to leave the printing of a public newspaper in the hands of private individuals. From this time onwards the newspaper will carry a heading, that all public orders and regulations placed by any civil servant in this weekly, will be deemed to be official.
- Ris 23 Nov.1803 Concerning the Printing-work; see Bookbinder, etc.
- D iij 462 Instruction for the Director - bookkeeper - master printer received from Commissaris de Mist.

APPENDIX III

List of early work printed and published in Natal, collected by Dr. W.H.I. Bleek (1827-1875) and despatched by him late in 1855 to Professor Peterman of Hamburg who received the collection in May 1856.

- Proceedings of the Commission appointed to inquire into the past and present state of the Kafirs in the district of Natal. Pietermaritzburg 1852-1853.
- Donald Moodie: South African Annals 1652-1795. Chapter 1, European Population; Chapter 11, Saxon nomads. Pietermaritzburg, May & Davis, 1855
- Donald Moodie: A voice from the Kahlamba. Origin of the Bushmen. Pietermaritzburg, May & Davis, not dated.
- Donald Moodie: Lecture on the early visits of Europeans to Natal AD 1685-1690. Pietermaritzburg, May & Davis, not dated.
- Donald Moodie: Cape History and Science. Pietermaritzburg, 1855.
- Henry Cloete, recorder of the district. Three lectures on the emigration of the Dutch farmers from the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, and their settlement in the district of Natal. Delivered to the Natal Society at Pietermaritzburg. Pietermaritzburg; J. Archbell & Son, 1852.
- Edward Armitage M.A. : A lecture on the Botany of Natal. Delivered at Pietermaritzburg on the 20th December, 1853 to the Natal Society at Pietermaritzburg. Pietermaritzburg, J. Archbell & Son, 1854.
- J. W. Colenso, Lord Bishop of Natal. Remarks on the proper treatment of cases of polygamy, as already found existing in converts from heathenism. Pietermaritzburg, May & Davis, 1855.

Rev. C.W. Posselt*: The Zulu Companion, offered to the Natal colonist to facilitate his intercourse with the natives.

Pietermaritzburg, D.D. Buchanan, 1850.

Incwadi Yezihlabelalo (Book of Psalms)

Port Natal, 1850.

Incwadi Yamagama (Religious hymnbook)

Port Natal, 1849.

Inceku Yase Yafika (Biblical story)

Durban, J. Cullingworth, not dated.

Umoya o Dabukisiwe &c.

Pietermaritzburg, May & Davis, 1855

Incwadi Yokubala (Simple arithmetic)

Port Natal 1849.

The Port Natal Almanac for 1855.

Durban, J. Cullingworth.

The Natal Witness and Agricultural and Commercial Advertiser. Ed. J. May & Peter Davis.

June to November 1855, and every Friday.

The Natal Mercury and Advertiser.

Durban, George Robinson.

August to November 1855, every Friday

The Natal Advertiser and Mercantile Gazette.

Durban, John Miller & George Henry Wirsing.

May to August 1855, every Friday.

*The Rev. Mr. Posselt was chaplain to a group of German immigrants attracted to Natal by an unfortunate and unsuccessful scheme for growing cotton.

The Natal Chronicle and South East African Advertiser.

Pietermaritzburg, Cornelius Moll.

October 1855, every Wednesday.

The Times of Natal and South Eastern Africa.

Pietermaritzburg, J. Archbell.

November 1855, every Thursday.

Map of the Colony of Natal, compiled and lithographed
by J. Alfred Watts, 1855.

Map of the district of Natal, September 1850,

W. Stanger, Surveyor General.

Plan of the town of D'Urban,
drawn by C.J. Cato.

D'Urban, J. Cullingworth 1851.

*

*

*

Source: Spöhr: The Natal Diaries of Dr. W.H.I. Bleek
1855-1856.

APPENDIX IVTHE FIRST NATALIAN STEAM PRESS

A very elegant and compact little steam engine, with boiler, has been imported by Messrs. P. Davis & Sons, of this City, and has been set up in a shed in the rear of their printing-house. The engine, which is nominally of four-horse power, though it can work to nearly three times that strength if required, is supplied by Messrs. Harrild and Sons, Fleet Works, London, the well-known Printers' Engineers, upon whom it reflects much credit. It works with an inverted cylinder combined with an upright tubular boiler, and every modern improvement is introduced. The boiler is felted and lagged and the pump not only supplies the water to the boiler, but feeds the hot water tank from which the water is propelled through a superheating arrangement into the boiler at 212^o. Great economy of fuel is thus established, and another saving is effected through the throttle valve being constructed on the "principle of equilibrium", already immortalised in the columns of the Witness.

The engine drives three printing presses; viz. a double-royal "Belle Sauvage"; a demy-folio "Bremner", and a foolscap "Bremner" platen. Besides this it works a very powerful cutting machine and a circular saw, and even then half its strength is to spare.

Great praise is due to the employees of the Messrs. Davis who, without the aid of an engineer, have both fixed the boiler and engine, and have made all the alterations from hand to steam power. The first trial, which took place on Thursday, was very satisfactory; but though the lungs of the little stranger have been inflated, it has not yet been baptised.

Source: The Natal Witness 3 March 1876

Extract located and supplied by Dr. Leverton, Chief Archivist, Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg.

APPENDIX VTOWARDS A NEWSPAPER PRESS UNION
OF SOUTH AFRICA

A conference of newspaper proprietors and representatives was opened at the Carlton Hotel Johannesburg on 12 August 1912 preliminary to a bigger congress held later when the N.P.U. was officially launched. Mr. W. E. Fairbridge, General Manager of the Argus Printing and Publishing Co. presided and the conference was constituted as follows:-

- Mr. R. Hind, J.P., Grahamstown Journal
- Mr. E. C. Sellick, Somerset East Budget
- Mr. J. Wallach, the Volksstem, Pretoria and Times of Natal,
Pietermaritzburg
- Mr. George Millar, Natal Mercury, Durban
- Mr. Chas. Hewitt, Transvaal Leader, Johannesburg
- Mr. A. H. Tatlow, Railway Magazine
- Mr. C. V. Bate, Potchefstroom Herald
- Mr. H. H. Guest, Klerksdorp Record
- Mr. A. Baily, Lourenco Marques Guardian, and Goldfield News
- Mr. F. H. Rose, Natal Witness, Pietermaritzburg, and Natal
Advertiser, Durban
- Mr. H. de Graaf, Het Westen, Potchefstroom
- Mr. Lionel Goldsmid, The Transvaler, Jewish Chronicle and
Jewish Standard
- Mr. J. Langley Levy, Sunday Times, Johannesburg
- Mr. W. Brown, Zoutpansberg Review and Waterberg Advertiser,
Pietersburg
- Mr. Vere Stent, Pretoria News
- Mr. O.H. Frewin, Middelburg Observer and Witbank News
- Mr. Short, People's Journal en Het Volksblad
- Mr. G. E. Hutchison, Benoni Herald
- Mr. H. H. Beamish, Farmer's Advocate
- Mr. Charles Butler, Northern News, Vryburg

Mr. D. M. Ollemans, General Manager of The Friend, Bloemfontein
Mr. R. Muir, Manager, Cape Argus, Cape Town
Mr. J. Martin, Bloemfontein Post
Mr. G. H. Kingswell, Managing Director, Rand Daily Mail
Syndicate, Johannesburg
Mr. James Edgar, Transvaal Leader, Johannesburg
Mr. Clem Webb, S.A. Mining Journal
Mr. L. R. McLeod, Sunday Post, Johannesburg
Mr. Black, The Star, Johannesburg
Mr. George Sheffield was present as a guest.

Source: The Star, Johannesburg, 12 August 1912

APPENDIX VIPAST PRESIDENTS OF THE NEWSPAPER PRESS UNION

1882-1885	G. Impey	Eastern Province Herald, Port Elizabeth
1885-1887	F. J. Dormer	Cape Argus, Cape Town
1887-1889	James Kemsley	Port Elizabeth Telegraph
1889-1902	H. D. Blewitt	Kaffrarian Watchman, King William's Town
1902-1912	T. H. Grocott	Grocott's Penny Mail, Graham's Town
1912-1913	W. Crosby	East London Daily Dispatch
1913-1916	N. E. Harris	Eastern Province Herald, Port Elizabeth
1916-1918	Allen Thompson	Cape Times, Cape Town
1918-1921	John Martin	The Star, Johannesburg
1921-1922	D. M. Ollemans	The Friend, Bloemfontein
1922-1923	A. J. Sellick	Uitenhage Times
1923-1926	R. Muir	Cape Argus, Cape Town
1926-1928	R. Allister	Cape Times, Cape Town
1928-1929	A. K. McPherson	Daily Representative, Queenstown
1929-1932	J. L. Walton	Eastern Province Herald, Port Elizabeth
1932-1935	Sisson Cooper	Cape Argus, Cape Town
1935-1937	G. B. Watt	Rand Daily Mail & Sunday Times, Johannesburg
1937-1939	D. M. Ramsay	The Star, Johannesburg
1939-1941	H. J. Otto	Die Burger, Cape Town
1941-1943	G. B. Watt	Rand Daily Mail & Sunday Times, Johannesburg
1943-1944	C. C. Norris	Cape Times, Cape Town
1946-1948	A. J. van Zyl	Die Transvaler
1948-1950	E. B. Dawson	Rand Daily Mail
1950-1953	O. J. Bekker	Afrikaanse Pers Bpk.
1953-1957	D. M. Ollemans	Argus Printing & Publishing Co.Ltd.

1955-1957	G. M. C. Cronwright	Cape Times Ltd.
1957-1959	W. R. McCall	Argus Printing & Publishing Co. Ltd.
1959-1961	L. M. Walton	S. A. Associated Newspapers Ltd.
1961-1963	M. V. Jooste	Dagbreekpers Bpk.
1963-1965	A. H. Macintosh	Argus Printing & Publishing Co. Ltd.
1965-1967	D. M. Craib	Natal Witness (Pty) Ltd.
1967-	H. L. du Toit	Die Transvaler

Honorary Membership was conferred during their lifetime on John Martin and Sir Edgar H. Walton.

Honorary Life Vice Presidents:

H. R. Malan W. R. McCall A. H. Macintosh

Sources: N.I.C. files and N.P.U. Secretariat

APPENDIX VIIPAST PRESIDENTS OF THE FEDERATION OF MASTER
PRINTERS

1916-1919	A. B. Godbold	Whithead Morris & Co. (SA) Ltd.
1919-1921	J. W. Miller	Argus Printing & Publishing Co. Ltd.
1921-1925	R. Allister	Cape Times Ltd.
1925-1926	E. H. Adlington	Radford Adlington Ltd.
1926-1927	J. W. Radford	Radford Adlington Ltd.
1927-1929	D. A. Sales	Galvin & Sales (Pty) Ltd.
1929-1931	J. W. Radford	Radford Adlington Ltd.
1931-1933	H. B. Viney	Cape Times Ltd.
1933-1934	G. A. Evans	Natal Witness (Pty) Ltd.
1934-1937	G. M. Horne	G. M. Horne & Co.
1937-1939	L. E. Joseph	L. E. Joseph & Co.
1939-1943	S. Mullne	Herzberg Mullne Automatic Products Ltd.
1943-1949	W. Adamson	Hortors Ltd.
1949-1952	K. K. Dickinson	K. B. Dickinson (Pty) Ltd.
1952-1955	F. L. J. Smith	Davies & Barrow (Pty) Ltd.
1955-1958	C. C. Cowan	Burlington Printing Co. (Pty) Ltd.
1958-1960	A. R. Gale	Rostra Printers Ltd.
1960-1962	E. N. Weeden	Cape & Transvaal Printers Ltd.
1962-1964	A. J. G. Rump	E. H. Walton & Co. Ltd.
1964-66	A. J. Beatty	T. A. Beatty (Pty) Ltd.
1966-1967	D.S. Blades	Hortors Ltd.
1967-	H. R. Lawley	Samuel Griffiths & Co. (Pty) Ltd.

Source:

The Honours Board of the Federation of Master Printers
in the Board Room of the Associated Master Printers of
The Transvaal, Johannesburg.

