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THE CLOUDED FACE OF TRUTH

A Review of the South African Newspaper Press
approaching Union

Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of Arts
in the University of Bristol in fulfilment of
the requirements for admission to the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Monica Barlow
Department of History
September 1988
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THE CLOUDED FACE OF TRUTH: A Review of the South African Newspaper Press approaching Union
Monica Barlow

Submission for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy
University of Bristol
September 1988

SUMMARY

The development of the South African newspaper industry in the nineteenth century predicted a thriving press reflecting a variety of opinions. The rapid expansion of the press with the mining industry, and the political turmoil that ensued, gave to newspapers the taint of subsidy which has hardly vanished. Some flourished from increased means; but the political allegiance of these created an opposition, which in turn found a voice through the medium of the press.

The first three chapters describe the rise to prominence of certain newspapers. The differing themes of newspapers in different regions of South Africa influenced their later development. In the Cape, local rivalries promoted a newspaper press for the expression of these differences; these easily transformed into party political journals. In the Transvaal, Government subsidies for papers became commonplace, and were countered by private or industrial ownership of the press. Some independence remained in Natal, while in the Free State two opposing papers provided all the necessary conflict of opinion.

The final three chapters consider the progress of these newly influential organs towards the expression of a purely Colonial view, symbolised in the desire for a united South Africa. The initial impetus came from Milner’s desire to create an Imperial sentiment unchallenged by local nationalism. The suppression of newspapers, and the conferring of unequal advantages on supporters, were not unusual in South Africa, but were confirmed by the Imperial administration. The mining press, which came to power by virtue of its assistance for this administration, used that influence to further its proprietors’ political ideals. The one issue on which this coincided with other loyalties was a determination for white supremacy. The newspapers stimulated discussion of an alternative, but helped to prevent its possibility by their united antagonism.
MEMORANDUM

I certify that this Dissertation incorporates no material previously submitted for a Degree or Diploma of any University. It reflects the original work of the author without collaboration except where appropriate reference and acknowledgement is made in the text.

[Signature]
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My thanks are firstly due to the staff of the Newspaper Library at Colindale, for their pleasant assistance even when struggling with newspaper volumes four feet square. I am, too, most grateful to the University of Cape Town for their hospitality during the year I spent with them undertaking research, to the Department of Education in South Africa for providing me with the financial means for this, and to the staff of the South African Library in Cape Town for providing yet more newspapers. Special thanks must go to Gerald Shaw, who kindly offered the Minute Books of the Cape Times Company for my use, as well as his personal knowledge of the newspaper’s history.

Without the constant encouragement and guidance of Professor Kenneth Ingham this work would never have been completed: to him I am most indebted. I should also like to thank Dr William Beinart, for his interest and willingness to listen and question. The staff of the History Department in the University of Bristol have given me unfailing support throughout.

I should particularly like to thank Dr Alan Cobley: he has been a source of strength and enthusiasm in both knowledge and friendship. Finally, I have been fortunate enough to be helped by many generous friends: the care and kindness of Clare Cocking and Ayleen Driver have been essential. To them, and to all those who have made a long and difficult journey seem worthwhile, I record my appreciation.
The newspaper is of necessity something of a monopoly, and its first duty is to shun the temptations of monopoly. Its primary office is the gathering of news. At the peril of its soul it must see that the supply is not tainted. Neither in what it gives, nor in what it does not give, nor in the mode of presentation, must the unclouded face of truth suffer wrong.

Charles Prestwich Scott
The Manchester Guardian 6th May 1926
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INTRODUCTION

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEWSPAPER PUBLISHING INDUSTRY

Much has been written about the introduction of the printing press to South Africa, and the battle for the 'Freedom of the Press' in the Cape. A brief account of the earliest years is worthwhile, nevertheless, to provide a background for the rapid expansion made by the newspaper industry at the end of the nineteenth century. (1)

Johann Christian Ritter was the first man to bring a small, hand-operated press to the Cape, when he arrived as book-binder to the Dutch East India Company in 1784. He produced cards, handbills and, for three years, Almanacs, popular for their novelty more than their accuracy. Plans to provide a news-sheet persisted, for in June 1800 Lady Anne Barnard wrote that,

"the Governor is resolved to have [a newspaper] here. If it answers as the printing of an Almanac did in the Dutch time, it will be droll. The printer made a fortune of two shillings by it: each of the four districts took one at sixpence - all the inhabitants read or copied out of that one." (2)

Ritter was not, despite assurances, made Government Printer: that honour went to Messrs Walker and Robertson, a firm of merchants and slave-traders of Cape Town. They produced the first serial publication on 16th August 1800, the Cape Town Gazette and African Advertiser. It was a weekly, published on Saturdays, that contained some 'Home' and foreign news, official proclamations and notices, the arrival and departure times of ships, market prices, and notifications of auctions. It was printed in both English and Dutch.

The following year, private printing such as this was prohibited, all presses confiscated, and printing work was only to be carried out at the Castle. The Acting Governor wrote of the necessity of this move to Lord Hobart:
"I am apt to believe that the disseminating through all parts of an enlightened Country of a general knowledge of public events, through the medium of a newspaper, is not only gratifying to Individuals but, under proper restrictions, useful in the Administration of public affairs. The establishment of a Printing Press nevertheless, during the Administration of Sir George Yonge, I conceive to be premature, and more likely to produce evil than good effects, since the minds of the Inhabitants are by no means prepared to exercise the freedom of discussion on almost any subject, particularly politics, concerning which they have been led to entertain very confused and erroneous opinions." (3)

Such an attitude on the part of the Government tended to be preserved. The press was a most useful, but potentially dangerous, institution.

Only in 1824 did a periodical from a private press appear in the Cape, the South African Commercial Advertiser, printed by George Greig and assisted in the enterprise by Thomas Pringle and John Fairbairn. An attempt by the Governor to censor the eighteenth issue, demanding to see the proofs before publishing, led to Greig's appeal to the British Government for permission to continue his paper. Again in 1827 Lord Charles Somerset cancelled the Licence to print, on the grounds that an article of May 1826 was "of a false and calumnious nature." Fairbairn now took the case to London, and the freedom to publish was guaranteed by an Ordinance of 8 May 1829. (4)

Secular papers spread: the Grahamstown Journal was founded in 1831, the Eastern Province Herald in 1845, while Kingwilliamstown and Umtata produced papers in 1849. Cornelis Moll and Charles Boniface, both of whom had learned the printing trade in Cape Town, took a press to Natal in 1844 and published De Natalier en Pietermaritsburg Getrouwe Antekenaar. During the 1850s, many more towns in the Cape began to produce newspapers, and in this decade the printing press spread across the Orange and
Vaal rivers, to Bloemfontein and Potchefstroom. All were small hand-presses, but still awkward to transport by ox-waggon, with assorted types. All, too, were imported from England, which involved the printer in the expense and delay of transport. As Grieg had complained in 1826:

"The materials have to be transported from Europe at a heavy rate of freight and insurance, and on reaching the Colony they are subjected to an additional charge of 3½%. A larger stock than is at any time in requisition must be kept on hand, in order to meet the length of time increased by the dangers of the seas which must intervene before any portion of them can be replaced. The making of such articles at the Cape costs nearly three times the London prices, yet it is often a matter of dire necessity to employ colonial artizans for these purposes." (5)

It was not only the machinery, types, paper, and ink that were imported. Grieg originally imported also his staff. To encourage a journeyman printer to leave his country, "where he can always secure employment and a competent support by his profession," and induce him to "commit his fortune among strangers in a colony where the press has hitherto enjoyed such precarious existence," demanded an advance of about £50. Once there, the rate of wages in the Cape - where there was minimal competition - was much higher than that of "the wealthiest establishments in London." Grieg also protested at the stamp duty and postage rate levied by the Governor on newspapers. The expense of producing a newspaper remained of paramount importance to those who wished to establish one. (6)

By 1830 three or four English journals had appeared in Cape Town, and one Dutch journal. The printers were emigrants from Europe, having learned their trade in the major press centres there. The influence of the European press remained strong, and although these early printers began to apprentice young South Africans, newspaper
publishers relied on the European industry in both technology and the training of journalists until the early twentieth century. Through the 1890s and 1900s, many English language newspapers in South Africa continued to recruit their staff from papers in Great Britain. The Dutch press was to some extent dependent on printers and journalists from Holland, but the growth of the Afrikaans language movement, and Afrikaner political organisation, stimulated a local interest in the press that emerged most strongly after the Anglo-Boer War.

Mission presses in the early days suffered fewer restrictions than secular ones. Wesleyan and Presbyterian missionaries were in the forefront of printing in South Africa, followed by Catholics, and finally Anglicans. A spelling-book is recorded as having been printed at Graaff Reinet as early as 1801, a catechism in Bethelsdorp in 1804; missionary presses are reported at Griquatown in 1821, Chumie 1824, Lovedale 1826, Kuruman and Grahamstown in 1831, Durban and Pietermaritzburg 1841, spreading to Bloemfontein in 1856. (7) These presses were used for the production of grammars and spelling-books for the most part. The first complete Tswana Bible was produced by 1857, by Robert Moffat in Kuruman. The earliest known serial publication was the Xhosa Umshumayeli Wendaba, the Publisher of News, coming from the Methodist press at Fort Peddie, in 15 issues between 1837 and 1841. In 1848 Thomas Baines described the Wesleyan printing office in Kingwilliamstown producing "a newspaper in the Kaffir language, the Isitunny-wa Sennyange, or Monthly Messenger, and some periodicals." This newspaper was in Xhosa, with some English, and boasted a circulation of 800 per month. It was discontinued in 1850: Border conflicts caused the press to be moved several times, and imprints appear for Fort Peddie, Newtondale, Wesleyville, Kingwilliamstown, Mount Coke, Healdtown, and Grahamstown, all from the same
At Lovedale, **Ikwezi** was published from 1844 to 1845, the first of a long series of newspapers. **Indaba** came out between 1862 and 1865, in both Xhosa and English, and in 1870 the **Kaffir Express** began. The Xhosa section of this became **Isigidimi samaXhosa** in 1876, and the English section the **Christian Express**. At first the editors, printers, and publishers were missionaries, but increasingly African apprentices were trained in both printing and editing, who were later to begin their own independent papers. The mission schools created literate communities, and provided literature in English and African languages, of both permanent and more transitory kinds - books and newspapers. The papers, however, rarely contained political views, if they contained political news at all. (9)

**Isigidimi samaXhosa** was the first paper in the Cape to be edited by Africans: Elijah Makiwane and John Knox Bokwe edited it as the **Kaffir Express**, followed by John Tengo Jabavu and William Gqoba. All were active in one of the first black political associations in the Cape, the **Native Educational Association**, founded in 1879. In practice, newspapers under the aegis of mission stations were cautious of airing African grievances, and though the columns of **Isigidimi** did contain criticisms, this was discouraged by the missionaries. Jonas Ntsiko, however, under the pseudonym Hadi Waseluulangeni, the Harp of the Nation, wrote "protests against the injustices of Church and State." Jabavu expanded the role of the paper, but resigned his post as editor over disagreements with his proprietors on the inclusion of political matter. He set up, in Kingwilliamstown, his own paper, **Imvo Zabantsundu**, which was to achieve much in that it was the first African paper to be noticed and often admired by white politicians. It was also the first attempt to create a
wholly secular press for Xhosa opinion. (10)

Besides Lovedale, the Morija Printing Works produced the greatest increase in African publishing. A press had been established there in 1861, merging in 1873 with the printing works of the Paris Evangelical Mission Society to become a full printing and publishing concern, with attached departments for book binding and distribution. *Leselinyana La Lesotho* was published here from 1863, in English and Sotho. (11)

For many years, these publications provided the only means of expression of the opinion of literate Africans. *Imvo* appeared in 1884, and *Izwi laBantu* in 1897, to allow freer outlet for social, economic and political discussion. The first decade of this century saw the emergence of more newspapers for an African readership, but predominantly in the Cape and Natal. Restrictions on these were of a different kind: the cost of establishing a newspaper required a level of white support for some. The purchasing power of African subscribers was low, and the regular payment of subscriptions doubtful. They did not attract the advertising revenue that financed the most successful white papers, and the short or irregular production of a number of the independent African political presses was due to this financial instability, rather than to any lack of moral support. (12) Such limitations were partially offset by the enormous potential audience: though literacy was low, those who could read were urged to read the newspapers to others.

Mission presses preceded the establishment of a secular press, but from 1850 the latter spread rapidly through South Africa, catering for a white readership. White, Godlonton & Co, during the 1850s started or acquired newspapers in both the Cape and the Orange River Sovereignty - the *Grahamstown Journal*, *Kingwilliamstown Gazette*, *Eastern Province Herald*, *Queenstown Free Press*,

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and the Friend. In the 1860s White and Godlonton were involved in the Natal Courier of Pietermaritzburg, and in the 1870s in the Diamond News of Kimberley. The influence of only a few individuals - such as White and Godlonton, or later R W Murray, or William Crosby - was felt throughout South Africa. By the end of the century, some 50 towns were regularly producing commercial newspapers, as this became a potentially profitable business. (13)

Both jobbing work and newspaper printing were performed by the early printers. Alfred Essex, the editor, printer, proprietor and publisher of the Graaff Reinet Herald, set up shop on a budget of £600 in 1851. Initial outlay included £100 for a press, £200 for type and cases, £100 for paper and ink, and £200 for one year's wages. Against this, he anticipated an income of 300 subscriptions at £1 p.a. each, £250 for advertisements, and £50 for jobbing work. After the original expenses had been met, the prospective income for an independent master printer was far greater than the 36/- per week paid in the Cape Town printing works. (14)

Newspapers were invariably dependent on the economic development of a region, requiring both advertisers and subscribers. Excerpts from the reports of Civil Commissioners in the district of Colesberg, published in a Cape of Good Hope Blue Book of 1860, describe the stage at which a newspaper might be expected to appear. In this particular district, the introduction of Merino sheep had created wealth for some of the farmers, and ended their previous isolation:

"In the first place, then, wool more than doubled the farmers' income; and being a ready money transaction, gave him annually the command of a considerable amount of cash. In the next place, the purchase of imported stock for the improvement of his flock, the disposal of his clip of wool, and last though not least, the indulgence of the good wife's craving to invest some of the superfluous cash brought in by it in the various tempting articles of personal
adornment which the well-filled 'winkels' of the 'dorp' exhibit, brought him more frequently into contact with the inhabitants of the towns ...

Two pleasing events may be recorded which are pregnant with good for the future; and with which the new year is to be inaugurated; one is the establishment of a bank, and the other that of a newspaper; both of which will almost immediately be accomplished." (15)

The Colesberg Advertiser and Boerenvriend indeed appeared on 1 January 1861, published weekly on Fridays - in time for market visitors - and remained the only paper in the district.

It was also, of course, essential that sufficient numbers of people in town and district were literate. This expansion of newspaper printing reflected a government-inspired growth in education, and an increase in European settlement. A Cape Memorandum of 1837 reported most teachers at white schools to be drunken discharged soldiers, and was "almost certain" that the number of missionary schools catering for African children exceeded the number of white schools in the Colony. By 1859 there were 197 white schools in the Government system with some 18,240 pupils. By the 1880s, estimates had risen to 32,555 white children in education, and 50,000 black. Dutch education was still poor, most teaching being carried out in English, although this tendency was lessened during the 1880s by Dutch Reformed Church and Taal Congress resolutions to encourage Dutch teaching. The Census of 1904 in the Cape Colony recorded 621,000 people as literate, or just over 1/6th of the total population. Two-thirds of these were white. By the time of Union 76% of the European population could read and write: the rate was highest in Natal, and lowest in the Free State. Only 6.8% of Africans could read and write, however: the rate was highest in the Free State, and lowest in Natal. Of the coloured population 21% could
read and write, most in the Transvaal and fewest again in Natal. Everywhere illiteracy was greater in rural areas. (16)

It was to some extent inevitable, therefore, that the early newspapers should be English town productions, though many catered for Dutch readers in bilingual editions. The Cradock News found fame with its serialisation of Meurant's "Zamenspraak", some of the first published Afrikaans. The first issue of this in December 1860 necessitated the printing of 3,000 copies, or ten times the number of an average edition of a country newspaper. The second issue also appeared in the Cradock News, but the last four were included in its sister paper, Het Cradocksche Nieuwsblad. Printers were English, and English papers more frequent, though often with some Dutch advertisements and a page of news translated. By the 1860s, papers were flourishing in Fort Beaufort, Colesburg, Queenstown Oudtshoorn, Worcester, and Beaufort West. During the 50s and 60s, newspapers were established in the Free State and Natal, while Natal had boasted a press since the 1840s. Although country papers did appear throughout South Africa, only the Cape achieved such numbers of local papers, independent of the large manufacturing centres or ports. (17)

Most of these local papers advertised in their early days for Agents who would be willing to correspond for them, and also collect the payment of subscriptions. Where "own correspondents" were unavailable, recourse was had to the columns of other newspapers. Philip Townsend of the Bechuanaland News in Vryburg wrote that, "we upcountry editors always made good use of scissors and paste in compiling our columns of general news, and many an interesting paragraph was snipped from The Friend." The practice continued for many years, often uncredited: George Green, editing the Diamond Fields Advertiser during
the siege of Kimberley, was proud of his insertion of a few pages of Napier's "History of the Peninsula War", unrecognised and much appreciated. (18)

It was common practice to quote the opinions of other papers on controversial issues, whether for praise or criticism. Many country newspapers during the 1870s and 80s obtained agreements with their urban counterparts to be sent news reports - of city, government, British or foreign news - whilst the country editor would become the local correspondent for the city paper. Thus much is found in the small circulation papers from the dailies of Cape Town, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban, Pietermaritzburg, and Bloemfontein. These agreements worked alongside those with the professional news agencies, of which Reuters had established itself as the leader in South Africa by the 1890s. The Newspaper Press Union was an attempt to create an efficient system of communication amongst newspapers, both for news and the mutual aid of editors and publishers. Lack of support, however, turned it into the provision of a libel defence fund. (19)

The presses used for the production of these first newspapers were hand-operated letterpress machines, that performed both job printing and newspaper work adequately. Steam-powered presses were introduced in Cape Town only in 1854, forty years behind their introduction in London, by Saul Solomon of the Cape Argus. Four years later, four papers in Cape Town were being printed by steam, while the Great Eastern had the first steam-powered plant in the Eastern Province in 1864. The Natal Witness changed to steam in 1876, and the Cape Times too was printed by steam that year. The plant of the Great Eastern was taken by the Sheffields to Johannesburg when they transferred their paper, the Eastern Star, from Grahamstown in 1888. By 1890 the Pretoria printers, Flavell Brown & Co, were using
steam power for the printing of the Witwatersrand Mining & Metallurgical Review. These powered presses were still flat-bed machines, but with a striking rate of about 2,000 impressions per hour increased the potential issue of an newspaper greatly. Their use was restricted to printing works in the larger towns, which required the greater capacity for business printing or the turnout of a daily newspaper, and could afford the necessary investment of capital. (20)

The potential production of newspapers was next increased with the introduction of the rotary press and linotype. The Times of London had used the first true rotary press in 1866, the Walter press. Four years later, the Victory press was in use in Glasgow, with the added advantage of a folding attachment. These printed 4-8,000 impressions per hour, and became a popular acquisition for the larger South African papers. They would, however, print only newspapers, and thus necessitated a break between the news and job-printing departments of most printing works. The reel-fed rotary presses which printed both sides of a newspaper at once, increased the striking rate still further, up to some 21,000 per hour. These modernisations were possible only for those sections of the printing industry that were sufficiently capitalised to import them. The Johannesburg Star used a web-fed rotary press in 1893, but was able to replace this four years later with the new Victory stereo rotary machine. Combined with its folding attachment, 20,000 copies of an eight-page newspaper could be produced every hour. Rotary machines were brought in also for the Cape Times, Cape Argus, Natal Witness and Natal Mercury between 1895 and 1899. five thousand copies of a twelve page Mercury could then be produced between 1 a.m. and 2.30 a.m.. All these, however, benefited from high capitalisation of their printing companies. The Dutch press then functioned on a
much lower balance of payments and Wallach's Printing & Publishing Company in Pretoria bought a rotary press only in 1910 for the Volkstem. The majority of smaller papers still relied on flat-bed presses. (21)

The linotype was first installed in London by the Globe in 1892. W A Richards & Son, a Cape Town firm that had taken the Government Printing contract from Saul Solomon in 1881, was the first South African firm to import a linotype, in 1898. In that year, they were also brought in to the Natal Mercury and the Witness. The Board of Directors of the Argus Printing & Publishing Company had expressed interest in these machines as early as 1894: Francis Dormer travelled to England partially for the purpose of investigating their viability for his newspapers. The Argus eventually ordered their machines from Canada, the first being put to use in April 1898. Their introduction caused some problems with printing staff: not only did each machine do the work of three trained compositors, but it was common practice for skilled operators to be brought over from Europe or America. The ensuing disputes centred on the Argus Company and the South African Typographical Union, and simmered through the period before Union, though usually resulting in agreements more favourable to the employers. (22)

Technical innovations increased the numbers of papers able to be produced by the large companies. Fuller editions, with the most recent cable and news reports, could be put out in a matter of hours by the town dailies. These papers could also employ a greater number of correspondents for events within South Africa and overseas, by arrangements with London newspapers for the exchange of news. Such developments occasioned a reciprocal change in the country press. Still reliant on slower presses and fewer resources, and unable to compete
in the race for national news, local papers were forced to find their markets on local news. The weekly editions of the urban papers were now able to provide a suitable service of national and international news. Increasingly, too, with the extension of railways, daily editions were sent further afield. (23)

The majority of newspapers in South Africa were published and distributed by their printers, by post, through agents or local newsvendors. This remained the case for most country papers, and for the majority of Dutch urban papers. Some English urban papers, on the other hand, were taking advantage of a new distribution agency in the years before Union. The Central News Agency began as a business run by Albert V Lindbergh and Michael Davis on the Rand. Lindbergh had been employed by the Star since 1892, took charge of its circulation, and organised delivery of the paper along the Rand by bicycle. In 1896 he and Davis founded the Central News Agency in partnership, distributing both the Star and the Standard & Diggers News in Johannesburg. During the war, the business in the Transvaal lapsed along with the newspaper trade, but connections were made with Cape papers, and in 1903 the CNA was turned into a public company. (24)

Lindbergh, who in the following year became one of the Syndicate producing the Rand Daily Mail, and Davis approached both the Argus Co and the Cape Times for assistance, realising that the two largest selling dailies would be their best customers and the best means for their own expansion. Although Lindbergh and Davis retained control of their company, these two largest newspaper companies took 38.5% of the shares. The Agreement was reached on condition that both the Argus and the Cape Times Companies participated in the direction of affairs: this included a necessity to obtain the specific agreement of the Companies before any arrangement to distribute or
publish any potentially competitive paper was reached. The CNA was to foster sales of the papers of these companies, demand indemnity against court action from any other paper published, and to collect their papers from the printers last, and deliver them to retail outlets first. (25)

Davis and Lindbergh expanded their business by renting or buying bookstalls at railway stations through all South Africa except Natal. The major English language urban dailies were thus assured of regular, widespread, and efficient delivery service. This in turn helped them to reduce the number of unsold papers, from 25% in May 1903, to 8% in February 1904. (26)

The cost of equipment necessary to begin a printing operation able to rival these giants of the industry was thus paralleled by the difficulty of breaking into the distribution monopoly. J B Robinson's attempts to challenge the English language press in the 1890s failed within 3 years of commencement. I W Schlesinger made another challenge in the 1930s: this failed largely because of his rivals' hold over the distribution agencies. Distribution was a major initial problem for Die Burger, too, in the Cape Town area in 1915. Such developments, as Picton has pointed out, enabled these urban dailies to establish "something approaching local monopolies in the coverage of national and international news." (27)

By the time of Union there was a vast difference in the capabilities of town and country newspapers. The latter were mainly of regional interest, serving fairly limited districts with local sales, and dependent upon the larger town papers for their supplies of national and international news. Few attained even a circulation of one thousand, and most survived on considerably less. When campaigning for election to the Legislative Assembly
in 1898 in the Eastern Cape constituency of Victoria East
in 1898, Edmund Garrett, editor of the Cape Times, found
himself hindered by the style of politics to which he was
accustomed in London and Cape Town: in a country
campaign, the voters were farmers and "men unhelped by a
daily press to take the world's affairs hot - and hot each
morning." (28)

The urban press, on the other hand, provided daily
news and politics to an extent that no newspaper in a
rural town attempted. The capitals all possessed
political papers, with much competition amongst them, as
did the ports and, of course, Johannesburg. Newspapers in
Potchefstroom, Krugersdorp and Grahamstown were often
outspoken, but rarely credited with the "national"
viewpoint which the larger dailies accorded themselves.
Many of these had extended their scope to include not just
the town, but subscribers further afield who required more
detail in political or commercial news than was provided
by the local press. In Kimberley, the opening of the
railway to Fourteen Streams also prepared the way for the
large Rand papers to challenge the ascendancy of the
Diamond Fields Advertiser. (29)

Such highly mechanised and efficient organisation was
confined for the most part to the English language press,
which in turn emerged as predominantly Progressive and,
later, Unionist, in its political allegiance. It was also
a product of the towns, and hence reflected the views of
urban British settlers, though numerical superiority of
English newspapers did not indicate a majority support for
the views they proposed, as many of them erroneously
supposed or hoped. For commercial English newspapers,
profitability hardly related to the number of people
buying the paper. Appeal had rather to be made to
advertisers, whose support could bring a paper success,
and consequently further publicity for its political
views, while neglect forecast losses and eventual closure. Starting a newspaper, from which advertisers had to be drawn from rivals, was a risky and expensive business. Once established, of course, wide sales would generate advertising revenue. (30)

The Dutch press was less powerful in terms of numbers, but found a readership more united against the omnipresence of its opposition. From 1904, newspapers increasingly used Afrikaans, or a simplified Dutch spelling, to attract readers and encourage both sales and political or cultural awareness. Just as English merchants advertised in English newspapers, so the Dutch press served Dutch advertisers, and as with content, was directed towards agricultural readers with advertisements for ploughs, bullets and brandy instead of mines and department stores. (31)

There were changes in terminology in the two decades before Union which indicated the increasing association of politics with race, and which became acceptable terms through newspaper usage. During the 1890s the term "Afrikander" which had originated in De Zuid Afrikaan was frequently used to denote Dutch or English speakers who chose to make South Africa their home and nation. This purposely differentiated both language groups from those immigrants who were seen as temporary exploiters of South Africa's new found wealth. Francis Dormer, the founder of the Argus Printing & Publishing Company, deliberately used this term as such a political ideal. It fell increasingly out of use in the English papers edited by young Britishers, with their increasing demands for the recognition of British supremacy and the predominance of the English language in the four colonies after the war. These referred to "British" and "Boers" in the ex-republics, as terms of opposition politically and culturally. The Dutch newspapers referred to "British" or
"English" and "Dutch", but the term "Afrikaner", was increasingly used by editors wishing to establish a cultural identity for those politically opposed to the "British", supported by the literacy recognition of Afrikaans. Whereas in the 1890s "Afrikander" had been an acceptable term for speakers of any language, by 1910 the term "South African" was chosen to denote all those who aspired to the current political idea, and "Afrikander" implied an Afrikaans-speaking South African. (32)

All hostility between English and Dutch political parties was referred to as racialism. In a similar vein, difference between white and black was expressed as one of class, in the sense that Merriman spoke of a white aristocracy founded on black labour. The Draft Act of Union fixed "the fundamental terms of agreement between the four Colonies and the two races." Beyond this, any discussion of a black franchise was a "purely political and academic question." (33)
CHAPTER I

THE CAPE COLONY

i) Cape Town and Cape Traditions

At the turn of the century the Cape Colony covered an area of over 200,000 square miles, roughly twice that of the British Isles, and contained a population of about two and a half million. This was not evenly spaced through the Colony. Areas of the Northern Cape, of extremely arid conditions, averaged under one inhabitant per square mile, while parts of the Eastern Cape, the Transkei, East Griqualand, Tembuland, and Pondoland, supported up to 90 people per square mile. These were rural areas: the cities of Cape Town, Kimberley, Port Elizabeth and East London were more densely populated, but no other town approached this status. About 72% of this population was illiterate, and yet in 1899 there were 104 newspapers and journals being produced in the Colony, sixty-four of these outside Cape town. (1)

Newspaper presses were found in all the major urban areas, serving the town people and the surrounding districts. Those papers from the four major towns were also circulated further afield by the turn of the century. The establishment of a press was dependent upon a level of urbanisation which ensured the printer adequate advertisements and sales.

Advertisements came from local traders, or importers, while sales other than through subscriptions relied upon the presence of regular buyers within the town of production. The early newspapers were published on market day to satisfy these conditions. By the end of the nineteenth century, some of the daily newspapers had developed financial backing which enabled them to improve
both production and distribution, and thus expand potential sales areas. Those in country towns, however, were still dependent upon subscription lists and weekly market sales.

The spread of newspapers through the Colony did not reflect the spread of the population as a whole. The Umtata Herald was, in 1901, the only paper published between Kokstad and Kingwilliamstown, an area with a population of 850,000. Of these, some 59,000 could read and write. The Herald, however, had a circulation of only 650. The Census District of Umtata in 1904 contained only 937 males over the age of 21 years who were able to read and write, of which only 402 were registered as voters. In Tembuland the proportions remained the same: slightly over half of the literate males over 21 were registered as voters. Though political activity did not necessitate interest in newspapers, it is perhaps a fairer indication of sales. The ability to read had to be supplemented by the ability to buy a paper, and the desire to read it. (2)

Newspapers did reflect more accurately the distribution of the white population of the Colony, which was some 100,000 fewer than the combined populations of Liverpool and Manchester in 1901. The construction of railways brought more people to the towns through which they ran. These places then began to produce newspapers, with the advantages of trade advertisements and circulation brought by the railway.

Cape Town, by 1900, possessed three daily papers, several weekly and tri-weekly papers, besides many journals of scientific, technical, literary and religious interest. Local papers were produced in the suburbs of Claremont, Wynburg, and Simonstown. Paarl had been a centre for the new Afrikaans press, producing newspapers, weekly or monthly journals of more permanent reading matter and books. Port Elizabeth and East London
similarly produced both newspapers and journals, including racing calendars and church magazines. These cities and Grahamstown were, however, the only ones to expand into journal printing on a large scale. Kimberley, with a high proportion of the white population, was producing only one daily paper at this time, after a spate of newspapers in the 1870's and 80's had subsided. Kingwilliamstown too, was the next largest of 'white' towns, remained primarily a newspaper producer. (3)

The rural areas cited with the highest distribution of the white population in the Census of 1904 were Oudtshoorn, Albany, Mossel Bay and George. All produced at least one newspaper: the Grahamstown Journal and Grocott's Penny Mail provided news for the district of Albany; the Oudtshoorn Courant & South Western Chronicle outlived its rival the Oudtshoorn Times, providing news for the district of Oudtshoorn and three others; the Mossel Bay Advertiser circulated all official notices for that district; as did the George & Knysna Herald. (4)

Half of the country towns producing newspapers published them in bilingual editions. Somerset East produced two papers, one in Dutch and one English from the same company, until the mid-1890's, when only the English edition was continued with some Dutch articles. The closure was in response to the rivalry of the new Het Oosten, which became the leading Dutch Bond paper in the Eastern Cape. Graaff Reinet had an English newspaper from 1860, but from 1885 this competed with the Dutch Graaff-Reinetter. The majority of late nineteenth century papers, however, were products of English printers and publishers. Dutch - and later Afrikaans - papers only began to appear in number outside Cape Town and its environs from the 1880's, some twenty years after the first proliferation of the English press.

Cape Town kept its early prominence in publishing in
the Colony. There were more printing firms there than in any other town, producing a greater number of newspapers and journals. To a great extent, papers in the rest of the Colony relied on cable news, whether of politics or markets, from Cape Town sources. This increased the influence of those papers at the seat of Government: they widened their circulations locally in the daily editions, and further afield in the weekly editions, which were published primarily for the "up-country reader." As communication increased between Colonies, these dailies became major sources of news - and reputedly of views too - for the rest of South Africa.

Of Cape Town's papers, the Cape Times was seen at the turn of the century as the foremost interpreter of British Colonial opinion - by its supporters - with a tradition of being "Conservative in Imperial matters, but thoroughly Progressive in Cape Colonial matters." (5) It had gathered this reputation during the twenty year editorship of its founder, Frederick York St. Leger, an Anglican missionary turned newspaper editor. In 1876 he and Richard W Murray became partners in their own newspaper enterprise, the establishment of the Cape Times, which first appeared on 27 March. It was a penny daily - the first in the Cape - and as such provided much competition for the older Cape Argus, which was eventually obliged to 'modernise' itself from the traditional tri-weekly, threepenny publication. (6)

Seven months later the Cape Times was already advertising itself as having "the largest circulation of any newspaper published in Cape Town." (7) It contained advertisements, social notes, local news of Town Council meetings and Police Courts, much on municipal affairs and town improvements, some international news, book reviews, and the popular "Notes in the House", a column of commentary on Parliamentary proceedings written by St.
Leger. It prided itself on its "reports of all public events, the latest telegrams from all parts of the country, reliable commercial and shipping intelligence", and on the Colonial news supply which St. Leger instituted through Agents, to supplement the poor telegraph facilities of the time. Its popular appeal was further increased by the weekly arrival of the Home Edition, a reprint of the Western Morning News in Plymouth, by mail steamer. (8)

St. Leger was the guiding principle of the paper, creating its policy. He considered himself a Radical in politics, but a firm believer in the value of the extension of the British Empire and its civilisation. The newspaper claimed that "all political and other questions, which come under the review of public opinion, are dealt with in an impartial spirit." The sentiment was echoed by Olive Schreiner, who told the London journalist W.T. Stead that the Cape Times was "the most enlightened and advanced paper in South Africa [with] a judicial and impartial point of view". (9) St. Leger insisted that Britain remain committed to protecting the interests of tribal Africans, but protested at the "canting negrophilism" of the rival Cape Argus. The two editors, both politicians as well as journalists, continued a public debate on this "Native Question", as it was always termed in contemporary discussion. (10)

The first controversy tackled by St. Leger was that over the annexation of the diamond fields, on which his leading articles judged that the British Government had shown neither consideration nor a sense of justice in its dealings with the Republics. In 1877, he disapproved of, but accepted, the annexation of the Transvaal on the grounds that the state was ill-equipped to deal with a war against Cetewayo, but he did not try to conceal his disillusionment with Downing Street:
"At the time of the annexation we were told that [the Boers] had become a nuisance and a source of danger; that they were irritating the native tribes to a war which could involve her Majesty's subjects and that the general peace of South Africa required the extinction of the Republic. But afterwards we learned how utterly false and absurd these representations were; and we witnessed the painful spectacle of British protection entailing more serious and more disastrous native disturbances than had been experienced aforetime, while wide districts of the land lay desolate, abandoned by the Colonists whom their new rulers were impotent to defend. And by what charm are we to expect the upgrowth in these people of a sentiment of loyalty to the British Crown?" (11)

He approved the theory of Confederation, but was of the opinion that the establishment of one flag for South Africa would be no advantage, "unless that flag be in honest truth a symbol of one broad principle of loyalty and justice." (12) Moreover, talk of "the South African nation" was an anathema: "the faint echo" of President Burgers' speeches in Holland "when he sketched out that famous programme of his by which a new Holland was to arise in South Africa to startle the world by restoring to its mother country its prestige of old." Such were the words of those who "have venom in their teeth and sedition in their hearts." He admired, though, "the Jingo spirit", which was "assuredly one of the most creditable manifestations of the British national character", with its devotion and loyalty to one's country. Hostility between British and Dutch, already deeply embedded, was continued as a major theme of the Cape Times, particularly with reference to differing views on a future union of South Africa. So, too, was the importance of Colonial judgement in its local knowledge, and the avoidance of "Imperial interference." (13)

By 1890, the Cape Times was displaying a deep admiration for Rhodes, for his "noble ambition" on the future of the country which "differs by a whole semi-
circle from the mean passion for gain which stimulates the activities of the share market." It nevertheless retained an independent line: St. Leger opposed Rhodes as Prime Minister, preferring that Hofmeyr and the Bond accept the responsibility of office, or J.W. Sauer, who would not "yield to the might of the British South Africa Company." (14) Opposing the Strop Bill of 1890, St. Leger was disappointed that Rhodes had joined the "slave-driving section", and missed an opportunity of "proving himself superior to the influences which drag men down in our parliamentary life." He favoured the presence of J. X. Merriman, J.W. Sauer, and J. Rose Innes in the Cabinet for their moderating influence and rendering of "excellent service to the country". While he praised their "sacrifice of means and ambition", the rival Cape Argus spoke of them as "three mutineers." (15)

St. Leger defended Rhodes' schemes for expansion in the North, and for South African Federation. As a result of his devotion to these ideals, he was accused by other Cape Town papers of being in Rhodes' pay, an allegation he strongly denied but which was regularly made of the Cape Times, and with increasing frequency after St. Leger had left the editorship. On his retirement in 1895, he defended himself and his successor from such rumours, breaking the tradition of editorial anonymity to write a valedictory article, and insisting that his independence had been complete. The new editor, Edmund Garrett, was "of all the men in the world of journalism...... about the last to serve a monopolist's purpose." Garrett took the opportunity of his first editorial, the following day, to reply and again to deny rumours.

"I have never written for a kept paper - not even for a party paper.... Coming from the grand English school of open speech, it is strange to me that the giving of independent support to any public man or cause should entail on a journalist the indignity of having to explain that he is not in that
man's pocket.... I will be free here, as I have been free all my journalistic life, to praise or censure just as it seems to me right." (16)

Fydell Edmund Garrett began his journalistic career in 1887, on W.T. Stead's Pall Mall Gazette, where he assimilated Stead's belief in the journalist as "unofficial diplomatist." (17) In 1890 he travelled to South Africa, writing articles for the Gazette, and met St. Leger on his journey home. Johannesburg, he told his English public, was then no site for a potential revolution: the people were not the sort to make fervent revolutionaries, nor were their grievances worth fighting over. Those that existed were being removed. Garrett preferred to trust in a "tendency which would make for reform". He ended his report of an interview with President Kruger with hopeful words:

"Oom Paul is a bad enemy, as we have learned to our cost. He has proved to us of late that he can also be a Leal friend. Slowly but surely, I believe, my countrymen are coming to realise that his friendship is worth having." (18)

Moreover, he urged readers:

"Realise that for the sort of Imperialism which means the divine right of Downing Street there is indeed, in Sir Hercules Robinson's words, no more room in South Africa; and that the idea of any reimposition of Lanyonism in the Transvaal would be scouted as least as hotly by the English there as by the Dutch." (19)

Garrett was drawn the post of editor of the Cape Times both by the climate for his poor health, and by his devotion to the ideal of Empire. Although Stead later said that he "trained and sent out Garrett to South Africa", Garrett was very much the personal choice of St. Leger. (20) Prior to this appointment, Rhodes himself had wanted Garrett as an editor in the Argus Company. Its Managing Director, Francis Dormer, strongly objected, and
suggests that it was after this disagreement that he and Rhodes finally parted. (21) Instead, Garrett went to the Cape Times, and was given the same absolute control over editorial policy that St. Leger had possessed. It was stipulated in his contract that:

"Fydell Edmund Garrett shall have sole control over the policy and conduct of the said newspaper and of everything published therein, and nothing shall be published in such paper except by authority of the said Fydell Edmund Garrett." (22)

The contract was made necessary by the partnership that then owned the Cape Times. Although the paper had appeared to be prospering, St. Leger was not personally profiting from this; he had, during 1892-3, been persuaded by his son to accept F. Rutherfoord Harris into the financial backing of the Cape Times. He had then insisted on a Deed of Partnership, which retained for himself full editorial control, and which he passed on to Garrett. Nevertheless, Harris was to prove a thorn in Garrett's side for several years, a situation arising from Garrett's determination to suffer no interference, and his personal dislike of Harris. (23)

Garrett expressed complete faith in the Imperial Federation League, which he hoped would lead to Colonial representation at Westminster, seeing himself, somewhat in Milner's mould, as holding a "celibate dedication" to the cause of Empire. His position was "the journalistic counterpart of that held by the representative of the Crown", aiming to further the "wider patriotism of a united South Africa." (24)

Garrett's apparent conciliatory attitude toward the Republics in 1890 had still included the necessity of "Englishing the Transvaal"; and his tone became more antagonistic with his time in South Africa. He developed a friendship with Olive Schreiner, for whom he held much admiration until their final disagreement over Rhodes,
Milner, and policy towards the Transvaal. Garrett constantly stipulated, as had St. Leger, the need for the civilising influence of Britain in South Africa, and its protection of black interests. Two years after arriving there, he wrote to his cousin that he was "revolted by gross manifestations of colour prejudice and brutality towards subject peoples." (25) He acquired the view that prevailed in English language papers at that time, which blamed the Boers for friction with the Africans, and for the present undeveloped state of the country. He distinguished between the Cape Dutch, most particularly the wine and wheat farmers of the Western Province whom he thought could easily be incorporated into the Empire, and the Transvaal Boers, whom he termed a "case of arrested development." (26) From 1895 on, he lost what admiration he had held for the Transvaalers, apparent in his private correspondence and in the columns of his newspaper. From 1898, he chose 'Krugerism' as the prime target of his criticism in the paper, but was careful not to transform this into an overtly anti-Afrikander stance (although it was received as such by the Opposition papers), which would conflict with St. Leger's traditional policy and would destroy attempts to revive elements of Rhodes' failing Afrikander support in the Colony.

Garrett's style of editorship was new, searching for "scoops" and creating issues, in contrast to the old school of Cape journalism which waited on events. At the time of the Jameson Raid, Garrett was making a determined effort to lead public opinion. He publicised the activities of the Transvaal National Union, and supported fully the rights of the Uitlanders to redress of their grievances, using his friendship with Rhodes, Robinson, and many of the leading men in both Cape Town and Johannesburg for information. Personal contacts confirmed the rumours of recent weeks, and the papers were full of
the incipient trouble in Johannesburg. The Assistant Editor of the Cape Times, E.J. Edwards, was sent to the Transvaal with letters of introduction from Rhodes to the Reform Movement leaders, and instructions to the principal station-masters between Norvals Point and Vereeniging to transmit without delay messages addressed to the Cape Times. In Cape Town, "news of Revolution begun [was] hourly expected." (27)

News of the Raid came slowly, but Garrett was kept informed by the two Reformers in Cape Town, Charles Leonard and Francis Hamilton, the latter the editor of the Johannesburg Star which had been at the forefront of the campaign. In consultation with them, Garrett concocted "a most careful article to secure Afrikander sympathy", which was translated into Dutch beside the English editorial in the paper. Garrett was authorised by the Imperial Secretary to announce the Raid only when sources other than official revealed Jameson's move, "so that it can't be kept longer unknown in the Colony": he exclaimed to his cousin that, "I have to write such a leader as covers this and puts best face on it without appearing to know the facts!" (28)

Garrett personally believed that "Jameson has spoiled all - given it all away - damned Rhodes and himself and the future of South Africa," but he was obliged to salvage what support he could for Rhodes through the paper, though with little confidence:

"In a whole week I have bluffed this through... I have had letters, articles and God knows what written in Dutch and in Cape taal but the real feeling there was [amongst Afrikanders] against Paul Kruger has been turned now and it's the old rut Dutch v.English." (29)

He styled his editorials "egg-dancing": "to make... English feel fired by Jameson.... Dutch feel that uitlander situation desperate enough partly to excuse his
madness." Until definite news of the surrender, Garrett kept some hope alive in the paper that they might yet win. His next move was to give direction to the hysteria in Cape Town by organising a petition to the High Commissioner urging him to gain the release of Jameson. Petition forms were included in the Cape Times, and Jameson became the centre of attention: "Nobody cares a d--- whether Johannesburg gets its rights now." (30)

Besides tempering displeasure in the Cape, Garrett tried to influence the London press. He wrote to his cousin Agnes of the aims of the rising:

"Dr Jim's help enabled terms to be made between [Rhodes] and conspirators, not for annexation to England... but for new South African Republic on lines of bringing South Africa into Federation on basis of Common Tariffs, (S African Free trade) Rails, Justice, Glen Grey Act for natives, etc etc in fact getting Federation on our lines, which may now come (and C J R thinks was coming) on anti-English lines." (31)

He requested her to show the letter to men such as Moberly Bell of The Times - who had prior enough knowledge of the preparations to send his own correspondent to the Transvaal in November 1895, E.T. Cook, Editor of the Daily News, and W.T. Stead of The Review of Reviews. A week later, the 'public' section of his letters was to be shown also to H.W. Massingham of the Daily Chronicle. All, he warned, were "to use their best discretion and not name any authority for anything they use in any form." (32)

Discussion of the Raid, its aims and consequences, continued in both Cape and London papers for much of the year. Garrett again tried to influence opinion by the production, jointly with W.T. Stead, of a Christmas Annual. The two men hoped "to break the fall" of Rhodes and Chamberlain over their complicity in the plot. The plan misfired when Garrett published references to missing telegrams which Stead, in his London edition, had omitted.
This heightened the "Mystery" surrounding events, and increased public speculation in scores of letters and articles. Chamberlain was no longer able to avert an Inquiry because of the papers' "unceasing gossip": the proceedings of the Select Committee in 1897 were again the newspapers' main topic. Alfred Milner's departure for South Africa in April 1897 as the new High Commissioner was therefore made in an atmosphere of intensified interest in South African affairs. (33)

Garrett did not underestimate his influence at the Cape: one year after his arrival he wrote that "it was odd finding I could sit in this office and turn a crank and work South Africa,"; Stead, too, referred to Garrett as the man "who edits South Africa - not the journal of that name, but that section of the Continent." The two men, however, came increasingly to differ, Garrett befriended Milner and campaigned for his South African policy, while Stead turned against him after the despatch of 4th May 1899, which stimulated the aggressive Jingoism that he regarded "with a whole-hearted abhorrence." (34)

On the outbreak of war, Stead was called a "pro-Boer" by the Unionist London press, though he strenuously rejected this title, just as Garrett did "jingo".

Garrett was able to further his ideals by publicity he could provide in the Cape Times. Much support was given for the South African League, and the formation of a branch of this predominantly Eastern grouping in Cape Town in 1896. The need was for a "big new Political League" to fight the Bond. Thereafter meetings and dinner speeches were given full coverage by the paper. Increasingly, too, Transvaal affairs were incorporated into editorials on the future of South Africa, and he turned away from the tolerant approach he had adopted on his first visit. Olive Schreiner believed that it was Garrett who led Milner into his aggression: Garrett credited himself that
"We on the Cape Times are making the politics for the parliament men." In April 1897 he wrote to his cousin that "The Britishers in South Africa are closing up, and I want an ultimatum for old Kruger after the jubilee, if he will only go on as he is doing and give a fair hold for it." (35) Both Milner and Garrett by March 1898 represented the Transvaal franchise as the key to the South African situation.

They shared, too, a desire for Imperial unity, which Garrett launched through a scheme for a Cape contribution to the Imperial navy. He tried to secure, "through Stead, Milner, Chamberlain, and perhaps The Times", a welcome reception for the idea at "Home". The propaganda exercise was vital: "Get an answering thrill thro' the Empire and we can generate enough force to get it through here when it comes to the Estimates next year...". The plan was "the only practicable scheme of Imperial unity yet on the tapis, which can begin tomorrow if all the Colonies agree, and what an object-lesson for the world!" It would lead to pressure for Colonial representation at Westminster, preceded by triennial Premiers' Conferences, "carrying naturally great advisory weight with the Imperial Cabinet in decisions which may require the use of the great weapon subscribed to by the Colonies." (36)

It was essential for Milner that Garrett collaborated in this expression of the Imperial ideal: it improved his image amongst the English-speaking population, though detracted from it in the eyes of the Dutch. Their friendship was important to both: Garrett told his cousin,

"We are on very confidential terms, and I often smile to think how people here would be surprised if they knew how much I was 'inside' the dispatches and things both under the late and the present High Commissioner." (37)
During 1897, Milner proposed that Garrett take the post of Imperial Secretary, replacing Hercules Robinson's protege, Sir Graham Bower. Garrett agreed, but Milner's nomination of him was refused by Chamberlain, "because Joe C. doesn't like me," he wrote. He continued as Editor of the Cape Times, for both he and Milner agreed that "my present work is important and my power of doing good in it a certainty." (38)

Garrett's more overtly political ambitions were fulfilled the following year when he stood for the Legislative Assembly and was elected as the Progressive Member for Victoria East. His appearance on election platforms caused him to forego the opportunity of a trip to Basutoland with Milner. The Governor was to go to Bloemfontein where "the Free State is wobbling between us and the Transvaal, at a critical turn just now, and he is to make a big try to pull them round." Milner in particular desired that their friendship be discreet, and felt that Garrett could not masquerade there "as a reporter": "they would see in you one of my advisors. So you are; but we needn't rub it into them." (39)

Garrett's departure from South Africa in 1899, too ill to continue to live or work there, "really was a great blow" to Milner who was left without a loyal confidant and exponent of his policies. (40) Their co-operation had not gone uncriticised, either in England or South Africa. John Dillon expressed his opinion of Milner's despatches in the British Parliament, that they "consist of clippings from newspapers and partisan reports giving one side of the question without alluding to the other side...."

"The editor of the Cape Times used every day on Sir Alfred Milner, and between them in the study of the latter they concoct articles, which are published and then sent by Sir Alfred Milner to the Colonial Secretary, who issues them in a Blue Book as evidence of the opinion in South Africa." (41)
The Blue Book published in July 1899 did indeed contain a considerable number of press extracts illustrating Milner's despatches. A Cape Times article was enclosed, describing a Cape Dutch movement in favour of the South African Republic, which Milner sent "as indicating views which I find are being expressed, more or less openly, in a certain section of the Press, both in this Colony and in the Transvaal." The Cape Times article also referred to "extreme anti-British organs in the Colony and the Transvaal," but named only two obscure northern papers, the Stellalander in Vryburg, and the Rand Post of Johannesburg, both of which it charged with the object of "active support of the Transvaal in its defiance of the Imperial Government." (42)

Garrett's allegiance to Milner, and his campaign to bring Rhodes back into politics in the 1898 election brought him into conflict with his proprietor, St. Leger. In that year, the Cape Times was registered as a limited Company, in which St. Leger guaranteed his own right to "the sole control over the Editorial management of the Cape Times newspaper," with the power to appoint "any person whom he may choose" as editor. He further guaranteed Garrett's position as his appointee. The Agreement included the proviso that "the person or persons appointed shall be instructed and be bound to conduct the paper on lines similar in all respects to the lines upon which the paper has been conducted in the past by the said F.Y. St. Leger." (43) This was felt to be no limitation by Garrett who, during a dispute with St. Leger, acceded to his requests not "because he's proprietor, but because he's made the Cape Times and I wish him to feel that he is at root at one with my work in following him." He showed St. Leger, particularly in his public work, the "greatest amount of consideration possible, in recognition of the
absolutely free hand I have had on every single subject right up to now." He did add, however, that:

"If I had any real conviction of my own on the details of Cape Town civic policy, I would of course stick to that conviction and leave it to him to sack me if he feels his position as a Councillor impossible, and worth saving at that price." (44)

It was not so easy for Garrett to defend his freedom from St. Leger's partner, Rutherfoord Harris, who made attempts to impose editorial policy on Garrett, though these diminished in 1898. The younger St. Leger, who had proposed Harris join the Company in 1892, and for whom Garrett had little time, was also coming round to the necessity of keeping Harris at bay: Garrett wrote of him that,

"The oaf in a mellow moment.... quite agreed with me that in the proposed turning of the Cape Times into a limited liability company we must be careful to keep the control in his father's hands, not let it slide into Harris' by any share jugglery." (45)

When Garrett announced his intention of standing for Parliament, Harris objected to his candidature via the Chairman of the Cape Times Board of Directors, E.R. Syfret, but this was not corroborated by other Directors, and Harris did not carry the objection through. By August 1898 Garrett was triumphant:

"Harris will not bring the veto on my Dual Position into Court and... he has fairly disgusted the Old Man into my arms.... I have reduced Harris to plaintive impotence.... the Old Man has gone nearer to guaranteeing my position here against all possible assaults than ever before." (46)

There might have been, if essential, an alternative method for Garrett; but, he continues, "I did not appeal to Rhodes."

From 1898 on, the Cape Times Company was run as a commercial enterprise by its Directors, with great regard
for the traditions of the newspaper. After Garrett's departure, E.J. Edwards, his assistant, acted as Editor for some eighteen months, until a new Editor was found. The post was offered to Leo Maxse of the National Review, who refused, and it was not until March 1901 that J. Saxon Mills arrived in Cape Town to take over. He had worked on the Daily News under E.T. Cook, until the takeover of that paper by Lloyd George in January 1901, and its conversion to a neutral or, as it was termed by opponents, 'pro-Boer' line on the war. Cook, an old colleague of Garrett's on the Pall Mall Gazette, asked Mills to go to South Africa "to co-operate over there with the forces (if such there be!) that are making for peace and reconciliation - founded of course upon the pre-ordained and inevitable basis of British supremacy." (47)

Saxon Mills' editorship was not a happy one for the Editor or the Company. He disliked South Africa, and the party politics that, to his mind, endangered true Imperialism at the Cape. The Company Directors looked for another new editor, again in Great Britain, through the offices of Jameson and Kipling. They wanted "a man to face a new and strange situation, a strong persevering man who could work and organise and control." The man chosen was Maitland Park of the Allahabad Pioneer who, unlike most of his colleagues, was Glasgow not Oxford-educated, and had been for 16 years Assistant and later Editor on the Allahabad Pioneer. According to Shaw, he succeeded in restoring the newspaper's "intellectual consistency" and its "authority and reputation". (48)

Park did indeed restore a level of consistency, after the much-publicised change of opinion by Mills on the issue of the suspension of the Cape Constitution in 1902. He also gave unstinting support to Jameson as leader of the Progressive party both in the 1904 elections, and during his Ministry. Despite problems in the Treasury
with the "accounts as yet not balanced", the Cape Times "sensed a general satisfaction" with the Government, and foresaw improvement after a year of "acute depression" caused by drought and "heavy and excessive importation." (49) The Chinese labour "experiment" was welcomed for improving prospects financially for the country, and increasing the number of white employees on the Rand; it was used both as an instance of Milner's success in rehabilitating the mining industry and thus the Transvaal, and as a means of denigrating the South African Party, which strongly opposed such imported labour. The South African News was quoted as mouthpiece of Merriman and the "mugwumps", receiving much hostile scorn from the Cape Times. Ons Land, too, was berated for its attacks on Jameson and Milner, and portrayed to the English readership of the Cape Times as a paper continually raking the ashes of past discontent, with stories of "unhappy chapters of Colonial history", and the "utilisation of old myths, round which generations of prejudice and wrath have gathered." (50) These included references to Kruger's Petition of Right in 1881; F.W. Reitz' "A Century of Wrong" - which the Cape Times described as "crazy" - and particularly to Slachters Nek, the story of which, when told by Dutch politicians, became "deliberate misrepresentation" to illustrate an odious oppression. (51)

In 1905 Milner's decision to leave South Africa would, said the Cape Times, be received with "profound regret by every citizen of British South Africa whose opinion is worth the breath it takes to utter." Thus Park continued the party battle in the Cape, where divisions after the war were made frequently on appreciation or distaste for Milner. Milner's principal object was "to found on the connection with the British Empire a united South Africa, progressing and advancing by the adaptation
of the ideals, social and political, which have made England great." The frustration of his enemies in his progress towards this ideal had earned him much animosity, but this was "a loss of reputation which is one of Lord Milner's chiefest glories." (52)

There were occasional differences between Park and Jameson, and between Park and his Proprietors. A frequent topic in Cape Town was that of the meat duty, proposed by farmers whose cattle were increasing after the depletions of the war, and yet who could apparently find little market against the activities of meat importers. Jameson, during the 1905 session, backed the farmers, while Park in the Cape Times supported the claims of the towns against expensive provisions. In a vote on the proposed duty during the 1906 Session of Parliament, the Cape Times reported that Cape Town and most of the Peninsula, Port Elizabeth, Kimberley and Uitenhage, had all voted against the Government on the issue, while the Opposition voted with the Ministry. The following year, when Jameson proposed 1d extra on the meat duty, against the SAP request for 2d, this was seen as a politically astute move, attracting town supporters to him. (53)

Park's Free Trade instincts eventually led to the only recorded instance of Directorial advice on his editorial policy. The Customs Tariff introduced in 1906 provided Protective duties on printing, which in turn resulted in increased jobbing work for the general printing works of the Cape Times. The Bank of Africa tendered its entire printing work to the Company, providing an "intimate and valuable relationship", where previously orders had been sent to Britain. At a Directors' meeting in August, "the interpretation of the tariff was... fully discussed." W.J.A. Wheeler, as F.L. St. Leger's alternate, pointed out that the Editor was a Free Trader, "but he thought now that the Protective duty
was passed Mr. Park should support it." It was therefore agreed that the Manager "should interview Mr. Park on the subject." (54) On most issues, it seems that Park was left a free hand with which to run the paper, having been chosen for his general agreement with the politics of its controllers, and able to continue and expand this within Progressive and Imperial lines.

For 1903, the first complete year of Park's editorship, the circulation of the daily edition increased, regaining the 11,000 issues daily at which it had peaked prior to the war. By mid 1907 it had reached 22,000, and provided most of the Company's profit during this period of general depression. 1908 was the "worst for trade ever", with the Company making a reduced profit on combined newspaper and general printing works. The Cape Times maintained its lead amongst the Cape Town dailies, with a comparatively small decline in circulation. Redundancies had been made in most areas of the business during 1907 and 1908; in April 1909 Park recommended the dismissal of one sub-editor and one reporter, "for economies", in the reduction of editorial salaries that the Board was demanding. He put forward this scheme with reluctance, however, writing to the Directors that "this retrenchment brought them perilously near the point where efficiency might be impaired." He pointed out that, "in a newspaper, depression implied no diminution in work, and it followed that a reduction of the staff might tend to lessen the attractiveness of the paper." By 1910 the circulation of the Cape Times was still greater than the combined sales of its rivals, despite their cuts in advertisement rates, while the business generally was improving as the depression lifted. (55)

The commercial success of the Company was the essential motivation of the Directors, once a steady
support of Milner's Imperial and South African ideals had been established. To improve the Company's prospects, and in the growing but reluctant realisation that the Transvaal would be the first colony in South Africa, the Cape Times Company expanded its business into Johannesburg. This was largely organised and effected by Fred Luke St. Leger, son of the founder of the paper, and its General Manager until 1905, and by E.J. Edwards, who became the representative of Cape Town interests in the North, and sometime editor of its paper there. Percy Fitzpatrick convinced Edwards that it would be unadvisable to start yet another daily paper in Johannesburg. He suggested instead that the Cape Times buy the Ecksteins' Transvaal Leader, a paper established in May 1899 with which the Cape Times had had reciprocal cable agreements, replacing a previous dependence on the 'pro-Kruger' Standard & Diggers News. The purchase would be made by an expansion of the Company and share issue to Ecksteins, whereupon "the question of control was discussed [by the Directors], there being a general objection to the Ecksteins obtaining the controlling influence in the Cape Times." A subsidiary Company was formed, which "while giving [Ecksteins] some influence over the Leader, would not permit them to exercise any over the Cape Times." (56)

In Cape Town, the reconstruction of the Company was advertised to shareholders as a means of expanding and of receiving extra financial assistance from the Transvaal. Objections were made, but not pursued, by Rutherford Harris, that the purchase was a "rash speculation"; but St. Leger persuaded the Board that their promise of support from Fitzpatrick's company interests was the "nucleus of strong business" in Johannesburg, and would bring success to the paper. J. Garlick, as a shareholder, raised the issue of the Leader's debts, which were not guaranteed by Ecksteins, but he presumed the Directors
were satisfied the paper would show good returns and a material increase in value. The losses were explained to the shareholders as a result of the "specific purpose" for which the Leader had been formed, that of "supporting British interests as much as anything else, and under the circumstances expenses had to be incurred which would not have been incurred in the formation of an ordinary newspaper company." (57)

Expectations of profit were never realised, the Leader continuing to make regular losses against the capital outlay of the Company, while the Corner House ensured its interests were represented in the Leader through the appointment of one of the two Transvaal Directors. The direct influence of the mining industry was only exercised in the Transvaal, though the Directors in Cape Town remained aware of a possible conflict of interests, and determined to keep control in their own hands. At the end of 1903 Louis Reyersbach of Ecksteins requested the dismissal of the Leader's editor, whom he did not consider "good enough". The Board in Cape Town preferred to take the advice of their own representative in Johannesburg, and decided that "there is no need for any change, and that they could not have any dictation from outside as to the Editorial management." (58)

In the years following Union, when Lionel Phillips was taking a great interest in the fortunes of the Transvaal Leader, he conflicted regularly with the Cape Town Board over the losses incurred by a project he himself sponsored, though in conjunction with the Company, the publication of the Sunday Post. Repeated requests from Cape Town that the paper be closed unless circulation was vastly increased were met with "strong objections from the local Board", and reluctantly allowed. In response to the Cape Directors' own objections to speculations made without their approval, the Chairman visited the
Johannesburg Board, "with a view to coming to a proper understanding with regard to their functions and duties." Phillips had emphasised "the very large interest" his firm represented in the Company, and his predictions of future success for the paper were accepted, when he and Syfret agreed to restrict the Company's loss to a monthly maximum, while Phillips bore the remainder. (59) Both the Sunday Post and the Transvaal Leader were finally absorbed into their rivals, the Rand Daily Mail and Sunday Times, in April 1915, thus ending the Cape Times' direct involvement in Transvaal newspapers, and a disastrous commercial enterprise.

The development of the Cape Times through its editors illustrates the potential of a daily paper to create opinion, just as much as it might have reflected it. Garrett was proud of his allegiance to Milner, and boasted of his ability to guide and influence politicians and the public. Both Rhodes and Milner were constantly associated with ideals of British supremacy and Empire, and with the policy of the Progressive party. Opposition to the Progressives or to either of these figureheads was therefore seen as opposition to British overlordship. The importance of British opinion was further demonstrated by the appointment of British editors, and by their frequent references to articles in British journals, and to politics at 'Home'. The Cape Times remained representative of Cape opinion, though both in its ownership of the Leader, and in the views expressed in its columns, it signified its increasing dependence upon Transvaal affairs. However, although it was in part financed by 'capitalist' interests in both Kimberley and Johannesburg, as its opponents charged, its control still lay in the commerce of Cape Town rather than in the mining interests of the North. These latter were more fully and more powerfully represented in the rival to the Cape
Times, the Cape Argus, which became merely an offshoot of the Johannesburg-based Argus Printing & Publishing Company.

The Cape Argus started life in 1857, established, as was the Cape Times, by two British immigrants. It was soon sold to Saul Solomon, who turned its support to the cause of Responsible Government, a "decided opposition to all legislation tending to introduce distinction, either of class, colour or creed," and to a future Union of South Africa. He opposed Carnarvon's proposals for confederation, however, believing that the scheme should emanate from the Colonial and not the Imperial Government. (60) Just as the Cape Times enrolled British journalists, so did Solomon, though when Francis Dormer became editor in 1878 he had been working as a newspaper man in the Cape for three years. He and William Crosby had acquired the Queenstown Representative, and Dormer had both fought in and reported wars in the Cape and Natal. (61)

When the Cape Times was launched it severely undercut its older rival, which was still published only three times a week, at 3d. Dormer began upgrading the paper by turning it into a penny daily, and improving its news coverage. He also changed its policy away from Solomon's "negrophilist" views, and his support for the return of Transvaal independence. These two causes were, he thought, allied: Transvaal support induced some "leading Afrikander members" to back him against the native policy of Sir Bartle Frere and Gordon Sprigg. As Dormer took over the paper, Solomon took less interest in it, concentrating on his political activities. During 1881 the paper was sold to Dormer, who was supplied with half the purchase money by his friend Cecil Rhodes, though this patronage was not publicised and public speculation chose Merriman as benefactor. (62)

Dormer announced the change in ownership with
particular reference to Solomon's outspoken policy on Africans and his own intentions to abate this "intense devotion to one idea which may have militated against the usefulness and popularity of the Cape Argus in the past." He praised Rhodes, and for fourteen years followed his activities with detail in the paper. During 1895 he parted company with his mentor, disagreeing over the methods used to establish the British supremacy in South Africa towards which they had both been working. The Cape Argus was essential in building Rhodes' popularity, though Dormer insisted on his editorial independence, using his friendships with Rhodes, President Kruger, and the Republic's State Secretary Leyds to procure information for the paper. Dormer credited himself with the plan that Rhodes should work with Hofmeyr, who was also keen to find a "moderate Englishman" who could provide publicity "to safeguard himself from possible misconception of motives." (63)

In 1886 Dormer purchased the printing plant of Saul Solomon, and established the Argus Printing and Publishing Company: astute business management caused shares to be taken by large Cape Town interests, and therefore potential advertisers, such as Directors of Union Steamship, Imperial Cold Storage, and Syfret's. Dormer's own interest in the Transvaal gold mines soon persuaded him to transfer the base of his Company to Johannesburg, a move authorised by the Cape Town shareholders in March 1889. The capital of the Company was increased, shares taken by such as J.B. Robinson and Herman Eckstein, and effective control of the Company and newspaper policy passed to the Rand. (64)

Dormer intended, and achieved, a newspaper company of "national" proportions, with branches in each Colony. Edmund Powell, who had been recruited from London by Solomon in 1880, and had become effective editor of the
Cape Argus during Dormer's frequent travels, remained in Cape Town as editor and Resident Director of the Company. He continued a Cape-oriented and liberal policy in the tradition of the newspaper, though space was increasingly given to prospects in the Transvaal. Dormer would supply him with information on Rhodes' plans:

"The programme certainly is to root out the Portugèese from the East Coast south of the Zambezi... when the territories are split, it will be easier for the [Imperial Government] to seize Delagoa Bay, which is going - believe me - to dominate every other port in South Africa within the next five years. The game is a very deep one, so long as we keep it to ourselves. Swaziland will be kept as it is until Delgo [sic] is to be seized, and then the Boers will be given Swaziland to reconcile them to our gaining the port and the coast.... I am to keep on urging Paul to demand Delgo, because that is the surest way of making our dear countrymen at home see what a desirable acquisition it would be for themselves."

(65)

Such political information in Powell's letters was "for your private information":

"Let it influence your mind as much as you like, but for God's sake do not get me into a mess. The young man has been very frank; but he always insists he can rely on my discretion." (66)

The Cape Argus, was, therefore, able to work on more information than its rival the Cape Times, though the latter paper was more frequently denounced as being in Rhodes' pay. When the Charter was received by Rhodes, Dormer "begged hard to be allowed to make a copy" to send for publication in the Argus immediately after it came out in the London Gazette. Rhodes, however, attached "enough importance to the Saint's friendship to deny me that favour." Both the Times and Argus would get it simultaneously, though Dormer was promised it exclusively for the Rand. (67) The Cape papers were rivalling each other in insinuations that editors was "squared", an accusation to which Dormer strongly objected:

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"I am waiting in the hope that somebody like the Saint or Walton will say just enough to give me sufficient excuse, and I will hale them into the Supreme Court for exemplary damages..." (68)

Dormer's main concern as a journalist was in "scoops", leading the way for other papers. In this he differed from Powell, who considered it important to "get what the other people have". Dormer thought this useful "if it comes in our way," but preferred to be "on the lookout for something that the other people will not and cannot possibly have":

"Over and over again..... I have gone into new fields where they did not follow us for a time; but where they were compelled to come at last; and that is how I should try to compete with them still." (69)

In guiding his papers from the Transvaal Dormer gave to both the Star and the Cape Argus a prominence in reporting Johannesburg affairs. Powell accepted this, but kept a vigorous local slant to his news. The reaction of Cape interests to various schemes of Customs Unions was maintained, but increasingly subordinated to a greater 'Imperial' interest involved more closely with the politics of the Transvaal. The Argus also showed an earlier concern with mines and magnates in the north, reflecting its ownership.