APPENDIX VIIIPAST CHAIRMEN OF THE CAPE CHAMBER OF PRINTING

1911-1916	A. W. Townshend	Taylor, Townshend & Snashall
1916-1921	A. Thompson	Cape Times Ltd.
1921-1922	E.T.M. Notcutt	S. A. Electric Printing Co. (Pty) Ltd.
1922-1923	A. W. Townshend	Taylor, Townshend & Snashall
1923-1926	D. A. Sales	Galvin & Sales (Pty) Ltd.
1926-1929	R. Allister	Cape Times Ltd.
1929-1930	G. W. England	Bon Accord Press (Pty) Ltd.
1930-1931	W. A. M. Beard	E.S. & A. Robinson (South Africa) Ltd.
1931-1933	H. B. Viney	Cape Times Ltd.
1933-1935	T. Smith	Rustica Press (Pty) Ltd.
1935-1937	S. Mullne	Herzberg Mullne Automatic Products Ltd.
1937-1938	D. S. Blades	Hortors Ltd.
1938-1939	S. A. Clement	E.S. & A. Robinson (South Africa) Ltd.
1939-1941	E. N. Weeden	Weeden (Pty) Ltd.
1941-1942	J. C. Hinman	S. A. Office Supplies
1942-1945	M. J. Coles	Hortors Ltd.
1945-1947	H. R. Lawley	Samuel Griffiths & Co. (Pty) Ltd.
1947-1949	D. S. Blades	Hortors Ltd.
1949-1951	R. Bell	The Citadel Press
1951-1952	E. N. Weeden	Weeden (Pty) Ltd.
1952-1953	H. R. Lawley	Samuel Griffiths & Co. (Pty) Ltd.
1953	D. S. Blades	Hortors Ltd.
1954-1957	S. A. Violet	The Standard Press Ltd.
1957-1960	A. D. F. Sales	Galvin & Sales (Pty) Ltd.
1960-1961	J. H. Claassens	Nasionale Tydskrifte Bpk.
1961-1963	G. J. Horn	McManus Bros. (Pty) Ltd.
1963-1965	E. A. Catesby	Cape & Transvaal Printers Ltd.
1965-1967	L. J. Picton	E.S. & A. Robinson (Pty) Ltd.
1967-	L. Wilder	Herzberg Mullne (Cape)(Pty) Ltd.

Source: Honours Board, Cape Chamber of Printing

APPENDIX 1XPAST PRESIDENTS OF THE ASSOCIATED MASTER
PRINTERS OF THE TRANSVAAL

1914-1918	E. H. Adlington	E. H. Adlington & Co.
1918-1919	A. Downing	W. E. Hortor & Co. Ltd.
1919-1923	R. L. Esson	R. L. Esson & Co. Ltd.
1923-1924	L. E. Joseph	L. E. Joseph & Co.
1924-1925	A. W. J. Haigh	Rand Daily Mail Ltd.
1925-1927	J. W. Radford	Radford, Adlington Ltd.
1927-1928	G. M. Horne	G. M. Horne & Co.
1928-1929	S. L. Waring	Stationers Engraving Co.
1929	V. Redpath	Pretoria News
1929-1930	J. W. Miller	The Star
1930-1931	A. Munro	Frier & Munro Ltd.
1931-1933	G. B. Watt	Rand Daily Mail Ltd.
1933-1934	T. B. Tinson	Geo. Constable Ltd.
1934-1935	J. S. T. Berrell	Hortors Ltd.
1935-1936	H. Hanger	Lamson Paragon S.A. (Pty) Ltd.
1936-1938	G. I. Russell	Radford, Adlington Ltd.
1938-1942	W. Adamson	Hortors Ltd.
1942-1946	K. K. Dickinson	K. B. Dickinson (Pty) Ltd.
1946-1954	C. C. Cowan	Burlington Printing Co. (Pty) Ltd.
1954-1958	A. R. Gale	Rostra Printers Ltd.
1958-1960	A. P. MacDonald	Radford, Adlington Ltd.
1960-1962	D. S. Blades	Hortors Ltd.
1962-1964	A. Abrahams	A.M. & I. Abrahams (Pty) Ltd.
1964-1966	A. R. Gale	Boksburg Printers (Pty) Ltd.
1966-1968	H. D. Swan	Swan Press Ltd.
1968-	J. C. Beith	Beith Process & Phototype (Pty) Ltd.

Source: Records of the AMP of the Transvaal.

APPENDIX X

PAST CHAIRMEN OF THE PORT ELIZABETH AND
MIDLANDS CHAMBER OF PRINTING

A Master Printers' Association was formed in Port Elizabeth in 1912, disbanded about 1920, reformed 1922 and was reconstituted as the Midlands Chamber of Printing in 1924. The earliest extant records date from 1929.

1929-1932	T. C. Elgar	P. E. Advertiser
1932-1942	J. L. Walton	E. H. Walton & Co. Ltd.
1942	S. R. Siberry	Siberry & Burgess
1942-1945	E. Hugo	Nasionale Pers Bpk.
1945-1950	H. A. MacPherson	
1950-1952	E. J. G. Lawler	Lawlers (Pty) Ltd.
1952-1953	W. J. MacMillan	Alliance Printing and Litho Co. Ltd.
1953	S. Nell	Long & Co. (Pty) Ltd.
1953-1954	E. J. G. Lawler	Lawlers (Pty) Ltd.
1954-1955	J. M. Bethune-Williams	Bumleys Printing Works (Pty) Ltd.
1955-1966	A. J. G. Rump	E. H. Walton & Co. Ltd.
1966-	J. C. E. MacDonald	Acme Printers (Pty.) Ltd.

Source: Secretariat of the Midlands Chamber of Printing

APPENDIX XIPAST PRESIDENTS OF THE NATAL CHAMBER OF PRINTING

Formally constituted 21 January 1931 by the fusion of the Durban Master Printers Association and the Pietermaritzburg Master Printers' Association.

At the January meeting Mr. G. A. Evans of Pietermaritzburg was elected Chairman but at the next meeting held on 15 February 1931 the title was changed to President.

1931-1933	G. A. Evans	The Natal Witness (Pty) Ltd.
1933-1935	A. S. Greenfield	Electric Press
1935-1940	W. S. Knox	Knox Printing Co. (Pty) Ltd.
1940-1948	F. L. J. Smith	Davies & Barrow (Pty) Ltd.
1948-1952	J. H. Haliburton	Haliburton & Glover Industries (Pty) Ltd.
1952-1955	I. K. Morris	Robinson & Co. (Pty) Ltd.
1955-1958	A. J. Beatty	T. A. Beatty (Pty) Ltd.
1958-1960	D. M. Craib	The Natal Witness (Pty) Ltd.
1960-1963	L. L. Penney	Rowell & Sons (Pty) Ltd.
1963-1965	I. McL. Greenfield	Brown Davis & Platt Ltd.
1965	W. E. Robertson	W. E. Robertson (Pty) Ltd.
1965-1967	I. K. Morris	Robinson & Co. (Pty) Ltd.
1967-1969	W. E. Robertson	W. E. Robertson (Pty) Ltd.
1969-		

Source: Secretariat of the Natal Chamber of Printing.

APPENDIX XIIMEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

MADE AND ENTERED INTO between -

THE FEDERATED MASTER PRINTERS OF SOUTH AFRICA

and

THE NEWSPAPER PRESS UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

of the one part (hereinafter called "the EMPLOYERS")

and

THE SOUTH AFRICAN TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION

of the second part (hereinafter called "the EMPLOYEES")

duly authorised by unanimous resolution of a National

Joint Conference held at Johannesburg on the 10th, 11th

12th, 13th, 14th and 15th days of November, 1919.

added with the consent of the parties hereto shall also be regarded as part of the Agreement.

JOURNEY-
MEN.

19. The term "journeymen" shall embrace fully qualified employees in all departments.

SIGNED at JOHANNESBURG on this the 22nd day of November, 1919, by and on behalf of the parties following :-

For the

FEDERATED MASTER PRINTERS OF SOUTH AFRICA

in accordance with the unanimous decision and authority of the delegates to the National Conference:-

AS WITNESSES :

1.

E. A. M. M. M.

J. W. Miller

PRESIDENT.

2.

B. C. Christie

For the

NEWSPAPER PRESS UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

in accordance with the unanimous decision and authority of the delegates to the National

Conference :-

Wau Marlin

AS WITNESSES :

PRESIDENT

1. *[Signature]*
2. *[Signature]*

For the

SOUTH AFRICAN TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION

in accordance with the unanimous decision and authority of the delegates to the National

Conference and confirmed by Resolution of the

South African Typographical Union dated the

Seventeenth November, 1919:-

AS WITNESSES :

[Signature]

PRESIDENT

1. *[Signature]*

2. *[Signature]*

[Signature]

Vice-President

[Signature]

Gen. Secy Organizer



BOOK LIST AND SOURCE MATERIAL

(1) TRADE SOURCES

Cape Herald Strike Edition 1911 (Cape Chamber of Printing)

Capro: Complete guide to country newspapers, Johannesburg,
Capro Ltd, Seventh Edition 1961-62.

Federation of Master Printers of South Africa

Constitution 1968

Members' Circular

Minutes

Reply to the Board of Trade 1954

Roll of Members 1967

National Industrial Council for Printing

Agreements

Constitution

First National Conference, proceedings

Hall Report, U.C.T. 1967

History file

Monthly Record

Occasional papers

Printing & Newspaper Industry of S. Africa, The

for the Van Riebeeck Festival, Cape Town 1952.

Proceedings at meetings

Reply to the Board of Trade 1954

Newspaper Press Union

Congress reports

Constitution & Bye-Laws 1966

Occasional papers

(2) SOME PUBLISHED MATERIAL ON THE HISTORY OF INDIVIDUAL COMPANIES

Argus Printing & Publishing Co Ltd: see Argus in
general book list and Articles of Association &c.

SAPL ref. A655.168ARG.

Berlin Mission Press, Bothsabelo

Middelburg Observer 28 Feb. 1958

- Cape Times Ltd. Cape Times Diamond Jubilee number 27 March 1936, Talk of the Times & Shorten.
- de Jong-Druipers (Edms.) Bpk. S.A. Printer Nov. 1965
- Diamond Fields Advertiser: see Mono 2 in general book list.
- Dickinson & Co (Pty) Ltd, John: Joan Evans The Endless Web London, Jonathan Cape, 1955.
- East London Daily Dispatch: S.A. Printer Oct. 1967
- Esson, R.L. & Co Ltd. The House of Esson, company brochure, undated.
- Gothic Printing Co Ltd: Shorten
- Government Printing Works: Art. Inauguration & subsequent development G.P.W. Pretoria 1916.
- Graaff-Reinet Herald. Rabone & S.A.T.U. Journal July 1968.
- Griffiths Samuel & Co (Pty) Ltd. Jubilee Brochure Cape Town 1963.
- Herzberg Mullne. H.M. Pie Box. House magazine of the company Vol. 1, No. 1 1959 and Shorten.
- Hortors Ltd. Hortor's News Vol. 1, No. 1, 1956.
- Keartland Press: Company brochure, undated.
- Kuruman Press: Northcott
- Lovedale Press: Shepherd
- Moriija Press: Jacottet
- Natal Mercury: Centenary Souvenir Number 25 Nov.1952
- Natal Witness: Company brochure, undated.
- Paarl Ptg. Co (Pty) Ltd: S.A. Printer, Nov. 1965
- Robinson E S & A (Pty) Ltd: company handbooks 1961 & 1965 and Robinson Annual 1930-1966.
- S.A. Bank Note Co: FMP Members Circular No. 231
- S.A. Litho Co Ltd: Shorten.
- van de Sandt de Villiers & Co: Bye-laws
S.A.P.L. AP655. 468712 VAND.
- Volksstem en Wallachs: See Mono 1 in general book list.

(3) ANSWERS TO AUTHOR'S QUESTIONNAIRES AND OTHER UNPUBLISHED SOURCE MATERIAL RELATING TO INDIVIDUAL COMPANIES.

Alcan Aluminium Co of S.A. Ltd: W.H. Paton 17 June 1968.
Argus P. & P. Co Ltd: H.W. Miller 30 May & 9 June 1969.
Asseqai Packaging Co Ltd: L.J. Smith 19 Dec. 1967.
British Flexible Packaging (Pty) Ltd: H.C. Hiskett 12 June 1968.
Brown, Davis & Platt Ltd: C.K. Platt 17 June 1968.
Cape Times: Cape & Transvaal Printers: G.M.C. Cronwright & E.N. Weeden 26 June 1969.
Capex (now part of A.E. & C.I.): L.B. Young 22 Jan. 1968.
E.P. & Commercial Ptg. Co: C.K. Platt 17 June 1968.
Government Ptg. Works: Govt. Printer 7 June 1968.
Laughton & Co (Pty) Ltd: W.E. Laughton 20 Oct. 1967.
Liberty Box & Bag Mfg. Co Ltd: H.H. Gundelfinger 14 Febu. 1969
McManus Bros (Pty) Ltd: G.J. Horn 2 July 1969.
Nasionale Tydskrifte P.E. memo prepared by the company and received through Midlands Chamber of Printing.
Paper Sacks S.A. Ltd & others: J.R. Keen 22 Sept. 1967.
Pretoria Paper Products (Pty) Ltd: G.F. Butterfield 24 June 1968.
Rustica Press (Pty) Ltd: H.P. Elffers 3 May 1968.
Waxed Papers S.A. (Pty) Ltd: H.J.G. Hollaender 5 March 1968.
Ysebrand & Co (1933) (Pty) Ltd: Unpublished MS
The Ysebrand Story by Rosenthal, G. Blumberg 12 March 1969.

(4) PUBLIC COMPANIES IN RESPECT OF WHICH INFORMATION PUBLISHED IN THE STOCK EXCHANGE HANDBOOK OR THE FINANCIAL YEAR BOOK OF SOUTHERN AFRICA

Afrikaanse Pers (1962) Bpk.
Argus Printing & Publishing Co Ltd.
Cape & Transvaal Ptg. & Pub. Co Ltd.
Caxton Ltd.
Eastern Province Newspapers Ltd.
Hayne & Gibson Holdings Ltd.
Holdains Ltd.
Hortors Ltd.
Kiley Baker Holdings (1968) Ltd.
Kohler Bros Ltd.

Nasionale Pers Bpk.

National Amalgamated Packaging Ltd.

South African Associated Newspapers Ltd.

South African Litho Holdings Ltd.

Vaderland Beleggings Bpk.

(5) BIBLIOGRAPHIES

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du Toit A.D.J. Louw Nederlandse en Afrikaanse boeke -- deur D.F. du Toit & Co, Paarl 1951.

Grey No 3. D.H. Varley ed. Union List of South African Newspapers: SAPL 1950.

Johannesburg A.H. Smith South African Printing 1800-1968, an exhibition catalogue, Johannesburg Public Library 1968.

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Laidler, P.W. Pre-Victorian Products of the Cape Press 1796-1836 Johannesburg 1935.

Mendelssohn. S.A. Bibliography two volumes third ed., London, Holland Press, 1968.

Saprint: D.H. Varley et al. South Africa in Print, an exhibition catalogue in connection with the van Riebeeck Festival, Cape Town 1952.

1440-1940 D.H. Varley et al., an exhibition catalogue to mark the five hundredth year of the invention of printing, Cape Town, 1940.

(6) GENERAL BOOK LIST

ACC: African Court Calendar for 1808. Willem Hidding reprint No 6, U.C.T. 1954.

Argus: Neame & Rosenthal Today's News Today, Johannesburg, Argus Co., 1956.

Ayliffe & Whiteside: History of the Abambo, 1912. Willem Hidding reprint No 17, Struik 1962.

- Behrens H.P.H. The Pretoria Press Story in Pretoria 1855-1955 City Council of Pretoria 1955.
- Bird W. State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822, facsimile reprint Cape Town, Struik, 1966.
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- Downes A.J.: Printers Saga, Johannesburg, S.A.T.U., 1952.
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- Freeman J.J. A Tour in South Africa, London, L.M.S., 1851.
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- (1) T.R. Glover, The Ancient World, Pelican edition 1961, 71.
- (2) Quoted by Sir Francis Maynell in his foreword to Howe & Waite.
- (3) Quoted by George Greig at the masthead of his Facts.
- (4) Thomas Carlyle Sartor Resartus I.V.
- (5) As at 19 September 1967: Council records.
- (6) J.S. Marais, Managing Director of the Trust Bank in an address to Cape Town business men 21 February 1967.

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- (1) Varley 2-3. (2) Rosenthal 4. Specimens of these V.O.C. currency cards are displayed in the Africana Museum at Johannesburg Public Library. (3) Saprnt, item 1, 160. This fragment was displayed at Calendar '69 Exhibition organised by the Cape Town Association of Printing House Craftsmen at S.A.P.L. 1969.
- (4) Saprnt, item 2, 160. (5) Johannesburg 1800 (AM 2010). A copy of this proclamation in possession of Johannesburg Public Library was examined 29 October 1968. (6) Saprnt, item 5, 160. Transcript of extracts from the Kimberley MS book of placcaaten is reproduced as an appendix. A facsimile copy of the Gazette Vol. 1 No. 1 is reproduced in Men of the Times and in Varley. (7) Kimberley placcaaten above and Rosenthal 7-8.
- (8) Saprnt item 85, 69 read with item 3, 160. This little book was exhibited on the occasion of the 150th anniversary of SAPL. (9) Bird 360. (10) Bird 58-61. (11) Saprnt 159.
- (12) Saprnt items 38-42, 166-167. (13) See Chapter 3 below.
- (14) Howe 32. (15) Dr. Helmut Presser: monograph on the life of Gutenberg Export Polygraph International, Frankfurt, February 1968 to mark the 500th anniversary of his death. (16) Times, 120.
- (17) Howe & Waite 18 & 38. (18) The development of the hand-press is based on Isaacs 10 ff. A fuller account may be found in British Printer published in serial form July-November 1967.

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(19) For "Citizen Stanhope" see Newman A., The Stanhopes of Chevening, London. Macmillan 1969 reviewed in The Economist for 15 February 1969. For lithography see Times Chapter 5. A fuller account may be found in Halbmeier, Carl: Senefelder, the history of lithography, New York 1926. (20) British Printer, November 1967, 66. (21) 1440-1940 item 3, 2; item 11, 4; item 12, 5. (22) Meurant 77. (23) Kruger 179 read with 270. (24) Jacottet 6-11. (25) Mendelssohn II, 472. (26) Note 22 above. (27) C.O. 49/14 P.R.O. Hattersley Note 1, 144. (28) Photographs and details kindly supplied by the owners in a communication dated 14 April 1969. An account of this press appeared in Mail, Print & Marketing Vol. 1, No. 3, November 1968. (29) Shepherd 3. (30) This press was examined April 1968. Additional information was kindly supplied through courtesy of Mr Justice Diemont, the City Librarian of Kimberley and Mr S.C. Kruger of Northern Cape Printers who supplied extracts of a monograph on the press prepared by him for the Gutenberg Museum. See also Northcott 341. (31) Examined on site. See also Talk of the Times June 1967, p.24. Additional information by Dudley Townshend, son of the late A.W. Townshend, and by J. Cranstoun Day. (32) Examined September 1968. (33) Information supplied by kindness of Rev. W. Illsley, former Warden of the Institution: photograph kindly supplied by Rev. L.G.S. Griffiths, the present Warden. (34) Rosenthal 19. (35) Meurant 101. (36) J. Cranstoun Day in a communication to author 12 May 1968. The artist is Dawid Botha. (37) A. Montgomery in a communication to author. The approximate date may be judged from the inscription. The firm was R.W. Cope c 1822, then J. & J. Barrett trading as Exors of R.W. Cope c 1830 and Hopkinson & Cope from 1845. See Bacon, The Line Engraved Postage Stamps of Great Britain, London 1920, Vol. I, 12. (38) Examined 29 October 1968. The press was presented by Mr J.C. Beith of Johannesburg and according to tradition "printed some of President Kruger's broadsheets". (39) This press is in possession of J. Cranstoun Day: it was described and illustrated in Talk of the Times. (40) Stated in Kimberley Placcaatten, see Note 7 above. (41) Saprint, item 8, 162. (42) Saprint,

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item 9, 162. (43) Saprnt, item 10, 162. (44) Saprnt, item 11, 162. (45) Several original calendars have been sighted by courtesy of S.A.P.L. See lists in Saprnt, item 7, 161 in Kimberley pp 22-24 and in Mendelssohn Vol. I, 23ff. The Court Calendar for 1808 has been reprinted as No 6 in the Willem Hiddingh reprint series. (46) Bird 59-60. (47) Following Rosenthal. (48) Saprnt items 66-67, 170 and Ferguson 18-19. There is a conflict both as to date and place, Saprnt indicating Graaff-Reinet before June 1801 and Ferguson Bota's Farm about November 1801. Saprnt has been followed. (49) Ferguson 12 and SAPL Grey Collection No 153. (50) Saprnt item 38, 166. These notices were shown at 150th anniversary exhibition of SAPL. (51) Meurant 8 read with 76-77. (52) Bird 61. (53) Saprnt items 26-27, 164-165. (54) Meurant 13. (55) Meurant 21. (56) The Facts were reprinted under the direction of F.G. Wagener for Africana Connoisseur's Press, Cape Town, 1963. (57) Meurant 74n. Robinson 72. (58) Varley 10-11. (59) Saprnt 159. Mendelssohn I, 287 and II, 62.

CHAPTER 2

(1) Meurant 78-80. (2) Rosenthal 17 read with Mendelssohn I, 149 & 346. (3) For Bridekirk see Robinson 20, 67-68, 107, 111 and Rosenthal 12 & 18. For works printed by Bridekirk see Kimberley 26, 30, 31, 33, 35; Saprnt 73, 129, 140, 165, 174 and Mendelssohn Vol. I, 26-27, 126, 149, 164, 283, 293, 325, 346, 443, 467, 478, 517, 776. (4) For Mollett see Robinson 111 and Rosenthal 18-20. For works printed by Mollett see Mendelssohn Vol. I, 283, 264, 326, 624 and Vol. II. 43 and 495. For the first Cape Times see Grey No 3, 121 and Talk of the Times June 1967, page 3. (5) For Beddy and The Colonist see Meurant 74, Cutten 20 and Grey No 3, 131. (6) Laidler 315. (7) Policy examined 29 October 1968. For other references to Greig see especially Meurant Part I Reminiscences, the Facts, Kimberley 26-35 various entries, Saprnt 161-166 various entries and Mendelssohn Vol. I, 26, 27, 287, 292, 296, 324, 530

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and Vol. II, 15, 63, 326, 349. (8) For Solomon see D.S.A.B. I, 759. There are many references to Solomon in the bibliographies those of significance for the present purpose being Mendelssohn Vol. I, 28, 31-33, 47, 49, 52, 61, 99, 109, 111, 132, 159, 199, 263, 294-297, 508, 627, 729, 922 and Vol. II, 80, 109, 176, 476, 477. (9) For de Lima see D.S.A.B. I, 219, Varley 14, Robinson 5 and Meurant 75. For work printed by de Lima see Kimberley 26, 33-35; Saprnt 73, 162, 165; Johannesburg 1825 and Mendelssohn Vol. I, 27, 31, 294, 443, 444. (10) For Boniface see D.S.A.B. I, 92, Varley 15, Robinson 5, Rosenthal 21, Grey No. 3, 179. For printed works see Kimberley 30, 32-33, Saprnt 73, 78-79, 165. See also Mendelssohn Vol. I, 296, 717, 799, 836 and Vol. II, 45, 161, 441: for early work printed by P.A. Brand at the office of De Zuid-Afrikaan. See also Cutten 22. (11) C.P. Moll's parentage was mentioned by Dr. B.J.T. Leverton in an SABC radio talk 24 June 1969. For Moll at Cape Town see Grey No. 3, 144; Kimberley item 139, 36; Saprnt item 97, 72; and Mendelssohn Vol. I, 27, 1004 and Vol. II, 95. For the subsequent work of Moll see Chapter 6, Natal and Chapter 8, Transvaal. (12) For the Buchanans see D.S.A.B. I, 132; Grey No. 3, 124; and Mendelssohn I, 278. For the younger Buchanan in Natal see Chapter 6. (13) For Atkinson see Mendelssohn I, 57 and Grey No. 3, 178. (14) For G.J. Pike & partners see Rosenthal 19 and for printed work see Kimberley items 116, 32; 132, 35; 140, 36; 145, 37; Saprnt items 10, 130; 24, 132; 53, 168; Johannesburg 1857; Mendelssohn Vol. I, 288, 293, 318, 476, 530, 537, 538, 629, 639, 800, 907 and Vol. II, 267, 453-456. (15) For Sammons see D.S.A.B. I, 684; Rabone 88-90; Grey No. 3, 99; Johannesburg 1845 and Mendelssohn II, 453-454. The illustrations used by Sammons are reproduced and described by Robinson 215-222. For the origin of Sammons' printing machine see Meurant 88-89. (16) Robinson 220-221. (17) Advertisement in Almanac for 1845 SAPL. (18) Johannesburg 1848. (19) Rosenthal & Blum. Several specimens of early banknotes with the imprint C.J. Roberts are in the Africana Museum, Johannesburg Library and were examined 29 Oct 1968.