In 1895 Dormer parted from Rhodes and the Argus Company, disapproving of the preparations for rebellion being made in that year, and Rhodes' association with them. The Transvaal continued to dominate the Argus Company Board, and in 1897 it declared that policy in its newspapers, "be as indicated from time to time in the leading columns of the Star, and all publications of the Company, unless specially authorised to the contrary by the Managing Director, are to follow the lead therein given in all matters of a political nature which are of more than local importance." (70) Powell adhered to this,
but reserved his own interest mainly for Cape municipal politics. He favoured the South African Political Association of James Rose Innes, and disapproved - thus challenging Garrett and the Cape Times - of Rhodes' re-entry into politics as a Progressive. The Cape Times, however, became under Garrett the liveliest and best-selling paper in the Cape, and the Argus did not rival its prominence as a leader of opinion. It kept enough readership to survive, and ran a large printing department; but was secondary to the Star in the attention of the Argus management and in the receipt of funds for modernisation. (71)

Powell was elected to the Legislative Council in 1903, and in most respects followed an orthodox Progressive party policy in his paper. He supported the importation of Chinese labour, as had the Star in 1904, and thereafter proclaimed its benefits to South Africa, and to the Cape: it enhanced prospects for skilled whites, whilst it prevented the growth of a class of unskilled white labour. Hostility towards the Bond was allied, in this paper as in the Cape Times, with hostility towards Het Volk and the Orangia Unie; an allegiance of the three threatened rule by Afrikanders in a Federal Parliament. (72)

He was, however, more willing than many to report on the proceedings of Conferences of Coloured organisations, and gave particular prominence to the words of Dr. Abdullah Abdurahman of the African Political Organisation, and to the Sunday meetings of "The Stone", presided over by John Tobin. Powell represented the British Indian League in protests against restrictive legislation such as the General Dealers' Bill of March 1905, and the municipal regulations of East London, besides supporting the South African Indian Association protests against the treatment of Indians in both the Transvaal and Natal. (73) Although
the Cape Argus favoured the franchise of the Cape, it insisted on "class" discrimination. While objecting to the colour bar in the Transvaal, and admitting the hostility of white colonists there to any change, Powell thought many would agree to enfranchise "a fairly educated coloured cab proprietor", but should rigorously exclude the "barbarian mine labourer", though he should be well-fed, housed, and "sent back to the kraal unmolested". There should be "no question of citizenship or civilisation rights": such people "would not understand such privileges and do not want them." Moreover, Jabavu's Imvo was severely criticised for attacks on the Progressive Ministry. Natives, said the Argus, should not indulge in party politics, for they did not understand "the niceties of party warfare," and learned to disrespect Government through this abuse of a Ministry. (74)

As a Progressive party paper, the Cape Argus could not rival the reputation or circulation of the Cape Times, and in March 1907 the Argus Board requested Powell's resignation, stating "the urgent need for a radical alteration to the style and contents of the Argus," and that "the best means of bringing this about is to place in the Editor's chair a younger man." (75) He was replaced by Ernest Glanville who had joined the Argus in 1903 and was, unlike most of its editors, born in South Africa; though he had spent twelve years in London as Assistant editor of the Daily Telegraph, and leader writer for South Africa. (76) The Company concentrated on its Transvaal and Rhodesian assets, modernising these works whilst the Cape business made few improvements. The large investments of the Corner House in both the Cape Times and the Cape Argus pressed both Companies into considering an amalgamation during the depression of 1907, though no agreement was reached. The Cape Argus continued at a circulation of around 9,000 until another new editor was
appointed in 1910, G.A.L. Green of the Diamond Fields Advertiser, and a new manager to improve telegraph facilities and advertisement revenue. (77)

The Cape Argus, despite its poor circulation in comparison to the Cape Times, provided an alternative Progressive paper in Cape Town. It was, moreover, increasingly the policy of the Argus Company to provide itself with outlets in all the major cities in South Africa: the Bloemfontein Post was established in 1900, Rhodesian newspapers had been set up during the 1890's, while the Natal Advertiser was taken over in 1918 and the Diamond Fields Advertiser in 1929. The Argus was not only an outlet, but a valuable potential source for news, while the printing and newspaper works were sites for the first attempt at a "national" paper. The Observer appeared in September 1910, published simultaneously in Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Salisbury, an illustrated weekly that advertised itself as "the national South African newspaper". It was, nevertheless, unsuccessful, and the following year its financial predicament caused the Argus Company to write down its 50% interest from £2,000 to £20, and the paper was finally closed. (78)

Throughout this period, the two Progressive English dailies in Cape Town had maintained a rivalry in general printing and in newspapers, though with separate appeals to a morning or afternoon market. Both showed unflinching support for a Unionist Government at 'Home', and deep distrust of a new Liberal Ministry in 1906. Though both appealed to tradition and the "safety-valve" argument of the Cape franchise, neither was willing to forego severe economic restrictions on voting rights. In this respect, the "native question" was seen as a corollary of the necessity for class distinction. It was on the issue of class, and primarily of the two Progressive papers' support for capitalist interests in the Transvaal, that
their English morning rival, the South African News, attacked them most strongly.

Plans for an alternative English newspaper were being drawn up in early 1897 by an informal alliance of Bond and Liberal Members of Parliament. By April 1898, the scheme was well advanced "as a final bid to counter the biassed, inflammatory reports in the English press", and to "represent the new coalition between the Bond MPs and the liberal independents, in the coming election and in Parliament." (79)

The South African Newspaper Company Ltd was established by Frederick Centlivres, Managing Director of the van de Sandt de Villiers Printing Company, which published the Dutch paper Ons Land. He had previously managed the South African Telegraph, a paper started in Cape Town in 1895 by J.B. Robinson as a direct challenge to the Cape Times. Its editor, John Stuart, stated its main object would be "to assist in averting the evils which threatened South Africa from [Rhodes'] continuance in office," and many leaders and articles were written by Merriman, Sauer, and occasionally Smuts. It did not prosper, and was closed down on Robinson's order in September 1897. (80)

In September 1897 J.W. Sauer was distributing the prospectus of a paper which "those who take a South African view of questions contemplate starting." He had some success in finding subscribers to the undertaking, but requested additional help from Percy Molteno in England. Despite the initial difficulty in raising funds, Merriman thought that "people are getting alive to the urgent need of a paper free from the influences of the Chartered, De Beers, and the Johannesburg Stock Exchange." (81) The South African News Company Limited was finally registered in November 1898, though neither Merriman nor Sauer was mentioned in its deeds. The two preferent
shareholders were Henry Currey and Alexander Mair, with joint rights to appoint two Directors to the Board; others included J.C. Molteno, later Chairman of the Company, and F.J. Centlivres, its Manager. A proportion of the subscribers were British "pro-Boers" such as Sir Frederick Phillipson-Stow, a friend of Percy Molteno. (82)

Merriman wrote at some length to Centlivres, the publisher, about the contents of the paper. He wanted it to aim "at giving both sides of the question and at trying to decide public matters at their merits and not on personal grounds." He further warned against the venture being 'squared', and suggested that political supervision be entrusted to a committee chosen by shareholders:

"Above all, I hope you will make your paper primarily a newspaper. We are sick to death of disquisitions on our neighbours' weaknesses, and the situation in Europe, varied by accounts of Mr Rhodes' bedroom furniture. What we want is some information about the doings of that much-derided article, the Parish Pump." (83)

This would include information on statistics, trade, agriculture and rinderpest: making it "a newspaper indeed, and not a political pamphlet." Merriman approved of the editor chosen by Centlivres, Albert Cartwright, who had worked on both the Star and the Cape Times, but had altered his opinions with the events surrounding the Jameson Raid. Thereafter he edited the Diamond Fields Advertiser until that paper was bought out by Progressive party members in 1898 when he moved to the Cape Mercury in Kingwilliamstown. Merriman thought he possessed "marked ability", besides being one of the few "honest independent men" in Cape journalism. The two did not always agree: Cartwright was a Free Trader, and favoured a redistribution of parliamentary seats favouring the urban representatives, generally a Progressive Party policy, but he accepted Merriman's point that peace was the overruling
object at present.

When the South African News appeared in May 1899 it proclaimed the essence of its message as "our belief that there are no problems in South Africa which are not capable of settlement by the unaided efforts of the people of South Africa themselves." This required "non-interference by Downing Street", and the consideration of South African interests by all its various Governments. Unity was necessary amongst the "fringe of Europeans dotted over South Africa", who had "behind them an immense overwhelming mass of Native peoples whose ideas and aspirations are necessarily very different from those of their European neighbours." Together with this need for white self-determination, the News stressed the dangers of capitalist interests in the north, against the permanent agricultural industry whose workers would count the cost of mining profits. (84) Such themes were continued for two years, until the newspaper's suspension during the war.

The News advertised itself as "the National paper, the Liberal paper - the People's paper", and in its columns attacked "mining capitalists and their organs in the press" for precipitating a "race conflict". It wanted not the "frightening" of capital, "but a radical re-adjustment of the duties of capital." Supporting the Labour candidates in bye-elections, it appealed to the Cape Town working classes by references to Uitlander workers who were 'mainly pro-Kruger' and "dead against the capitalists." (85) This was supplemented by frequent references to the "Chartered Press", which was seen as the tool of its proprietors:

"the monopolist clique which hopes to get the minerals into its hand and escape taxation has secured control of the press in at least six leading towns. Depend upon it that it has laid its grimy paw upon the British press also." (86)
The News stressed South African Party policy, which stated that "the true solid feeling of the Afrikander majority was the Imperialism of Mr Hofmeyr and Sir Henry de Villiers." Championing Merriman and Sauer in politics, and protesting strongly against the war at all times, it did not ingratiate itself with Milner. During the war, the Governor used the News as an indicator of opposition to his policy but regarded it also as a dangerous enemy weapon. In October 1900 he told Chamberlain of the disillusionment prevalent in Cape Town, ascribing blame to "a small but noisy group of Radical agitators carefully nursed by the South African News and our Colonial rebels generally, who are fishing in troubled waters." He dismissed, however, the "anti-capitalist row", pointing out that "the socialism of Johannesburg is in reality the hollowest sham in the world." (87)

At the beginning of January 1901, Cartwright was arrested, on charges of defamatory and seditious libel reflecting on the conduct of British troops, and sentenced to one year's hard labour. During this absence, the News was edited by Reverend F.C. Kolbe and C.F.L. Leipoldt, although it was already being reduced by a ban on its circulation in districts under martial law. It ceased publication in October 1901 and its offices searched though, as Merriman gloated, no "incriminating documents" were found. (88)

When restarted in August 1902, after the essential debate on the Suspension of the Cape Constitution but in the midst of the antagonism this had aroused, the News picked up its old policy as an organ of the South African Party. It was then jointly edited by Cartwright and H.E.S. Fremantle, Philosophy Professor at the South African College. Milner was accused of favouring capitalist interests in the Transvaal at the expense of true South Africans, and the News appealed to the
potential Labour vote in Cape Town. It also continued to champion Merriman, though a re-organisation of ownership in 1909 passed control to the Transvaal and materially changed the policy of the paper.

During March 1909, Sauer wrote to Smuts that Centlivres was requesting an interview with regard to the future of the South African News. The paper had not prospered, and its circulation remained at around 4,000 in that year - less than half that of the Cape Argus. He reported "locally a splendid offer to purchase the concern, but sale of it may mean later the loss of control," adding that "looking to the future it is essential to us and the cause that we should have a paper here." A month later, Centlivres was thanking Smuts for the money which purchased shares in the Company: Sauer and Currey were, he said, both pleased with the results of his mission. This sale was not publicised: a month later he wrote of a rumour that shares were held in the Transvaal:

"I fear it is more than a rumour and that the information came from Pretoria. I have kept the matter so secret that not even the Board of Directors nor a single member of our staff know about it. The money was wired to me through a Bank other than where I deal so as to keep them off the scent. If it has become public at Pretoria you must please let me know...." (89)

He requested also that Smuts find them Transvaal advertisements to increase revenue, and "a smart canvasser... a reliable person who has some influence with the mining houses."

"If we get union there must be no talk of selling the business or parting with the controlling power. The paper will be required as a Government organ and it must be kept as such, only don't allow it to become a drain on the Party! Assist us in making it self-supporting...." (90)
The sale involved a change of allegiance: Centlivres stressed the need for secrecy concerning Smuts' holdings in April 1910, for "those who favour Mr Merriman would be wild if they were to hear that the editor of the News has been told to stay his hand." The editor was then Robert Phillipson-Stow, who tendered his resignation on the date of Union, objecting to the policy of the paper over the last few months "which deviated from the time-honoured policy of promoting the interests of the South African Party and its leaders." He had been forced to relinquish the political claims of Merriman and had been "disloyal to the Colony and to its Prime Minister whom it should have aided in every way." Nor had he been allowed the full responsibility of editor, but had been told what to write and, on one occasion, given a leader ready for insertion by Centlivres: "from that date I ceased to be editor of the paper in more than name." (91)

The News thus disposed of its Cape viewpoint, to support Botha's candidacy as Union Prime Minister and Transvaal interests. Merriman, edged out of the paper, lost his most vital publicity. Though the News had never compared with the Cape Times, or even the Argus, in circulation, it had provided a necessary outlet for English non-Progressive opinion, but in political influence it was overshadowed by Ons Land.

Ons Land had begun in 1892, formed with the intention of driving the major Dutch paper in Cape Town out of business. It succeeded in incorporating the Zuid Afrikaan within two years, and thereafter became known as "the leading Dutch newspaper in the Colony." (92) It retained the tradition and reputation of the Zuid Afrikaan, which had first appeared in 1829, and had since absorbed several other Dutch papers. One particular influence was that of the Volksvriend, a paper established in 1862 on the suggestion of a Christian Conference in Cape Town in
reaction against the liberal - in theological terms - 
Volksblad. The Christelijke Drukpers Vereeniging was
formed to print the newspaper, whose Board of Directors
would have control of editorial policy. J.H. Hofmeyr took
over the editorship and turned the Volksvriend into a
more political journal than hitherto; in 1870 when the
Christian Printing Union wished to close the paper, he
bought them out and dropped its claims to be a "Religious
and Social Newspaper", and in 1871 the Zuid Afrikaan
merged with the Volksvriend. Hofmeyr provided some
leading articles for the paper, but no longer edited it,
though he kept "sole and uninterrupted direction and
control of the political opinions advanced in that paper."
(93)

Policy was one of attachment to the British
connection, but a primary loyalty to South Africa,
particularly to the institutions and language of Dutch
Afrikanders. It drew attention to inequalities in the
Colony, particularly those favouring English speakers,
and, as had the Volksvriend under Hofmeyr, aimed "to
awaken his people to a consciousness of their calling as
citizens of a United South Africa of the future." This
involved a call for more schools, particularly in
practical and scientific education, and emphasised the
need for literacy whilst providing literature within the
paper. Enterprise in agriculture was encouraged, and
lessons given on the dignity of labour. White politics
drew most of the paper's attention, Hofmeyr approving
confederation until March 1879. Then the "violent
conduct" of the British in the Transvaal ended "all the
fine unselfish talk of whites against natives...gone was
the satisfaction of our feeling of nationality as bond and
cause of Confederation." The Zuid Afrikaan pointed to the
"one big question" affecting all South Africa: "Who will
be baas, Colonists or Natives?" (94)

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Though Hofmeyr's views were not exclusively represented in the paper, he did use it to further his aims of bringing Dutch speakers into political activity, to create a "central or national sentiment" which would counterbalance the localism conspiring to wreck hopes of Union. The Newspaper Press Directory noted that during the 1890's the Zuid Afrikaan was "largely circulated in the Orange Free State and Transvaal", as well as the Cape. Federation was seen as a British Government ploy to relieve itself of obligations: Hofmeyr preferred that union should come voluntarily from independent states. His support of the boycott of English by Dutch in 1881 caused the English press to regard him as "one of the hottest agitators, anti-English to the backbone, whose voice is amongst the loudest when the cry is raised, "Africa for the Afrikanders." (95)

The Zuid Afrikaan was challenged in 1892 by Ons Land, a result of Bond displeasure with the old paper's insufficient adjustment to its policies: Hofmeyr supported the newspaper from the start. The Van de Sandt de Villiers Printing Company was set up to issue the new Dutch paper, from the business of B.J. v.d.S. de Villiers which was managed by Fred Centlivres. Directors were to be Centlivres, J.A.C. Graaff, and H.D. Vos de Kock. (96)

In April 1892 the Bond Congress announced its authorisation of Ons Land as an official organ together with papers in Paarl, Graaff-Reinet, Phillipsttown, and Somerset East, "which alone have declared themselves to be based on our Programme of Principles." By January 1894 it had driven the Zuid Afrikaan out of business, and the papers were combined as De Zuid Afrikaan vereenigd met Ons Land, though popularly known as Ons Land. (97)

Francois S. Malan became editor of the paper in 1895, on the recommendation of Hofmeyr, who had increased his shareholding in the company greatly in that year. Malan
himself started buying shares in 1897, though by April 1911 he was the largest single shareholder. Malan followed Hofmeyr's lead in politics, and praised him in the paper. He stressed concern for the position of the Dutch in South Africa, and for the integrity of the Republics against Imperial or uitlander encroachments. Milner was given a cautious welcome on his arrival at the Cape, though Malan found the farewell speeches of Chamberlain and Goschen threatening. (98) From 1896, Malan attended and reported all Bond Congresses, and in 1900 became a Member of the Assembly for Malmesbury, taking his seat only in 1902. He too was imprisoned in 1901 for criminal libel on the conduct of General French, and sentenced to one year imprisonment. With Malan's arrest in January, Ons Land was suppressed by the military authorities, reappearing only in July 1902, though the newspaper Advertentieblad appeared for this period, reporting Malan's trial but without the political comment that had characterised Ons Land. (99)

Both the South African News and Ons Land were managed by Fred Centlivres, who had political interests in the success of his papers, though only in 1910 did one of his editors complain of interference. Malan was not subject to the same pressure, forming opinion on behalf of the South African Party as much as reflecting the views of his colleagues. The two papers regularly shared articles and policy, with Malan supporting Botha against the claims of Merriman through his own conviction. Smuts was aware of Malan's influence and need to be informed, instructing Merriman to show the editor various letters from their correspondence. (100) Malan gradually moved away from his alliance with the Cape independents towards union with the leaders of Het Volk and Orangia Unie, parties whose claims he pressed strongly in the paper. Ons Land was represented by the opposition press as the symbol of
uncompromising Afrikanderism, very much in the mould in which Hofmeyr had been cast, with an "anti-British" stance, though the paper claimed to represent all South Africans against the transient capitalism of the Transvaal. Malan and his sub-editor, J.P. Louw, were active in the Cape Taalbond, and from 1905 wanted Ons Land written in simplified spelling, though Malan did not at first approve the Afrikaans of De Volksstem. When, in 1908, Malan became the Minister of Agriculture in Merriman's Cabinet, his Assistant J.P.L. Volsteedt took over as editor, remaining until the closure of the paper in 1930. (101)

Ons Land was instrumental in spreading a policy of co-operation amongst Dutch South Africans, and in promoting the cause of Union from the Responsible Governments of each Colony. Its emphasis on the withdrawal of direct Imperial influence made it an enemy of the majority of the English press, and party antagonism followed straightforward lines. Ons Land spoke out for a rapid return to self-government in the new Colonies, and did not disguise its distaste for Milner, nor the failure of his work in the north. It took an anti-capitalist stance similar to the News, and gave much publicity to the deprivations of poor whites in the Cape, and resettlement and employment schemes set up by the churches. Malan's articles on Union, published in Ons Land in August and September 1906, were reprinted in translation in the Star and provoked much discussion of the form and means of Union. The necessity for it had already been accepted by the newspapers, and the way thus paved for acceptance of political commencement of the idea when Ministers provided Lord Selborne with a request for his views, resulting in his Memorandum on the Federation of the South African Colonies. (102)

The four major papers in Cape Town existed in various
rivalries: Ons Land held the majority of Dutch and Afrikaans readers, while the other three competed for the English market. Though two supported the Progressives and two the South African Party, they divided over leadership, when the Cape Times promoted Rhodes' claims, against the Argus' disapproval, and the South African News was forcibly turned to support of Botha against Merriman. As party papers they bolstered support more through denigration of their rivals than through promotion of their own ideals in any but the most abstract terms. Thus, any praise of Milner's work in the Transvaal indicated subjugation to capitalism, whilst any criticism of it implied hostility to the British Crown. The papers may not have wholly represented the views of their parties; but they claimed to, and constant assertion of the negative nature of the Opposition may well have raised support more through inertia than faith. Each was a political paper in intention: established and continued for the purpose of promoting a particular viewpoint. To this end, proprietors chose editors with whom they were in political agreement. The challenge for the editor was to express this view in the most popular terms, thus winning both political support and revenue for the newspaper. Consistency was vital: frequent appeals were made to the traditions of a paper, incorporated into current political controversy. All expressed a desire for a united South Africa, but all remained firmly committed to the party battles that were only partially eclipsed by bright predictions of Union.

All these four papers spoke to a white readership; only the South African Spectator directed its attention wholly towards both Coloured and African inhabitants of Cape Town, and the wider readership beyond. Published fortnightly, it was begun in December 1900 by Francis Z.S. Peregrino, an Accra-born journalist who had lived in
Britain and the United States before settling in Cape Town. He advertised his paper as "an organ of all who are not white."

"It advocates the cause of the black man, it chronicles his progress in America, on the West Coast of Africa, everywhere. Is published by a black man, who aspires not to be a white." (103)

Peregrino stressed the need for education and for political awareness in the columns of his paper. Though he covered black activities almost exclusively, he saw the necessity of involvement in the new white society of South Africa, and concentrated on the means of integration: this, he stressed, should not be taken as a desire to become white. In working to lessen differences between Coloured and African, he supplied articles in English, Dutch, Xhosa, and for a short period during 1907, in Sechuana also. (104) He was prominent in the founding of the Native Press Association with A.K. Soga and Sol Plaatje, eager to increase the flow of news and information amongst all sections of the community via newspapers.

Peregrino's links with the United States provided him with Agents for his paper in that country, and with information about the activities of black people there which he publicised in the cause of black South African advancement. There were articles encouraging "race pride", describing the achievements of such as Hannibal and Toussaint L'ouverture. He was also eager to make, and help others to make, political representations to the white authorities, publishing local grievances, the activities of the Coloured People's Vigilance Committee which he had helped found in 1901, and the Stone meetings of John Tobin. Pride in black achievements was essential if blacks were to make their mark in white South African society: he urged readers to register as voters, and
exhorted them to become model citizens, promoting the values of literacy and the evils of drink by frequent articles on the uplifting nature of education, and accepting no advertisements for alcohol or its suppliers in the paper. (105)

These calls to "moral improvements" were made within a structure of allegiance to British rule. Starting publication during the Anglo-Boer war, the Spectator was subject to restrictions of censorship that affected all the South African papers. Peregrino emphasised his faith in British Government, which was not perfect, "but with all its imperfections - the consciousness of superiority and race-pride, which characterises the average Britisher - it is so far, and until something better develops, the best form of Government for the black man." He admitted that equality of citizenship was only professed and not real, for "on every hand [the black man] sees the most direct contradiction of this excellent law," but he expressed hope for the future through the combined development of both white and black. (106)

Continuing this allegiance, Peregrino chose to support the Progressive party in the 1904 elections, though in 1908 his disillusionment with Progressive Government caused him to switch to the South African Party. Both parties "seemed determined not to disfranchise the coloured people." His colleague and Agent John Tobin had already pinned his faith to the South African Party and its assurances of fair treatment. Tobin and Isaac Dreyer presided over the weekly meetings at The Stone on the slopes of Devil's Peak, which were usually attended by Coloured Capetonians, and a "sprinkling" of Europeans and Moslems, according to the Cape Argus. Its predominant principle was that "all who were not white were black and should own it," and should unite. This was in no way unfriendly to whites: freedom of speech was
granted by whites in the Cape, and it was hoped this would soon be granted to the other Colonies also. Dreyer urged his Coloured listeners to cast off the pride that made for dissociation, and to progress by working with their "darker brothers". (107) Tobin endorsed the call for every qualified man to register on the voters' roll, and the need for watchfulness to safeguard their privileges and rights: he would want every man enfranchised, irrespective of colour (a statement greeted with "loud applause"), because the greater the numbers of voters, the more say they would possess in inter-State negotiations. From his travels within South Africa, Tobin proclaimed a growing political and social interest amongst coloured people compared with a few years ago: now "African affairs loomed high on the political horizon." Already it was seen as essential that the voting rights available in the Cape Colony be extended to the other Colonies: only on these terms could the Cape accept federation, though it was acceptable to insist that voters be primarily "good citizens". The terms on which federation was decided would mean life or death to the coloured people of the Cape. To ensure the survival of their rights, Tobin urged education and registration. The depressing news with which he confronted the crowd was the decline in numbers of coloured voters in all districts between 1905 and 1907: in District Six, voters had decreased from 3,767 to 2,341 in two years. (108)

Peregrino and the Spectator were increasingly challenged by the African Political Organisation. This was formed in September 1902 by Dr. Abdullah Abdurahman, and held annual conferences through the Cape. It retained its Progressive policy, deriding its rivals Peregrino, Tobin, Le Roux and L.W. Wentzel, as unrepresentative of Coloured opinion. Abdurahman had spoken frequently throughout South Africa, protesting against
discrimination: at the fourth Annual Congress of the A.P.O. in Cape Town in 1906 he spoke out against the denial of their rights and of the possibility of a war of whites against coloured, advising whites to keep their "race pride" in the background. Any superiority could be used for the best of the country through justice: in an Empire of over 400 million souls, 84% were governed despotically:

"Great Britain spent millions of money and sacrificed thousands of valuable lives in order to obtain the very privileges which she today withholds from a portion of her subjects who materially assisted in conquering the new territories." (109)

At that Congress, a committee was formed to plan a newspaper for the organisation, though the A.P.O. appeared only in May 1909. It was a fortnightly production, declaring "a policy of justice and equality for all men in South Africa", printed by Citadel Press, Loop Street, for the A.P.O. Newspaper Company, and published by M.J. Fredericks. The paper reflected Abdurahman's socialism, becoming gradually more conservative as he did. He had assumed the Presidency of the Organisation in 1905, expanding it rapidly from a floundering local group to an influential movement with 111 branches through the country. (110) He also figured as a celebrity, being both a doctor and city councillor in Cape Town - the first black man to achieve this position - and a member of the Provincial Council. Such prominence caused the otherwise favourable Cape Argus to scorn his protests on "the Rights of Colour": his achievements were proof that colour was no bar in the Colony, and the refusal of coloured children at some schools, of which Abdurahman complained, was a "social not a legal question." (111)

The A.P.O. seems to have gained more popularity than the Spectator, with its outspoken criticism of the draft Act of Union. Peregrino, though critical, opposed the
sending of a delegation of protest to Great Britain. Neither the A.P.O. nor the Spectator rivalled any of the white papers in terms of circulation, though their influence was strong, not least in the sharing of news amongst black papers throughout South Africa, which Peregrino had helped to institute in the Native Press Association in 1904. They were a means whereby white papers could have obtained news of African activities in an already deeply divided society, though this opportunity was rarely taken. The Argus reports of A.P.O. Congresses generally came through Reuters. These papers gave variety to the white press of Cape Town, but had little effect on it in politics or circulation. They provided the only expression of black views in sympathetic terms: the white papers championed the Cape franchise system and the potential "rise" of the African vote, but only as a safeguard for a white society wherein segregation could be a "social not a legal question." (112)
ii) Cape Provincial Politics

Much of the press through the Cape had associations with England. Many journalists came from London and British provincial papers, establishing country papers in growing Cape towns and supplying a need felt by both town and country population in a rapidly changing balance. The ports in the Eastern Cape were most prominent politically through newspapers, overtaking the early prestige of Grahamstown. Kimberley's newspaper shared something of this more national appeal, as did the Cape Mercury of Kingwilliamstown. Paarl, a major centre for the nascent Afrikaans press and publishing industry, was losing its predominance to the politically brighter and independent Ons Land. The majority of the country papers, however, served small towns and scattered farming populations, rarely covering politics by party, and preferring to stress the needs of the merchant and farming populations they served.

Paarl's reputation amongst British Imperialists as the point from which the worst evils of Dutch inspired Afrikanderism emerged, rested on Die Afrikaanse Patriot. This small, magazine-style production first appeared in 1876 published by the Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners, to launch the movement for the development of Afrikaans as a written language. Previously, Afrikaans had appeared only infrequently in a few newspapers: Het Volksblad and De Zuid Afrikaan of Cape Town included some articles in the "Cape taal", but the majority of publications were in Dutch. The new journal, with its motto, "Om te staan ver ons taal, ons nasie en ons land", offered each month an article on some topical matter, correspondence, poetry, history, and information on the Afrikaans language, besides a review of news. Starting with only 50 subscriptions, by August 1876 it was selling 400 copies,
and by 1881 flourishing with sales of 3,000, rivalling the Cape Town papers. (113)

The paper was published by the firm of D.F. du Toit & Co from 1878: previously it had been printed at the Zuid Afrikaan works in Cape Town. The new business published books, pamphlets and the Afrikaanse Almanak as well as Die Patriot. It was the early policy of this paper, which sided with the Transvaal against British annexation, which was regarded as aggressive and dangerous by English South Africans: the reputation stuck for some years, though during the 1880's its policy was moderated and became occasionally critical of the Transvaal Government. By 1891 it was edited by Rev. S.J. du Toit, who brought the paper round to support Hofmeyr's alliance with Rhodes. (114)

Du Toit wrote to Hofmeyr in that year of the possibilities he envisaged:

"The press is the greatest power and strongest factor in politics. And we have the chance to get the press of the Colony in our hands to such an extent that we can dominate public opinion." (115)

His concept was of a "vast press union, which would provide some form of centralised direction for a chain of newspapers feeding all the important districts of the Colony." The suggestion had been made to him by David de Waal, who later continued his newspaper interests by taking shares in Ons Land. Funds were provided by C.J. Rhodes whom the paper would support though, as with most of his newspaper contacts, it is difficult to identify him absolutely as the source. It was not to the advantage of politicians to be seen directly financing the newspapers which supported them. (116)

In February 1895, therefore, De Drukpers Maatschappij, D.F. du Toit & Co, Bpkt, was formed in Paarl to take over the business of D.F. du Toit and its
newspapers, Die Patriot, Paarl, and Getuige. Its founding capital of £5,000 was minor in relation to some of the Cape Town papers, but exceeded the usual funds of country firms. Chairman of the Company was C.W.H. Kohler, a close associate of both Rhodes and du Toit. S.J. du Toit continued to edit Die Patriot, which consistently refused to admit Rhodes' guilt after the Jameson Raid, and in consequence was accused of being 'bought'. From this time on, the Company and its papers lost business. In supporting Rhodes, they transgressed the resolutions of the Bond Congress of 1897, that

"... all considerations of national self-respect, political honour, and good faith, command the National Afrikander party not to lend Mr Rhodes any more political support at all, whether at public meetings, in the press, at the ballot box, in Parliament, or anywhere else." (117)

The following year, Kohler resigned his membership of the Bond, and switched his support to the Progressives. He edited a new daily paper, Het Dagblad, from July 1897, for which Cape Town premises were provided, with money from Rutherford Harris. Die Patriot remained as its weekend supplement, and it became the organ of the Koloniale Unie, a group of Progressive Dutch Afrikanders. It aimed to "keep the pro-Rhodes feeling alive", but received little support: it ceased in September 1898 after only 14 months, when it was obvious it did "not serve the purpose we had expected it to attain." (118)

The collapse of Het Dagblad was modified by the appearance of the Kolonist, a tri-weekly paper advertising itself as,

"The only Progressive Party and Imperialistic Party Journal published in Dutch in the Cape Peninsula - circulates largely in fruit and vine growing districts of Paarl, Stellenbosch, Wellington, Ceres, Worcester, and in the wheat growing district of Malmesbury." (119)
It was the only Dutch paper allowed by the military authorities to circulate during the war in districts under martial law. Despite such encouragement it continued to lose money, and ceased publication in 1902. **Die Patriot**, which had lost its Bond status in 1897, was finally closed in 1904 when it and the du Toit Company went into liquidation. The business was taken over by a group of Paarl professionals, who concentrated on book, not newspaper, publishing. (120)

**Die Patriot** had gained a reputation first for the use of Afrikaans, but had only become popular with its anti-Imperial political views on the Transvaal. It had achieved a high circulation both in the Cape and beyond: adherence to Rhodes after 1896 killed off much of its support. Readers turned instead to **Ons Land** as the modern exponent of the nationalism of Western Cape Afrikanders; from 1905 its appearance in simplified Dutch spelling finally replaced the Paarl productions. It contained information in every edition on the simplification of the language, the "taalvereenvoudiging", and district news from Tulbagh, Malmesbury, Villiersdorp and Swellendam, thus appealing to a wide section of the Western Cape agricultural districts.