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(20) Hattersley 141; Grey No. 3, 125. (21) Hattersley 141; Grey No. 3, 113. (22) Hattersley 141; D.S.A.B. I, 292. (23) See C.C. de Villiers D.S.A.B. I, 223. (24) For A.S. Robertson see Mendelssohn I, 28, 65. (25) For B.J. van de Sandt see Rosenthal 10; Grey No. 3, 174, and Mendelssohn Vol. I, 27-32, 456, 537, 545, 546, 744, 841, 926 and Vol. II, 136, 481, 575. (26) Reproduced in Bird, W., State of the Cape of Good Hope in 1822 Struik's Cape Town facsimile reprint 1966. (27) Rosenthal 13. (28) The work of Poortermans is noticed by Morrison, Rosenthal 16 and Robinson 205. Original examples of his work are in the Africana Museum, Johannesburg Library and were examined 29 October 1968. (29) For Bell see D.S.A.B. I, 64, and Mendelssohn I, 111. (30) Saprnt item 9, 90. (31) Saprnt item 79, 46. (32) Saprnt item 28, 57. (33) Saprnt item 120, 77. (34) Saprnt item 128, 79. (35) Almanacs for 1842 and 1845 SAPL. (36) Rollnick, J. art. an impression of book production in South Africa: Books & Readers in S.A. 1652-1952 S.A.L. Vol. 19, No. 4, 34.

CHAPTER 3

(1) Vidler A.R. The Church in an age of Revolution, London, Pelican A506, 1961, page 249. (2) Shepherd 1-11 and Sadler 183, notes 4 and 5. (3) Shepherd 4 and Saprnt 130 and 170: for the fate of Abeona see Cory II 126ff and Sadler 183 notes. (4) Ayliff & Whiteside, Chap. 5. (5) Northcott Chap. 8 and Appendix II. The foundation of the Kuruman Press is variously given as 1826 (Saprnt) 1830 (Morrison and BOT 353) and 1831 (Northcott and Kimberley). Moffat started publishing in 1826 but began printing only in 1831, Northcott being decisive. (6) Shown at the 150th anniversary exhibition of S.A.P.L. March 1968. (7) Crampton 14. (8) Hallier's imprint is found on a leaflet assigned by the Methodist historian Dr. Gordon Mears to the year 1824, and on a broadsheet printed in 1825 for Pacaltsdorp Mission (Laidler 253). (9) Eveleigh 43; Hewson 62. (10) Whiteside 327; Bond 61-62. (11) Whiteside 329. (12) The story of this trek is recorded by Molema 25-27 and 37 with additional material from pictorial exhibits in Africana Museum, Johannesburg Public Library. (13) Crampton 12-13. Crampton says as

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early as 1826 or 1827 but in view of the date of the trek it is difficult to see how the press could have been used at Platberg before 1829. (14) Wm. Shaw's Memoirs of Anne Hodgson. (15) Whiteside 338-339 read with Molema 193-195. (16) Crampton 14. (17) The foundation date of the Wesleyan press in Grahamstown is variously given as 1830 (Eveleigh) 1832 (Birrell) and 1834 (Saprint). Eveleigh appears to have misread Shaw who says in his Journal that he engaged a printer to do some work for him in 1830 but does not claim to have established a press. The Minutes of the Wesleyan Missionary Society in London for 1831, the Missionary Reports for 1832-1833 and the Albany District Minutes for 1833 have been consulted through the courtesy of Dr. Mears and clearly point to 1832. The earliest known work from the press is the Grahamstown Sunday School Report for Sept. 1832 (Minute Book of Grahamstown Wesleyan Sunday School 1824-1836 quoted Journal Meth. Hist. Soc. Vol. I, No. 2, 12). (18) Sadler 115. (19) Crampton 10 & 14; Saprint item 72, 171. See also reprint No. 10 in Willem Hiddingh series, U.C.T. 1956. (20) Kimberley 44. (21) Wesleyan Missionary Society Report, London, 1844. (22) Whiteside 260, Crampton 9, and Saprint 130 where it is called "a great contribution to Xhosa studies". Appleyard's biographer J.D.P. van der Poll says "A's grammar, rightly acclaimed by his contemporaries, was of such a high standard that no subsequent Xhosa grammar has been any real advance" D.S.A.B. I, 19. (23) Ayliff & Whiteside, Chap. 8. (24) The history of the Appleyard Bible was pub. 1959 by the Brit. & Foreign Bible Society in a leaflet to mark the centenary of its completion in 1859. See also Crampton 10, which recalls the title by which Appleyard was known, "the Tyndale of South Africa". (25) Saprint item 74, 171. (26) Incwadi Yokuqala Yabafundayo seen at 150th anniversary exhibition of S.A.P.L., Cape-Town March 1968. (27) Kimberley 45; Saprint 171. (28) Davies 46. (29) Saprint item 79, 172. (30) Jacottet 6-11 and Crampton 11. (31) Saprint item 81, 172. (32) Freeman 63, 100, 262, 327. I am indebted to Dr. Gordon Mears for drawing my attention to these extracts and to Dr. A.M. Lewin Robinson for additional information

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- regarding Beirut (Beyrouth). (33) Sadler 131. (34) The preferred road to the North was Cape Town by sea to Algoa Bay, thence via Bethelsdorp to Klaarwater (Griquatown) and Lattakoo (Kuruman). See map Moffat 29. (35) Bond 80-81. (36) Hurcombe 10, Molema 37. (37) Sadler 131. (38) Doke, C.M., Bantu Studies, March 1933, 26. (39) For Meurant & Godlonton at Grahamstown 1830-1839 see Sixty Years Ago Part II, The Establishment of the Eastern Province Press 76ff. (40) Saprnt item 39, 166. (41) See note 39 above. (42) Bond 140-141; Chase, The Natal Papers, 123ff and Atherstone in D.S.A.B. I, 26. (43) See note 39 above. (44) The changes in title of the proprietors of the Graham's Town Journal have been obtained from a detailed analysis of imprints on matter printed by them as listed by Mendelssohn. The successive titles and the first item to exhibit each change of imprint are: 1848 Godlonton & White I, 612. 1851 Godlonton, White & Co I, 633-634. 1864 Godlonton & Richards I, 168. 1866 Richards, Glanville & Co I, 725. 1879 Richards, Slater & Co I, 613. 1900 Josiah Slater I, 13. 1919 Ceased: Journal incorporated in Grocott's Penny Mail, Grey 295-297. (45) Crampton p, Saprnt item 32, 133; also see title page of Struik's 1968 facsimile reprint of The Natal Papers: a copy of the G.G. for 17 Dec. 1850 is in the archives of the Methodist Book Room. (46) Dr. B.J.T. Leverton in an SABC radio talk 26 June 1969. (47) See Meurant D.S.A.B. I, 538 read with Cutten 25, Murray 96, and 136; Grey No. 3, 291. For the Echo see Cory II, 180n. (48) Dallas in Men of the Times, 115. (49) Bond 141, Varley 17, Cutten 26 and Grey No. 3, 299. (50) I'Ons D.S.A.B. I, 399. (51) Hattersley 70. (52) Johannesburg 1851.

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- (1) Howe & Waite 28. (2) Isaacs 17-18. (3) Isaacs 241-242. (4) Isaacs 41. (5) Isaacs 47. (6) British Printer, April 1968, 40. (7) Information and photo supplied by courtesy of the management of The Natal Mercury. (8) Kruger 270 and illustration opp. 225. (9) J. Cranstoun Day in a communication to the author. (10) Information and photo supplied by courtesy of the management of Cape & Transvaal Printers. (11) Information ex-

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tracted from the company's plant book. (12) Information and photo supplied by courtesy of the Curator, Huguenot Museum, Paarl.

(13) Press examined April 1969. Information supplied by courtesy of Dr. A.C. Hoffman, Director of the National Museum, Bloemfontein.

(14) Press examined. Information & photo supplied by courtesy of Mr K. Hall, regional secretary-organiser of the S.A.T.U., Bloemfontein. (15) Information supplied by courtesy of Bro. Karl Kroner, for forty years printer, and now gatekeeper at the Monastery.

(16) c.f. the following sources: Argus, note appended to facsimile repro. of Vol. I No. 1 used as a dust jacket: Mendelssohn I, 99, 297 and Johannesburg 1855. (17) Mendelssohn I, 476, 639, 907.

(18) Argus 7. (19) Murray 138-140. (20) Mendelssohn I, 513 & 154. (21) Argus 36-37. (22) Natal Witness 3 March 1876. I am indebted to Dr. B.J.T. Leverton of the Natal Archives for tracing this reference. (23) Talk of the Times June 1966, 3. (24) Mendelssohn I, 995 & II, 561. (25) Behrens 342, Mendelssohn II, 631, and imprint on Boer War Extra no. of Natal Advertiser for 29 Oct. 1898, Africana Museum, Johannesburg Public Library. (26) Argus 111. (27) Downes 72 & 102. (28) Argus 131 & 137. (29) Mono 2, 13. (30) Jacottet 15-18. (31) Steinberg 191-192. Howe & Waite 78, 92, 108, 117, 154. (32) Stereos examined, see also Rosenthal & Blum. (33) Long Ch. 4, Times Ch. 5, Davis 71ff. (34) Rollnick, an impression of book production in S.A. Books & Readers in S.A. 1652-1952, SAL Vol. 19 No. 4 April 1952, 35. See also Johannesburg 1860. (35) Rosenthal 23, 26, 27, and Saprint item 52, 22. (36) Saprint Section III, The Dutch Book. (37) Cowen biography, Men of the Times, 89. (38) Mendelssohn I, 501, 510, 558 etc. (39) Argus 7. (40) c.f. Mendelssohn I, 28, 31, 56, 65, 353, 744 & II, 92, 137, 433, 636. (41) Evident from analysis of Grey No. 3, Cape Town. (42) For Cape Monitor see Murray 132 with which Cutten 27 agrees, Grey No. 3, 106 and Fitzpatrick biography in D.S.A.B., I, 292. (43) Murray 131-132 read with Grey No. 3. (44) Argus 1-7 read with Murray 138-140. (45) Celliers D.S.A.B. I, 158 and de Villiers D.S.A.B. I, 223 read with Grey No. 3, 175. (46) Varley D.H. The 19th Century & the Common Reader, Books & Readers in S.A. 1652-1952. See note 34 above. (47) Saprint item