Editorials covered agriculture and education more frequently than party politics: in this respect, the major Dutch paper in Cape Town combined the virtues of a country paper with the potential of town facilities and capital. Its coverage of the activities of Het Volk and Orangia Unie in the northern colonies also gave substance to its appeals for national unity, and prepared its readers early for acceptance of political union. (121)

Kimberley developed stronger links with the Cape Town press, whilst also losing some of its prominence in newspaper debating circles. During the early development of the diamond industry, newspapers rose and fell on the
diggings quickly and easily. In 1870 the Diamond Field began, closely followed by the Diamond News, The Field, The Independent and the Diamond Fields Advertiser, amongst others which survived sometimes for only a few weeks. The Independent was J.B. Robinson's first newspaper, purchased "to further his political career," with Lionel Phillips in charge of printing works, but was taken over by the Argus Company in 1891 and suffered thereafter for its close connections with, and support for, De Beers. (122) It ceased production in 1893, leaving the Diamond Fields Advertiser to dominate the Kimberley newspaper world. Started in 1878, the Advertiser had become popular enough to become a daily in 1882, remaining privately owned and politically independent until 1898. From April 1896 it was edited by Albert Cartwright, who had previously worked on the Cape Times and The Star and shared in the current dread of "Afrikander domination." His views were changed by the Jameson Raid, which the Advertiser had already condemned, and though he referred to the "abominable misgovernment" of the Transvaal, and accepted the necessity for reform, he did not share the increasingly aggressive attitude of other Progressive party editors. Nor could he support Rhodes, advising that he remain in Rhodesia: "to help the cause of peace and unity in South Africa, let him give a public pledge that he will not attempt to re-enter Cape politics at the next election." (123) He opposed Imperial intervention on local issues, and numbered himself amongst those working for a future nation created by both English and Dutch, calling upon readers to see themselves primarily as South Africans. This policy stood him in good stead when he became editor of the South African News in May 1899. He promoted the idea of a federal South Africa under the British flag, with full citizen's rights for the Uitlanders of Johannesburg, but created from within the various states.
This was always to be white, though the Advertiser did contain news of local African events. (124)

Early in 1898, the Advertiser was bought by a partnership of Fred Luke St. Leger, General Manager of the Cape Times, Rutherfoord Harris, and a Kimberley printer, Ferdinand Schuler. A Company was floated to run the paper and printing works, and George A.L. Green, a journalist on the Cape Times, was brought up from Cape Town on the recommendation of Edmund Garrett, to "take over Cartwright's old job and to reverse his policy." (125) The Cape Times did not record the takeover as a part of that Company's business, though the Newspaper Press Directory of 1900 mentioned the "fusion of management" of the two papers, "both now the property of a most successful and progressive limited liability company." The personal connection remained: Green was brought down to the Cape Times during 1902, but returned on St. Leger's insistence to his Directors that the Advertiser was "in great distress" at losing him. (126)

Green had campaigned vigorously on the "Rhodes ticket" for the 1898 elections, and supported the South African League, as did St. Leger. The success of the Progressives in Kimberley helped the paper succeed under its new management. Before and during the war, Green was helped by Rhodes providing information and newsworthy stories. The Company was one of the few that made a profit: by 1904 the Chairman could tell his Board that some 75% of the Capital invested had already been repaid in dividends. (127) Financial stability was an immense advantage: the Advertiser received the benefits of updated production techniques and hence the appearance of the paper improved. Though it retained its claims to independence, it was recognised that its proximity to Rhodes held it firmly in the Progressive interest, as the intention had been in the Company flotation. With Rhodes'
death, the Advertiser turned its support to Jameson, who stood for Harris' old seat in Kimberley and was returned unopposed to the Legislative Assembly. Green remained on the paper until after Union, when Geoffrey Robinson, then editor of the Johannesburg Star, offered him the challenge of reviving the fortunes of the Cape Argus. (128)

From 1902, therefore, Cape newspapers had more than merely professional links: the Advertiser in Kimberley and the Cape Times shared financial backing, whilst the Cape Times was increasingly supported by Transvaal money. This did not always bring editorial control, but it recognised shared interests, and the views of large investors would be taken into account both in policy and the choice of editor. By 1921, however, it was the Argus Company which was the controlling shareholder in the Diamond Fields Advertiser, and connections with the Cape Times lessened. The latter Company retreated from national newspaper ownership to concentrate on sales in the Western Cape, leaving the Argus Company to manage papers in most of the major towns of South Africa. (129)

Newspapers thrived in many of the larger towns throughout the Cape. Many concentrated on local news of agriculture, trade and church, without much reference to politics, and infrequently carrying an editorial article. They performed vital social functions as publishers of Government and municipal notices, and advertisements for town and district. In order to attract the widest readership, increasing both sales and the paper's attractiveness to advertisers, many were published in bilingual editions. Sometimes this was half English half Dutch; sometimes the paper was primarily English with one or two Dutch pages of advertisement notices, and letters. By the end of the century political rivalry was acute enough to warrant rival papers being established in some of the larger towns. Not only did the country press
thrive on such rivalry, it accentuated its importance as a reflection of country opinion, and its differences with Cape Town or the Eastern port papers. Graaff-Reinet was a major centre of rural newspaper production. The capital of the Midland Province, it had first produced a newspaper in 1851, the bilingual Graaff-Reinet Courant & Chronicle of the Wilderness, though this was short-lived. In 1860 the Graaff-Reinet Advertiser appeared, which by the 1890's was successful enough to publish twice a week, and in 1900 three times a week. The only English paper in the district, reputedly liberal in tone, it was an influential "advocate of the agriculturists" claims. (130) It published the latest telegraphic news and boasted a large circulation. It was continued after 1903 by a limited company, taking over the business of Mrs Amelia Sandford, and run by a group of professional men. (131)

The Advertiser had shared the market since 1885 with the Dutch Graaff-Reinetter, which had obtained good sales amongst an "influential class", according to its advertisements. Edited by J.E. McCusker, it gained notoriety during 1890 and 1891 as an outspoken opponent of Hofmeyr's alliance with Rhodes and a supporter of the Adendorff trek. Ten years later it was suspended by the military from April to December 1900; though it resumed publication, it lasted only until November 1902. There was by then an alternative Dutch paper, the official Bond organ for the district, which increasingly attracted readers. (132)

J.H. Hofmeyr had written to Thomas Te Water in 1891 that it was a "matter of dire necessity for our party to be possessed of trustworthy and resolute organs." Te Water's home town of Graaff-Reinet then had only one Dutch paper, the Graaff-Reinetter, which was opposing the new political alliance. To counter this, and to build publicity for both the alliance and the Bond, another
paper was founded. De Koloniale Drukpers Mâatschappij Bpk was registered in September 1892 by three of its future Directors, including Te Water. The Company then started the paper Onze Courant, to be edited by C.H.O. Marais. The Graaff-Reinetter immediately alleged that the paper was backed by Rhodes' money: Te Water wanted to sue McCusker, but was advised by Hofmeyr that the allegation was insufficient grounds for a libel claim. John Flint, in his biography of Rhodes, corroborates the Graaff-Reinetter: he states that Rhodes, during 1892, "helped to finance from his own pocket the resurgence of a Dutch language press with the foundation of important newspapers, such as Ons Land, De Paarl, and Onze Courant." (134)

Hofmeyr advised the foundation of a private company, with a high percentage of shares held in Cape Town as ballast against the storms of local politics. He warned Te Water that another of the founders, R.P. Botha, should not talk of "loans from Rhodes or any other Cape Town man," but that "Cape Town men will take shares to the tune of £500 if necessary." The capital was finally settled at £1,000, divided amongst 79 shareholders, mostly holding between 3 and 10 shares of £1 only. Most came from Graaff-Reinet and the surrounding district. It was common practice for Dutch newspaper companies to spread shareholdings, which were usually based firmly in the region which the paper was to serve. From the remaining records, financial control is less apparent than in the highly concentrated holdings in English companies. In the Koloniale Drukpers, however, only six of the 79 shareholders held more than 15 shares each: Te Water was one, while the other five were all Cape Town men, including Hofmeyr. (135)

After Hofmeyr had broken with Rhodes, Onze Courant stayed with the Bond and, with Ons Land, was recognised as
being based on its Programme of Principles. During the war, Onze Courant was banned, and its editor Marais imprisoned for 6 months for libel. This was not the only problem besetting the Company: the Secretary had been deported by the British, one Director had died, another was "sent away by the military, and the third is in the country and cannot be communicated with." The only remaining Director was under military restriction of his activities. After the war, Cornelis Marais became one of the Company's major shareholders and production continued more regularly. (136)

Onze Courant supplied much of the Midlands district with news of the Bond and of the South African Party. The Western Cape relied on Ons Land, and the Eastern Cape on Het Oosten. This latter paper was published in Somerset East from 1892. It too turned against Rhodes after the Jameson Raid, was also banned from distribution in March 1900 and its editor J.A. Vosloo imprisoned for libel. The rival Somerset Budget continued publication throughout. This English paper had produced a Dutch edition, the Somerset Renbode, until 1894, after which only occasional news, advertisements and articles appeared in Dutch in the Budget. (137)

Not all the Dutch papers adhered completely to South African National Party policy after the war; in Burghersdorp the Stem was published from January 1903 by Andreas Coetsee. Including excerpts from papers such as Ons Land and the Potchefstroomer, as well as from the South African News, it published many letters and discussed topical matters such as the Argentinian trek. It reported Bond Congresses, and echoed the views of South African Party papers in its dislike of Milner, speaking of the lasting bitterness engendered by a war planned by Chamberlain, Rhodes and Milner. It sneered too at "jingo bladen", as English Progressive newspapers were called.
It opposed the South African Party, however, in its attitude towards Africans, and in this respect was considered by opponents such as the Cape Times as indicative of "old Dutch" views. (138) The Stem criticised "the running after the coloured people to get their votes", and advocated the separation of Pondoland, Bechuanaland and Griqualand from the Colony, which could be given self-government under the British flag: "We would not even consider it wrong if they were represented in Parliament. Give them there the franchise and all possible rights... give them their country, but let them not rule with us in our country." Moreover, it considered the recommendations of the South African Native Affairs Commission to be an improvement on South African Party policy: the "Imperialistic party" had undeniably a "better conception of the native" than did the South African Party. For the Stem, this was "the question of questions": "where the interests of all whites are concerned, there can be co-operation." (139)

There were also independent English papers, prepared to diverge from Progressive party policy. These differentiated themselves from their Dutch rivals, but were often prepared to join forces against what was seen as the overbearing influence of Cape Town or the Eastern ports. Cradock's papers pursued independent roles frequently. A thriving Midlands town, it grew from a population of 2,000 in 1890 to 8,400 in 1903. On the main line of the Port Elizabeth to Bloemfontein railway, it had prospered with increasing trade. Unlike most rural towns, Cradock possessed a daily paper, the Midland News and Karroo Farmer; begun as a bi-weekly in 1891 when a gold-bearing reef was reportedly being worked in the vicinity, it turned to more frequent production in 1900 when its rival, the Cradock Register ceased. Its expansion had been rapid: new machinery was quickly acquired to improve
the style, and a weekly pictorial supplement added. It possessed its own correspondents in Midland districts for comprehensive local news, and held the advantage of being the authorised Government medium for notices. This ensured its steady revenue from official announcements. It carried also the latest cables and telegrams, parliamentary reports, besides local and general news. There were detailed reports of agricultural shows, and the meetings of Farmers' Associations, besides prices in London as well as local markets. (140)

By 1901, the Midland News was claiming to report all manner of meetings - Farmers, Bond, League, and Mayors' Congresses - and its advertisements called it the "recognised medium for reaching the progressive farmers throughout the country." It was one of the most far-reaching of rural papers, and prided itself on its expansion and success. During the war, it was the only colonial paper outside Cape Town to send a correspondent to accompany Lord Roberts' column, while several of its pre-war correspondents were used by the military in Intelligence work. During the siege of Kimberley, copies of the Midland News were supplied to the town "by means of native runners". It was also apparently "the most popular paper in military camps", a financial boon since it entailed the certain sale of 1,000 copies daily. (141)

As might be expected from its appeal, the paper then had a Progressive bias. It was founded by William Crosby (later of the Dispatch) in conjunction with the Butler Brothers. In 1897, a company was formed to buy the business of the Butler Brothers including the plant, printing material, book debts and goodwill of the Midland News, and to print and publish the paper. Phyllis Lewson notes, with reference to a letter from Merriman to J. Bryce in December 1899, that the Midland News was part of the Argus group, but this was not locally believed. J.A.
Hobson, who made a study of the "Imperialist" ownership of the press during his visit to South Africa in 1900, recounted how the Argus and Cape Times Company newspapers were known to be under Rhodes' control; he alleges that "several other newspapers" at Port Elizabeth, Durban, and other centres, were reported to have fallen under the same banner, and adds that "unsuccessful attempts have been made upon others," for example, the Midland News. (142)

There is no indication of external sources of finance or manipulation in the company records, but when the Midland Printing and Publishing Company Ltd was set up in 1897, its capital was £10,000 - a fairly substantial sum for a country paper. Subscribers to the Memorandum and Articles of Association were seven members of the Butler family, and a journalist, Herbert Fear, and his wife. (143) All but one of these registered their addresses in England. Only James Butler held a Cradock address; only he and Fear (of Plymouth) classed themselves as journalists. English connections remained important, for in October 1902 R.G. Fear was brought on to the News staff from the Plymouth Western Daily Mercury. The immediate reason for the formation of the company was the return of Joseph Butler, founder of the paper, to England. Crosby had already left Cradock for East London, though links remained strong. The two Directors were to be James and Charles Butler. From later records it is clear that the News stayed within the family: in 1928 Ernest Butler was both journalist and managing director. James Butler led the business: in 1908 he and Charles were assisting the incorporation of the Bechuanaland News into the Northern News in Vryburg; James was still resident in Cradock, but Charles Butler had moved north and was supervising the overhaul of the Northern Newspaper Company. (144) If there had been an injection of party funds, it did not involve direct ownership or control by the well-known
Progressive newspaper owners.

Nor was the tone of the paper overtly pro-Rhodes. It was proud of remaining "loyal" during the war, but by 1902 was open in its criticism of petty military censorship, and it did not follow a strictly Progressive line in its politics. It was a vigorous campaigner for agricultural reforms and modernisations, which it made the basis of its political judgement. The question of the suspension of the constitution in 1902 would invite merely "another grievance" for the Colony, and reduce the population to the position of "political helots". At the time, all 'pro-Rhodes' politicians were calling for suspension, which Milner too advocated, many touring the country arranging meetings to press the point; there was acrimony on both sides of the dispute, which raged for some months. The News published Crosby's editorial from the Daily Dispatch, and remained hostile to suspension, whereas most Progressive journalists changed their line in March 1902. (145)

The News supported neither Bond nor League, showing some dislike of both, and a definite distrust of the first. It advocated a new "non-racial" political party, avoiding those professional politicians who continued party antagonisms for their own personal advantage:

"Such a party... would make education, irrigation, and railway extension its first care, but should also agree on the imposition of the excise, the prohibition of the sale of liquor to Natives, the restriction of the importation of Asiatics, etc etc. On all these points all go-ahead English and Dutch farmers and residents in the Midlands and Border towns are agreed... these go-ahead men should organise a new party on these lines to further their own and their country's interests, and there would no longer be any Question of the Suspension of the Constitution." (146)

By the end of 1902, it was approving cautiously of the South African Party, but made no commitment to any party
There were journals opposed to the *Midland News* in Cradock. The *Cradock Observer* was a fairly short-lived paper, appearing only in 1902. An attempt to re-establish the paper in 1903 may have had Progressive party backing, but the Company was in liquidation by October. (147) The major rival to the *Midland News* was the continuation of the old *Cradock Afrikaander*, which had begun in 1884 and was known from 1899 as De *Middellansche Afrikaander*. It held an "excellent clientele of Dutch-speaking farmers" and was reputed to be an "excellent medium for the District." The Company running it was De *Middellandsche Afrikaander Drukpers Maatschappij Bpkt* registered in 1899, of which the Directors were all farmers in the district and included the Chairman of the local Bond. (148) With a capital of £2,500 the company was not large, and it was formed with the minimum number of shareholders required by law - 25 - who held 100 shares each. In Dutch only, the paper circulated in Midland and Eastern Districts, "the best medium for advertisers to come in contact with the Dutch population of the said Districts." It came out twice a week since rural circulations were less frequent than their town counterparts, through lack of means of rapid distribution, and often some lack of readers'desire to obtain a vast quantity of news. The *Midland News* concentrated on the town population of Cradock, though its weekly edition went further afield. The *Afrikaander* catered more exclusively for farmers, and reached the outlying areas more widely than the *News*. (149)

Clearly, editors of small newspapers had little compunction in expressing their views. These men were often more independent, owning and managing their own businesses, than many editors of the larger companies in the Ports. Their papers, however, did not have large circulations, and such country views were usually ignored.
by the dailies in the Cape. The English press tended to continue political feuds, but this was increasingly restricted to a war between the papers of the major ports. The Eastern Province was proud of its history of journalism, in which the ports came to figure most strongly.

Grahamstown had produced the first newspaper in the East in December 1830: the prospectus for the paper told subscribers that the town's importance "as a commercial station alone seems sufficient to entitle it to a local newspaper; or, in other words, appears to ensure adequate renumeration to the proprietor." Such considerations remained of the utmost importance to future proprietors. The Journal was filled with information from the Albany district on commerce, import and export trade, local news on agriculture, information on "neighbouring tribes", law reports, markets, selections from English newspapers, and not least, advertisements. It began as an informative and primarily commercial venture: "the editor does not propose to inflict invariably on his readers what is usually called a leading article;" and politics were left to be discussed by correspondents. (150)

The Journal flourished, and its success encouraged other papers in the Eastern Cape. It was not unresponsive to local opinion: when Dutch farmers requested that the Editor supply news in Dutch, he published the Grahamstad Register en Boervriend to fulfil this purpose. The Journal won most of its reputation for its championship of the cause of Separation of Eastern from Western Province. Seventy years of vigorous and often vitriolic reporting gave it notoriety, and its independence allowed it "considerable influence among all classes", and frequent opportunity for some of the most extreme denunciations of its political opponents. (151)

The editor and proprietor in 1900 was Josiah Slater,
who supported Rhodes, Milner, Jameson and the Progressives, as did most of the English papers in the Eastern Cape. Grahamstown was, however, unable to compete with the growing importance of East London and Port Elizabeth in printing as in other areas of commerce, and the Journal was receding as an indicator of local opinion. Its rival, Grocott's Penny Mail, edited by Thomas Grocott and managed by a firm of Grocott, his son, and Richard Sherry, finally bought out the Journal in 1920. Neither paper had found an extensive circulation, and apart from a short period in 1899 when a British garrison increased sales enough to warrant a daily paper, restricted themselves to publication three times a week. The Penny Mail, nevertheless, advertised that it was "widely circulated throughout the Cape, Orange Free State, Transvaal, Bechuanaland, Matabeleland and Mashonaland"; this may have included personal subscriptions, but many hotels and clubs throughout South Africa did indeed subscribe to newspapers from each Colony. Printing was also being taken over by East London: in 1904 there were four establishments in Grahamstown, with only 17 journeymen, while in East London the South African Typographical Union approved five work places for its 40 members. (152)

The ports had prospered since the beginnings of the diamond trade, when English journals advertised the quickest route to the diamond fields by sea to East London or Port Elizabeth, and on to the diggings via Phillipolis. The two towns were vital import centres for the Midlands and Border traders, as well as for the Free State and Transvaal. Grahamstown's distinction as a legal and scholastic centre, with some local industry related to its agricultural produce of wheat, wool, hides and ostrich feathers, could not enable it to challenge the growing commercialism of the ports. East London assumed the title
of "most progressive" port in the Colony, new harbour works being constructed at the end of the century, and with a steadily rising population that required papers for news and advertising. As the railway terminus to the Free State and Johannesburg, East London provided an admirable position for trade and for the distribution of newspapers. (153)

The major East London paper was the Daily Dispatch, begun as the East London Dispatch in 1872, but purchased by David Rees in 1894 and turned into a penny daily four years later, the first paper in the region to take such a risk. It claimed to circulate not only in the town, but in Kingwilliamstown, Queenstown, and Kimberley where Agents could make sales, while subscription copies went to the Free State and the Transvaal. It advertised itself as the "leading paper in the Eastern Province and North Eastern Border": telegraphic correspondents in regional towns gave it advantages over rivals in the reporting of local news, and made it one of the largest papers outside Cape Town, publishing 3-4,000 copies daily after 1900. (154)

During 1897 William Crosby became editor of the Dispatch, and the following year was invited to take over control by Rees. Crosby had had a varied journalistic career before settling in East London. Born in England, he arrived in South Africa in 1875 to work on the Eastern Province Herald in Port Elizabeth. Two years later he partnered Francis Dormer in acquiring and running the Queenstown Representative, and in 1880 he began the Tarka Herald. After producing this for four years, he moved the plant to Aliwal North and produced the Border News, but left this too for Johannesburg in 1886, where he founded the Diggers News & Witwatersrand Advertiser. He briefly edited another paper in Pretoria, abandoned journalism for a few years in favour of mining, but surfaced again in the
Cape in 1890 establishing and editing the Midland News & Karroo Farmer in Cradock, with the Butler Brothers. It is unclear how long he remained on this paper, but in 1897 he was editing the Dispatch. (155)

Crosby & Company bought Rees out in 1905: this was a partnership consisting of Crosby, A. Fuller, a Progressive Member of the Legislative Assembly, and Colonel Charles Crewe, then Colonial Secretary in Jameson's Cabinet. The Syndicate printed and published the newspaper, and ran a commercial printing business. Four years later Crewe and Crosby bought out Fuller, and when the partnership was converted into a limited liability company in 1915, Crewe became Governing Director, with "full control of all financial affairs of the Company"(156). The Dispatch supported Crewe politically, as it did Jameson and the Progressives, though its reputation was one of independence: it had been one of the few English papers to speak out against the Progressive party campaign for Suspension in 1902. Through Crosby, the Dispatch was linked to the Queenstown Daily Representative. The merger of the Queenstown Free Press, and the Daily Representative & Border Chronicle in 1901 had left this the only paper in the town. It too was later owned by a company formed by Crewe and Crosby.(157)

It was not uncommon for politicians to own or write for newspapers, nor was it a recent development. In Cape Town both politicians and administrators concerned themselves with contributions to the press: Rhodes and Milner hoped to influence editors, while Garrett, St. Leger, Powell and Malan all doubled as editors and Members of either Assembly or Council. Both activities sprang from political objects, and both were often subject to party loyalty. This affected all the major town papers which, in publishing daily editions, took on a British party political tradition along with the habit of
newspapers. Papers which appeared only once a week were more frequently filled with agricultural news and advertisements first, and politics only as an occasional editorial.

In Port Elizabeth the Eastern Province Herald was founded in 1857, and owned by Richards, Impey and Company. The firm was joined in 1878 by Edgar H. Walton, an Englishman who had worked for the Empire Printing Works, the London branch of the successful Cape Town printers, W.A. Richards & Company. He came to South Africa, married into the firm, and acquired a partnership in the newspaper side of the business. When Impey died and Richards retired, Walton became sole Proprietor of the Herald, bringing his cousin Norman Harris into the firm of E.H. Walton & Company as General Manager in 1895. Walton was instrumental in founding the South African League the following year, and in the 1898 elections entered the Legislative Assembly representing Port Elizabeth as a Progressive. That year the Herald began publishing daily. With intervals of devoting himself entirely to his political work, Walton remained Chief editor until 1940. (158)

The Herald took its proprietor's politics personally, and could be rudely hostile to Walton's opponents in Parliament. A staunch upholder of Home connections, it published much on British politics, periodicals and Parliament. It praised Rhodes and Milner, censured first the Republics and then Afrikander political parties - the Bond, Het Volk, and Orangia Unie - and advocated federation under the British flag and the encouragement of British land settlement. Walton was, as Richard Solomon had predicted, "Jameson's faithful first" in the 1904 Ministry, when he became Treasurer. He described the grant of Responsible Government to the Transvaal in 1906 as an "unparalleled action.... Terrible consequences would
befall South Africa if the Dutch get a majority in the Transvaal under the new constitution." Merriman saw this as a "lurid glimpse" into the undercurrent of feeling in the Progressive ranks, when Walton's statement in Parliament was received with a vote of confidence. The Herald echoed Walton in condemning the action of the new Liberal Government, and predicting dire consequences for this betrayal of Milner's work. (159)

Walton led the publicity for Jameson's Government, both in his speeches and in the Herald. He advocated a Progressive-oriented Closer Union, and was one of the delegates to the National Convention in 1908. Here he kept a private record of the proceedings, to which journalists were not admitted, which he published in 1912 as "The Inner History of the National Convention". Malan, the other politician with a background in journalism who attended the Convention and who also kept a diary of events, was agreeably surprised to find that "among the English-speaking members Mr Walton in particular was very moderate." (160) Walton had argued for the Cape franchise, the equality of English and Dutch languages, and for the development of Eastern Province separatism to boost the area's trade. The Herald admitted that "social equality could not be tolerated of black and white". Malan noted at the National Convention debate that on this need to "maintain the paramountcy of the Europeans in South Africa", "everybody was in agreement". (161)

The Herald was popular, boasting as the Dispatch did the "largest issue of any paper published in the Eastern and Midland Provinces of the Cape Colony", and being sent to the Transvaal, Orange River Colony and Bechuanaland. It prided itself on devoting special attention to the "pastoral interest", carried full commercial and agricultural news, and published shipping and market reports. In 1906 it advertised an issue of over 33,000
copies each week, or between 5-6,000 daily, with a weekly edition sent further afield. Its rivals could not approach these figures. The Port Elizabeth Advertiser was a free weekly paper, of which 10,000 copies were distributed on Saturdays. It derived its popularity from its sports pages, however, and did not compete politically. The Cape Daily Telegraph also rivalled the Herald. Owned by James Kemsley, who was a leading figure in the Newspaper Press Union, it was forced to close after a fire destroyed the printing works in 1908, leaving the Eastern Province Herald as the only major paper in a town with much political activity and a relatively high literacy rate. (162)

The Herald and the Dispatch mustered far larger circulations than any other papers outside Cape Town, but they were not the only papers with influence. Kingwilliamstown possessed a thriving newspaper press, though not on the same scale as the ports. Advertising itself as the "chief town of British Kaffraria", its was a commercial centre for the surrounding "large and wealthy native area." (163)

The Cape Mercury was started there in 1875 by the Hay Brothers, but in 1895 William Hay left the firm. James Rose Innes was told of the uncertainty of the Mercury's future by John Tengo Jabavu, whose own paper Imvo was printed at the Mercury's works. Jabavu suggested that Rose Innes buy the paper as a means of disseminating his policy. (164) In April 1895, the Kaffrarian Steam Printing Company was registered, "to acquire establish print and publish a newspaper". Jabavu was one of seven subscribers to the Articles of Association, the only African to be thus included in the organisation of a white newspaper company. (165) Other founders were Kingwilliamstown professionals and two compositors in the firm. It is unclear who actually provided the funds for
the purchase. Jabavu had requested Rose Innes and other "individual members of the Opposition" to "assist me in financing the thing", for he saw no difficulty in making the venture pay.

"O for a J.B. Robinson! to finance the thing for me. If I could buy the property in - it need not be bruited abroad that I have done it - I could see that the views we hold are ably and intelligently advocated." (166)

The goodwill of the Mercury was purchased from William Hay, with its land, plant and fixtures, but the new ownership did not survive the war. According to Jabavu's son, Richard Rose Innes and Leo Dilley managed the Company, though Rose Innes was not named in its Deeds. Jabavu and Rose Innes both wrote editorials for the paper, Rose Innes reporting that "few knew of this, and I often heard Mr Jabavu's articles quoted with approval by those who were in ignorance of the authorship." (167)

In June 1898 the South African Review reported that Albert Cartwright was the new editor of the Mercury, his "position owed to Mr Sauer". Though called a "young red-republican editor", who was "making an absurd attempt to hide his ultra-Kruger propaganda under a transparent gauze of solicitude for the interest of this Colony", the Review pronounced his Mercury articles not quite so rabid as those he had produced when editor of the Diamond Fields Advertiser in Kimberley, a position he had left in March 1898 when the paper was converted to a Progressive party policy. (168) Cartwright does not appear to have remained long at the Mercury: he travelled to England at the end of 1898, and the following year returned to the editorship of the South African News in Cape Town. Nor is there evidence that Joseph Sauer was directly involved in financing the Kaffrarian Steam Printing Company. He had been instrumental in the founding of both the South African Telegraph and the South African News, and the
English press frequently denounced him as the power behind these newspapers. His interest in publicity and newspapers continued: he suggested Centlivres approach Smuts in the Transvaal for funds in 1909, when the News was failing. If he did not provide funds for the Mercury, he may well have been able to recommend an editor who could promote a strong party line. (169)

The Company did not prosper, and in October 1901 was taken over by the newly-formed King Printing Company Ltd. This was a group of King Williamstown professionals and traders, including James Weir, but of whom E. Bryant and T.N. Dyer supplied most of the funds. This may have improved its prospects, for it prospered and remained under this ownership until its final closure in 1947. By 1908 James Hawse and George Whitaker, both calling themselves Timber Merchants of King Williamstown, held the majority of shares and the controlling interest of the Company. The paper was turned to support of the Progressive party, but was run primarily "in order to obtain a return to all Members of the Company of the amount subscribed by them towards the capital of the Company and such interest thereon as may be agreed...."

It prospered as the only daily paper in the district, and the only English newspaper in the town. (170)

The Cape Mercury had been rivalled by the Kaffrarian Watchman, a paper started by Friedrich Schermbrucker, who had then gone to edit the Bloemfontein Express. It closed at the beginning of the war, and the Watchman Printing Works were sold to Jabavu & Company Ltd, for £750 though "quite worth £2,750", which took over the printing of Imvo Zabantsundu. This paper had originally been launched in 1884, helped by capital from James Weir and Richard Rose Innes. Jabavu's apprenticeship in printing had been served in Somerset East, during which time he befriended Saul Solomon and became a regular correspondent for the
Cape Argus in 1878. He took his Government Teacher's Certificate at Lovedale, and in 1881 succeeded Elijah Makiwane as Editor of Isigidimi samaXhosa, the companion paper to the Lovedale Christian Express. Within two years he had left the paper, for his articles exposing the "anti-Native" utterances of Headtown Members of the Assembly were considered unsuitable by his mission Directors. (171)

During 1883 Jabavu campaigned for James Rose Innes in Victoria East, and the following year established his own newspaper, in which he was to support Rose Innes and his fellow liberals. During the election campaign, Jabavu had found a great need for a local medium supplying information in English and Xhosa to the district: by 1890 he certified Imvo's circulation at 1,700 per week. It was able to influence more than just the literate: Imvo's advertisement proclaimed that it "circulates extensively among the growing class of civilised Natives, and its news and advertisements are read to the millions of uncivilised in Cape Colony, Orangia, Natal, Bechuanaland, and Rhodesia." It functioned as a Xhosa Government Gazette for the Colony, and Jabavu heightened its appeal to advertisers by describing it as a "splendid advertising medium for English manufacturers of all kinds; also for patent medicines for a class away from Doctors." (172)

Imvo gave a voice to African grievances on pass and liquor laws, location regulations, and the injustices of the courts and parliamentary legislation. He protested at the Sprigg Government's 'Mouth-Stitcher', the 'Disfranchisement Bill' of May 1887, in editorials and by journeying to Cape Town to speak out against it personally. A petition to the Queen was rejected, but Jabavu continued his protests in the paper:

"The true way to remove discontent is to provide a channel for its utterance.... Under Parliamentary Government representation is your safety valve. Tie
down your safety valve and there is an explosion." (173)

Sprigg responded to the accusation that he was "Muzzling the Natives" with criticism:

"There were persons who missed no opportunity of stirring up the Natives on the frontier against the Government of the country as their oppressor. He might refer to one highly educated native who published a Newspaper in which he sets forth seditious articles." (174)

The accusation was immediately refuted by Jabavu and Rose Innes, supported by the Cape Times, Cape Argus, and Port Elizabeth Telegraph: Sprigg was challenged to substantiate the allegation, and then forced to withdraw it.

Jabavu was, nevertheless, persuaded to follow James Rose Innes in accepting the Franchise and Ballot Act of 1892, though he realised its deleterious effect on black votes. For this, he was reproved by the Telegraph, and his paper called "a mere ministerial organ instead of a reflex of native opinion". Jabavu trusted the white politicians he admired - Merriman, Sauer and Rose Innes - to work within Parliament for an extension of black rights. Again in 1895 he advocated acceptance of the Glen Grey Act:

"Notwithstanding its imperfections it will be wisdom for you to accept this Act for its grants you the privilege of directing your affairs, and of controlling the appropriation of your revenue, whilst at the same time it grants you a mode of communicating in a representative manner with Government, on your urgent social and national problems." (175)

Jabavu's continued support of Sauer and Merriman led both white Progressives and black opponents to accuse him of selling out to the Bond. He gave his support to Hofmeyr in March 1898, offering an election alliance "to upset
capitalism". Thereafter his opposition to the prospects of war, and to Milner's aggressive policy towards the Transvaal, brought him further troubles. James Weir, a sponsor and regular advertiser in Imvo, withdrew his support after articles had appeared which he thought 'disloyal', and Jabavu had refused to alter the opinions expressed. (176)

Jabavu canvassed for support from backers in the Cape and England, and in October 1900 registered Jabavu & Company Ltd with a capital of £2,500. Jabavu himself was to be "a Director and the Chairman of the Company during the term of his natural life," while the Director's qualification was the holding of £10 capital stock. The first Directors were to be Jabavu, Sissing Harvey Mnyanda, Colbert P. Matyolo, James Figland, and Thomas Porter. Other subscribers to the Company included Edward Tsewu, a Johannesburg Presbyterian Minister, and Peter Kawa of the South African Native Congress. In 1903, Jabavu was the largest shareholder, with 620 shares of the 2100 issued, Percy Molteno in London held 200, while Mnyanda held 100. Sauer, and three other Africans held 50 each. Four hundred of the shares had been recently issued by the Directors "to provide working capital", and these were "being subscribed by Natives: but I dare not hope they can do more than subscribe £100, as they take small parcels of 5 and 10 shares of £1 each. As you know, they are only peasant farmers." (177) Jabavu requested Molteno for English backers to take over shares presently held by Bond members of Cape Town: "as you know this would do us no good in public estimation."

"... What I would be glad if you would fix up for me would be to get some English friends to take these 300 of the new issue, also the 150 in the hands of the Cape Town Dutch friends, as I have no wish that it should even be suspected that the policy of Imvo in supporting Mr Sauer and Mr Merriman was influenced by the Bond. The importance of this wish you will I
am sure concede, especially in view of the coming elections...." (178)

Molteno did find a 'friend' to purchase at least 250 of the offered shares "but only on condition that the 150 shares.... held by Dutch Afrikanders are to be purchased." He too would take a further 100, and directed Jabavu and his brother, J.C. Molteno M.L.A., as his "confidential agent." (179)

Jabavu's own freedom of expression was specifically protected in the Articles of Association of the Company, which stipulated that,

"The Editor of any newspaper belonging to the Company shall not be responsible to the Directors for the political views expressed, or the policy pursued in the said newspaper, but shall be free to state and express such views and opinions as he may deem best and advisable." (180)

From March 1900 he had preached a policy of peace in Imvo, based on his own firm Christian convictions, but dangerously close to the Conciliation Movement ridiculed as a 'pro-Boer' plot by Milner. In August 1901 the paper was closed on military order for fourteen months during which no business was conducted, and only loss made. A year after it re-opened, Molteno congratulated Jabavu for "making good progress in the number and character of the advertisements", which had been considerably reduced by Imvo's opposition to the war and suppression. (181)

Imvo also lost readers disillusioned with his championship of political friends. Peregrino of the Spectator criticised this tendency,

"to trust to the kindly consideration, charity and strong sense of justice claimed by the Bond or South African Party. So gross a reduction of Native intelligence to childlike faith in stepmotherly love is iniquitous. It asks for blind acceptance in one version of a political purpose which, in the other States, where the Bond brotherhood prevails, has reduced a portion of the people to political slavery." (182)
Jabavu antagonised the South African Native Congress by spurning their activities and rejecting the Queenstown Conference of 1907, for which he was castigated by the Spectator, Izwi, Ilanga lase Natal, and Naledi ea Lesotho. Imvo lost its reputation as a defender of African rights finally by support for Sauer's Land Act of 1913. Jabavu thought this beneficial to the already segregated Cape Africans, failing to see the calamitous effects it would have on people of the Free State and beyond, nor that it was "deliberately aimed at squeezing the black man out of the land and economically forcing him to be a permanent villein of the Boer farmers in the Northern Province."

Jabavu contested the Tembuland seat for the Provincial Council, but was heavily defeated by Dr W. Rubusana and A.B. Payn, whereupon he retired from active politics. Despite Imvo's rejection by the vocal African elite, it was still regarded as the most influential black paper by whites: both its long history, and Jabavu's friendship with white politicians kept for it the reputation "in Government quarters and highest circles as the truest and most reliable index to Native opinion."