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119, 77. (48) Thompson in D.S.A.B., I, 789 and Hofmeyr in Men of the Times, 6 read with Grey No 3, 177. (49) Murray, 141. Mendelssohn note 38 above and Grey No 3, 118. (50) Murray, 141 read with Argus 13-14. (51) Mendelssohn I, 375 and Grey No 3, 123. (52) Fuller in D.S.A.B. I, 304, Men of the Times 4 and in Argus 11-13. (53) Argus 13; Saprnt item 54, 127. (54) Rosenthal 23-24. (55) For early history of Cape Times see Shorten 248-251 and 318-319, Talk of the Times June 1966, 3, and Men of the Times 456. (56) Argus 14-20. (57) Rosenthal 23-24. The earliest work by Richards in the bibliographies is 1882; see Mendelssohn I, 280, 348, 647. (58) Rosenthal 29; Argus 24-25. The imprint Trustees, Estate of Saul Solomon appeared in 1886, Mendelssohn II, 176. (59) Argus 25-30. (60) Argus 25-31 read with Men of the Times 375. (61) Syme D.S.A.B. I, 783. (62) Rosenthal 31. (63) For Townshend, Taylor & Snashall see FMP Members Circular 26, 15 Jan. 1927, 219; for Townshend's early life at Unwin Bros and Downes, 1; for his connection with the Cape Typo. Assn. The date of his arrival in Cape Town is deduced from the date of his jubilee luncheon FMP Members Circular No 44, 405. For work printed by the Townshends see Mendelssohn I, 104, 189, 233, 294, 298, 399, 783 and II, 518. Grey No 3, 148, 442, 669. Saprnt 71, Records of NPU for 1890 supplemented by verbal communications from A.W. Townshend's son, Dudley Townshend, of Cape Times Ltd and from J. Cranstoun Day. The various exhibits were also examined in S.A. Museum, S.A. Cultural Hist. Museum and Africana Museum, Johannesburg. Dudley Townshend kindly read this portion of the MS. (64) For Dennis Edwards see Rosenthal 32, Mendelssohn I, 616, 623, 823 and II, 175, 620 and communication from J. Cranstoun Day who is a grandson of Henry Dennis Edwards, founder of the firm (12 May 1968). (65) Argus 111. (66) Information re McManus supplied by courtesy of G.J. Horn, present Managing Director of McManus Bros (Pty) Ltd and confirmed by members of the McManus family resident in Cape Town. (67) For F.H. Clarke & Co see Downes 7 and Thomas biog. in Men of the Times 402. (68) A.B. Godbold obit. Cape Times 27 Dec. 1935 and D.S. Blades in Hortor's News Vol. 1 No. 1. Johannesburg 1956. See also Men of the Times 188 where the name is erroneously spelt

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GOLDBOLD. (70) Downes 6; Grey No. 3, 161. (71) Downes 72 read with the records of the Cape Chamber of Printing and (for fruit wrappers) with FMP Members Circular No 65, 673. See also Mendelssohn I, 297, 596 & II, 111, 195. (72) Mendelssohn II, 350, 520, 609 and Men of the Times 59. (73) Men of the Times 58. (74) For Rustica Press see Rosenthal 32, Saprnt 82, Argus 30-31, and more especially memorandum to author from Hubert Elffers Jnr, grandson of the founder and the present General Manager of the Co. (75) Rosenthal 32, Men of the Times 59. The purchase of Richards' effects by Cape Times was confirmed for author by Cape Times per courtesy of Mr E.N. Weeden. (76) For S.A. News see Downes 75-76, Mendelssohn II, 195, 281, Grey No 3, 157 and the following biographies: Boonzaier DSAB I, 93; Freemantle DSAB I, 302; and Men of the Times 493; Kolbe DSAB I, 435; Men of the Times 230; Malan DSAB I, 495; Men of the Times 501; and Centlivres, Men of the Times 87. (77) For De Zuid-Afrikaan and Ons Land see Saprnt item 126, 78-79, Grey No 3, 179, Mendelssohn I, 13, 104, 411 and II, 488, 575. Biographies of Malan and Centlivres as note 76 above, also Hofmeyr and Schultz Men of the Times 6 and 387. For Dr. van Oordt see Saprnt item 140, 81; c.f. also Varley 15.

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(1) Murray 96 and 135, Grey No 3, 289, 290, 292, 298 read with Mendelssohn I, 386, 509, 798. (2) The description 'Moral Bob' is preserved by Hattersley 68. (3) See Chapter 3 note 44 above and Men of the Times 455. (4) Glanville Men of the Times 454 and Murray 141-142; Murray gives the initials J.B. for T.B. (5) Glanville E. Men of the Times 182, and Argus 158, 162, 222. (6) Attwell, Men of the Times 10 and manuscript journal of G.B. Attwell in possession of Ivan Attwell Esq., Johannesburg read with family tree given to the author by courtesy of the Rev. A.F.I. Attwell of Rosebank, Cape Town. (7) Webber, Men of the Times 430. (8) Murray 138-140, Mendelssohn II, 70 and Grey No 3, 296. (9) Grocott, Men of the Times 183. (10) Argus 34, Grey No 3, 289, 294, 296, 211 read with Mendelssohn I, 154, 314, 397, 729 and II, 311-312. (11) Webber biography see note 7 above. (12) Grocott

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biography see note 9 above read with Mendelssohn I, 485, 513, 623, 647 and the records of the NPU. (13) See Slater, Men of the Times 510, Meurant 105-106, Grahamstown Journal 22, Nov. 1882 read with Mendelssohn I, 13 and Grey No 3, 295, 297.

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(14) Meurant 101-102, Philip in DSAB I, 616 read with Murray 91, 92, 136 and Grey No 3, 536, 537, 543. (15) Paterson in DSAB I, 606. (16) Meurant 102. (17) Grey No 3, 530. (18) Impey obituary E.P. Herald 3 Feb. 1890 reprinted with Record of Proceedings of Sixth NPU Congress Dec. 1890. (19) Meurant 102. (20) Kemsley J. Men of the Times 238. (21) Kemsley J.B. Men of the Times 237. (22) Downes 233. (23) Records of NPU. (24) See Mendelssohn I, 905 and II, 174, 175, 254, 352. (25) Mendelssohn II, 604, Grey No 3, 534 and SATU Journal June 1969, 51. (26) Natal Witness 3 March 1876, see Chap. 4 Note 22 and Grey No 3, 546. (27) Cowen in Men of the Times 89, Mendelssohn I, 60 and Grey No 3, 547. (28) FMP Members Circular No 65, 672. (29) Downes, Port Elizabeth 8-10 and 86-95 and illustration opposite 20.

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(30) See Chap. 3 above. (31) Appleyard DSAB I, 18 and Grey No 3, 407. (32) Grey No 3, 408. (33) Attwell, Men of the Times 10. (34) Saprint 167, 171, Mendelssohn I, 801, 829. (35) Appleyard in DSAB, Grey No 3, 401, 405. (36) Schermbrücker in DSAB I, 688 and Men of the Times 456. (37) Grey No 3, 403. (38) Grey No 3, 404; Downes 171, 175, 177 and records of NPU. (39) Mendelssohn II, 472. (40) Grey No 3, 409, S.A. Printer Sept. 1968, 45. (41) Grey No 3, 402, 406. (42) Mendelssohn I, 250. (43) Jabavu, DSAB I, 403, Shepherd, Grey No 3, 335. (44) Bokwe DSAB I, 88.

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(45) (46) Downes 171. (47) Denfield 60 and Grey No 3, 251, 252, 255. Grey does not list the Frontier Advertiser. (48) Downs 170, Grey No 3, 256. (49) Mqhayi DSAB I, 565. (50) Crosby Men of the Times 75, S.A. Printer Oct. 1967, 24-26. (51) Downes 170-176.

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(52) Rabone 8 & 11. (53) Capro 144-152. (54) Grey No 3, 200. (55) Grey No 3, 204. (56) Meurant DSAB I, 538. Bond 142, 143. (57) Grey No 3, 204. (58) Crosby Men of the Times 75. (59) Grey No 3 (Cradock) and FMP Roll of Members. (60) For Graaff-Reinet see Rabone and same author's contribution to SATU Journal July 1968, 53. For Godlonton's account of the Kat River Settlement see Graham's Town Journal 8 June 1832 and Calderwood in DSAB I, 148. The controversy regarding the Press at the Herald office was dealt with by Meurant 91. (61) Miss Anna Smith, Director, Africana Museum, Johannesburg 1873. (62) C. Struik, Esq. of Cape Town, verbal communication. (63) Communication to author from Bro. Charles (Karl Kroner) for forty years printer and now gatekeeper at the Monastery. (64) Grey No 3 (Graaff-Reinet) and Capro 68-69. (65) Bidwell, Men of the Times 460. Murray says he was a short-hand writer. (66) Sellick, Men of the Times 375 and NPU records. (67) S.C.E. Watson, In Retrospect, SATU Journal Nov. 1966. (68) Saprint item 71, 102. (69) Saprint item 28, 94, du Toit bibliography and S.A. Printer Nov. 1965, 28-32. (70) Mendelssohn I, 12. (71) Argus 16, for Crosby see Note 58 above, for MacPherson see notes by late Oscar Frewin in NIC history file and for Barrable see Mendelssohn I, 284. (72) S.A. Printer Nov. 1965, see note 69 above supplemented by verbal communication from Johann de Jong of Robertson, the present head of the business. (73) Borrius DSAB I, 99; Grey No 3 (Swellendam) and communication from Secretary of the Drostyd Museum 14 February 1969.

CHAPTER 6

Source material for the early history of printing in Natal is mainly from McKinnell, Varley, Cutten, Hattersley and Bleek.

(1) Hattersley 190. (2) Boniface DSAB I, 92. The title of the paper is also given as De Natalier en Pietermaritzburgsche Trouwe Aanteekenaar but here, as elsewhere, the text follows Grey No 3 (511). (3) Hattersley 70, 206, Cutten 41, and Grey No 3, 236. (4) Buchanan DSAB I, 132 and Grey No 3, 509 read with the Natal Witness, a company brochure, undated. (5) Hattersley 141. (6) Bleek DSAB I, 82. (7) According to Hattersley Peter Davis was a compositor on the London Atlas, elsewhere it is said to have been the Globe.

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(8) The imprint of Davis alone appears on Colenso's First Steps in Zulu (1859). The changes in title are reflected in the many works printed by the firm recorded in Mendelssohn. (9) Grey No 3, 505 and imprint of 1855 on papers in the Bleek collection. (10) Bond 68-78 extracts. (11) Mendelssohn II, 76. (12) Hattersley 137, Saprnt 40(iii), 167. (13) Downes 11. (14) A Proud Record, centenary supplement to The Natal Mercury 25 Nov. 1952. (15) Grey No 3, 238. (16) Grey No 3, 519. (17) Details of the printer &c. taken from Vol. I No. 1, Grey No 3, 231. (18) From imprint on specimen in the Bleek collection. (19) Argus 204-205 supplemented by memorandum to author from Mr P.W. McLean, present manager of the News, 7 June 1968 read with Grey 222. (20) Grey No 3, 499, 503, 506, 515. Hattersley describes the Belle Sauvage Machine 137. (21) Mendelssohn I, 529. (22) Downes 16. (23) Downes 112. (24) See below, Chapter on origins of NPU. (25) Downes 154 & 348. (26) Downes 112, 114, 242-4. (27) Downes 245. (28) Downes 355. (29) Downes 113. (30) Material contributed by the company by courtesy of Mr C.K. Platt. (31) Downes 276. (32) Downes 18. (33) Downes 103 & FMP communication 17 June 1968. (34) Downes 104, 108. (35) Downes 105. (36) Mendelssohn II, 85, 320. (37) Downes 105. (38) Downes 106. (39) Grey No 3, 426. (40) Mendelssohn II, 86. (41) Downes 111. (42) Mendelssohn II, 361. (43) Grey No 3 under towns concerned. (44) FMP Roll of Members.

CHAPTER 7

(1) Mendelssohn I, 574. Saprnt 167. Grey No 3, 56-57. (2) Saprnt 167 & Birrell & Garnett. (3) Hamelberg DSAB I, 348 and Grey No 3, 60. (4) Mendelssohn II, 122. (5) Schermbrücker DSAB I, 688 and Grey No 3, 55. (6) Borckenhagen DSAB I, 98 and Mendelssohn I, 13, 33, 764. (7) Murray 138-147. (8) & (9) Argus 190ff. Grey No 3, 53, 56, 60 and Saprnt item 46, 167. (10) Mendelssohn II, 359, Downes 162, 163, 167. The ORC Standard is not known to Grey No 3. (11) Argus, notes 8 & 9 above. (12) Downes 163. (13) Mendelssohn I, 764, II, 388 and records of the NPU. (14) Grey No 3 and FMP Roll of Members.

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CHAPTER 7

(15) The Kimberley press story relies on Monograph No 2, on the MS Attwell Journal, on Murray 144-149 and on Grey No 3 (Kimberley).

(16) Glanville, Men of the Times, 182. (17) Records of NPU for 1890, Grey No 3, 392 and Mendelssohn I, 729, 822. (18) Successive ownership of the DFA is traced from a study of Monograph No 2 read with imprints recorded by Mendelssohn I, 820, 647, 824, etc.

(19) Grey No 3, 379a, Mendelssohn I, 819. (20) Mono 2, 11.

(21) Bonas, Men of the Times, 18. (22) Ettlign, Mendelssohn I, 822; Downes 159, 279. (23) Looney, Downes 159, 278, 538. Grey No 3, 396. (24) Henderson, Mendelssohn I, 820. Downes 159, 277, 278, 412, 538, 539 and Grey No 3, 395. (25) Downes 280, 412, 538.

(26) Downes 538. (27) Plaatje DSAB I, 622. Grey No 3, 399, 441.

(28) Mono 2, 14 read with FMP Roll of Members.

CHAPTER 8

(1) Rex H.M. The arrival of the printing press at Rustenburg (sic!) Die Rustenburg Herout 13 Aug. 1954. (2) Sources for Potchefstroom:

Behrens, Jenkins Chap. 4, Varley, Borrius in DSAB I, 99, and Grey No 3 (Potchefstroom). (3) Alphen, Men of the Times, 609.

(4) Stanley Gibbons Postage Stamp Catalogue Part I, 1967, p.906.

(5) NPU Congress Record for 1890.

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(6) Behrens is the principal source for Pretoria together with Monograph No 1 and Grey No 3 (Pretoria). (7) See note 4 above.

(8) Mendelssohn I, 193 & II, 511. (9) Johannesburg 1879.

(10) I am indebted to Miss Anna Smith of the Africana Museum for brief details of the career of Deecker. There are references to his life and work in the Veldcornet registers in the Transvaal Archives and in a book on Johannesburg entitled Payable Gold. The entries in the Veldcornet register are conflicting; both agree that he was born in England in 1849 but one says he entered Transvaal in 1877 and the other that he entered in 1886. The present writer takes the view that he first entered Transvaal in 1877, left for the Border about 1882 and re-entered the Transvaal in 1886. He married in 1884. For some reference to his wife Marie Elizabeth Deecker see Anna Smith, Pictorial History of Johannesburg, Juta 1956, page 25. See also Cutten page 57. For News of the Camp see Mendelssohn I, 429, 504.

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- (11) Monograph No 1, 30-32. (12) Engelenburg DSAB I, 277.
 (13) Marais E.N., DSAB I, 504. (14) Weinthal DSAB I, 871 and
Men of the Times 626. See also Argus 57, 97, 98, 240, 241.
 (15) Statham DSAB I, 768. (16) Preller DSAB I, 643. (17) Downes
 Pretoria, 141ff. (18) Argus 116, 241, 242.

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- (19) Sources for G.P.W. are Monograph No 1, an article The G.P.W. Pretoria, inauguration and subsequent development, included in a Christmas message to staff members serving the Forces in 1916, and Col. J.J. Kruger, a biographical sketch in S.A. Printer, April 1968, page 33. (20) Downes 145. (21) Downes 147-148. (22) FMP Members Circular No 25, 1 Dec. 1926, 210. (23) Downes 262-265, 273, 294. (24) Downes 530ff. (25) See Note 22 above.

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- (26) For Pelgrimsrus see Saprnt item 59, 169, Grey No 3, 524. Specimens of paper money printed at Pelgrimsrus may be seen in the S.A. Cultural History Museum. (27) Grey No 3, 678a. (28) For Barberton see Saprnt item 62, 169, Grey No 3 (Barberton), Fitzpatrick DSAB I, 292 and Men of the Times, and Cutten 56.

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- (29) See Downes 18 ff. Photo facsimiles of the mastheads of the following papers are in the Africana Museum: The Diggers' News & Witwatersrand Advertiser Vol. I No. 1, 24 February 1887; Transvaal Mining Argus Vol. I No. 1 25 Feb. 1887; The Standard & Transvaal Mining Chronicle Vol. I No. 1, 12 March 1887. (30) See Note 10 above. (31) Argus 35, 80; Cutten 58, 59; Grey No 3, 358, 359, 368. Crosby biography Men of the Times 75; Mendelssohn I, 707, 782. (32) Argus 34ff. (33) Mendelssohn I, 708, II, 5 and Grey No 3, 365. (34) Grey No 3, 364, 341, 366. (35) Mendelssohn I, 782, 783. Not listed by Grey No 3. (36) Downes 122, Grey No 3, 341, 367. (37) Downes 125, Grey No 3, 340. (38) Grey No 3, 350. (39) Wallace, DSAB I, 861, Grey No 3, 349. (40) Examples examined by courtesy of Africana Museum. (41) R.L. Esson & Co Ltd, a company brochure, undated. (42) The remainder of the Johannesburg story is based on Downes 20ff and 117ff, on the Esson brochure, on D.S. Blades in Hortor's News and for Ken B. Dickinson FMP Members Circular

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No 62, March 1931, 640. (43) Guest, see Mendelssohn I, 659, 660, Grey No. 3, 410, records of N.P.U. for 1890 and Africana Museum. (44) Grey No. 3, 440, 639a. (45) BOT. 353. (46) Records of NPU for 1890, Grey No. 3, 522 and Cutten. (47) Grey No. 3, 416, 308. (48) Frewin to Kemp March 1958, N.I.C. files and Middelburg Observer 28 February 1958. The Hoëvelder is not known to Grey No. 3 but is vouched for by Frewin. (49) Behrens 350, Grey No. 3, 573a read with Frewin to Kemp - see note 48 above. (50) Grey No. 3, 459, 690. (51) That Conference: printed for private circulation Middelburg, Transvaal, 15 Oct. 1945, copy in N.I.C. files.

CHAPTER 9

(1) Leaflet published by B. & F. Bib. Soc. 1959 to commemorate the centenary of the Xhosa Bible. (2) Whiteside, 319. (3) Methodist Church Minutes of Conference, 1889, 89. (4) This machine, re-discovered and presented to Mt. Coke Mission by Mr "Chappie" Evans of Cathcart, was examined Sept. 1968. (5) Kimberley 43. (6) Kimberley 41. (7) Kimberley 41. (8) Kimberley 43. (9) I am indebted to Mr Justice Diemont; Mr van der Walt, Librarian of Kimberley; Mrs Judy Hoare formerly of the Library Staff, and Mr S.C. Kruger of Northern Cape Printers Ltd for details of Moffat's press which I was able to examine April 1969. (10) The history of Genadendal press is based on Kruger B., The Pear Tree Blossoms, 130, 169, 179, 205, illustration opp. 225, 269-70, 278 and 376. (11) The history of the Paris Evangelical Mission Press is based on Jacottet and on Zurcher. (12) The history of the Anglican Mission Press is based in the main on Birrell & Garnet, on Kimberley 48-50 and on Saprnt 131, and on Crisp in DSAB I, 190. (13) Bleek's Natal Diaries, 6, 12 and 102. (14) Downes 504. (15) Saprnt item 10, 130 and Bleek 13. (16) Birrell & Garnett 17, and DSAB I, 190; note 12 above. (17) Letter to the author from the Rev. Canon C.T. Wood, archivist to the Church of the Province 26 Oct. 1967. (18) Downes 622 and records of NPU for 1890. (19) See Chapter 8, Note 48. (20) Reported in Panorama, Dec. 1967, 25. (21) The history of the Mariannahill press is based on Davies, 89, on Saprnt item 17, 131, on Varley E., Mariannahill in Cape Argus for 16 Sept. 1967, on Grey No. 3, 445 and on information contributed by Bro-

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thers Kroner and Sturmius, former and present printers respectively, to the Monastery press. (22) Shepherd 11. (23) Davies Chapter XIII. (24) Shepherd 12: Kimberley 39. (25) Shepherd 12. (26) Kimberley 39: Saprnt item 12, 131. (27) Kimberley 39. (28) Saprnt item 11, 130. (29) Kimberley, above. (30) Mendelssohn II, 473. (31) Paragraph based on Shepherd 16-17. (32) Report of a visit of inspection made by the N.I.C. Secretariat in April 1941 supplemented by a report on Denominational Presses and Native Labour part 1, page 1, prepared by the N.I.C. Secretariat 11 December 1940 (unpublished), N.I.C. Files.

CHAPTER 10

The principal source for the introduction of composing machines is Downes quoting Journal reports and committee minutes which were in most cases recorded close in time to the events they describe. Downes has been checked as far as possible against the records of the Cape Times, the Cape Argus, the Government Printer, the Johannesburg Star and the records of the Linotype & Machinery Co Ltd, Altrincham, Cheshire. In most cases there is a close correlation, the only divergence of note being Grocott's Penny Mail where Downes mistakenly claims for them the first English built linotype to enter South Africa. (1) Argus 84. (2) J.B. Robinson's S.A. Telegraph lasted one year (Grey No. 3, 161) and Schlesinger's venture into journalism cost him £360,000 (Argus 249). (3) Owners to author in a letter 27 June 1969. (4) Argus 79, 104, 108 and Downes 45. (5) Argus 111. (6) Talk of the Times June 1966. (7) Downes 109. (8) Downes 99, 237. (9) Downes 271, 412, 415. (10) Howe & Waite 225. (11) Printers Calendar of 7 January and 8 March. (12) Steinberg 196; Howe & Waite 228 and the Times Book of Printing 17. (13) Steinberg 197; Howe & Waite 230. (14) Steinberg 197 and the Times Book of Printing 48. (15) Argus 81. (16) Downes 7. (17) Downes 30. (18) Downes 72. (19) Downes 97. (20) J.N. Hetherington to author 2 August 1968 quoting records of the Linotype & Machinery Co Ltd, Altrincham, Cheshire. (21) Argus 107. (22) Downes 116. (23) Downes 117. (24) Downes 117. (25) Downes 73. (26) Downes 108-109. (27) J.H. Hetherington to author 2 August 1968. See Note 20 above.

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(28) Downes 89. (29) J.N. Hetherington to author. See notes 20 and 27 above. (30) E.P. Herald 11 May 1968. Art: Local paper is 98 years old (author's italics). (31) Downes 98. (32) Downes 108-109. (33) Downes 142-144. (34) Downes 170. (35) Downes 49. (36) Argus 115. (37) Downes 76. (38) Downes 109 and 507. One report refers to three machines and another to five. (39) Downes 119-121. (40) Downes 122. (41) Downes 145. (42) Downes 163. (43) Downes 171. (44) Downes 172. (45) Cape Times Jubilee Supplement (1876-1926) published 1926 and Downes 76. (46) Downes 110. (47) Downes 173-174. (48) Downes 100-101. (49) Downes 102. (50) Downes 103. (51) Downes 112 and 167. (52) Downes 96. (53) Downes 94. (54) Downes 154 and communication from Government Printer to author 7 June 1968. (55) Downes 96. (56) Downes 86. (57) Downes 154. (58) Downes 32. (59) Downes 268, 275. (60) Downes 280 and monograph No. 2, 29, where however the date is in error. The machine was examined April 1969. (61) Government Printer to author 7 June 1968. (62) Downes 30, 31, 275, 412. (63) In 1903 the circulation of the Journal was less than 1000. In 1904 when for the first time all S.A.T.U. branches rendered returns there were 865 members (Downes 188). Not all artisans engaged in the trade were in membership at this period. (64) Howe & Waite 235. (65) Chairmen's Statements to the National Industrial Council 6th Meeting Cape Town 1925, and 7th Meeting Port Elizabeth 1927. (66) Downes 42. (67) Downes 49. (68) Journal for July 1899: Downes 53. (69) Downes 268. (70) N.I.C. Agreement 1922-1923 para 7. N.I.C. Agreement 1926-1927 para 8(a). (71) Howe & Waite 240.