The approach to the 1898 elections involved African newspapers as much as the white press. The two parties were evenly balanced enough to warrant a much increased interest in constituencies where the black vote could be a deciding factor. The interest was fully reciprocated: the Cape Mercury commented that,

"The natives, always keen politicians, are more earnestly concerned with the coming elections than they have been about any contest for many years. Controversy is as hot in the kraals as it is in the clubs." (185)

Jabavu was cultivated by Rhodes in the hope of acquiring his support for the Progressives. This was not forthcoming, and Rhodes then provided money for an
alternative black newspaper to be published in East London, known as \textit{Izwi laBantu}. Jabavu's ally, the \textit{South African News}, ridiculed the new paper, saying it had so little effect or popularity that it could only be distributed, aided by Rhodes' wealth, by being "sent to the kraals wholesale, pitched into them, free of charge." \textit{Izwi} did, nevertheless, succeed in drawing support away from \textit{Imvo}, supporting a Progressive policy and generally upholding the ethics of traditional British liberalism which it hoped would be extended throughout South Africa. (186)

\textit{Izwi laBantu} began production in November 1897, based first in Kingwilliamstown and later in East London, and it campaigned for the Progressive party. The following year, the \textit{South African News} joyfully published full descriptions of a court case in which a clerk at the \textit{Izwi} offices was charged with embezzling funds. During the course of the hearing, Soga testified that he had been paid money on behalf of C.P. Crewe, who had been given full charge of the financial affairs of the paper. Crewe in turn admitted that he had received assistance in these expenses from Rhodes. (187) The announcement did not have much effect on \textit{Izwi}, which continued publication throughout the war without official displeasure. It praised the military authorities for banning its rival \textit{Imvo}: "the first principle to justify the existence of any paper, white or black, is loyalty to the Imperial factor." \textit{Imvo}'s pacifist policy had only "brought humiliation on to the Native press." (188)

In November 1899 the structure of the newspaper firm was changed when the Eagle Printing Press Company Ltd was registered, to print and publish newspapers "at Kingwilliamstown, East London and elsewhere." This may still have been funded by Progressive interests: though there is no indication of any white involvement in the
Deeds, in May 1900 Rubusana complained to Rhodes that Crewe was interfering in more than the finances of the paper. (189) The capital was £500 in £5 shares, a Director's qualifications to be the holding of two shares. The first Directors were Paul Xiniwe, as Chairman, W.K. Ntsikana, and five of the Executive Committee of the South African Native Congress which had been established in 1898: Thomas Mqanda, Robert Mantsayi, Walter Rubusana, Peter Kawa and W.D. Soga. The subscribers listed in the Memorandum of Association comprised three General Dealers, and a farmer, teacher, Minister and carpenter, though there is no record of how many shares were issued. In April 1901, when the war prevented an Annual General Meeting from being held, W.D. Soga, the Company Secretary, informed the Registrar that a large number of his shareholders lived in the Orange River Colony, Cape Town, Kimberley, Grahamstown and Tembuland: the military permits required for travel to such a meeting were refused "owing to the troubled state of the Country." (190)

Izwi survived the war, advertising itself as the "authority PAR EXCELLENCE on intelligent Native thought and feeling", and circulating "throughout the Colony, Basutoland, Transvaal, Orange River Colony, and Rhodesia." (191) It never escaped financial problems. In requesting further support from readers, the editor described its foundation by "men of the nation", praising the fact that nearly all the capital had been raised from the community, despite the ravages of rinderpest. The Eagle Press was an achievement: "the fact that the black man had tried for himself was very much important", while the editors were forsaking employment for the sake of the nation. Despite a move to larger premises in January 1906, they possessed insufficient equipment, and with expenses of £2,000 per annum, were only saved from collapse by white assistance through "notices and support." Forced to retrench staff
and expenses, efforts were made to encourage more people to read the paper, and subscription rates cut from 13/- to 6/6 a year in 1906. The following May a further 800 shares were issued, but this time at £1 instead of £5, in order to raise fresh capital. Mqanda and Soga remained as Directors, joined by Charles Madosi, also of the Congress. The expansion did not, however, succeed in keeping the paper alive. In April 1909 Allen Soga and Walter Rubusana liquidated the Company, and the last edition of Izwi appeared on 16th April 1909. (192)

The first editor of Izwi had been Chief Nathaniel Cyril Umhalla, assisted by G.W. Tyamzashe, but after only 15 months Allen Kirkland Soga, the son of Tiyo Soga, took over. Tyamzashe was replaced by Richard Kawa in 1900, followed by J.N.J. Tulwana and finally Samuel Mqhayi. In its final years it was losing Progressive support by "pushing a Socialist line". Soga criticised vehemently the Rand mining magnates. In 1901, Izwi stated that it had advocated the benefits of a capitalism subservient to the interests of the state, but unrestrained it was a threat to the small trader through monopolies: it enslaved the people, dictated the policy of state, and undermined Government stability. (193) A year later, the Transvaal Leader was censured for supporting - a policy of African disarmament on the grounds of the menace presented to whites: "such vapourings on the part of modern journalism should be suppressed with a firm hand..." and reflected badly on the High Commissioner's ability to protect the native and coloured population from "the brazen insults of the Capitalist Press." Izwi reiterated its disillusionment with "the Monopolist press of South Africa, which with a few brilliant exceptions is decidedly hostile." (194)

Soga moved away from Progressive support, though still preferred British institutions to those of the Dutch
Republics. More and more, both white parties were recognised as potentially harmful to black prospects. *Imvo* was blamed for promoting disunity amongst Africans by its "hereditary tribal bias", and the two Editors continued a personal and vindictive battle in the editorial columns. (195) Increasingly, however, Soga concentrated on his efforts to bring Africans together: the days of tribal feuds had gone, but there remained "the grim fact that the white man intends turning this into a white man's country." He recommended that his readers support black enterprises, and shop at African-owned businesses. "Unity is strength": chiefs and councillors should not be persecuted; liquor, location life and laziness were the three things that could destroy a nation, and all should be abhorred. He advised people to move out of locations to "meaningful work" on the land, for not only was urban life meaningless, but it was also risky with the current rate of evictions: if Africans did not make use of their land, it would be taken away from them. If forced to work, the aim should be to build a home for one's old age. Lastly, but by no means least, he urged more people to read newspapers and to spread their message. The literate should read to the non-literate, and Conventions such as that in Bloemfontein in 1909 should be supported as parliaments of the black people. (196) The last edition of *Izwi* assured readers that it was not "abandoning the struggle...if natives desire to have rights it would be wise to remember that there are corresponding duties":

"The Native press has never been supported as it should have been.... by failing to maintain their own institutions they are placing in the hands of their enemies the strongest weapons with which to assail them." (197)

Soga was conscious of the role the "Capitalist Press" played in furthering the subjection of Africans. The
Johannesburg Star, an "organ of capitalism", described the Natal Government's "Doctrine of Force" as merely an assertion of authority. Soga ascribed this to the Star's support for increased taxation, such as had preceded the Natal troubles. In an effort to counter the spread of misinformation by the "hireling press", Soga joined other black editors in the Native Press Association in Kingwilliamstown in 1904. The impetus came from Peregrino of the Cape Town Spectator, together with Sol Plaatje of Koranta ea Becoana in Mafeking, and Solomon Monne of Naledi ea Lesotho, a paper published from February 1904 in Mafeteng which kept close watch on affairs in the Colonies, for Colonists anticipated the incorporation of the Protectorates into a Union. These links between the four editors enabled each to share both news and opinions: cuttings frequently appeared together with comments on other editors' views. These stressed agreement, and the need for unity amongst all who might suffer at the hands of Colonists or Capital. (198)

For this same reason, Jabavu and Imvo were criticised by all for not co-operating in the South African Native Congress, and the Conferences it called, or in joining with other black editors. Mostly he was criticised for his "Bond enslavement", which led to this "idiotic not splendid isolation": the South African Party was too close to the Unie and Het Volk, the "anti-Native parties". Izwi assured its readers of the unanimous opposition to the Bond of Ilanga, Spectator, and itself, and the need for "British supremacy at whatever cost." (199) Jabavu was at that time a member of the white Newspaper Press Union, which had been established by Francis Dormer in 1882. It is not known when he joined, but he attended the Annual Congress in Bulawayo in 1897, celebrating the recent opening of the railway from the Cape. It was only in 1912 that black journalists were excluded from the
N.P.U., on the motion of Ralph Kingswell of the Rand Daily Mail: it seems that Jabavu was the only member affected by this change. (200)

The Native Press Association does not seem to have held meetings after 1904, until in 1908 Naledi suggested it be revived, to urge black editors to meet and find ways of saving the Zulu people from the repression of the Natal Government. Izwi and the Spectator promised support if Naledi organised the meeting, but nothing came of this. Peregrino wrote to Soga in March that year, that their inability to sink their differences made them "the laughing stock of all intelligent people." He too attributed this lack of success to Jabavu. Soga concurred, but suggested that reliance on Imvo was unnecessary, if help could be found in the British and foreign press for arrangements to obtain news, and for the rights to publish their articles. Within a year, however, the need for the Association disappeared, for Koranta and Izwi were both forced to close through financial difficulties. (201)

The Koranta ea Becoana had been started in 1901 in Mafeking by Sol Plaatje, assisted at first by George N.H. Whales of the Mafeking Mail in printing the paper. By August 1902, Plaatje, partly financed by Silas Molema, had bought a press and began to produce Koranta without white involvement, at the Bechuana Printing Works. He edited the paper until mid-1906, when the paper ceased through financial difficulties. It re-appeared briefly in 1907, but no later copies exist. Plaatje left Mafeking to return to Kimberley in 1910, where he started another paper Tsala ea Becoana and from 1912 Tsala ea Batho. The Koranta, in its six years of existence, had criticised the British administration in the new Colonies, to an extent the Mafeking Mail once described as "seditionous", though the paper claimed a wide readership not only in Mafeking,
but also in Johannesburg, Bloemfontein, Kimberley, and Thaba Nchu. Willan states that 1-2,000 copies were printed each week, which would make the paper relatively large: *Ilanga* claimed a circulation of 600, while *Imvo* held 2,000 subscriptions, with a further 2,000 copies which would be taken but were not always paid for. There are no figures for *Izwi*, but it is probable it too reached 2,000 subscriptions at times of prosperity in the Cape. (202)

*Naledi ea Lesotho* began in February 1904, started by Solomon Monne in Mafeteng as a fortnightly paper in Sesotho, Sepedi and English. In 1907 he was succeeded by Abimaal Tlale, and during 1908 by Simon M. Phamotse, a Lovedale man who had been a Transvaal Government interpreter and editor of *Leihlo la Babathso* in Pietersburg. In 1911 it was incorporated into *Mochochonono*. Both *Koranta* and *Naledi* lie largely outside the scope of this work, but were vital to the increasing sense of African unity expressed through the newspapers. (203)

Little of this unity filtered through to the white press, beyond a statement in the *Cape Argus* that "natives are well acquainted with each others' affairs throughout South Africa." Few bothered to print extracts from black papers, except to criticise. In this respect white journalists considered the press as separate an entity from their own as most wished black society to be. Nor was it thought necessary to give much credence to its reports, as the South African Native Affairs Commission noted:

"The Native Press has on the whole proved itself to be fairly accurate in tracing the course of passing events and useful in extending the range of Native information. It has not, however, arrived at maturity, and while at times it throws interesting light on the present phase of educated Native thought, it is not as yet a faithful reflex of the
opinions of the more staid and experienced men who are in closer touch with the masses." (204)

Despite this contemporary opinion, it would seem that the opposite was in fact the case. All black papers, with the possible exception of Imvo, were plagued by financial difficulties, through insufficient subscriptions and advertisements. White newspapers were generally more highly capitalised: urban dailies such as the Cape Times enjoyed capital backing of around £200,000, compared with the £500 with which the Eagle Press of Izwi was established. White papers, too, benefited from Reuters' telegraph services, distribution agencies and the Newspaper Press Union. Only these urban papers, however, could rival the wide-ranging circulation attained by the black press. The latter papers were not restricted to the colonial boundaries and predominantly urban markets that limited white papers to specific areas of readership.

The majority of white newspapers published in the Cape Colony at the end of the nineteenth century were regional publications, serving a fairly limited area, and with a correspondingly limited range of news items. Some were successful enough to acquire subscribers further afield, but most published in country towns found their custom within their district. Advertisements filled most of the columns, related to the type of agriculture and industry practised in each area. The rest of the paper contained local news and market reports, with some 'national' news from the rest of South Africa. Occasionally this was interspersed with news from Britain or the Colonies, and less frequently from elsewhere in the world, usually in the event of an earthquake, volcanic eruption, or other major disaster.

These small country papers thrived between the 1860's and 1890's, the heyday of the independent printer-publisher, in the tradition of the earliest Cape
newspapers. At the outbreak of war, sixty-four papers were being produced outside Cape Town. Most of these were English productions; ten were bilingual, and the same number Dutch. Only Die Patriot used Afrikaans. Most, too, were produced weekly, but increasingly during the 1890's the papers which survived improved their business and were able to come out more frequently - twice or, in a larger town, three times a week. The average cost was 3d, but by the 1890's few dailies could survive at this price, and lowered the cost to 1d.

The small presses were, however, rapidly being superseded by the larger and better-capitalised presses of the main coastal ports. Railways facilitated both the collection and distribution of news, which helped all papers. When combined with the modern printing technology being introduced by the daily papers of Cape Town, East London and Port Elizabeth, a fast and efficient turnout of a great number of copies of each edition enabled these papers to reach a steadily widening readership. Whereas the rural paper, a weekly or fortnightly production, tended to view matters of national politics in terms of local economies, urban papers came gradually to reverse this position. Without losing sight of local repercussions, national political issues came to dominate their policies. Garrett, editor of the Cape Times in the late 90's, found electioneering in Victoria East a strange experience after an urban campaign. He was more used to the London style of journalism which Cape Town papers increasingly followed: "he valued his editorial chair only as a pulpit from which to utter things which he believed with all his heart." (205)

Politicians had been involved in the production and promotion of the press since the establishment of the freedom of the press was fought as a political issue in the 1820's. Since then, the professions of politics and
journalism had been interchangeable. The growth of the idea of a press that covered the whole Colony - or South Africa - was both attractive to political parties, and almost feasible with technological advances by the end of the century. The Argus Company is an example of the effort made, originally by Dormer in the Cape, but with allegiance transferred to the Transvaal and a "centralised" view of South African affairs, to create an organisation that could spread news throughout the country. Dormer, however, was a journalist and businessman, and not a politician by trade: he left the company he had built up when its efficiency began to be used for political purposes with which he disagreed. The Cape Times, expanding into the Transvaal with the purchase of the Leader, was able to be more careful in its retention of overall control: Cape Town Directors asserted their control of policy in both local and national politics.

The strengths and weaknesses of the newspaper industry remained with individuals. Fred St. Leger used his newspaper connections for the Progressives and the South African League. Colonel Crewe and Edgar Walton likewise were Progressives who ran profitable newspapers which aided them both politically and financially. Hofmeyr, Te Water, Merriman and Sauer were all convinced of the necessity of such a mouthpiece, while F.S. Malan combined his editorship with the start of a political career.

The largest companies in the port towns, and those with the greatest capital backing, were English language papers. Most - the exception being the South African News - affiliated themselves to the Progressives. There had been a conscious attempt by Dutch speakers in the Cape to emulate these British-inspired newspaper organisations, in the hope of more publicity, and in opposition to this
near-monopoly of news by the English press.

For all these white papers, race was an issue to be discussed as the Native Question, and none claimed that the black, coloured or Indian was the equal of the white. The black newspapers, plagued by lack of money, existed in the precarious position between expressing and encouraging the aspirations of the people, and making themselves heard by white society and government.
CHAPTER II

THE TRANSVAAL

The first press in the Transvaal was brought up from Natal by Cornelis Moll at the request of President Burgers, who wanted a semi-official newspaper that would publish Volksraad debates, laws, and announcements. This appeared in 1857 as the Staats Courant. It was permitted to carry advertisements, and so could hope for some revenue beyond subscriptions. Moll occasionally inserted a leading article, but when reports unfavourable to the Government were published, and readers assumed Moll's opinions to be those of the Government, the President purchased the press from Moll and appointed H. Jeppe in his place as editor. Moll remained as Government Printer, and for a short while published his own newspaper, De Oude Emigrant. (1)

In 1863 the press was moved from Potchefstroom to Pretoria, where the Staats Courant was produced until 1900. Both the Republican Government, and later the British Colonial administration, showed a greater interest in the press than mere reliance on a Government Gazette for publication of official notices. Both subsidised friendly newspapers, usually through advertising revenue, but occasionally through direct financial intervention. The early association of President Burgers, in desiring newspapers both to inform and to educate, was continued by Republican presidents and, later, by Het Volk. The British administration, though equally desirous of a favourable press, was less successful in creating one. The rivalry of newspaper companies, and of the financial interests behind them, militated against total support of the administration.

Potchefstroom and Pretoria remained the centres of newspaper publishing in the Transvaal for some 20 years
after the Government first recognised the need for a newspaper. The close association between Government and newspapers remained: for the papers, it provided a consistent source of revenue from official notices, while for the Government patronage was a bargaining counter to procure a favourable press. In early days of printing there was neither the variety of papers nor perhaps of politics to warrant direct intervention. Indeed, Theophilus Shepstone refused assistance of this kind to Charles Deecker, a Dutch journalist who established and edited many newspapers through the Transvaal in the late nineteenth century, and who had in 1875 revived the Potchefstroom publication, the Transvaal Argus. This paper was, during the British annexation, "anxious enough to give the Government a fair hearing, but it is published in English, has no circulation whatever among the Boers, and is in monetary difficulty like the Volkstem." Shepstone explained his lack of support to Bartle Frere on both economic and moral grounds.

"I have told them I should not ... be justified in supporting with public money or Government guarantee any mercantile establishment that upon the face of it is not sound enough to support itself... Some time ago the people connected with the Argus offered to publish a sheet in Dutch provided the Government would keep them by way of subsidy or by taking a certain number of copies... But anything of the kind is so foreign, as it appears to me, to what the Government can properly do, that I have declined." (2)

Such scruples were not echoed by future administrations, for whom the presence of reliable newspapers would be essential.

Although the Transvaal did not develop such a varied and thriving country press as the Cape Colony, there were several towns which, prior to the war, reflected the growth of political opposition to the Government in the production of rival newspapers. Potchefstroom had
retained its importance as a centre of printing and publishing. De Potchefstroomer appeared in 1883, published by J.P. Borrius, who had published the Transvaal Argus in the 1860's. The English paper in the town, the Potchefstroom Budget, was suspended on the outbreak of war: Charles V Bate took it over in 1902 and eventually absorbed it into the Potchefstroom Herald, a paper he had started with the plant of the defunct Potchefstroom News. The Budget had been printed on an ancient Eagle hand-press, while the new Herald could supply its readers with more modern styles. The paper was sub-titled the Wes-Transvaler en O.V.S. Herald, circulating in the Western Transvaal and the northern Orange River Colony. Bate was proud of his position as the only English speaker to establish and maintain Dutch and Afrikaans newspapers: in 1915 he bought Die Westelike Stem, and later established the Herald Printing Works to manage his newspapers in Potchefstroom and Klerksdorp. (3)

The Herald insisted on equality of language and nationality in post-war South Africa, but by 1910 was warning against reactionary elements in Botha's new Union Government. The greatest danger was not the hostility between the two political parties, but that between rival Afrikaner groups. (4) By then, Het Westen was well established in Potchefstroom. This paper was founded in November 1904, with funds provided by Dr W.J. Leyds in the Netherlands through Louis Botha and Jan Smuts, to provide publicity in the Western Transvaal for the nascent Het Volk Party. The basis of its policy, it immediately declared was Christian National. Printed and published by H. de Graaf, it flourished as a weekly, turning to twice-weekly production in 1909. It was the mouthpiece of Het Volk, but increasingly turned towards support of Hertzog: in 1915 the business separated into three newspapers. Thereafter Het Volksblad was produced in Bloemfontein and
Die Weste in Potchefstroom.(5)

Potchefstroom had launched another paper, De Vierkleur, in December 1892, which was to provide opposition to the Government before the war. Published and edited by Ben Viljoen, respected as a commando leader, it was moved to Krugersdorp in October 1895 where it appeared as Ons Volk. It advertised itself as "an organ of the Volkswragt, a political organisation opposed to the Dopper or Kruger party", and a year later as "an independent journal, supporting Republican principles and the organ of the Africander party in South Africa."(6)

This may well have been the same newspaper which appeared from February 1898 as De Voortrekker, subtitled "De verdediger de Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek", which was briefly edited by Viljoen until he entered the Volksraad in October of that year. This too advertised itself as "an Afrikaner newspaper edited, printed and published by Afrikaners for Afrikaners;" frequent discussion of the possibility of war appeared in its columns, and it was popular enough to be published twice a week. In September 1899 it announced its closure, since most of its staff had left to join the commandos.(7)

After the war, the Krugersdorp Herald was another of the newspapers financed by Botha and Smuts in support of Het Volk. Its opposition came from the Standard, begun in December 1898, though its publication ceased in September the following year, recommencing only three years later. It was then owned by J.B. Robinson, and supported his political views against the rest of the mining press. In 1906, when the Robinson Group split from the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association on the issue of independent labour recruiting, the Standard announced that "the mass of public opinion" was with the Group, and against the Association. It did, however, promote the advantage of importing Chinese labour, and was antagonistic towards any
ideas of equality of black and white. In this respect, it claimed to reflect the views of the English population of the West Rand, and frequently printed letters expressing distaste for any form of African involvement in white society other than as servant or labourer. (8)

The Standard was a product of the rapidly expanding printing industry in the last two decades of the century, which arose with the immigration of a comparatively high proportion of literate males, from Europe or the Cape. The new population may have brought newspaper-reading habits with them; they certainly brought the need for trade and hence advertisements. The influx created political problems, and these too were easily expressed in newspapers. In these years, papers appeared in Barberton, Klerksdorp, Lydenburg, Middelburg, Nylstroom and Pietersburg. Most were in English, serving the mining camps, but Dutch publications did appear in the heightened political activity. In Lydenburg, P. Joubert & Co ran the Transvaal from 1887 to the end of September 1899, rivalled from 1896 to 1898 by the Lydenburger. The Middelburg Courant & Coal Fields Gazette, followed by the Middelburg Herald & Herant, provided news in both languages. In Nylstroom the Boerenvriend & Zoutpansberg Advertiser appeared from 1893 to 1897, and in Vryheid the Nieuwe Republikein from 1891 until closed by the war at the end of September 1899. Every other paper was published in English, and Vryheid alone produced no English paper. (9)

None of these Dutch papers survived the war, though many of their English rivals were quickly re-established. During 1904 the Zoutpansberger started in Pietersburg, in 1907 the Transvaler came out in Fordsburg, while Ermelo began the bilingual Highveld Herald in 1903. In comparison, there were English papers in Barberton, Boksburg, Heidelberg, Klerksdorp, Lydenburg, Middelburg, Nylstroom, Pietersburg, Rustenberg, and Volksrust.
Despite this sudden proliferation of small town papers, few were considered influential by the major publications of Pretoria or Johannesburg. Some, such as the East Rand Express in Boksburg, were noticed by the Indian Opinion for their racist utterances, though most were ignored. All, too, suffered from the expanding distribution capacity of the Johannesburg dailies, which undercut their usefulness.

Many of these English papers were shortlived, rising and falling with the mining settlements they served. At Pilgrim's Rest, the Gold News and the Goldfields Mercury both disappeared when mining activity declined. In Barberton, the Goldfields News and the Barberton Herald appeared with the miners. Percy Fitzpatrick, having abandoned the Standard Bank of Africa and transport riding, became editor of the Barberton Herald on its foundation in May 1886. It was controlled by the partnership of Harry Graumann and Hirschel Cohen, which held extensive interests in Transvaal mines and property, and ran a stock-jobbing business. Fitzpatrick was managing the firm by the end of 1888, and handed over the editorship of the Herald to Robert J. Pakeman: both men were later to be involved in newspaper politics in Johannesburg. Whilst still in Barberton, Fitzpatrick indicated his own growing concern with the local Political Association, "the nucleus of an organisation which is to work somewhat on the lines of the Africaner Bond". The projected Council would meet to "organise, agitate, and move all they can to obtain redress of grievances - reduction of taxes and extension of the franchise." (10) This could be popularised by the Herald. With the decline of Barberton and the growth of Johannesburg, Fitzpatrick moved to the new town, though he retained a financial interest in the Barberton Herald, which amalgamated with its rival the Goldfields News in 1892. The paper was
useful in publicising the opportunities provided by the Delagoa Bay railway, with its Barberton extension: the Herald announced a circulation through Portugese South East Africa, as well as in the Republic. (11)

Elsewhere papers accompanied mines: the Klerksdorp Mining Record, the Zoutpansberg Mining Review, the Lydenburg Agricultural & Mining Journal, were examples of the predominant interest of the English press. This was entirely reflected in Johannesburg, whose papers far outweighed those of the Transvaal provinces both in their closer associations with political leaders, and in their influence in other Colonies. (12) Pretoria retained closer links with the Government-inspired press tradition of the Republic.

After the first appearance of the Staats Courant, several privately-owned papers came out in Potchefstroom and, after 1863, Pretoria, to tap the growing market of a capital city. None achieved reputation or longevity until the Volkstem appeared in 1873. President Burgers visited Cape Town in the previous year, met Jan Celliers who was then sub-editor of the Volksblad, and negotiated with him to come to the Transvaal. Burgers wanted a newspaper established that would be of assistance in spreading ideas to the people: this should specifically represent the Dutch farmers. The need for such a paper had been intensified by the recent appearance of the Goldfields Mercury of Pilgrim's Rest. In August 1873, the first issue of the Volkstem was published, in Dutch but with an English summary of the editorial article. It began with 100 subscriptions: for several years the paper was in severe financial difficulties, and encountered some hostility for its support of President Burgers, though by 1883 subscriptions numbered 1,000. (13)

With the British annexation of the Republic, the Volkstem at first submitted to the inevitable; but the
following year supported the return of independence. Shepstone confiscated the press, banning the newspaper for one month on the grounds that "it has uniformly devoted itself to creating disaffection and ill-feeling towards everything English". General Piet Joubert organised financial help to re-start the paper, but two years later Celliers was arrested and imprisoned on a charge of high treason, for the publication of a notice from the burghers of Wakkerstroom announcing their decision no longer to pay taxes to a British Government, and to stop any Britisher from entering their farms. Celliers appealed against his sentence, and was acquitted after the war. (14) The Volkstem lost the Government Printing Contract, however, for Celliers' hostile stance: this was always a lucrative source of revenue, and one which Volkstem could then ill afford to lose.

The Volkstem expressed opinions both for and against Kruger. During the annexation, Dr Jorissen had supplied the paper with many articles opposing the future President; during the election campaigns in 1893 and 1888 letters tended to approve Kruger above other candidates, and Celliers seems to have taken up his support as indicative of the majority, and the most profitable attitude. He himself was secretary of the Pretoria branch of the Afrikander Bond from 1881, joining General Joubert in its foundation, though it never became as popular nor as influential as its Cape parent. In 1888 he gave up his journalistic work to devote himself to politics: he had been a member of the Volksraad for some years, and represented Johannesburg for the Second Raad from 1890 until his death in 1895. (15)

Both the newspaper and the printing works were sold to the Government, anxious that Volkstem should be continued. It was immediately resold to Wickers Jonker, and in 1890 turned into a limited company in which the
Government became a named shareholder in order to give the paper some financial stability. It was edited from 1889 by Frans V Engelenburg, a Dutchman who had come to the Transvaal to practise as an advocate. He remained editor for 35 years, and largely created the paper's popularity, supporting first Kruger and, after the war, Het Volk and the policies for which that party stood. (16)

Engelenburg turned the paper towards whole-hearted support of Kruger, particularly in the growing political battles with the Uitlander population of Johannesburg. Though not uncritical of the Government, he found fault with the Executive rather than the Raad, and the incompetence of its officials. He was a member of Kruger's election committee in 1893, despite attacks from the rival Land en Volk that he and his paper were mere hirelings of the Government. Until 1896, however, problems with Johannesburg were seen as a purely local affair. The Volkstem insisted on the complete independence of the Republic, and increased its pressure on the Government to stand firm against British interference. It had already advocated a five year residence qualification for foreigners, and the amalgamation of the two Raads. By 1893 the argument had expanded into a preference for the franchise with an oath of allegiance to the Republic, and with a high property qualification, though always restricted only to whites, and with the original burghers retaining a greater degree of power in the state. (17)

After the "treacherous" Jameson Raid, the Volkstem became more openly hostile to the political activities of the Johannesburg immigrants. They had already been invited to "pack their bags and go home if they cannot live without the franchise": attention turned towards the role of the British Government, and much space was devoted to the correspondence between Kruger and Chamberlain. In
August 1897, the existence of suzerainty was denied: the continual pressure being exerted by Britain was condemned, and the Republic's independence and right to self-determination asserted. (18) The **Volkstem** also appealed to Cape Afrikanders to choose between support of the Republic or of Rhodes: it had declared a policy of "Afrika vir die Afrikaners" in 1891, but this was directed against Imperial interference, and only assumed a cultural aspect when "British" became synonymous with the Imperialism that exploited the Witwatersrand and became increasingly "jingo". The **Volkstem** began to advocate the union of the two Republics, as the centre of a future state encompassing the whole of South Africa. However, the struggle was conveyed as one not of race, but between "free workers" and "monopoly capitalists": "Krugerism is nothing other than economic democracy." (19)

A growing nationalism was pioneered in **Volkstem**: Celliers had protested against **Die Patriot**'s use of Afrikaans, though this had received only the reply that the **Volkstem** was in service to a Hollander clique, and as such would strangle the national development of the Afrikanders. (20) Engelenburg changed this policy, introducing news in simplified Dutch spelling to encourage reading; this received protests that the use of Afrikaans originated with a lack of education, and contact with Africans, and should therefore be avoided. Engelenburg was more interested in developing education: complaining in 1890 that there was as yet no bookshop in Potchefstroom, he announced that if one were opened, he would publish a monthly list of suitable books for readers. Most families possessed only the Bible, Psalter, and some books of hymns and sermons; Engelenburg wished to cultivate habits of wider reading, both of books and of newspapers. (21)

The **Volkstem** increased its coverage of national and
international affairs. It had always promoted greater agricultural production, to supply the growing urban markets, printing both market prices and information on wools, mills, poultry, and scab. Political interest was increased, with more news from other Colonies and from Europe, while reports of Volksraad sittings and Conferences were published as complete Supplements. It complained of municipal apathy: three meetings of the Pretoria Council were cancelled because no-one attended. English editions were printed and between 1895 and 1898 a weekly French edition. (22) By the outbreak of war, it was a modern production, well edited and comparatively successful. It contained local district and social news, had altered its editorial format to that of modern French journals, with short paragraphs and more conversational tone, and published more correspondence. Even then its circulation was restricted largely to Pretoria and the surrounding districts. There was not the interest in daily politics shown by Johannesburg, though Volkstem had become a daily paper in 1895, the only Dutch newspaper in the Transvaal to warrant such frequent production. Sales were by subscription, and through agents in provincial towns, but were hindered by poor communication. (23)

Volkstem's support of railway construction in the Republic countered general rural hostility by concentrating on the economic advantages to be gained, and favouring the Delagoa Bay line over Cape or Natal links. The paper had at one time been owned by the Nederlandsche Zuid-Afrikaansche Spoorweg Mpy, which may have influenced its editor's policy. After 1890, however, when the newspaper business was turned into a limited Company, it was controlled by Engelenburg as editor and Izaak Wallach as printer. Both were politically active, and made the politics of Kruger and Leyds those of the paper also,
though Engelenburg saw himself as giving independent support:

"I have never looked upon the editorship of the Volkstem but as a trust, as a confidential engagement, as a position of responsibility undertaken by me, not to serve any politician or capitalist, but to promote the communal welfare of the best elements of the people of the Transvaal." (24)

Engelenburg did not deny that the Government was willing to help some of its newspapers, though he denied that this would affect his editorial policy:

"With the population of a second-rate European city, no paper can exist in South Africa without support of some kind. That the Transvaal Government does what hundreds of others do is not SO terribly immoral as some of our Pharisees would like to make people believe. To what extent the receipt of Government support via advertisements, etc., affects its policy depends on the character and principles of those who control the paper." (25)

He had received Government advertisements, and for this was accused by rivals such as Land en Volk, and the Star, of lessening Volkstem's influence by being evidently a 'kept' paper. At the country moved towards war, free copies of Volkstem were sent to the commandos, "to serve the land and the people", in return for which the Government provided a loan of £500 for 6 months, to cover production and distribution costs. The Volkstem did, however, criticise the corruption that admittedly existed in administration: in this respect, it was no less free than many of its opponents. (26)

The Republican Government had established a Government Printing Works in 1888, "not only to meet the printing requirements of the state, but also to create employment and to teach young Transvalers the art of printing." It rapidly introduced the most modern equipment, and when taken over by the British was
considered a "splendidly appointed institution, with everything of the latest pattern". A lithographic section had been authorised, but the war intervened before this could be established. Since the opening of this Staatsdrukkery, the Volkstem had lost its monopoly of Government printing. Moreover, the Executive shared its advertisements amongst favourable papers such as the Pers and the Standard & Digger News. (27)

The Press and Pers were the two sections of a bilingual newspaper established by Alois H. Nellmapius in 1889 at Kruger's request. These were provided with Government advertisements and revenue, and in turn supported the Government "on broad principles, that is, in the defence of the independence of the State." When Nellmapius died, the papers were taken over by J.B. Robinson: he had previously owned the Kimberley Independent, and two years later was to start the Johannesburg Times and the Cape Town South African Telegraph, though neither of these could challenge the precedence of other English dailies, and soon ceased. Managing Editor of Robinson's newspaper interests in the Transvaal was Leo Weinthal, who supported Kruger and the Government, but also protected and promoted the interests of the mining industry. He declared his policy to be an "Afrikander" one, and insisted that "all things could be settled by the South Africans themselves, without interference from outside." (28)

The Press remained loyal to Kruger and to Robinson, but Weinthal increasingly differed from his proprietor, and resigned in 1897. The following year he started his own newspaper, the Pretoria News, as an afternoon daily, in which he continued to express his own "Afrikander" point of view, campaigning for greater rights for settlers though adamant that this must be within "the well-being of the South African Republic". His was the only "pro-
Kruger" paper to survive the war, though it transferred its allegiance to the new Government. (29)

There was, however, opposition to Kruger in Pretoria, in the form of Land en Volk, a small weekly paper which ran from 1888, supporting Joubert and the Progressives, and for that reason often praised as the leading Dutch Pretoria paper by those Uitlanders who opposed the President. Originally published by J Meyer & Co, in 1891 it was bought by its editor Eugene Marais and James de Villiers Roos: Marais had previously reported Volksraad debates for the Transvaal Advertiser, and Roos had come to Pretoria as a reporter for the Johannesburg Star and manager of the Argus Company office there. Marais continued to edit the paper until 1896, though Roos departed for the Cape in 1893, and three years later was writing for Ons Land. (30)

Land en Volk indulged in outspoken criticism of the Government and Kruger, particularly resentful of the employment of "Hollander" officials. It too declared itself "on the side of Afrikanders, and even more so on the side of the South African Republic, the freedom and independence of which shall for ever be in our minds." Kruger's "Hollanders" ruined his chances of making the Republic "a strong Afrikander state." Marais promoted Joubert's progressive party as the only true representation of Afrikanderism, and he was able to mediate between the Executive Council and the Reform Committee in 1896.

Although on its first appearance the paper had promised that "all personalities will be barred", this was not to be borne out in practice. Both Kruger and Leyds were attacked, as was Engelenburg and Volkstem, while the editor of the Press was described as "the lying Jew, Weinthal..., a miserable hireling of the Government." The language of Land en Volk, was always extreme, and its
attacks on Jews, Indians and Africans straightforwardly and violently hostile. (31)

At the end of 1896 Marais left to study Law in London, where he wrote for newspapers in defence of the Republic against Imperial interference. The editorship was taken by J.Y. O'Brien, who continued Marais' policy. Though the paper ceased publication in October 1899, Marais retained control, and in 1902 offered the Editorship to Gustav Preller. In the aftermath of the war, co-operation of all Afrikanders was declared to be its primary aim. The following year, however, the paper was bought by Willem van Hulsteyn, a Johannesburg lawyer and later an Executive of the Transvaal Progressive Association, whereupon Preller moved to the Volkstem though Marais retained some editorial interest until 1905. By then, Fitzpatrick was financing the paper, and its policy was officially to favour the British Progressive Party, against the claims of Het Volk. It did not prosper as a Progressive paper and Fitzpatrick requested help from the administration to keep it alive. Lord Selborne desired Land en Volk to be kept going, though he denied the taint of subsidy:

"Land en Volk is not subsidised by the Government or Governor, nor any other paper I am thankful to say. Land en Volk is under no sort of engagement to say favourable things of the Government; it is free to criticise unreservedly, and does so. The only service which it renders, not to the Government but to the public, is to report facts: it is the only vehicle through which the truth can reach the Boers." (32)

It was considered impossible for the Government to "manufacture" printing and advertisements for the paper, and Fitzpatrick was recommended to find help "from some of the rich men in Johannesburg." Though the paper appeared until 1907, it was forced to fill space with advertisements for its own printing works, and even to
include an English section. Responsible Government ensured its demise: Volkstem was both more popular and closer to those in power, who had no interest in keeping alive a rival paper. (33)

The Volkstem had been enabled to restart in March 1903 through funds supplied by Leyds but administered by Botha and Smuts. It campaigned for the revival of the Afrikaners, and continued its pre-war policy in concentrating on agricultural reconstruction and the growth of a national language and cultural movement, expressed in support for Het Volk, Christian-National education, and the Afrikaanse Taalgenootskap which Engelenberg and his assistant editor, Preller, founded in 1905. Its content and tone were unreservedly critical of Milner and his dedication to capitalist enterprise, and although it accepted British victory, was careful not to refer often to British overlordship, preferring to concentrate on the potential of a self-governing and united South Africa, in which British and Boer could unite. (34)

Its opposition to the Colonial administration after the war was regarded by Lord Selborne not as political opposition, but as a continuation of the war:

"The Volkstem... does not report facts: it allows no facts inconvenient to it to penetrate to the Boers: it does invent and report things which are "not facts". It is not an Opposition paper. It is an implacable, unscrupulous, avowed enemy, using ink because it cannot at present use bullets." (35)

After the decline of Land en Volk, Volkstem was the only Dutch paper to be published in Pretoria. It remained a supporter of Het Volk and of Botha. From 1906 it produced a supplement entitled the Boer, the first illustrated Dutch paper in South Africa, to promote modern farming techniques and widen the paper's appeal. When the editor of the Boer, Harm Oost, moved towards support for Hertzog,
he preferred to resign rather than submit to Engelenberg's challenge to moderate his politics. (36)

There was, however, one paper in Pretoria which supported the British administration. This was the Pretoria News, started by Weinthal, but which had been sold in 1903 to a Syndicate of which A.E. Reno, the paper's printer and accountant, was Manager. Vere Stent became its editor, a journalist from Queenstown who had worked on the Diamond Fields Advertiser before the war, and as a correspondent for Reuters during it. The money was provided by Milner. It was "heavily in debt and seemed likely to fall into the hands of people who might or might not be disposed to maintain it as a paper of British sympathies":

"I therefore found the money to pay off the bond, take over the shares - or at any rate so many of them as to give complete control of the paper - and have them vested in someone who could be relied upon to see what the policy of the paper continued on the old lines. The transaction was carried out by an intermediary but entirely directed by myself." (37)

As he added, "the object of those who gave the money has been achieved." The intermediary was J.S. Nicholson of the South African Constabulary, though the paper became the property of a Syndicate run by Patrick Duncan and Ernest Chappell as the only shareholders and directors.

Milner admitted that he was "indifferent as to profits" from the paper, but thought control essential, "to prevent any shares ever getting into hands which might frustrate the object we all have in view." Vere Stent, who edited the paper until 1930, though not uncritical of Crown Colony administration, was nevertheless an Imperialist very much in Milner's mould. He supported the Progressive Party, advocated the complete elimination of the Dutch language as unnecessary, and spoke out against the "sinister shadow of Het Volk". He was, nevertheless,
the only editor in the Transvaal - before the arrival of Albert Cartwright - to object to a political colour bar, though he did not disapprove of social segregation. (38)

The Pretoria News had an English rival in the Transvaal Advertiser, begun in 1882 by Dr John Scoble and H.R. Abercrombie, who advocated "British interests", and supported the Reform Movement of the mid 1890's. It became a daily in 1895, and was, as all Opposition papers were, stopped at the outbreak of war. Though it thus provided English opposition to Kruger and support for British intervention in Pretoria, it never rivalled the Johannesburg papers, which led the expression of political grievances in the Transvaal. After the war, however, its allegiance changed. Though thoroughly supportive of Milner's aims, it began to reflect disillusionment at the increasing influence of capitalists in Government. It was critical of the Crown Colony administration, and came to support labour legislation which would secure the position of white labour in South Africa. (39) By its demise in 1907, it was owned by a Syndicate, headed by W.S. Duxbury, and as such was one of the few potentially independent English dailies left in the Transvaal. Its criticism of Johannesburg influence was continued by the Pretoria Chronicle which began in 1908, later known as the Transvaal Chronicle. This was sold to Abercrombie and Clifford F. Tainton, who started a Johannesburg Evening Chronicle to rival the Star. Both criticised the mining Houses, refused their advertisements, and eventually collapsed, unable to rival the news supplies of the major English papers in Pretoria or Johannesburg. (40)

The Pretoria press was dominated by its associations with Government. In the days of the Republic, English opposition papers equated Government advertising subsidy with bribery. During the period of Crown Colony Government, Milner was sure enough of the need for a
favourable press to purchase the *News*, while Botha and Smuts established a chain of supporting papers, in which *Volkstem* became the prime exponent of Het Volk policy. The divisions of the Dutch-reading community that had been evident before the war, and exploited by some of the discontented British opposing Kruger, were lost during the period of Crown Colony Government. The *Volkstem* was the only Dutch paper to survive with a wide circulation and influence. As such, it could promote a unity of purpose, and play down divisions within the community. For the English press and British administration, the opposite was the case. The English press dominated Johannesburg, and represented the mining interests of that city. It also reflected its foundation in commercial competition. These newspapers were traditionally political organs, and before the war, the papers could show unity on their opposition to Kruger; afterwards, this disappeared in a rapid escalation of political divisions. Rival publications were automatically a means of expressing differences, and therefore divisions in the community were immediately evident. Moreover, there was little difference in the manner of criticism between English and Dutch papers: just as the English press criticised Kruger's supporters for their receipt of Government subsidies in the Republic, so the Dutch press criticised those who praised the Crown Colony administration for subservience to capitalist interests.

The spate of newspapers which appeared with the establishment of Johannesburg soon settled into the rivalry of a few major productions. These forced out the early efforts of pioneering journalists. The *Transvaal Mining Argus* was set up by Charles Deecker, who had produced the *Transvaal Argus* in Potchefstroom, and was later associated with the *Cathcart Express*. His wife, Maria E. Deecker, helped edit the *Argus* until its closure.
in 1893, and from 1908 was printing and publishing the Hay & Herbert News at her printing works in Douglas, later moved to Griquatown. After Charles' death in 1912, she published the North West News in Prieska. Such individual enterprise was soon overtaken by the rapid expansion of the Johannesburg dailies, which monopolised news distribution and forced the majority of papers into a purely local circulation. (41)

The Transvaal Mining Argus had started in Johannesburg in February 1887 as a weekly, though three years later it became the first daily paper on the Rand. It acted as the Government Gazette for the area, and was claimed by a later rival, the Star, to be yet another stooge of the Government. Other early papers were the Bulletin, a satirical weekly, and the Transvaal Daily News of Josiah Angove. Angove had trained as a printer on Grocott's Penny Mail, then edited or established papers in Petermaritzburg, Kimberley, Vryburg, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Middelburg, Ermelo, Potchefstroom, East London and Port Elizabeth. He had also achieved a reputation of encouraging Boer disaffection by the publication in London in 1878 of his book The Transvaal of Today, which was serialised in the weekly supplement to the Free State Express. (42)

The only early paper to survive was the Diggers News & Witwatersrand Advertiser, first published the day before the Transvaal Mining Argus, by Messrs William Crosby & Co - the same Crosby that later partnered Charles Crewe in his Eastern Cape newspaper business. The Diggers News merged in 1890 with another of its rivals, the Standard & Transvaal Mining Chronicle, and the new Standard & Diggers News came into the ownership of the firm of Mendelssohn & Bruce. This proliferation of newspapers was a response to the large numbers of male immigrants, and correspondingly high literacy rates. It was also very much a commercial
enterprise: the new society depended on trade for all its needs, and newspapers provided valuable advertising space with which to promote businesses. Within six months of its appearance, the Mining Argus had commented on the unusual number of papers in Johannesburg, though it was perhaps optimistic in its deductions:

"The public press is more extensive in proportion to the population than in any other town... in South Africa, and the Fourth Estate is well supported, which bespeaks education, international capacity, and activity of thought." (43)

Newspapers and their owners were immediately in the forefront of politics: C.W. Deecker chaired the Political Committee formed by the Johannesburg Sanitary Board, which requested full municipal rights from the Government. This position of antagonism was taken up and extended by the Star, which led the opposition to Kruger, while the Standard & Digger News tended towards support of the Republic Government. It was edited by Harry Wright, mine manager of the City & Suburban Gold Mining Company, a "golden period" in which he piloted the paper "through dangerous schools into a safe roadstead by his able conduct, honourable journalism and independence of thought." In 1894 Clive R. Baines became editor, with James Hay - later President of the Chamber of Mines - as leader writer; Joseph van Gelder followed him, "erratic but undoubtedly gifted." (44)

Before 1894 the Standard & Digger News had been subsidised by E.A. Lippert, whose dynamite concessions from the Transvaal Government, and share in the N.Z.A.S.M. Railway company, immediately opposed him to the Rand Mining companies. In April of that year proceedings were in hand for the purchase of the paper by a collection of these companies, including the Gold Fields of South Africa, Sigismund Neumann, Barnato Bros, and Ecksteins, in an operation controlled by Lionel Phillips. The purchase
was not made, but from December Phillips agreed that Ecksteins would subsidise the paper:

"Lippert was paying at the rate of £1,000 per year. He declined to continue. They came to us and we have agreed to given them £87 6s 8d per month so long as they support the true interests of the place." (45)

Percy Fitzpatrick, in "The Transvaal from Within", spoke of a "good many thousand pounds" being spent on the press at this time, to provide propaganda for reform. After 1895, however, the "true interests of the place" came to mean different things for the collaborators in press subsidy. The Star thereafter criticised the Diggers News regularly as a paid Government organ. At the end of 1898, Bruce offered shares in the paper to Wernher Beit, in preference to his partner Mendelssohn's plan to sell to the Netherlands Railway Company. This would prevent criticism of the financiers in the paper, and Bruce would hand over "control of the mining policy of the Diggers News". The offer was refused, and the correspondence published by the Star in June 1899, in an effort apparently to abate the "grossest and most unscrupulous misrepresentation" of Ecksteins in the columns of the Diggers News. It was also a useful ploy by the Star to prove the willingness of its rival to comply with its owner's politics. (46)

In April 1899 the Executive Council of the Republican Government agreed to advance money to Mendelssohn, the proprietor, an amount equivalent to nine payments of "the usual monthly subsidy.... of £720 per month."

"The Executive Council decided to permit the payment requested, on condition that Mr Mendelssohn renders as security for this advance his shares in the Standard & Diggers News as well as his person and his goods, and as a guarantee that he will support in his newspaper the same policy which he has hitherto done to the satisfaction of the Government." (47)
In 1890 the Government had been setting aside £6,000 per annum for advertisements, a sum which rose in 1895 to £7,000. These advertisements went exclusively to papers favourable to the Government. The Weekly Press had reported Kruger stating in 1895 that he had no objection to supporting papers which criticised the Government honestly, "but for the State to give support to inimical papers would be suicidal." (48)

As a result of its relatively high income, the Standard & Diggers News could provide the best cable service on the Rand, to which even the Cape Times subscribed, despite objections to its politics. "As a newspaper proper, for its varied news, its bright and spirited articles, its descriptive power and the general ability displayed in its columns, it has not yet been beaten:" the Rand Daily Mail thus judged it one of the best newspapers produced on the Rand. It was well edited, and vocal on the problems besetting a rich and developing community. It was also modern, benefiting from an efficient printing works equipped even with the latest linotype machines. On the outbreak of war, it was the only English daily to continue publication, appearing until 31 May 1900. Its plant and offices were then used to publish the official Johannesburg Gazette until the tender was passed to the Argus Company; the Printing Works were eventually sold and provided the means for the launch of the new Rand Daily Mail. (49)

Government subsidy was refused the other major Johannesburg papers in the Republic; these survived instead on their close links with the mining companies. These provided capital with which to produce modern and full papers, and general printing work with company reports and prospectuses. The predominant paper, both in terms of political opposition and in mining links, was the Star.
The Star had originally been a Grahamstown paper, the Eastern Star. It was brought to the Rand by its owners Thomas and George Sheffield in 1887, after encountering financial difficulties. The proclamation of goldfields in the Transvaal had a deleterious effect on the Cape, with much of the population drifting north, though many did not settle permanently. Newspaper sales were affected throughout the Cape, particularly in urban areas. The Sheffields took advantage of the brighter prospects, and moved their newspaper to the Rand. It immediately announced its political stand: "loyalty to the institutions of a country does not mean subservience to those who are in power for the time being". It would aim for reforms in municipal and state government, for fair representation and equal taxation, justice, and "a union of all the states and colonies in some form of federation." It first appeared on 17 October 1887, as a tri-weekly evening paper, and was soon boasting sales of 800-1,000 per issue in a 'camp' of some 3,500, even when five other newspapers were being produced. (50)

Another newspaper man prospecting the Rand in September 1887 was Francis Dormer, of the Cape Argus, interested in expanding his new company. He was certain of the potential viability of an evening paper in the new town, and offered to purchase the Eastern Star. The Sheffields eventually agreed to a merger, in which the paper became the property of the Argus Company, and the Sheffields became editor and Manager. Dormer had already visited England to "launch the first part of a much larger scheme", where he established a London office to facilitate communications with his South African papers. (51)

In June 1889 the Argus Printing & Publishing Company was registered in Johannesburg, transferring its head office from Cape Town. The prospectus announced its
business as that of "Printers, Publishers, Stationers, Lithographers, Book-Binders, Engravers, Book Sellers, Newspaper Vendors, and such other Business as the Directors may from time to time decide." Capital was to be £70,000, of which 66,858 shares were issued, all privately subscribed. Neame states that Dormer had already obtained the necessary capital to start a paper in the north before he propositioned Sheffield, and it was assumed that most had come from Rhodes. (52) The Star was already printed by a steam-driven press: Dormer ordered a larger engine, and a new press with folding attachment to retain the paper's prominence in modern techniques. In 1893 the Star had the country's first web-fed rotary press, followed in 1897 by the new Victory press: only in 1902 were individual electric motors installed. (53)

Dormer became Managing Director of the new Argus Company, with five other Directors - Edmund Powell, his Cape Town editor, Thomas Sheffield, the Star's editor, James Smith, William Voss, and Alexander Schmidt. The original register no longer exists, but from transfer records it is evident that Dormer remained the majority shareholder. Others included E. Lippert, R. Kahn, W.T. Taylor, C. Hanau, Goldfields of South Africa and Lilienfeld & Co. At the inaugural meeting of the Board in February 1889, J.B. Robinson and Herman Eckstein, as major shareholders, were each asked to nominate a Director. In November Rhodes too was recorded as a shareholder, though there is no indication of the extent to which he was interested in the Company. Other holders included many Cape Town men who had joined Dormer's original venture, such as Fred Luke St. Leger and E.R. Syfret of the Cape Times, J.W. Sauer, David Graaff and J. Sivewright. (54)

The Eastern Star announced its change of ownership on 29 March 1889, and its change of title to the Star. It had been supported on the Rand to an extent exceeding "the
highest anticipation of its proprietors", and conducted a stable and profitable business. On the grounds that "the newspaper requirements of Johannesburg demanded something more closely approaching to the English model, it was announced that "the leading capitalists of the town have formed a powerful company with the object of giving Johannesburg a paper that will not fall short of that model." The new Company would run not only the Star and the Cape Argus, the "leading Colonial newspaper", but also the associated "extensive printing and stationery establishments" at Cape Town and Kimberley, and the English edition of the Cape Argus printed weekly in London. (55)

New premises were built for the newspaper offices, "the finest newspaper and jobbing plant in South Africa" provided by the Company's capital. On 1st July, the Star became a daily evening paper, of between four and eight pages. Its modern plant provided it with clearer printing than its rivals while in content it provided general reading matter, sports news and coverage of local events, besides its political reports. Sales apparently quadrupled between the takeover and October 1899: Dormer proudly announced his intention of making the Star a "newspaper they could send to any part of the world without apologies; a newspaper truly indicative and typical of the greatness of the town and the industry which had been reared in their midst." (56)

Francis Dormer took over as Editor in 1890: The Star had retained much of Sheffield's old policy, but moderated its criticism of the Republican Government in line with Dormer's own politics. It assured the Government, "on behalf of the newcomer", that there was no wish to bring about "any radical change in the constitution of the country which had afforded them protection in the prosecution of the industry which is making both
themselves and the State wealthy". Dormer himself cultivated friendships with both Kruger and Leyds, offered regular deliveries of the Star to Government offices, and employed James de Villiers Roos as his Pretoria Agent, "especially engaged in order that we may be able to devote the proper amount of attention to matters appearing in the Dutch language, which have hitherto been to a great event inevitably passed over." (57)

The Star did express dissatisfaction with both the franchise and taxation, and urged reform, but stressed that the diggers "would prefer two thousand times remaining as they are than to be brought under such a regime as that which drove the Boers into rebellion." From 1890 until 1895, the Star's policy was that of Dormer. Though he expressed his disapproval of Kruger's Government, he stressed that the Uitlanders should not "take such a course as would make every Dutchman believe that Krugerism and Afrikanderism are the same thing". He saw his task as one "not to extirpate Afrikanderism,... but to reconcile it with a sufficient degree of loyalty to the Empire." Moreover, he was convinced of the dangers of German expansion and the consequent necessity to retain the interior for England: those who failed to perceive this, such as the country Members in the Colony, had to be "kept up to a proper standard of duty by the agitation of the towns." (58)

Dormer's links with Rhodes were strong, as has been indicated in his establishment of the Cape Argus. While Rhodes found the publicity useful, Dormer was able to popularise his newspapers both by supporting Rhodes in his "great work", and using the inside knowledge gained from this friendship to provide firsthand information for the papers. (59) Dormer was furthering his own ambitions for a nationwide press organisation by establishing newspaper in Rhodesia, on the suggestion of Rhodes. The Argus
Company was granted an exclusive monopoly of newspaper production in Chartered territory: as part of the plan for white settlements to fill the "vacant north", "the provision of newspaper facilities for... colonists was felt to be desirable." The Argus Company offered its services in May 1891, and the British South Africa Company agreed "to offer no facilities to any other firm." (60)

Thomas Sheffield, then Manager of the Company, visited Salisbury to assess the prospects, but advocated delay in sending up valuable stock or plant since communications were still so poor. Dormer's speech to his shareholders in 1891 implies that the impetus came from Rhodes or the Chartered side. He himself was sceptical about the profits of the enterprise:

"During the year the Company has been very strongly urged to go to Mashonaland and has had considerable indirect inducements offered it to go there; but the difficulty of getting to the country is so great (and experience has taught that it is undesirable to have businesses in any place which cannot be readily reached by rail or sea) that the Company has determined to postpone its going there." (61)

Nevertheless, William E Fairbridge was sent to Salisbury, "one of the best" of the three hundred Agents the Company had stationed throughout South Africa. In June 1891 he produced the Mashonaland Herald & Zambesian Times, on a "much damaged cyclostyle", with an "inking roller made of imported treacle and locally produced glue, cast in a cylindrical German sausage tin". It was printed on foolscap, and ran for a year before the Argus Company agreed to take it over, and provide machinery and printing supplies. (62) The Rhodesia Herald duly appeared in October 1892.

Dormer registered the Rhodesia Herald Syndicate in Cape Town in July 1892. Argus Company members together held the majority of shares, and Frank Johnson, who dealt in mine claims and concessions, held the remainder. The
Syndicate did not confine itself to newspaper production: Fairbridge was already acting on his own behalf as share broker, book dealer, and labour agent; the Argus Company purchased land both for business and investment. By 1895, Dormer reported this expansion of Company activities:

"I may add that our operations in the North have not been entirely confined to printing and publishing in the past, nor will they be in the future. We have stands in all the principal centres and some 12,000 morgen of land in Mashonaland and 18,000 in Matabeleland. I hope to extend operations greatly in the present year. The prospects of Rhodesia now appear to be so bright that I shall be greatly disappointed if we do not achieve satisfactory results." (63)

His optimism regarding the future of Rhodesia was echoed in the Cape Argus and the Star. In 1894 the Herald Syndicate was dissolved and the Rhodesian Printing & Publishing Company formed: besides the Rhodesian Herald, Fairbridge now also established the Bulawayo Chronicle. The policy of the Company's newspapers, as stated in the first issue of the Chronicle, was "to promote by every means in its power the rule and success of the wonderful organisation which was born of the genius of Mr Cecil Rhodes." It promised, however, to criticise the Company should its rule clash with "the legitimate aspirations and demands" of the white settlers.

In September 1895, an Extraordinary General Meeting of the Argus Company was held in Johannesburg to increase the capital to £100,000, then by far the largest publishing company in South Africa. It was intended to rebuild and re-equip the Cape Town works, to purchase the business of the Rhodesian Printing & Publishing Company, and "to enlarge the scope of the Company operations in Rhodesia". The Rhodesian Company continued as a subsidiary, with overall control vested in Johannesburg. In 1897, the Rhodesian Advertiser appeared in Umtali, the
third Argus paper in the north. (64)

The Rhodesian papers did not reach the prominence of the Argus publications in Johannesburg or Cape Town, but the links created between them remained an essential part of the Company organisation, even after Dormer's departure. The Star was increasing rapidly in presentation and local prominence. A modern Cox-Duplex rotary press was installed in 1893, enabling faster printing, and in 1894 a linotype introduced to replace the old movable types. The first illustrations had appeared in 1889, though this was not a common feature for several years. (64) In content, the paper was encouraging the reform of government in the Republic: it reported extensively on the Johannesburg Sanitary Board, which was treated as the prototype of a municipal council, but which was deemed insufficient for the needs of the town. The Star claimed, with the lack of official efforts to redress grievances, that it "took the place of local government on the Rand, and the public looked to it to protect their interests." (65)

In 1895, Dormer's place as Editor was taken by Frederic Howard Hamilton, who had previously founded and edited the Zoutpansberg Review in Pietersburg, "possibly the most obscure sheet in the Transvaal", before becoming assistant editor to Dormer on the Star, and eventually replacing him. Dormer was extricating himself from the Company from November 1894; in October 1895 when he finally resigned there were radical differences between him and the majority of the Board. Thomas Sheffield took over as Managing Director, though regretting that "the master mind which has been at [the Company's] head from its inception until recently is not with us today, and that the business which he has built up with so much ability and success will not in future have the assistance of his guidance and control." (66)
Dormer later wrote at length of his disagreement with Rhodes as the cause of his departure from the Company which he had created. His twenty years' work in newspapers had had as its "sole object... the desire to promote the public ends which Cecil Rhodes and I have long held in common." His hero, however, had come under the "influence of new men and an altogether new set of ideas; ..... his present advisers know little about South Africa and care less." Dormer saw no truth in Jameson's conviction that Johannesburg was "ripe for rebellion" in 1895, and had no faith in the National Union, none of whom had "any honest desire to cease to be British subjects, therefore they cannot have an honest desire to be Transvaal burghers." He preferred to support Joubert and the Progressive opposition to Kruger. (67)

The final break came when Rhodes asked Dormer to appoint Edmund Garrett editor of the Cape Argus, thus displacing Edmund Powell, one of his "most valued colleagues":

"While admitting, as none could deny, the gentleman's capacity to furnish reams of bright and picturesque copy, which a judicious editor would use or otherwise according to his discretion, I ventured to think that a man with a weak chest and strong convictions, particularly when they did not accord with my own, would not make an ideal editor for any one of our publications." (68)

Garrett went instead to the Cape Times, and Dormer considered his judgement vindicated some years later:

"Mr Garrett subsequently became editor of the Cape Times, and was eminently successful in persuading himself, and doubtless some others, that Mr Kruger was the Sick Man of South Africa, whom nothing could restore, and Mr Rhodes the Strong Man, whom none could resist. It is difficult to determine the precise extent to which this distinguished journalist contributed to the great upheaval; but he did his best." (69)
The circumstances of the Argus Company were changing, and Dormer's power within it weakened. When the capital was increased in 1895, Solly Joel took up 20,162 of the 30,000 shares issued. Other investors included Barnato, Rhodes, Robinson, and both the Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company and Consolidated Goldfields. Mining interests thereafter held at least 37% of the issued capital; by 1897 JCI, which took over Joel's shares, held 22% of the capital. This Company also received the right to nominate a Director, placing John Tudhope on the Board as their representative. (70)

It is not possible to determine the influence which investors or Directors held over editorial policy at this stage, but Hamilton, the new editor, was thoroughly supportive of the National Union. He travelled to the Cape with Charles Leonard to ensure Rhodes' support, during which time Robert Pakeman acted as Editor. The Star printed prominently statements of leading capitalists, and reiterated its grievances - the denial of a franchise, lack of recognition of the "dominant language" of South Africa, the hampering of the country's main industry by monopolies, the inequality of taxation, and the denunciations of Uitlander's disloyalty. The Volkstem warned Johannesburg, and the Star as the leading paper of the Reformers, of the danger in the disorder present in the town, but the Star took up the position that moderation was useless. In publishing Charles Leonard's National Union Manifesto, Pakeman urged that "we shall for ever dwell in the dribbling shallows of universal contempt if we do not take the political tide at its flood": the Union meeting which it advertised must finalise matters and "put the torch to all this rotten flummery..." (71)

On 30 December Dormer inserted a signed article which "strongly deprecates the revival of attempts to force confederation upon South Africa, and also any outside
interference in the affairs of the Transvaal." The third edition of that day held the first news that Jameson had crossed the border. Although the Star then repudiated "for and on behalf of the National Union Committee any knowledge of or sympathy with the entry into the Republic of armed forces," Pakeman's editorials treated Jameson as conquering hero: "whether or not Jameson's column ever reaches Johannesburg, the moral effect of this wonderful march on the spirit of the community cannot possibly be over-expressed."(72)

The Raid filled the paper for months stretching into years with the Committees of Inquiry and the speculation on who had been involved. The Star was deeply implicated as the recognised organ of the National Union, and through its editor's mission to Cape Town. Hamilton was tried with the rest of the Reformers, but then left South Africa to work on the Argus London publication, the African Review, a weekly publication which aimed to put the Uitlander's case to the British public. Pakeman became editor, and brought the Star into direct conflict with the Government through the violence of his editorials. The Raid had fired Jingo sentiment, and the Star helped combat its more disastrous effects on Rhodes by giving much publicity to his other plans, most notably the Cape to Cairo railway, which would appeal to the British public's imagination as well as aid his recovery in South Africa. (73)

The Star continued its vilification of the injustice and corruption of the Government in language which led eventually to its suppression. The Critic, a weekly paper owned by Henry Hess but edited by Gustav Halle while Hess defended his many libel suits, had previously been the Government's prime target in drafting laws to curb the English newspapers. The Critic was stopped under the Press Law of 1896, but immediately appeared as the
Transvaal Critic; the Standard & Diggers News thought "the Government has been well advised in permitting the publication of the old journal under a new title." The Law was criticised as a "danger to the liberty of thought" by the Star, and the Cape Times in the south took up the cause, protesting against the "snuffing out of papers inimical to the Transvaal Government." (74)

Fitzpatrick thought the case a collusion between Leopold Hess and the Government "to fake up a precedent and get the thin end of the wedge in." There were rumours of the impending suppression of the Star: Fitzpatrick thought it worthwhile informing Lionel Phillips of "a very significant little three-line leader" in Ons Volk, the Krugersdorp Dutch paper: "In the opinion of the Burghers the time has arrived when something should be done to control the Star." (75) When the order to suspend publication arrived on 24th March 1897, it was not entirely unexpected. The reason given was that "the contents of the said newspaper... are dangerous to the peace and order in the Republic." The Argus Board was already assembled in preparation, and resolved to issue a new paper entitled the Comet of which Francis Dormer would be editor: Dormer thought the Star had been suppressed "most justifiably." (76)

The suspension of the Star was immediately presented as an infringement of rights. Sheffield wired to the British Resident in Pretoria for advice:

"My Company comprising British subjects claim protection from loss under Convention which secures access to Courts Press law deprives us of and invoke intervention High Commissioner...." (77)

On reference to the High Commissioner, the Board agreed to "submit under protest to action of Government". Sales of the Comet exceeded even those of the Star. Even the Standard & Diggers News, the Star's traditional enemy,
regretted Government intervention in "a case of misguided and impure journalism", though it did not lessen its hostility towards the Star's "sedulous inoculation into the body politic of the virus of distrust and discontent." Within a month, appeal judgement had been given that the Press Law was contrary to the Constitution, and the Star was re-issued on 14th April. Dormer remained as editor until July; thereafter he concluded that "there was no real desire for peace on the part of those who were able to pull the strings at Johannesburg." (78)

The importance of the Star within the Argus Company was finally determined during the editorship of Dormer's successor, Charles E. Finlason. His public criticism of Edmund Powell at the Cape Argus led the Board of Directors to intervene. It was declared that "all attacks by one of the Company's publications upon another are absolutely forbidden." Moreover, it demanded a common front from its papers: Company policy was henceforth to be,

"as indicated from time to time in the leading columns of the Star, and all publications of the Company, unless specially authorised to the contrary, by the Managing Director, are to follow the lead therein given in all matters of a political nature which are of more than local importance." (79)

Thus the editor of the Star achieved officially, though not publicly, prime importance within the Company. It was essential that a "good" editor be chosen for this position, and much effort was made to find a suitable successor to Finlason.

By the end of 1897 Finlason was unhappy in the editorship, and Fitzpatrick and Phillips already looking for an alternative. Finlason complained that "Barnatos continually dictate policy to him and his willingness to accept this dictation may account for Joel's support of him as editor." Fitzpatrick's own choice was Pakeman, but "we cannot manage it well at this end as Joel opposes
him"; he was, however, willing and apparently able to override Joel and put Pakeman in the Chair, if Phillips could not find "the ideal man we are looking for."

"The Star has lost caste and weight and it ought to be the best paper in Africa and a power in the land. We feel the want of support. In Dormer's time we wanted honest support but now it is more intelligence and grasp that are wanted...." (80)

The paper was vital not only for publicity in Johannesburg: this often seemed a minor problem compared to the necessity of sending reports of the correct tone back to England:

".... I suppose that it doesn't really matter much and that our sense of proportion is at fault when we attach importance to the local press, as far as European opinion is concerned, but I still think that in South Africa we can do a lot by means of a first-class man. No prejudices in the world could resist the impact of the shower of scandals which the Volksraad have poured out this session and these well-handled and well-put could influence South African opinion. I feel disgusted when I see our case put infinitely more clearly and forcefully by Garrett in the Cape Times, without any help from the daily touch and inside information, than it is by the Star, and the latter has ten suggestive opportunities for the one that drops in Garrett's way..." (81)

Finlason retired at the end of 1898, and Pakeman took over as acting editor while a new man was found. Fitzpatrick, as the link between the Corner House and the Argus Company, and as a supporter of the High Commissioner's policy, prompted his superiors towards the firm's political involvement for protection of the mining industry. He encouraged press support of the South African League, and the creation through the press of a solidarity amongst the Uitlander community. The Argus Director most involved in the search for an editor was Sam Evans, who had come to South Africa as a representative of Sir Edgar Vincent. The Acting British Agent in Pretoria informed Milner in 1898 that Evans "has now been taken
into the "House of Eckstein", hence becoming a Director of the Star, which it is their wish should again become the leading newspaper in South Africa, a position which it has hardly held up of late." (82) Evans was particularly distrusted by Dormer for "something more than a nodding acquaintance with the High Commissioner", on the strength of which, and his position in Ecksteins, "he poses as a great authority on public affairs." It was Evans who asked W.T. Stead for a suitable editor:

"Do you know another Garrett whom you can recommend? ... The Proprietors of the Star will not interfere with the editorial work provided the editor is honest, capable and holds the right views. He must have faith in the English-speaking race and be able and willing to render substantial aid to Sir Alfred Milner in forwarding the Imperial policy in South Africa. He must be a man who would, by instinct as it were, be on the side of America to free Cuba. His mission would be to educate, guide and unite the men who read English on the Rand and who are for the most part today an incoherent and factious crowd. He would have to do in Johannesburg what Garrett is doing at the Cape, and more. He would have to do much of what Sir Alfred Milner is doing there." (83)

Milner's approval was of paramount importance: his career in journalism had been a prelude to administration, but gave him useful connections and an awareness of the potential power of the press. Moreover, two of the London journalists offered the job, Henry Norman, assistant editor of the Daily Chronicle, and Sidney Low, editor of St James Gazette, reconsidered their refusals when told of Milner's interest. Charles W Boyd, Rhodes' political secretary in London, offered his services, and the Company had again considered taking Garrett from the Cape Times. It was preferable, however, that the new editor should be thought politically unbiased on arrival: Fitzpatrick told Jan Smuts, the Republic State Attorney, that these latter two were "disqualified on political grounds", particularly Garrett,
"because he was a member of the Cape Parliament, and had identified himself with Rhodes' party and, although in every other way a most desirable man, we felt that we could not afford to handicap ourselves with the suspicion that would at once attach to us." (84)

An editor was finally found from G.E. Buckle of the Times in London, who suggested his own assistant, William F. Monypenny. Milner met Monypenny and approved, and agreement was reached that The Times should benefit by using both him and the editor of the Cape Argus as its personal correspondents in South Africa.