CHAPTER 11

(1) Downes for earlier figures which are taken from S.A.T.U. "fair" lists. FMP Roll of Members for contemporary figures. (2) N.I.C. record of registrations 1967. (3) Figures for 1919 quoted by Sen. F.S.Malan in his opening address to inaugural conference, proceedings 5. The Industrial Census of 1961-1962 is the latest for which detailed figures are available. Latest available employment figure is 35,000 technical employees and labourers (SATU and NIC records)

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plus an estimated allowance for administrative and sales staff.

(4) Men of the Times 57-59. (5) The Intriguing World of Colour, a company brochure, undated. (6) Managing Director to author, verbal communication, February 1969. (7) Cape & Transvaal installation Business Times supplement to Sunday Times 30 June 1968: Hayne & Gibson installation S.A. Financial Gazette 23 June 1967 and 9 February 1968: S.A.A.N. Press, Matriculant's Handbook 1968, page 89. The author has been permitted to inspect the installations at Friend Newspapers and at S.A.A.N. (8) Condensed from the author's contribution to Impact No. 46, Cape Town, 1967. (9) Cape Times Diamond Jubilee number 27 March 1936. (10) Verbal communications from S. Kuby to author 21 May 1968, supplemented by recollections of my colleague R. Jantz who formerly worked with Alex White. (11) Government Printer to author 7 June 1968. (12) S.A. Printer December 1966: Press Advertising & Radio Review November 1967. A tribute to J.H. Claasens appeared in Die Burger 3 June 1967. (13) S.A. Printer September 1966. (14) S.A. Printer May 1967. (15) Press Advertising & Radio Review June 1968. (16) Cape Argus 28 June 1968. (17) G.F. Butterfield to author 24 June 1968. (18) S.A. Printer April 1966. (19) Quoted from personal knowledge, checked against company's plant ledgers. (20) S.A. Printer July 1967. (21) H.C. Hiskett to author 12 June 1968. (22) Financial Mail 15 April 1968: Daily News 21 March 1968: S.A. Printer April 1969. (23) Mr Paton of Alcan to author 11 June 1968. (24) Business intelligence. The machine was described in the British trade press. (25) R. Jantz verbal communication to author. (26) S.A. Printer July 1965. (27) The engraving engine was pat. 4400 April 1819. See Bacon Line Engraved Postage Stamps of G.B., London 1920, Vol. II, Appendix B. (28) FMP Members Circular 231, November 1959. (29) Government Printer to author 7 June 1968. (30) Spicers Bulletin No. 4, July 1967. (31) S.A. Financial Gazette report. (32) This brief sketch is based on Men of the Times articles for Milling, Fruit, Jam & Dairying: on Natal Municipal Association Jubilee handbook for firms in and near Durban: on communication to author from senior executives of the S.A. Dried Fruit Board, and for Levers on a com-

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pany Jubilee brochure by Eric Rosenthal 1961. (33) Anatole France in his autobiographical novel Little Pierre quoted by Davis 53. (34) The author's firm. (35) Art. 103 Years Young Paper Film & Foil Convertor 1962. (36) Bettendorf's Chronology Packaging September 1962. (37) Bettendorf as above. (38) Davis 33. (39) Brit. Pat. 16519 of 7 November 1908. (40) Moore H.W. director Paper Sacks Ltd in a paper presented to the Bates Convention, London June 1937, reprinted in Robinson Annual for 1937. (41) W.E. Laughton to author 20 October 1967. (42) Eric Rosenthal unpublished MS The Ysebrand Story circa 1964-65 lent to author by G. Blumberg. (43) L.B. Young of A.E. & C.I. to author 26 January 1968. (44) S. Mullne The HMAP Story The HM Pie Box Vol. I, No. 1. (45) Checked with company's plant ledgers. (46) H.H. Gundelfinger to author 14 February 1969. (47) L.J. Smith to author 19 December 1967. (48) See Note 45 above. (49) See Note 44 above. (50) Prepared from miscellaneous current trade sources and checked for author by J.R. Keen, Managing Director of Paper Sacks South Africa Ltd. (51) Barclays Bank Trade Review July 1967 and current information from M.E. O'Hara of S.A.P.P.I. (52) See Notes 45, 48 above. (53) C.K. Platt to author 17 June 1968. (54) See Note 45 above. (55) H.G.J. Hollaender, former managing director, verbal communication to author 5 March 1968. (56) Business intelligence: the machine was supplied through Evelyn Haddon & Co. (57) G.F. Butterfield to author 24 June 1968. A.W. Hayes was the author's colleague for many years. (58) H.C. Hiskett to author 12 June 1968. (59) W.H. Paton to author 17 June 1968. (60) Barclays Bank Trade Review July 1967 and current trade estimates. (61) National Amalgamated Packaging Ltd Prospectus 1968. (62) The author's company has until recently been a financial stakeholder with Union Corporation in this stream. (63) Primary sources Financial Mail 19 August 1966 and Business Digest 1-8 March 1967. (64) South African Stationery Trade Journal Vol. III, No. 7 Oct-Nov. 1919. (65) N.I.C. Meeting of 1922, proceedings. (66) The Endless Web 225; other references to Dickinson in South Africa 162, 183, 195-6, 211. (67) Constitution 3(3)(a) Membership.

CHAPTER 12

(1) For the section on the Afrikaans Pers the following sources have been consulted: The Expanding World of Afrikaner business, a Financial Mail supplement 30 July 1965. Financial Mail 23 June 1967 Publishing Punch-Up. Financial Mail 23 February 1968. The Press Scene, Financial Gazette 23 June 1967, Expansion at Hayne & Gibson. Financial Gazette 15 September 1967, Afrikaanse Pers Profit. Financial Gazette 9 February 1968, Industrial Background. Financial Gazette recent report, APB's latest news adventure. Sunday Times Business Section 30 June 1968, Peter Lawrence looks at Afrikaans Publishing. Data June 1967 Piet Beukes, The Afrikaans Newspaper Revolution. Stock Exchange Handbook Vol. I 1969. Die Afrikaanse Pers (1962) Bpk. Financial Year Book of S.A., Vol. I, 1967, 83. Die Afrikaanse Pers (1962) Bpk. Financial Year Book of S.A., Vol. II, 1967, 168. Nasionale Pers Bpk. Press Advertising & Radio Review, November 1968, Transvaler takes over Nataller. Dictionary of S.A. Biography, Vol. I, for biographies of J.H.H. de Waal and Dr. D.F. Malan. Matriculant's Handbook 1968. Afrikaanse Pers (1962) Bpk., page 64. A memorandum on Nasionale Pers Port Elizabeth was kindly prepared for the author by the management, March 1968. The author was permitted to visit the Nasionale establishment in Bloemfontein. (2) Downes 403. (3) Examples cited are in every case extracted from records of bodies concerned.

(4) Paragraph on the Argus Company compiled from miscellaneous sources, checked and authorised for publication by the company through the courtesy of Mr H.W. Miller of Johannesburg. (5) Paragraph on Cape & Transvaal Printers and Cape Times compiled from miscellaneous sources, checked and authorised for publication by the company through the courtesy of Mr G.M.C. Cronwright, Managing Director, and Mr E.N. Weeden. (6) Stock Exchange Handbook Vol. II and Financial Year Book of Southern Africa Vol. II.

(7) Business Digest 25 June 1969 and the Stock Exchange Handbook Vol. I 1969. (8) Extracted from the company's records.

(9) Financial Mail 29 March 1968. (10) Nampack Prospectus 1968.

CHAPTER 13

The first draft of this chapter was read shortly before his death by Mr G.B. Watt and also by Mr Campbell Norris of Newlands, Cape, the oldest surviving president of the N.P.U. Mr Watt, formerly of the Rand Daily Mail and Sunday Times, was president 1935-37 and 1941-43: Mr Norris of the Cape Times served in 1943-44. Additional material was supplied by Mr G.G.A. Uys, Secretary of the N.P.U. whilst the staff of S.A.P.L. rendered invaluable assistance by locating the Graham's Town Journal report for 27 November 1882.

- (1) Schermbrücker DSAB I, 688. (2) Argus 78. (3) Argus 22.
- (4) Meurant: dedication and 105. (5) Meurant 105. (6) Shepstone to Frere from Pretoria 21 October 1878 quoted in Cutten 54 and Pretoria 337-338. See also Cutten 42. (7) Argus 92-102.
- (8) N.P.U. list of presidents. (9) The proceedings of this, the Sixth Congress, were printed by Impey, Walton & Co. P.E. 1891 and are the oldest extant in the archives of the NPU. (10) Recollections of Oscar Frewin, N.I.C. files. (11) The Star 16 May 1933 and Frewin to Kemp 15 January 1946 NIC files. (12) Notes deposited in NIC history file. (13) No record exists of the Cradock Conference but it is mentioned in the Report of the NPU Council submitted to the Thirteenth Congress Oct. 1912. (14) Report of a meeting between Council of Press Union and of certain newspaper proprietors in Cape Town 10 June 1912 printed at the Budget office, Somerset East, N.P.U. archives. (15) The Star 12 August 1912 (see Appendix). (16) Proceedings of Thirteenth Congress Bloemfontein 15-16 October 1912 printed by Slater & Co, Grahamstown, NPU files. (17) Crosby Men of the Times 75. (18) The only extant reference to the Fourteenth Congress and proceedings of Fifteenth Congress are in report printed by Argus Co. Bloemfontein 1915, NPU files. (19) Capro 144.

CHAPTER 14

The principal sources for this chapter are Howe & Waite, Hattersley, Downes and A Printer's Calendar (BFMP) 1963.

- (1) Howe & Waite 30ff. The quotation is from page 33. (2) Howe & Waite 4. Printer's Calendar gives the date as 1556. (3) Howe &

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Waite 8-9. (4) Printer's Calendar for 20 May. (5) Printer's Calendar for 5 and 25 November. (6) Howe & Waite III The Apprent-
 tice Problem. (7) Howe & Waite Appendix I, 338. (8) Hattersley
 14D quoting De Verzamelaar 13 June 1843. (9) Rosenthal 21.
 Dr. A.M. Lewin Robinson informs me that Bathie was a compositor.
 Eckley is mentioned by Meurant. (10) Hattersley 14D quoting De
 Verzamelaar 2 March 1847. (11) Rosenthal 21. (12) Hattersley
 183 quoting Natal Mercury 4 March 1862. (13) Downes illustration
 opposite page 5. (14) Downes 1-4. (15) Downes 8-11. (16) Downes
 11-18. (17) Downes 18ff and 126ff. (18) Downes 30-32. (19) Downes
 32-37. (20) Howe & Waite 196. (21) Downes 170-172. (22) Downes
 43. (23) Downes 45. (24) Downes 162. (25) Downes 126.
 (26) Downes 188. (27) Records of SATU per courtesy of Mr T.C.
 Rutherford.

CHAPTER 15

The first draft of the section on the Cape Chamber of Printing was
 read by Mr H.R. Lawley, the present president of the F.M.P. and by
 Mr E.N. Weeden, a past president of the F.M.P. These gentlemen are
 the oldest surviving Chairmen of the Cape Chamber of Printing. The
 principal source for the Cape Town strike of 1911 is a complete file
 of the Cape Town Herald (Strike Edition) bound and presented to the
 Cape Chamber of Printing by Hy. H. Taylor who was one of the Master
 Printers involved at the time.