Monypenny's services were considered valuable: he went to South Africa on a salary of £3,000 a year, twice the sum originally offered to prospective editors. At that time, Garrett in the Cape was working on £800, though he admitted this was hardly sufficient, while the editorship of Volkstem had been offered at £300 a year to Engelenberg. In 1912, Vere Stent's salary on the Pretoria News was raised to an "adequate" £900. At the end of February 1899 Fitzpatrick told Wernher that Monypenny had arrived, "and we can enthrone him and post him up at once." The new editor had conferred with Milner on his way through Cape Town; once in Johannesburg he saw Conyngham Greene, the British Agent, who reported to Milner:

"He seems sound on all points except the South African League, on which he appeared uncertain. When, however, I had explained to him that they agreed to limit their agitation to constitutional means, in support of the Reforms of which all parties recognise the necessity, and bound themselves to be guided by me, as in the past, he was quite reassured, and said, while he might not support them publicly in his paper, as a political Body, for fear of spoiling the game, he would take care that their objects and efforts were supported. This, after all, is what we want." (85)
Five days after this interview Monypenny took over the practical direction of the Star; one of his journalists wrote later that he had been "at liberty to write as strongly, even luridly, against the Transvaal Government as I liked, as long as I had grounds for it." Milner did not disapprove of the paper's extremism, telling Greene that "the Uitlanders would be idiots to lay down these arms in the shape of local agitation and the working of the Press in Europe, which are evidently so alarming to the Government, for anything but the most substantial reforms in black and white." (86)

Monypenny was sanguine that "within a few years we can have our way", as he told Buckle at The Times. Francis Dormer was equally disturbed about future prospects, advising Monypenny to go to Pretoria and listen "with an open mind" to the other side before making pronouncements:

"It was plain, however, that an open mind was just what the new editor of the Star did not possess, although he came out, of course, with perfect liberty of action.... Barely twenty-four hours in the country, he was satisfied not only of the intolerable nature of the Uitlander grievances, but likewise of the sovereign remedy by which alone these grievances could be removed. 'Franchise' was the word, 'immediate enfranchisement'." (87)

Press propaganda was by now more or less in step with political protest on the Rand. Greene used excerpts from the Star to illustrate his despatches to Milner: such articles "may be taken to represent the views of the Uitlander population of Johannesburg," which were then forwarded to Chamberlain. (88)

At this point, Dormer distinguished between the press and its proprietors: the Chamber of Mines maintained its stance as a non-political institution and its President, George Rouliot, disavowed, "on behalf of the industry, the seditious excesses to which the local exponents of
Uitlander opinion (or, more correctly, alleged Uitlander opinion) allowed their language to run." The agitation was instead attributed to the South African League, and not to local capitalists - as the Government papers alleged - nor to the genuine Uitlander: Milner was working to bring matters to a head, for which "a couple of dashing young journalists had been brought out at unheard-of cost as agents provocateur," and the League's case presented through the press.

"Mountains were made out of every molehill; every available engine of factitious agitation was brought into play; and a community that was yearning for nothing so much as for peace was made to appear not only willing but anxious to bear the appalling sacrifice inseparable from serious war." (89)

G.V. Fiddes, Milner's Imperial Secretary, was sent to the Rand in April 1899 where he made a point of seeing Monypenny and Pakeman, who became the editor of the new Transvaal Leader. He reported back to Milner that "both needed guidance badly": "I succeeded in convincing both, and now, unless they go back on me, they will strike the right note if necessary." In May, Fiddes told Milner that Monypenny was "doing his best to keep the pot boiling, so that the South African League could organise meetings." The Star was in the forefront of the protests, and its editor told Oswald Walrond, Milner's Private Secretary, that "Every day I get warnings that the Star office is to be wrecked, or that I am to be waylaid and set upon." He had been assaulted in his office the previous month, but was still convinced that "it is perfectly clear that we have got the public opinion of England, indeed of the world, behind us." (90)

By the end of August rumours were spreading of impending conflict between the Government and the leading English newspapers. On 4th September, the Star led with an editorial entitled "Throwing Down the Gauntlet", and
announced the arrest on a charge of high treason of the editor of the Transvaal Leader, Robert Pakeman. A warrant was issued for Monypenny's arrest, but he received warning of this and escaped into hiding before fleeing to Cape Town. Reporters on the Star had already been despatched to Cape Town, or to posts through South Africa to act as correspondents in preparation for the coming war. Only a minimal staff remained in Johannesburg to bring out the few issues permitted by the Government: the order to stop publication came on 11th October, and the premises were closed. The newspaper had throughout led the publicity for redress of Uitlander grievances, and promoted Milner's policy of demanding immediate and complete reform. Though under Dormer it had campaigned for reform, it did not then contemplate any forced change of the current Government. Once Dormer had left the Company which he had created, the Star, as its leading paper, was in the hands of a Board composed primarily of mining interests. The editor was indeed, independent, but chosen for his agreement with the views of that Board, and his willingness to create a policy which would suit their requirements. Monypenny's success in promoting a political cause was illustrated by the importance accorded by the Transvaal Government to his newspaper in desiring his arrest, just as much as it was considered an essential part of Milner's publicity for both politicians and public at Home. (91)

Milner's associations with the Argus Company remained close: the Star was the first independent newspaper to reappear on the Rand in 1902, while in Bloemfontein the Company had received permission to produce a paper there two years before any other was allowed in the new Colonies. After the war, Milner's influence waned somewhat in Johannesburg, when economic considerations prevailed over political unity, but the Star remained his most faithful supporter, praising him through the
criticism of the Reconstruction years for having "saved South Africa twice, once politically and once financially." (92)

The Star, though it thrived on its opposition to Government before the war, and berated papers such as the Standard & Diggers News and Volkstem for their allegiance to Kruger, and consequent receipt of advertisements, nevertheless became the strongest publicity agent for Milner from 1902. During the period of Crown Colony Government, this was a potentially lucrative position since both the Bloemfontein Post and the Star received preference in Government advertising. The Bloemfontein Post particularly needed such support, since in both local advertising and subscriptions it was losing popularity to The Friend. (93)

At the end of 1903, it was suggested that the Government Printing Works be contracted out to the Argus Company. The agreement would last for five years, the Argus taking over management and wages, and the Government bearing the cost of depreciation. The Company guaranteed not to charge the Government more for its printing than its Johannesburg branch could tender on the open market. The arrangement, when first mooted, was treated as strictly confidential, and it was agreed that the Government would not let other firms benefit from calculations for the tender. The work required would be extensive, including Gazettes, forms, reports, and books. News of the negotiations leaked out, and the Colonial Secretary was asked "whether the statement in the Rand Daily Mail is correct... that the Government purpose selling the Government Printing Works to a private company, and if so, is it the case that the negotiations are being conducted by private treaty?" It was replied that the Government had no intention of selling, but if "any offer is received for carrying out the requirements of the Government... by
private enterprise, with equal efficiency and greater economy than can be obtained under the present system, the Government is prepared to consider the question of having their printing done by private firms." (94) Three proposals were received, from McCowan & Co of Johannesburg, from Engelenberg of *Volkstem*, and from Izaak Wallach, Engelenberg's partner and owner of Wallachs Drukpers en Uitgewers Mpy Bpkt. In consequence, the Argus Company was informed "with regret" that the proposal to give out the Government Printing Works had been abandoned: the Executive Council insisted such a proposal be put out to tender, although the Colonial Secretary personally regretted the decision. (95)

Nevertheless, the Company did allow Fairbridge, who had come from Salisbury to take over from Thomas Sheffield as General Manager, to act as professional adviser to the Government Printing Works, at a fee of £1,500 a year, with board and lodgings when in Pretoria, and the benefit of a railway pass. Though this arrangement was accepted by the Executive Council, the Argus Company itself requested its termination after only six months, because of "bad times commercially". (96)

Monyppenny left the *Star* in December 1903, disagreeing with his proprietors over the importation of Chinese labour; they approved of the advantages of bringing indentured Chinese workers to the Rand mines, but Monyppenny could not accept such a move, and resigned rather than fight his employers in the paper. Basil Worsfold, who thoroughly approved everything Milner did, replaced him as editor from 1904 to 1905, but disliked the growing antipathy to Crown Colony Government on the Rand, and left Johannesburg soon after Milner. He had not proved the creative editor either Milner or the Argus Board required. Both had already considered the appointment of a new editor, and the choice fell upon
Geoffrey Robinson, Milner's Private Secretary, who could be relied upon to continue the Star as a vehicle for the propagation of Milner's ideas. The offer was made by Sam Evans and Lionel Phillips, "who definitely broached the Star project" to Robinson in March 1905. (97) Robinson's previous journalistic experience had been "only a leading article and a few book reviews". Nevertheless, from Milner's viewpoint, his appointment as editor was a success. Robinson took five months' leave in Fleet Street, learning from the London dailies the business of running a newspaper. Milner had written to Alfred Lyttelton at the Colonial office that he had "stolen" Robinson, "in the public interest", since he was so keen on the problems of the country, and so popular with all sections: he had been offered and has "under my strong advice, accepted, the editorship of the Star, the leading Johannesburg newspaper." He considered this the only possible salvation of the Star: had Robinson not accepted, "the Star would have become like the other Johannesburg newspapers. We cannot go on with such a press." (98)

Robinson did revive the Star, transferring his allegiance to Lord Selborne, who replaced Milner as High Commissioner, and followed Government policy when it allied with proprietorial needs: the agitation for Responsible Government was deplored, but when seen to be inevitable, the Star pinned its colours firmly to the Progressive mast, supporting the assertion of British interests over the "racial" claims of Het Volk. With the first elections as a self-governing Colony, the Star was thrown back into an Opposition role, and began to advocate the cause of Closer Union most strongly. Robinson left in 1909, with Union close to accomplishment; by 1912 he was editor of The Times in London. Patrick Duncan was a chief leader-writer for the Star from May 1908, continuing the
paper's associations with Milner's kindergarten, and concentrating on the part South Africa could play within the Empire. James Nicol Dunn was appointed editor in 1910: he too had started his career on the Pall Mall Gazette, then edited the Morning Post during Milner's South African term, and later moved to the Manchester Courier, which was particularly aimed at rivalling the better-known Manchester Guardian. (99)

The Star shared with its morning companion, the Transvaal Leader, the backing of Ecksteins. The two papers were not direct rivals: the continuation of the Leader was considered necessary for some years in order to counter the influence of the Rand Daily Mail. These papers expressed views often contradictory to the Star, and exhibited the growing dissension amongst the British on the Rand.

The Transvaal Leader first appeared on 10 April 1899 as a morning daily edited by R.J. Pakeman, who had been noted as editor of the Star for the extreme hostility of his articles criticising the Government. The only other morning daily in Johannesburg then was the Standard & Diggers News, which was ridiculed by the 'Uitlander' papers as a Government organ.

The immediate means for the new paper came from the collapse of the Johannesburg Times. This had run from January 1895 until October 1898, owned and promoted by J.B. Robinson. Robinson required his editors to take a fairly consistent pro-Kruger line, and to follow him in his break-away from the Chamber of Mines and support for the new Association of Mines. When this organisation remerged with the Chamber of Mines during 1897, it would seem that Robinson's need for a separate journal diminished. The Times stopped in October 1898, and the plant was sold to Ecksteins for the launch of yet another paper. (100)
In February 1899 Phillips had written to Ecksteins regarding "the desirability of an antidote to the poison administered daily by the Standard & Diggers News." (101) The Star was most valuable, but dominated the evening market. It was therefore planned to found a paper that would print similar views for the morning market, and lessen the need for anyone to buy the Standard. The Company formed to run the new paper was registered in April 1899 as the Transvaal Leader Company, with a capital of £15,000 in £1 shares. 14,878 of these were registered in Pakeman's name, who also received, according to J.A. Hobson, a "most liberal salary". Hobson's suspicions had been aroused by the immediate capital outlay of £10,000 for the Times plant, and £7,000 for the property on which its offices stood, the expenses being disproportionate to the nominal resources. He commented that the source of supply was "generally considered" to be Ecksteins. He then concluded that the immediate aim of such large outlay was the intention to reach a British audience - rather than South African - "for the purpose of stimulating British action." (102)

Hobson discussed the role of English newspapers on the Rand in his book, "The War in South Africa", which he published in London in 1900. He reprinted an editorial from the Transvaal Leader, entitled "Fundamental Savagery", in which Pakeman had declared a recent ruling of the Raad to be "in the opinion of the Leader and, we believe, of every thinking man, a deliberate proclamation of a state of constitutional savagery:"

"Even yet there is time for some strong and just man to arise and lead the burghers to Pretoria to sweep the gang from power, to annul the decree of the Raad by a coup d'etat and eject the dynamitards from the State." (103)

Thus, Hobson maintained, the Leader "was permitted day after day to use language which even in times of ordinary
tranquillity would have ensured the arrest and prosecution of editors and publishers in any other country in the world except England and the United States.... the language of the Leader clearly brought it under the law of High Treason of 1877". The paper thus made an immediate impact on the political tone of the Rand, and accompanied the Star into the front line of opposition. The Leader was ordered to stop printing along with the Star: Pakeman escaped from arrest to the Natal border, returning only in 1902 when the Leader was restarted. (104)

The Cape Times had transferred its cable arrangements to the Leader on its first appearance, away from the Standard & Digger News, establishing links between the two papers that were to grow considerably. (105) In March 1902, when the possibility of a partial reconstruction and expansion of the Cape Times Company was considered, the idea of carrying on the Cape Times in the Transvaal was seriously discussed. The capital of the Cape Times Limited was increased to £150,000 by the issue of 25,000 shares making the total issued share capital £100,000. E.J. Edwards, the Assistant Editor, was sent to Johannesburg to negotiate the possibility of the Cape Times entering that market. By May 1902, the Directors were receiving letters from Edwards, submitting schemes whereby the Company could obtain openings by acquiring the plant of existing concerns: one letter contained the offer of purchase of the Transvaal Leader. (106)

Edwards then submitted his own proposals to Fitzpatrick, Chief Partner of Ecksteins. These were, firstly, that the Cape Times establish a "strong, independent, commercial morning paper", run in conjunction with the Cape Times. Secondly, that they establish editorial and commercial representation in Johannesburg, contingent upon a degree of support being assured them by way of business, advertisements, printing, and so on.
Fitzpatrick preferred the second option, but "saw some difficulty" in promising "continued permanent advertisement support upon a large scale unless his house, and the Gold Fields of South Africa, were interested financially in the Cape Times". (105) He requested that Edwards propose to St. Leger - the manager - that Ecksteins take up 10 - 20,000 reserve shares at the market price. This offer was refused.

Fitzpatrick's second suggestion was that it would be "more advantageous for both parties" if the Cape Times bought the Leader. Edwards informed his directors in Cape Town that "the Leader was established by the Ecksteins, and was entirely financed by them. It is known to be their personal property." Fitzpatrick's deal was that the Cape Times take over the Leader at cost price (plus appreciation in property value), and that payment be made in Cape Times shares, the vendors agreeing to retain their interest in the concern for any period the Cape Times suggested.

"The advantage of this scheme was that the Eckstein and allied groups would guarantee the Leader equally with the Star a full share of their advertisements and printing." (108)

Edwards informed his directors in glowing terms of the vast quantity of printing orders at the Star, as he discovered from Thomas Sheffield, and he approved the prospects of a prosperous business being established. The Leader was "paying or beginning to pay" when war broke out, and he was sure that it "must in the near future become a remarkably good property: it would be easy, furthermore, to clinch the deal." (109)

"It must be remembered that the Leader was started for a specific object. That object has now been attained, and the proprietors, having other big interests to look after, do not desire the additional worry and care of a daily paper." (110)
The final solution was the merger of the Leader and the Times into one company, the Cape Times Ltd, officially still controlled and led by the Cape Times, but with Transvaal interests able to move independently of Cape backing. The Leader was made a subsidiary to be directed partly by Ecksteins, whilst not permitting them any control over the policy of the Cape Times. (111)

The Leader was taken over from 1st July 1902. The Vendors were to nominate one Director, and the Company another, both to be resident in Johannesburg and control the affairs of the paper there. It soon appeared that the Leader has not been as viable as concern as St. Leger and Edwards had made out. J.A.S. Watson, reporting to the Company on the losses the Transvaal Leader was making, pointed out the extenuating circumstances. The Leader had been started for the specific purpose of "supporting British interests as much as anything else and under the circumstances expenses had to be incurred which would not have been incurred in the formation of an ordinary newspaper company." He too, assured the Directors that the Leader had every chance of becoming profitable. The resolution was carried, the Articles of Association of the Cape Times Ltd amended, and Edwards and H.C. Boyd were appointed as the two new Directors of the Company in the Transvaal. (112)

In November 1902, the Cape Town Directors were consulted over "some trouble" with the editor of the Leader, Pakeman. "A cable had been sent offering the position to Mr E.T. Cook and if he accepted Pakeman would be given three months' notice." The Cape Town board ratified this decision of the Transvaal Directors. The following month, the Board received a letter from Pakeman, "complaining that his present position was unsatisfactory, that he was hampered, and that no definite policy had been laid down for him." The Directors replied that,
"the policy we wish pursued is that adopted by the Cape Times, viz. - to give Lord Milner our support in the policy he is adopting in the settlement of the country, and generally supporting federation on reasonable lines, that Lord Milner should be given fair treatment, and not be criticised captiously at every turn." (113)

By the end of January 1903, Pakeman had been dismissed by the Transvaal Directors, and Edwards had temporarily taken over the editorship. The post was eventually taken by G. Dawson, though E. Reyersbach of Ecksteins also objected to him as not "good enough". Edwards, however, thought the editor was doing well, and that the "Editorial has been worked economically." The Directors upheld the decision of Edwards, and replied that "there is no need for any change, and that they could not have any dictation from outside as to the Editorial management." (114)

The Transvaal Directors of the Leader controlled its policy, but in the event of a dispute between Edwards and Eckstein's representative, the Cape Town Company tended to back Edwards. Nevertheless, the Cape Town Board had little control over the success of the paper, which never realised expectations. The Company Minutes show frequent losses, and only occasionally profits, though Johannesburg was gradually expanding as a market for daily papers. From later statements of Lionel Phillips, who came to control Ecksteins' newspaper interests in the Transvaal, it is clear that the Transvaal Leader, and its later weekly and Sunday papers were retained even at a loss "to counteract the influence of the Sunday Times and Rand Daily Mail." (115)

The Rand Daily Mail had first appeared on 24 September 1902, as a morning daily challenging the monopoly of the Transvaal Leader. It soon achieved a reputation for being "up-to-date, energetically run and generally well-produced," and claimed the largest circulation of any Transvaal morning paper. It had taken

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up the plant of the old *Standard & Diggers News*, thus beginning with the advantage of modern printing equipment, and it continued the traditions of its predecessor by instituting an extensive cable service. It relied, as its name implied, on recent innovations in the London daily market made by Alfred Harmsworth of the *Daily Mail*, and concentrating on entertainment rather than "stodgy" news. Its first editor, Edgar Wallace, had written for the *Cape Times* and *The Owl*, a satirical weekly produced by some of the *Cape Times* staff; he provided short stories next to the editorial column in the *Mail*, and more space was devoted to alarming incidents than to discussion of political controversies. (116)

The press and plant for the paper had been bought by Freeman Cohen and Carl Hanau, though Cohen was recognised as the producer of the *Mail*; both, according to Fitzpatrick, were "acting for Barnatos". No expense was spared in creating a paper that could rival its established contemporaries: a large staff of foreign and Colonial reporters was employed, and much cable news printed. Wallace disliked his work, however, and returned to England in 1904, when his place was taken by George Adamson: Sam Evans of the Corner House thought him "certainly the best editor we have had here since Monypenny left." (117)

The expense of sustaining a newspaper was too great for Cohen, who was forced to sell in 1904: it was then that the paper "nearly fell back into Nationalist hands", but Abe Bailey "was persuaded to step in for Milner's sake with a much higher offer." Bailey, who was not interested in the daily management of a paper, leased the *Rand Daily Mail* the following year to a Syndicate of three men who "shared his general political opinions." These were George Kingswell, as General Manager, Ralph Ward Jackson, editor, and A.V. Lindbergh, publisher. Lindbergh had
worked on the Star, developing the distribution side of the paper, and set up the Central News Agency which took over the publishing and distribution of all the major Johannesburg and Cape Town dailies. His contacts were then used for the promotion of the Rand Daily Mail. (118)

The Rand Daily Mails Limited was formed in 1905 for the purchase of the goodwill of the newspaper and its plant. Bailey remained the major shareholder, and the paper followed in general lines his own politics. It professed to be "for progress in Transvaal and South African affairs, and in its general policy it will be for the people, in the sense that what is best for the State is best for the majority." It insisted on British supremacy in South Africa, and shared Bailey's antagonism towards the possibility of equal rights for any except whites. It was on Kingswell's motion that the Newspaper Press Union restricted its membership to whites only in 1912. It also aspired to be a "national" paper, loyal to the Empire, but putting Colonial interests before those of British Governments. Its critical attitude towards Milner's administration perturbed Fitzpatrick during the years of agitation for responsible government. In pursuit of these ideals, the Rand Daily Mail was one of the first English dailies to lessen its 'Home' columns, and increase news of the progress of other self-governing colonies, with particular concentration on Canada and Australia. (119)

Jackson, Kingswell and Lindbergh also formed the Sunday Times Syndicate in the following year to start the first Sunday paper in South Africa, though many of the dailies already produced a weekly supplement that tended more towards entertainment than news. The business was carried on at the Rand Daily Mail works, the new Syndicate's capital standing at only £200. It was immediately popular and financially successful, drawing
readers away from weekly editions and forcing the Transvaal Leader into competition by producing the Sunday Post. (120)

There was a host of smaller and less frequent publications on the Rand. Many were purely entertainment journals, or the magazines of various professional or social societies that provided specialist information. These included such titles as the Transvaal Medical Journal, the Law Journal, the Rand Young Men's Journal and the Journal of the Chemical and Metallurgical Society of South Africa. There were also illustrated weeklies, racing and sports magazines, and church papers. The South African Mining Journal received wider attention than many of these specialised journals. Its editors often transferred to daily political newspapers: the protection of the mining industry in low costs and high yields was a theme repeated in the Johannesburg dailies as much as in the Mining Journal. (121)

Transvaal publishing was dominated, however, by the English language dailies of the Rand, both in production and distribution. These three were given advantages by enormous capital backing, but also by the distribution arrangements with the Central News Agency. This had outlets throughout the Transvaal, and thus the papers were most concerned with the progress and welfare of the mining industry were enabled to circulate in districts where the local press would not carry this emphasis. (122)

None of these papers regarded black political activity with anything but hostility. They were directed at white readers, and all insisted on white supremacy. The one paper published by and for Africans in the Transvaal was Leihlo la Babathso, a Pietersburg production edited by Levi Khomo and Simon Molisapoli for the Native Vigilance Association. It ran from 1903 irregularly until 1908, but suffered severe financial problems which
eventually forced its closure. In mentioning this paper, the Rand Daily Mail branded it an "organ of Ethiopian agitation". Other white papers echoed this attitude, presenting African organisation simply as a threat to white society, if they recognised it at all. (123)

These newspapers had emerged suddenly, with the appearance of Johannesburg. Their rise was due to the capital which interested parties could feed into the business, and the desire for publicity in both political and economic schemes. In contrast, the Dutch press had little financial stability. Government advertisement revenue during the 1890's provided a level of this, but the opposition papers also received backing from the advertisements of mining companies, and the printing of reports. From the start the Dutch papers were political journals: rivalry between Volksstem, Pers, and Land en Volk was both hostile and vindictive. The earliest English papers were mining journals, which only took up politics with the demand for the franchise, and of which the Star came to the forefront in deliberately publicising such agitation. Mining and its profitability remained the prime concern of the English newspapers, as it had been the purpose of the majority of the English immigrants. The career of Dormer and the Argus Company illustrates the trend away from the old-style politics of English "Afrikanders" on the Rand, towards an increasingly imperialist ideal. The post-war years, however, demonstrate the cracks in the alliance of mining and administration. Monypenny resigned over the issue of Chinese labour; Basil Worsfold replaced him in 1904, but though constantly appreciative of Milner was unsatisfactory as an editor. Only with the appointment of Milner's Private Secretary, Geoffrey Robinson, to the editorship of the Star in 1905 did the British administration recover a favourable press that was also a
financial success for the newspaper.

The Dutch press grew slowly in the Transvaal; its heyday at the end of the century was brought to an abrupt end by the war and British occupation. Thereafter, the possibilities were limited by poverty; Volkstem urged the rehabilitation of the Afrikander nation before it was taken on by Het Volk as a party paper. Its concentration on practical issues of education and farming widened its appeal to a readership that was not so highly politicised as that of its English rivals.

The Transvaal never developed a local press to the extent that this existed in the Cape. The minor Dutch papers collapsed during the war, and in the decade before Union local Dutch papers only appeared in Fordsburg, Pietersburg, and Potchefstroom. Local English papers catered for local advertisers and district news. From the 1890's, there was little chance of an English paper from any other centre in the Transvaal rivalling the major dailies of Johannesburg.

Nor was there any tradition of bilingual country newspapers in the Transvaal, as there had been in the Cape. Only Ermelo and Zeerust seem to have produced a paper that catered for both English and Dutch readers after the war. Moreover, the English language dailies rated their influence in proportion to their sales. After the war the Star was claiming sales of 11,000 a day, more than any other in South Africa, and many more than its rival Volkstem. The influence of Volkstem was underplayed by the English papers, which had little connection with the Dutch press, though would occasionally report on articles or publicity given to some political event. The results, however, of the elections of 1907 show that the effect of the papers was disproportionate to their numbers. The dailies of Johannesburg served an urban electorate involved in mining or its associated pursuits.
The English dailies thus came only to rival each other; the Dutch market was monopolised by Volkstem. As reflections of political divisions, the Transvaal press exhibited most strongly the English opposition to Dutch predominance, but for English readers the competitive nature of the Johannesburg dailies heightened the political divide.
Newspapers in the smaller Colonies did not reach a readership as wide as that achieved by the papers of Johannesburg or Cape Town. Whereas city papers in the Cape were supplemented by local newspapers, only in the decade after the war did a local press emerge on any scale in Natal and the Orange River Colony. These were predominantly English papers supplying district news to small town communities and surrounding farms. Most information and political opinion came through newspapers distributed from the major cities. In the Orange River Colony, the two Bloemfontein papers also competed for rural circulation. In Natal, Durban vied with Pietermaritzburg in papers and politics, but within each town there was competition among rival dailies also. Each served a rural readership: papers in the capital city printed early editions to catch the mail train for "upcountry" circulation, while the Durban press served the coastal sugar belt farmers. (1)

The majority of papers were aimed at white people: 78% of the literate population in the Orange River Colony were white, 64% in Natal. Orangia, however, was supplied with news by African papers from the Cape and Basutoland - Izwi, Imvo, Koranta, and Naledi - while the higher proportion of literate Africans and Indians in Natal was reflected in the growth of newspapers catering specifically for these communities, excluded by the white-orientation of the major dailies. (2)

Bloemfontein's first newspaper was published on 10th June 1850, a bilingual weekly known as The Friend of the Sovereignty & Bloemfontein Gazette. It was established by two newspapermen from the Cape's Eastern Province, Thomas Godlonton and Robert White of the Grahamstown Journal.
Both departed soon after the paper began, leaving Thomas White, the founder's cousin, as editor and proprietor. The influence of English journalism remained: only after the war was the paper bought by predominantly Dutch interests. Prior to the war, the Friend was opposed by the Express, which espoused the cause of the Afrikander Bond; after the war, the Friend became the organ of the Orangia Unie party in the Colony. This change of allegiance was gradual, emanating firstly from the changing newspaper competition in Bloemfontein, and only later taken up by politicians who could appeal to traditions of the old paper in building a new party. (3)

The Friend was the first Government Gazette in the Orange Free State, the official means by which notices and laws were conveyed to outlying districts. White was initially paid £100 a year to provide 250 copies for circulation through the country. The Friend's first editorial expressed the hope that the new paper would be "conducive to the stability of that extensive and volatile country." It hoped to disseminate "correct information", maintain justice and order, promote education, liberal institutions, the extension of agriculture and commerce, and "the advancement by every right means of the welfare of all." It assured readers that it was "unbiassed as to national distinctions, or to class or colour," and that "the interests of the Dutch and of the English will be regarded as identical, convinced that one cannot suffer without the other, while the success of one involves the prosperity of the other." (4)

In 1854, it was renamed the Friend of the Free State, and Dutch began to take precedence over English in its columns. It remained the official Gazette until in 1857 a Gouvernements Courant was printed separately. Papers were permitted free distribution in the Republic, "to assist the rural population to obtain newspapers." Postal
services were dependent on the weather, however, until the
railway brought easier communication and distribution to
some regions of the State. Few enough people were
interested in reading newspapers to restrict such an
enterprise to the Capital city. (5) The Friend aspired to
complete news coverage: in 1876 the Free State was
connected to the Cape telegraph system at Colesberg and
the paper immediately introduced a telegraphic news
section.

Nathaniel Barlow had joined the newspaper in 1850,
becoming Thomas White's partner in 1872 and transforming
the business into a family firm in 1876 on White's death.
Barlow Bros & Co owned the newspaper until 1903, with
Nathaniel in charge of sports and politics, while Alfred
Barlow edited and managed the paper. In 1897 Alfred's
son, Arthur G. Barlow, took control, having reported
Volksraad debates not only for the Friend, but for
Reuters, the Star, and the Cape Argus. (6)

The Friend reflected its owners' status as English-
speaking burghers of the Free State: it argued for the
independence of the State, and of the Transvaal, and
although it opposed a closer alliance with its northern
neighbour did advocate a federation of all the South
African states under a British flag. When Arthur Barlow
edited the paper, he strongly disapproved of Kruger's
Government and its treatment of the Uitlander population.
He was not only critical of Kruger and Leyds, but also of
Rhodes and Jameson: the Raid was an "international crime"
which "dragged the Union Jack and the good name of all
Britishers through the mud." Were it not for Jameson's
move, the Free Staters would have been "on the side of the
men who are demanding rights which are freely given in
this state." However, as he continued,

"While we have no sympathy whatever with the attitude
of the Transvaal Government and people towards the
Uitlanders, we have every sympathy with their action towards the invaders of their country." (7)

Barlow continued a policy of Free State neutrality in the growing hostility between the South African and the Imperial Government. Attempts at averting war were praised: the Bloemfontein "peace conference" between Milner and Kruger was welcomed with "widespread satisfaction throughout the universe." With the declaration of war between Britain and the Transvaal, however, the Friend came down in support of President Steyn's decision to side with the Transvaal. "Our duty now as the Friend of the Free State is to support the Government of this Republic 'come what may'. We have argued against the line taken, but have lost." He was attacked for this by English papers through South Africa, which preferred to stress commitment to the Empire and consequent support for Britain. Barlow reiterated his position:

"We would like to remind those different journals that have taken us severely to task that the Friend is not a newspaper published under the British flag, but a journal which sees the light of day under the Vierkleur of the Orange Free State; a paper whose proprietors have been burghers of the Free State ever since the birth of this Republic; and a paper which is run solely for the object of forwarding the protecting Free State interests - in short, the Friend of the Free State." (8)

The paper was published until the entry of British troops into Bloemfontein: General Pretzman asked Barlow to continue the Friend under British auspices, but was refused: "it would have been a traitorous act for a Free State burgher to edit an enemy newspaper during the war." Barlow's Friend was, therefore, closed, though the name was used until complaints forced the rival to change both name and style. (9)

The Friend had not only provided modern news coverage
by use of the telegraph. It also tried to cater for the expanding population and growing division of the population. In 1890 it appeared twice weekly, a frequency previously impossible because of "the backward state of our postal arrangements", and in March 1896 the Daily Friend came out. This was an afternoon paper delivered free to every house in Bloemfontein, gaining popularity as an advertising medium. It was published in English: twice-weekly paper was retained, but in 1893, split into two sections, the first remaining the Friend, the second becoming the Burger. The editors stated the reason as the receipt of complaints that "too much was being done in English." The Burger, which was entirely in Dutch, ran until the end of 1897 when publication stopped "temporarily": rinderpest and drought had impoverished the farmers and decimated subscriptions, and the proprietors could no longer run the paper at such a loss. The Burger did not reappear, however: the Friend's rival was gaining more popularity as an alternative political paper. (10)

The first opposition to the Friend came from the Tijd, a weekly Dutch paper which aimed "to arouse a political awareness in the burghers." It was edited by a Hollander, Hendrik Hamelberg, assisted by Koos Heligers, and later by J.F. Iddekinge who also printed and published the paper. It did not, however, include as much Afrikaans as the Friend, which had published occasional articles by L.H. Meurant since 1861. De Tijd ran from October 1862, but internal dissensions preceded its closure.

"Mr C.E. Fichardt and some of the original shareholders would in the beginning have made it an Afrikaander paper and conducted it in the Cape Dutch in the Klaas Waarzegger style, but this idea or suggestion was overruled by Mr Hamelberg and others who were determined to make it the organ of the Hollander party." (11)
It was not financially successful, surviving only by means of the Government Printing Contract, and finally ceased in January 1876.