(1) Obituary of Thomas Smith, The South African Printer & Stationer,
 February 1950 page 64 probably written by J.R. Sancroft-Baker.
 (2) The events of 1892-1896 and the 1897 strike are described in
 Downes pages 6-7. (3) E.P. Kemp to I.S. Tough 23 January 1967
 NIC files. (4) Events of 1901-1902 are described in Downes 78-79.
 (5) Downes 83. (6) Men of the Times 57-58. The Union supported
 the application and collected the signatures: Downes 213. (7) NIC
 history file. (8) Downes 211. (9) Downes 213. (10) Downes 218.
 (11) So much is apparent from the leading article in the first num-
 ber of the Herald. (12) Walker & Weinbren. (13) Cape Times 9 May
 1911. (14) Herald 13 May 1911. (15) Herald 17 May 1911.
 (16) Herald 15 May 1911. (17) Herald 11 May 1911. (18) Herald

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10 May 1911. (19) Herald 23 and 27 May 1911. (20) Herald 19 May 1911. (21) Herald 11 May 1911. (22) E.P. Herald supplied Cape Times with type and matrices (Herald 27 May). Rustica Press which was in Wynberg and employed non-Union female compositors also helped. (23) Herald 16 May 1911. (24) Herald 10 June 1911. (25) Herald 9 June 1911. (26) Herald 21 June 1911. (27) Walker & Weinbren. (28) Downes's account of the Strike is found on pages 221-229 inclusive. (29) Herald 17 May 1911. (30) Downes 229. (31) Herald 15 June 1911, original italics. (32) The late Mr I.K. Morris of Durban, who well remembered "Gambler" Evans once recounted to the author that Evans, although a compositor by trade, was engaged at the Witness as a machine minder. After he had laid about an old machine with a spanner for some time a fellow worker asked him how long he had been a machine minder. Looking at his watch Evans replied "about twenty-five minutes". (33) Downes 229. (34) Jubilee Brochure printed and published by the company 1963.

* * *

The first draft of the section on Port Elizabeth was read by the Secretariat of the Midlands Chamber who also supplied extracts of the minutes, and by Mr S.R. Siberry, the oldest surviving chairman of the Midlands Chamber, who entered the industry in 1911.

(35) For the period 1898-1904 see Downes 86ff. (36) For the period 1905-1911 see Downes 231ff. (37) For the period 1912-1919 see Downes 332ff. (38) FMP Minutes of inaugural meeting Cape Town 5 October 1916. (39) FMP Minutes of first Annual General Meeting Pretoria 10 June 1918. (40) FMP Minutes of Second A.G.M. East London 10 August 1919. (41) FMP Minutes of Fourth A.G.M. Durban 2 November 1921 read with Minutes of Fifth A.G.M. Johannesburg 2 November 1922. (42) FMP Members Circular No. 12, 31 December 1924, 112. (43) The Minutes were signed 11 March 1929. (44) S.R. Siberry to author 5 March 1968. Mr Siberry lives in retirement at 19 Northwood Road, Port Elizabeth.

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CHAPTER 15

The section on Natal owes much to the courtesy of J.P. van de Linde, Secretary of the Natal Chamber of Printing who supplied extensive extracts from the Minutes and read the first draft.

(45) Downes 97. (46) For the period 1898-1904 see Downes 98ff.
 (47) For the period 1905-1911 see Downes 238ff. (48) Downes 337.
 (49) Minutes of Durban Master Printers Association. (50) FMP Minutes Cape Town 5 October 1916. (51) For Durban 1912-1919 see Downes 337ff. (52) FMP Minutes Pretoria 19 June 1918. (53) Downes 346. (54) For Maritzburg 1912-1919 see Downes 347ff. (55) Inaugural Council: Proceedings. (56) FMP Members Circular No. 2, 11 August 1923, 18. (57) Minutes Natal Chamber of Printing 1923. (58) FMP Members Circular No. 24, 25 September 1926, 198. (59) Minutes Natal Chamber of Printing 1930-31.

* * *

The section on Transvaal owes much to the courtesy of Ian S. Tough who retires 1969 after many years as secretary of the AMP of the Transvaal.

(60) For the period 1902-1903 see Downes 129ff. (61) For 1904 see Downes 139-140 and for 1905 Downes 247. (62) For the period 1905-1908 see Downes 245ff. (63) For the period 1911-1913 see Downes 357ff. (64) Downes 393. (65) Downes 395. (66) Downes 366ff. (67) Downes 403. (68) FMP Minutes Cape Town 5 October 1916. (69) Downes 376. (70) Downes 380. (71) Downes 409. (72) Downes 382ff. (73) I. Tough to E.P. Kemp 26 January 1967 NIC files.

CHAPTER 16

This chapter is based with permission on the following hitherto unpublished material in the Johannesburg files of the FMP. Minutes of: Inaugural Conference Cape Town 5 October 1916, First A.G.M. Pretoria 10 June 1918. Second A.G.M. East London 18 August 1919. Third A.G.M. Cape Town 3 December 1920. Fourth A.G.M. Durban 3 November 1921. Fifth A.G.M. Johannesburg 2 November 1922. Letter R. Allister to members of FMP Executive 28 June 1923.

(1) FMP Members Circular No. 3, 25. (2) FMP Members Circular No. 1, page 8. (3) FMP Members Circular No. 18, 141. (4) FMP Members Circular No. 42, 379.

CHAPTER 17

Except where otherwise stated this chapter is based on the Proceedings of the First National Conference, Johannesburg, 10-15 November 1919.

(1) Downes 307. (2) Proceedings 39. (3) MS memorandum in NIC "history" file. (4) Argus 211. (5) Written in collaboration with Weinbren. (6) B.F.M.P. Master Printers' Annual 1963. (7) Proceedings 2. (8) Proceedings 3. (9) Malan, DSAB I, 496. (10) Proceedings 7. (11) Proceedings 28. (12) Proceedings 36. (13) Secretary for Labour to Chairman of Council 3 December 1924, NIC files; and FMP Members Circular 10 February 1925, 113.

CHAPTER 18

(1) National Conference: Proceedings 24-25. (2) Constitution Objects (13). (3) Downes 493, 502. (4) Constitution 1968 9(1). (5) Constitution 1968 9(3). (6) Constitution 1968 9(4). (7) First meeting of Council, Proceedings 10. (8) Second Meeting of Council, Proceedings 8. (9) Twelfth Executive Minutes para 1. (10) Fourth Meeting Proceedings 37. (11) Third Meeting Proceedings 23. (12) FMP Members Circular 65. (13) Downes 513, 514. (14) Government Gazette 442. (15) Cape Printing Industry Joint Board Minutes 8 April 1925. (16) FMP Members Circular 10 & 54. (17) Monthly Record Vol. I, No. 1 Editorial.

CHAPTER 19

(1) Comment by the NIC and the NPAC on Report No 353 compiled and published by the parties, 1954. (2) Comment 9ff read with NIC record of exemptions issued during currency of the present Agreement. (3) Agreement 1920(11). (4) Proceedings 42. (5) Agreement 1926 Schedule F. The clause relating to binding "took up most of the Committee's time" of a meeting which dragged on from Tuesday 29 September 1925 to Saturday 3 October 1925. (6) Agreement 1959 25(10). (7) Agreement 1964 25(10)(c). (8) Ex report to Productivity Committee 25 July 1969. (9) NIC records 31 December 1968. (10) Agreement 1932-33 Schedule A(18). (11) Statistics presented to 118th meeting of Executive Council. (12) BOT 353, 96n. (13) The Miller-Walker report is printed as Annexure IV to proceedings of NIC executive at Cape Town 6 December 1920. See also Agreement of 1922 Schedules A and E(9). Author's italics.

CHAPTER 19

- (14) Agreement of 1922 Schedule E(15). (15) Cape Town Strike Herald 17 May 1911. (16) Mr T.C. Rutherford to author in conversation. (17) CSIR C/PERS. 154 Johannesburg, January 1968. (18) NIC records. (19) Agreement 1922 Schedule B, Contract Labour. (20) Agreement 1928 8(b). (21) Sixth Meeting of Council Proceedings 24ff. (22) Agreement 1926 (46) and Scale 2 of Schedule F. (23) Agreement 1928 Schedule D 18(a). (24) Stats. presented to 118th Meeting of Executive Pretoria 4 April 1968. (25) Verbal communication from Secretariat 22 April 1968. (26) Agreement of 1928 Schedule D(29). (27) Agreement of 1930 Constitution (2) definitions. (28) Agreement of 1934 Constitution (2) definitions. (29) Report to members of Research Group 25 July 1969 and stats. presented to 118th Executive, Pretoria, April 1968. (30) Government Notice 1839 20 September 1946. (31) First promulgated in Government Notice 1301, 1 June 1951. (32) First promulgated in Government Notice 3284 28 Dec. 1951.. (33) Comment 30, 31.

CHAPTER 20

- (1) Extracts of inspection reports 1938-1941 NIC files. (2) Grey No. 3, 228. (3) Grey No. 3, 371. (4) Grey No. 3, 324. (5) Mission Presses & Native Printing Establishments, a contemporary report, NIC files. (6) NIC report April 1941. (7) Perspective, organ of the S.A. Foundation and Cape Argus 5 June 1968. (8) Downes 42. (9) Downes 56. (10) Downes 75. (11) & (12) Downes 102. (13) Downes 106. (14) Downes 64 and 114. (15) Hall Report 111. (16) Downes 419. (17) Downes 538. (18) Downes 351. (19) Report to Native Affairs Sub-Committee of NIC 30 September 1942 NIC files. (20) Government Notice 2281/1925. (21) Proceedings 41. (22) Proceedings 60. (23) H.D. Tyamzashe, a compositor, in membership of the Industrial & Commercial Workers Union: Proceedings 54. (24) Seventh Meeting of Council, Proceedings 9. (25) Proceedings 43. (26) In terms of an Executive Resolution taken in Cape Town, 8 October 1925. Proceedings 60. (27) Denominational Presses & Native Labour an NIC report 11 December 1940 Part II, page 5. NIC files. (28) As above Part I, page 1. (29) As above Part I, page 2. (30) Extracted

CHAPTER 20

from Proceedings in NIC files. (31) Sisson Cooper to NIC Executive: undated memo: NIC files. (32) Report to Native Affairs Sub-Committee, 30 September 1942: NIC files. (3) As above, page 2. (34) Downes 586. (35) Downes 734-735. (36) Downes 755. (37) Downes 718. (38) Downes 775. (39) Editorial SATU Journal April 1968. (40) Mr Mentz chairman CBLB at East London, April 1962, Proceedings 38. (41) Proceedings for 1966. (42) Native Affairs Sub-Committee Minutes 31 July 1944: NIC files. (43) Shepherd 68. (44) See note 39 above. (45) NIC Records.

CHAPTER 21

(1) Proceedings 19. (2) Proceedings 18. (3) GBF Agreement, Annexure A. (4) Durban 1929, proceedings 56, Monthly Record 321, and GBF Agreement Annexure B. (5) Journal November 1966. (6) Report of Special Committee on proposed Consolidated Provident Fund presented to Eleventh Meeting of Council. Agreement of 1936 Provident Fund Regulations: Pension Fund Agreement of 1963, and Journal November 1966. (7) Agreement of 1942, 14(4), Journal March 1969. (8) GBF Agreement Annexure E. (9) Details appended to Agreement of 1944. (10) Agreement of 1953, miscellaneous items, page 135 and GBF Agreement Annexure C. (11) GBF Agreement and Journal, June 1969. (12) GBF Agreement Annexure D. (13) FMP Non-Technical Pension Scheme Rules July 1963. (14) Handbook 1964, 140. (15) Walton to Kemp 26 July 1965: NIC Files. (16) FMP Circular 31/L.14/11265 1 Dec. 1965.

CHAPTER 22

(1) Proceedings 11. (2) Proceedings 10. (3) Cronwright to Thompson 16 March 1966: FMP files. (4) Report of a meeting 18 & 19 April 1966, page 11. (5) Productivity Committee Minutes 24 August 1966. (6) Productivity Committee Minutes 28 September 1967. (7) Synopsis of work done by the Productivity Committee: a report presented to the NIC 20 August 1968. (8) Report by author to Thompson following discussions with officials of Bureau of C. & S. 21 July 1969.

CHAPTER 23

(1) Foster to Kemp 11 December 1950, NIC files. (2) Draft obituary NIC files supplemented by personal recollections of E.P. Kemp. (3) Cape Chamber of Printing Minutes 334. (4) FMP Members Circular 537, 575. (5) Obituary and Record of Service Journal 1959. (6) Biographical sketch prepared by E.P. Kemp at author's request. A short appreciation appeared in Cape Times 20 April 1968. (7) Based on bio-

graphical sketch prepared by C.R. Thompson at author's request.

(8) Based on biographical sketch prepared by T.S. Cleary at author's request. (9) Staff records, income and expenditure account and balance sheet for period ended 30 June 1969, quoted with permission. (10) Based on biographical sketch prepared by G.G.A. Uys at author's request. (11) Based on biographical material collected by the late Ivan L. Walker : SATU files.