A new company was formed by many of those involved in the old paper, known as the Oranje Vrystaat Nieuwsblad Maatschappij. This produced an English paper, the Express & Orange Free State Advertiser, and a Dutch counterpart both appearing weekly from March 1876. It was edited and managed by Friedrich Schermbrucker, a German immigrant who had settled in British Kaffraria, published the Kaffrarian Watchman in Kingwilliamstown (with columns in English, Dutch and German), entered parliament for that town, and advocated the separation of Kaffraria from the Cape Colony before settling in Bloemfontein. He edited the Express for two years: in 1877 a supplement denounced the annexation of the Transvaal and accused the British of untrustworthiness and President Brand of receiving "blood-money". The supplement was almost immediately suppressed by the Government, but copies had been despatched to the Cape and Transvaal. The Friend described the resulting incident in which an effigy of Schermbrucker was burnt - a common insult in those days - and printed alongside its description a complete transcript of the offending article. (12)

Schermbrucker left Bloemfontein with the Express in financial difficulties. The editorship was taken by Carl Borckenhagen, book-keeper of the OVS Newspaper Company which owned the paper, though he had no previous experience of journalism. His policy, however, increased the popularity of the Express, and gave it a reputation even outside the State. He modernised the printing works, took over the Government Printing Contract, and published school language texts as a supplementary business. (13)

Borckenhagen's support for a closer union of Transvaal and Free State brought the two papers into some
conflict. The Express had been distributed in the Transvaal during the British annexation; afterwards, it suggested that the Free State should lead a "Republican union", which would form the basis of a future South African union free of British interference. Borckenhagen was an active member of the Afrikander Bond, helping F.W. Reitz introduce the organisation into the Free State: proposals for its Constitution were published in the Express in April 1881 and were accepted in the Cape at the Richmond Congress two years later. The Express became the recognised "Bond organ" in the Free State. The editor's close association with both Reitz and M.T. Steyn brought him the reputation of being politically influential, and gave the paper considerable credibility. The extension of the railway was encouraged, as were agricultural development and improvements in education, both in extent and quality. In this respect, the Express affirmed the original intentions of papers such as Die Patriot, to provide reading matter to promote literacy, and bring Dutch Afrikanders to a political awareness to which the urban British were more accustomed. (14)

Borckenhagen also emulated du Toit in assuming the potential of a South African nationality for the white population; "class legislation" was approved to maintain white "civilisation", since the term most frequently applied to the separation of white from black. There was some division, however, when du Toit turned Die Patriot to support for Rhodes in April 1891. Rhodes, Jameson and Chamberlain were even more strongly denounced in 1896 in the Express than the Friend. Thereafter, the Express continued to promote co-operation with the Transvaal and though approving of Kruger, was not uncritical of his administration. (15)

The Express improved its financial position considerably under Borckenhagen's editorship. In 1882 it
was able to produce the Daily News, an English paper delivered free in Bloemfontein, some 15 years before the Friend could rival it. By 1890 the daily reverted to the name of the Express. The English and Dutch bi-weekly editions had been continued, primarily for country circulation, and in 1890 the Express was calling itself the "leading Orange Free State paper," with a circulation of 3,000 per week. The Agricultural Journal of the Cape Agricultural Department was issued free with the paper, thus further extending its potential sales. The Company provided other journals too: from 1896 the annual Boerenvriend en Huisalmanak was published, and the contract was held for printing and publishing the fortnightly Fakkel, for the Dutch Reformed Church Synod in the Free State. (16)

The Friend had welcomed the Daily News, but immediately stated its potential opposition to the paper's policy: it wished "the babe well, [but] we would rather see it dead and buried than clad in the habilments of the Dopper." Opposition increased as the two papers took increasingly different stances on national politics, particularly on the question of closer union with the Transvaal. The Friend exhibited the spirit of newspaper rivalry of the time, usually expressed in personal abuse, by calling Borckenhagen a "turncoat" and a "rat":

"No one cares about his private, political, public or editorial opinions, for they change with the times as they have changed before and will change again when he thinks it suits his pocket or his party." (17)

With Barlow's support for the Free State Government on the outbreak of war, friction between the papers lessened. Borckenhagen had died in 1898, and the paper continued by C. McHardy, J.S.M. Rabie, D.F. du Toit, and Nico Hofmeyr. Rabie had started in journalism on Ons Land in Cape Town before joining the Express in 1893; du Toit,
Government archivist in the Free State since 1892, had helped his brother, Rev S.J. du Toit, produce Die Patriot in Paarl. Hofmeyr had left the N.G.K. and become a history lecturer at the Staatsgymnasium in Bloemfontein: he assisted in editing the paper, besides writing school readers and history books for the Free State Education Department, and providing articles on the history of Afrikaners in the Free State for the Express. (18)

The Express was closed with the arrival of British troops in Bloemfontein. Rabie joined the commandos, was captured in July 1900 and deported to a prison camp in Ceylon, where he co-edited two camp newspapers, De Strever, and De Krijgsgevangene. When returned to South Africa, he edited Land en Volk in the Transvaal and later the Natal Afrikaner before returning to Bloemfontein to edit the new Vriend des Volks. Hofmeyr was deported to the Cape by Roberts, and became editor of a newspaper started in October 1900 to supply news in Dutch throughout the South Western Cape. The Zuid Westen appeared twice weekly, but suffered restrictions under martial law common to most country newspapers in the Cape. It survived the war, and Hofmeyr left the editorship only in September 1904 to go to the Transvaal Education Department, when he was replaced by Philip W de Villiers. (19)

The Friend was also shut down by the British arrival. On Barlow's refusal to continue publishing under British auspices, a newspaper was produced on the premises of the Friend by arrangement with Lord Stanley, Chief Press Officer with the British forces. Newspaper correspondents travelling with the army were called in to edit the paper, including Perceval Landon of The Times, H.A. Gwynne of Reuters, F.W. Buxton of the Star, and Julian Ralph of the London Daily Mail. Rudyard Kipling was brought in as editor. The new Friend ran from mid-March for one month, dedicated to "the maintenance of British supremacy in
South Africa, equal rights for all White men, without respect of race or creed, which principles in our opinion embody the establishment of sound government, the prosperity of the country, and the happiness of the people." (20) The paper claimed to defend the Free State from the "military oligarchy" of the Transvaal, and concentrated on the "magnanimous intentions" of the British.

When both troops and correspondents left Bloemfontein, the paper was taken over by the Argus Printing & Publishing Company, which drafted journalists from its temporary headquarters in Cape Town. The Company bought the plant of the defunct Express, and continued publication until the end of April, when Barlow succeeded in preventing the use of his newspaper's name and style in their production. The paper was continued as the Bloemfontein Post, announcing that "for many reasons it has been deemed desirable that the name temporarily borrowed from the defunct pro-Boer organ should be discarded." The Post continued in the policy of the correspondents' Friend:

"Our aim and ideal [is] to be equality of rights for all white men in South Africa and the development of the land, its people and its resources under the aegis of the British flag." (21)

Thomas Sheffield had tendered for the publication of a favourable paper in Bloemfontein, and received permission from both military and civil authorities. Funds were provided by a loan from Ecksteins, also temporarily quartered in Cape Town. Special arrangements were made for telegraphic news to be passed by the military, and the Post benefited from military advertisements, as well as official notices both to troops and civilians. It remained the only commercial paper permitted in the Free State until the war ended, and was
sent in batches of thousands to the Rand, to supply news and entertainment there until the Star was restarted in 1902. It was almost exclusively in English, though the Saturday edition did provide Dutch news. Frederick R. Paver was the only journalist on the staff with any knowledge of Dutch or the Free State: he was later to edit the Lourenço Marques Guardian during its period as an Argus publication, and edited the Star from 1938 to 1946. (22)

The Post was edited by H.S. Lyons of the Star staff during the war, later succeeded by Frank Blake. Advertisements were taken by local merchants in Bloemfontein, and reflected the English readership of the paper. There was, too, a comparatively large number of adverts for Johannesburg betting shops. It was supported by Government advertisements, which although not substantial were vital to the Company. In the first six months of 1904 revenue from the administration totalled £409, though this fell in the latter six months to £379. The first two months of 1905 were "well below average" in advertisements, despite improvements in the style and make-up of the paper which had incurred heavy expenditure, but has been approved by both Company and the Colonial Secretary. The problems besetting the branch prompted its manager to write to the Acting Colonial Secretary in March, "with regard to the promise of further support given in August last," pointing out that revenue had in fact dropped. The paper had "faithfully carried out its undertakings", but still required some means of reducing the heavy losses it was suffering. (23)

Despite these protestations, W.E. Fairbridge, Manager of the Argus Company's Johannesburg branch, was told only that Milner would leave the matter of the Post in his recommendations for Selborne, who was to succeed him as Governor: "He fears that this is the best he can do for
Selborne did take up the recommendation and was even "quite keen about the Post", but the aid given by the administration was insufficient to bring that paper up to a standard that could defeat the Friend. Milner's concern did not end with his departure. In August, he wrote to Fitzpatrick with the request that "you take some interest in the Bloemfontein Post and use your influence with the Directors of the Argus Company to have that paper properly run, even if at a loss":

"I know there must be a loss, for some time to come at any rate, if the paper is to be properly conducted and to be sufficiently vigorous and interesting to fight the Friend with some effect. Yet, you will see at once that to have the Friend in undisputed possession of the field is simply to give up the political game in the Orange River Colony. That is our weakest point, but we cannot possibly afford to abandon it. We must fight for every inch of ground there and a good loyalist paper is indispensable to such a fight." (25)

Milner told Fitzpatrick that the Government in his day "did help the Post a lot, as much as it possibly could in fact," but "you know the difficulties of doing this sort of thing with Government money." Nor was he particularly sanguine over the commercial prospects of the paper, for he doubted that there was "anything the Government could do, or can do without a row, [which] will keep the Post alive and EFFECTIVE, unless the proprietors are prepared to go on dropping a couple of thousand a year over it, at any rate for the present." Fitzpatrick was asked to deal with the matter "on the spot", though Milner assured him he was himself quite prepared to approach "Wernher Beit" directly "though of course they have only a part interest in the Argus Company," as Selborne had asked him to do. He excused his request: "I hate always asking you and your big backers for money, but this is undoubtedly a case where a sprat should be thrown to catch a herring." (26)
The request did achieve some advertisement revenue from Johannesburg, but never made the Post a profitable concern. By 1909 it was the "worst prospect in the Argus group", and John Martin, sent from Johannesburg as the new Manager of the Bloemfontein branch, even considered trying to amalgamate it with the Friend though this offer was refused. The paper was continued at a loss until 1917: the Friend and the Post were then both supporting Botha against Hertzog's claims which were voiced in a new rival, the Volksblad. Martin, then Manager of the Argus Company, agreed to an absorption of the Post by the Friend two months after the appearance of Volksblad: by 1947, the Friend too had become an Argus paper. (27)

The ownership of the Friend had changed in the years following the Anglo-Boer war. Alfred and Herbert Barlow restarted the paper on 11th October 1902 with Arthur G. Barlow as editor. Since the Post was, in common with all Argus papers, an afternoon daily, the Friend became a morning paper. It took at first a comparatively neutral line, declaring that "in future we as British subjects intend to do our utmost to bring about a real reconciliation between the two dominant white races in South Africa." This was soon superseded by an active promotion of the right of Free Staters to govern themselves, under the British flag. The war had damaged the business "harder than any other South African newspaper"; the loss of revenue during its suspension, and the impoverishment of its potential subscribers and advertisers on its recommencement, caused severe economic hardship to the firm. (28)

In August 1903 the Friend Printing & Publishing Company was formed for the specific purpose of printing the newspaper, in the hope that additional capital could help the Friend compete with the Post. Alfred Barlow remained a major shareholder and a Director. The other
founders and Directors were Abraham Fischer, Dr A.E.W. Ramsbottom, G.G. Fichardt, W.J.C. Brebner and J.B.M. Hertzog. From then on the paper supported the political movement that was to become the Orangia Unie. Arthur Barlow later wrote that "those who had acquired the controlling interest in the Company did so ... primarily for political reasons," and considered the transfer "one of the greatest mistakes" of his life. (29)

The Company changed the policy of the paper to redirect it towards that section of the Colony most likely to support it, the rural Dutch and Afrikaans readers. The Friend continued as an English-only daily. From July 1904 the Wekelijksche Vriend was started, known as the Vriend des Volks when it became a twice-weekly production in October 1905. It advertised itself as the first Dutch journal in Transoranje, and the largest Dutch weekly in South Africa: as such, it attracted advertising support from traders seeking the custom of farmers. (30)

Neither paper was a profitable concern, and by November 1905 the Company overdraft stood at £5,000, which had to be guaranteed personally by Fischer, Brebner and Hertzog. Arthur Barlow, general manager, reported to his Directors that the policy of the Friend "is not a popular one with the majority of our customers."

"We find it more difficult every day to get support from the merchants of Bloemfontein and country towns we desire. They only give us the work they are forced to, and if they can see their way clear to turning their custom to any other channel they always do so. We find on the other hand that people who do agree with our policy do not support us as they should." (31)

Barlow had no wish "for one moment to touch the policy of the paper," but recommended the Directors give the question "serious attention".

Fred J Centlivres, Managing Director of the two Cape Town papers, Ons Land and the South African News, was
invited to Bloemfontein to look over the business and give advice. He advocated patience:

"I am of the opinion that the paper has a good chance of paying its way, and its importance will grow very much as you get responsible government. In fact it will become indispensable and as soon as its present supporters get into power, many of these who are now opponents will come over to the winning side."

Most South African newspapers were retrenching during this period of depression: the Friend cut staff, and handed over publication to the Central News Agency, which already handled distribution of the Post. Although the Argus publication received preferential treatment, the removal of distribution costs from the Company did cut the Friend's losses, and guaranteed regular and wide circulation.

In April 1906, in a further attempt to improve the Company's financial standing, its share capital was increased. Louis Botha was approached for assistance by Fischer, and responded with a grant of £8,000 from European funds for which preference shares were issued, to be used for "National purposes". The shares were registered in the names of Hertzog, Fischer, and Cornelis Wessels. David Graaff in Cape Town provided £2,000, as did Alfred Barlow. The younger Barlow, Arthur, found himself increasingly removed in political sympathy from his Directors, and finally resigned his position as general manager in December 1906. He became a founder member of the Constitutional party in the Colony under John G. Fraser, which mainly consisted of urban English speakers, and wrote occasionally for his erstwhile rival, the Post. (33)

Barlow had been replaced as editor of the Friend in April 1904 by Dewdney Drew, who was more eager to devote space and praise to Hertzog's incipient political career. The Friend was edited by Johann Visser, a Dutch man who
had worked on Ons Land and whom Barlow considered more of a politician than a journalist. Even the Post thought that the Vriend was "burdened by the pre-war anti-Boerism of its editor." He was assisted at the Vriend by Willem Postma, who fostered the growth of an ardent Christian National outlook in the paper. Visser was replaced in July 1906 by J.S.M. Rabie, of the old Express and latterly of papers cultivating nationalism in both the Transvaal and Natal. He began to introduce Afrikaans into the Vriend, in line with the new policy of papers elsewhere in South Africa, such as Volkstem, Land en Volk, Ons Land and the Natal Afrikaner.

The Vriend was derided by the Post for being "in the same category as Mr Borckenhagen's without the ability". It was accused of provoking active sedition, though hampered in its intentions by the distrust of the country people and the Peace Preservation Act; moreover, continued the Post, it was forced by the excellence of the Colony's Government into "insolently vague denunciations," most specifically against the capitalist control of the major South African papers - including the Post. (34) Though the paper played an essential part in publicising the Unie, advocating self-government, and giving information on politicians and parties such as Het Volk and the South African Party in other states, it was not commercially successful until Union. Only with the launch of the Farmers Weekly in 1911 did the Friend Newspapers achieve a profitable venture, appealing to farmers throughout South Africa and hence a very attractive advertising medium. (35)

The Friend was subject to rather more dissension in editorial policy. Dewdney Drew, who edited the paper from April 1904 to August 1908, had been a Congregational Minister in Johannesburg since 1891 where he was considered a "political parson" in denouncing the
"Transvaal oligarchy". In 1898 he tried and failed to establish a Congregational Church in Bulawayo, moved to Cape Town and was commissioned by Milner to inspect the concentration camps. His report, a condemnation of the military authorities and farm-burning tactics, was never published. He resigned from the Ministry, interceded for Cape rebels against the harsh treatment of tribunals, and, disillusioned with British policy, became Assistant Editor of the South African News. He then moved to Bloemfontein and assisted Barlow before taking the editorship of the Friend. He gave full publicity to the Orangie Unie, a "national movement", which fully represented the people of the Colony, and to the need for self-government. Drew championed the rights of English-speakers, and in 1908 left the Friend after increasing disagreements with Hertzog over language policy. His move to the Transvaal Leader, where he became Assistant Editor to Albert Cartwright after 1909, allowed him to continue both this policy of English rights and his second principle of support for African rights and education. He had been asked to open the South African Native Convention in March 1909 in Bloemfontein, partly as a consequence of his frequent articles defending black rights during his period as editor of the Friend. (36)

On Drew's departure, Rabie took the editorship of both papers temporarily until T.W. Mackenzie became the new editor of the English edition in November 1908. In September that year a new general manager had also been appointed, who was to build the paper up into a competitive and profitable business. This was Dominicus M. Ollemans, a Dutch compositor who had left Ons Land to establish the Karroo Drukpers Maatschappij Bpkt in Victoria West, which took over the business of the Victoria West Messenger from Christian Zinn. He managed and edited the paper, which was the government gazette for
the districts of Victoria West, Carnarvon, Prieska, Kenhardt and Upington, and therefore circulated widely on the borders of the Orange River Colony, before his transfer to Bloemfontein. (37) Ollemans improved the Friend in make-up and printing, but through Mackenzie it also became a more 'popular' paper, generating greater sales in country districts and reducing its advertising dependence on Bloemfontein which was still dominated by the Post. The elections of 1907 had seen Constitutionalists, whom the Post supported, returned in the capital, while the rest of the country, the province of the Friend, returned Unie members. By 1910, the paper was working at a profit.

In 1911 the Company was reorganised with the launch of The Friend Newspapers Ltd. Fischer, Hertzog, Ramsbottom and Wessels had resigned from the Board on entering the Cabinet in 1907, but still held shares in the new Company, which was run by Mackenzie, Ollemans, and the accountant E.J.C. Stevens. Ollemans began buying shares on his own account, and after the closure of the Post, bought for the Argus Company also, anxious to prevent Hertzog gaining control of the paper's policy. By 1925 he reported that there was "no danger" of the Friend falling into Nationalist hands. (38)

For much of the period of Crown Colony Government, the Post had remained tenuously in the ascendant, catering for English-speaking Constitutionalists and thus receiving a greater proportion of the merchant advertising in Bloemfontein. With responsible Government, the Friend gained reputation as a semi-official mouthpiece of the Government, as it had previously been of the Unie. It did not rival the city circulation of the Post, but concentrated on rural readers. There was little local press in the state: papers had been produced in Harrismith, Fauresmith, Jagersfontein, Bethlehem and
Dutoitspan, but none could compete with the widening circulation of the Bloemfontein papers and none survived long. After the war, A.W. Bayly began the Harrismith Chronicle; two years later he started the Lourenco Marques Guardian, and was already proprietor of the Barberton Herald, creating a chain of papers in South East Africa. With the extension of the railway through the Colony, papers appeared in growing commercial centres such as Bethlehem, Ficksburg, Heilbron, Kroonstad, Ladybrand, and Winburg. All were weekly bilingual productions, but none achieved a national market. (39)

The Post and the Friend retained their predominance, and were the only papers to be noticed - though rarely - by the other Colonies' press. The main division was political, though with the approach of Union, when both supported Botha's claims against Merriman for Prime Minister, there was increasingly little difference between them. The Post, as an Argus publication, reflected the Star's policy on national issues; only the Friend seems to have been accorded influence in official circles as expressing the views of the Unie and, primarily, Fischer. As Milner hoped, the Post was kept alive as an antidote to nationalism, but it was seen as an arm of the capitalist press, against which the Friend could unite with Ons Land, and Volkstem in a South African Nationalism.

If there was little variety in the Free State press, there was at least expression of the two dominant political parties. In Natal the English press monopolised political comment. The Colony had the fewest links with papers in the other states of South Africa, and devoted itself mainly to its own political affairs. The major presses were in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, and were independent concerns. No formal connections with the rest of the South African press were made until the Argus Company took over the Natal Advertiser in 1918. Nor were
its papers as numerous as those of the Cape, although mission presses produced a variety of papers, some of which contained political news, and which provided the impetus for the creation of several independent black and Indian presses in the first decade of this century.

Within this limited number of papers, there was expression of some variety of opinion, but predominantly white, English-speaking, and Imperialist in outlook. Reuters supplied news to Natal from the other Colonies, but papers in both Durban and Pietermaritzburg showed a marked concentration on Home affairs, and a greater sense of identity with Britain, than found even in the Progressive papers of the Cape.

A printing press was first brought to Pietermaritzburg in 1844, by Cornelis Moll who was later to found the press in the Transvaal. The Natal Witness was established in 1846 and originally appeared in English and Dutch, distributed free and relying on advertisements for revenue. Gradually English became the sole medium, and politics took a greater part of the paper. Taken over by Peter Davis and John May, it became the property of Davis & Sons in 1873. Davis was eager to improve his paper, importing a steam printing press in March 1876, three months before even the Cape Times achieved this status. (40)

In Natal, as in the other states, the Government wanted support: the Witness was a critic of the High Commissioner, of policy towards Natal, and especially of subjection to the Cape. The firm held the Government Printing Contract, however, which "quite horrified" Sir Henry Barkly, who thought in 1879 that it was "feeding the enemy at our expense". Rather, "the newspaper of the establishment which does the Government printing ought to support the Government." (41) Accordingly, as in the other states and Colonies, there developed a system
whereby Governments awarded advertisements to favourable papers.

The rival to the Witness was the Times of Natal, begun in 1865 and owned in the 1870's by the firm of Vause Newcombe & Co. Richard Vause was also a partner in a Durban paper, the Natal Mercury. The Times was then more favourable to the Government than the Witness, an arrangement which seems to have been made in order to obtain such support:

"The Times newspaper as you know has been in the service of the Government since Sir Garnet arrived and is for a few weeks longer, but the consideration will then cease and the bargain will be ended; it is, however, desirable that one paper in the Colony should be the exponent of the Government side of any question that may arise, but how to secure this without special consideration given by Sir Garnet is the difficulty." (42)

The Government was prepared to take an interest, by careful allotment of its printing contract, to ensure a level of sympathy. This would not be so direct as Wolsleys' "consideration":

"What is wanted to be known as a fast promise is whether if Vause gets the contract for the Government printing his paper, the Times will continue to support the Government in a rational way and be its organ when occasion required. Of course in return for this - the earliest authentic information would be given it on all subjects." (43)

Shepstone was dubious of the ethics of this suggestion, which looked "like a piece of bribery and corruption", but managed to make it acceptable:

"... it resolved itself into saying I will give you the advantage of being Government contractor although your tender may not be lower than the others if you give the Government the advantage of a fair statement of its own case when wanted and generally afford it reasonable support, and this is wanted not for any personal benefit but for the welfare of the Colony." (44)
The Times of Natal certified its circulation at 10,000 per week in 1889, rising to 12,000 in 1892. It was not merely aimed at Pietermaritzburg, but acknowledged that it circulated "largely in the country districts". It was printed in time to catch the mail, to be delivered to country readers the same evening; one of the few dailies that catered for such a readership rather than consign such subscribers to the weekly edition. It kept its bias towards agricultural interests, though in 1886 after several changes of ownership it belonged to the Times Printing & Publishing Company. When the Company was finally bought out by the Witness in 1926, the Times was continued as the Farmer (& Home Companion). (45)

During the war the Times of Natal was edited by Barry Ronan, who had worked on the Lantern in Cape Town, the Umtata Herald, the Diamond Fields Advertiser and the Graaff Reinet Advertiser, besides joining the Reform Committee in Johannesburg and campaigning for E.H. Walton's Progressive candidature for the Legislative Assembly in 1898. On the Times, he was abusive towards the Dutch and the old republics, and marginally less so towards Africans. The "evolution of all things South African", he hoped, would be essentially British. He was followed by Charles Davidson Don, the Assistant editor of the Cape Argus, who edited the Times from July 1901 until 1910. Personal links with English newspapers in other countries were, therefore, strong. In 1911, Don succeeded Cartwright as editor of the Transvaal Leader. (46) The Witness was then edited by Horace Rose, who also despised Dutch influences and was more hostile towards the extension of black rights than even the Times.

Briefly in 1885 the Times of Natal had come under the control of the Natal Printing & Publishing Company, set up by Joshua Hershenssohn, a law agent in the Colony and the Free State, in partnership with General Joubert. He
started the Natal Boerenvriend, for Dutch readers who were entirely excluded from the English press. He used the paper to promote the ideal of a united South Africa, and equality for all white South Africans: this was biased towards its readers, encouraging the establishment of the Helpmekaar Boerenvereeniging and associating with the nascent Afrikander Bond in the Cape Colony. The Boerenvriend ceased in 1887, but Hershenssohn had already diverged politically from the parent company, and set up a rival paper, the Natal Afrikander, which rapidly overtook the market. It appeared twice weekly, circulating in Natal, the northern Free State, and in the south and south-east of the Transvaal, and was reputedly "widely read by Dutch farmers." (47)

In the years prior to and during the war, the Afrikander lost support by its censure of Kruger's Government and his treatment of the Uitlanders. Hershenssohn recognised that this "necessarily limited" its circulation, but stressed that his policy was "in the interests of the British flag and the Empire." He requested official advertisements to maintain the paper, but the paper ceased in October 1904. In its place, Hershenssohn's son John produced and managed the Afrikaner, appearing four days after its predecessor. The Afrikaner Drukpers en Uitgevers Maatschappij Bpkt was formed to print and publish the paper, subscribed by Dutch farmers but for which money was obtained from Botha's European funds, as for its colleagues in the other Colonies. Its editor was J.S.M. Rabie of the Free State Express and Land en Volk. As in his other papers, he promoted the revival of Afrikaner nationalism and the development of the language: "Ons toekomst is Afrikaans of niets". He introduced a simplified spelling of Dutch and provided the only means whereby Afrikaans opinions could be expressed in Natal, where the white press was otherwise
exclusively English. Rabie stayed at the Afrikaner until 1906, when he moved to the more influential Vriend in Bloemfontein. He was replaced by van Schermbeek, and then by J. Vrolik. In 1907 the firm was taken over by Otgaar & Vorster, but the policy initiated by Rabie was kept: he had written leaders in Afrikaans, and from 1910 less Dutch was included. In 1918, the Afrikaner was bought into the Nasionale Pers of Cape Town, owners of Die Burger, the first Afrikaans daily in South Africa. (48)

There was, therefore, a paper in each Colony through which the increasingly nationalist policies of the Dutch Afrikander politicians could be expressed, although in Natal the Afrikaner did not achieve the influence of its contemporaries. White opinion in Natal was assumed to be expressed through the English dailies, which ignored all other publications. There were two other papers of note in Pietermaritzburg, though neither survived long. The Colonial Indian News ran from May 1901 until February 1904, a weekly paper edited by P.S. Aiyar, who then moved to Durban and began the African Chronicle. This latter paper achieved more fame than its forerunner for opposition to Gandhi's methods of passive resistance in the Transvaal. Produced in English and Tamil, the News spoke for Indian rights under threat in Natal, and printed much news from India. From 1903 it contained almost exclusively Tamil articles. (49)

The first African-owned paper was also launched in Pietermaritzburg, in 1894, entitled Ipepa lo Hlanga. It was edited by Mark Radebe and managed by James Mjozi and Isaac Mkize, forming the Zulu Printing & Publishing Company, the first to be independent of missionary control. Mjozi and Mkize were both instrumental in founding the Natal Native Congress in 1899, which was actively promoted by the paper. Ipepa claimed to be "speaking for the nation ... that is to say, for the black
people," and maintained that the public expression of grievances via newspapers was preferable to discontented silence with no channels of complaint. (50) White papers regarded it with suspicion for its criticism of white attitudes and injustice, and branded it "Ethiopian": most papers edited and managed by Africans received this epithet, however, which was attached to any organisation potentially threatening white rule. (51) Its Directors were warned in 1901 against the inclusion of articles that could be regarded as seditious, and as a result apparently decided "voluntarily" to cease publication the following year. Radebe still stated his profession as editor when appearing before the Native Affairs Commission in 1904, and it seems that the paper did continue, if irregularly, until that year. (52)

Ipepa was recognised by Izwi in the Cape, which reported that at the time of its demise it possessed 550 subscribers. Though hardly rivalling white papers, Ipepa had far-reaching influence and formed a part of the nascent press organisation increasingly recognised as essential by politically aware Africans in the early years of the century. The Native Affairs Commission acknowledged that Political Associations were "more or less closely associated with the Native Press", and stipulated that this press had "on the whole proved a fairly accurate chronicle of passing events, resulting in "a wider dissemination of contemporary knowledge not only amongst those who read but through them amongst the illiterate masses". The Natal Government, however, was more dubious of the value of the black press, as were the newspapers that reflected the attitudes of those in power: these preferred to see in an African press indications of the danger posed to white colonists. (53)

Ipepa and the News both ceased in 1904; the first decade of the century saw the removal of the sources of
criticism by African and Indian leaders from the capital to Durban, the commercial centre of the Colony. The Times, Witness and Afrikaner kept their readerships, but the most effective criticism of Government came from the coast. Durban papers were more cosmopolitan than those of Pietermaritzburg, which with the size of a small town reflected provincial businesses in their advertising, and landed farmers in their politics. Durban, as the Colony's port and an import centre for goods to the Transvaal, thrived on commerce, which in turn benefited from newspaper advertising. Its papers circulated along the coastal strip, as well as in the town: the white papers reflected commercial or plantation interests accordingly, while only the Indian and African papers that emerged aimed at a more widespread and even national readership.

The Natal Mercury was the largest Durban paper. Started in 1852 by George Robinson, it was soon taken over by his son John, partnering Richard Vause of the Pietermaritzburg Times. John Robinson was an early advocate of the federation of South Africa, promoted his politics in his paper, and used it to publicise the cause of Responsible Government for the Colony. When this was achieved, he became the first Prime Minister in 1893. (54)

Political debate was immediately a major feature of the Mercury: so, too, was the prosperity of the town and Colony. Vause was a merchant and shipowner who was active on the Town Council and Harbour Board. The firm of Robinson & Vause was turned into Robinson & Co in 1901, with Robinson and his brother-in-law, H.R. Collins, as Managing Directors. On Robinson's death, Collins became Chairman and Editor-in-Chief, the business remaining a family firm. (55)

The Mercury became a daily in 1877, and in the mid-1890's dropped its price from 3d to 1d in competition with the Natal Mercantile Advertiser, and in keeping with the
trend of newspapers in the Cape. Circulation was stated to be 3,100 a day, but 2,000 for the weekly edition. It was essentially a vehicle for the expression of Robinson's politics: self-government should be linked with improved colonial communications, for which he advocated the rapid accomplishment of the Transvaal railway, which would boost the trade on which Durban relied. This later led the paper into competition with the Cape over customs, railway rates, and the division of Transvaal trade between South African ports, and most notably to vicious denunciation of the modus vivendi which gave to Delagoa Bay much of the valuable trade which Durban wanted. At first only a town paper, it widened its scope in 1882 "as a result of industrial and farming developments in Natal", and by 1891 was apparently read not only in that Colony but in parts of the Cape, Free State and Transvaal. The combination of its weekly edition with the Natal Sporting Times boosted its sales even when its politics were not admired. (56)

The Mercury was very English and Natal-oriented: it approved the incorporation of the districts of Vryheid and Utrecht into the Colony in 1902; for "the territory had been taken by a predatory irresponsible band of Boers who had no claim to it." The war, moreover, "cleared the way" for federation, which should improve prospects for both agriculture and the mining industry, the latter being reported more fully than in other papers outside the Transvaal. (57) English should be the language of teaching, there being "no need" for Dutch in schools, though it need not be prohibited. It contended that Europeans needed greater consideration for African education and "introduction to civilisation" than had previously been exhibited: in this respect its policy was more paternalistic than those of its contemporaries. The Natal Advertiser was particularly criticised for its
antipathy to any extension of Indian or African rights. (58)

The Advertiser had been produced in Durban since 1878, originally from the branch office of the Natal Witness. It was run by Edward P. Mathers until 1889 and his return to England, where he set up the successful magazine, South Africa. (59) The Advertiser added to its title the South African Mining Journal, though does not seem to have been linked with the Johannesburg publication of that name. It claimed to be "the leading authority on all questions concerning the goldfields", though this reputation diminished with the growth of the Johannesburg daily press. In 1918, the Argus Company made it their first acquisition in Natal.

These two Durban papers were often divided on white politics, but there was less difference in opinion towards the position of Africans or Indians in the Colony. Though the Mercury's editorials defended the rights of British Indians in the Colony its readers were less inclined to a humanitarian view. One "Anglo-Indian" spoke of the necessity of bringing Indians to work for the colonists, until means should be found of "making the Kaffir assist in developing his own land." Indians should, the letter continued, be prevented from owning land, or compulsorily returned to India at the end of their indenture: "they are not on a par with Europeans in their own land, and cannot be permitted to be so here." (60)

The Mercury recognised, as much as editors more openly antagonistic to black rights, that "there is not in this country one man in a hundred who would agree to recognise the coloured man as capable of admission to the same standards as the white." There were, however, two newspapers which achieved some status in defending rights of Africans and Indians. The International Printing Press was begun by Madanjit Vyavaharik, who launched the Indian
Opinion in June 1903 with Mohandas Gandhi and M.H. Nazar, a journalist from Bombay who edited the paper until 1906. It was generally considered to express Gandhi's politics, though he never edited the paper. At first it ran at a loss, surviving only through Gandhi's own funds, but after 1907, and with the popularity of his campaigns in the Transvaal, it gained some 3,000 subscribers. It was printed in English and Gujerati: columns in Tamil and Hindi were discontinued after 1905. (61)

Gandhi had become interested in the political situation on his arrival in South Africa in 1893 as a lawyer: the following year the Natal Indian Congress was formed as a forum for meetings and discussions. Gandhi defended the rights of Indians as British subjects, publishing pamphlets as well as his newspaper to publicise the grievances of Indians in Natal. After the war, when Indian freedom in the Transvaal was further restricted by successive governments, the paper focussed its attention there. It aimed to reach Indians throughout South Africa, though its news was mainly limited to the larger communities in Natal and the Transvaal. It hoped to reach Europeans too, and cultivate an awareness of Indian aspirations in "true Imperialists." (62)

Whilst insisting on both the rights and responsibilities of being "members of a mighty Empire", the Indian Opinion cited as major grievances the restrictions on immigration, licensing disabilities, and registration fees. As the paper grew, attention was given to restrictive Natal laws, but most particularly opposition to the Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance in the Transvaal. The paper was, however, always printed in Natal, first in Durban and after 1904 in Phoenix. Management of the paper was taken by Albert West, and from 1906 H.S.L. Polak, previously of the Transvaal Critic, became editor. (63)
Despite its wide-ranging appeal, only the Times of Natal commented on its first appearance, which passed unnoticed by the other Durban papers:

"We welcome the appearance at Durban of a newspaper which voices [Indian] views and states their case very temperately and fairly; but in view of the social, political and industrial conditions of South Africa today, to say nothing of the strong and ineradicable colour prejudice... it is asking too much to demand equality of treatment as between one race and the other." (64)

The Opinion was quite conservative in its politics, though even this offended those demanding white supremacy and complete authority. In 1905 the Transvaal Immigration Officer had been "impressed by its moderation, even when discussing contentious topics, and by the spirit of loyalty displayed throughout". With responsible government in the Transvaal it attracted more criticism: by 1908 the Star was taking the Government line against passive resistance, because "the Transvaal Government is so completely in the right and Mr Gandhi and his followers so completely in the wrong." (65)

The Star's acceptance of Government policy was part of a growing alignment between British and Boer in all the Colonies on the need to unite against black organisation which might threaten the white society being created in South Africa. The Indian Opinion was seen as one manifestation of such incipient rebellion. Another was Ilanga lase Natal, a paper edited by John L. Dube and published from the Zulu Industrial School at Ohlange from April 1903. The institution was founded by Dube on his return from the United States, to be run on the lines of Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee. The influence of Ilanga was feared by the Natal Government, but its intentions were exaggerated by white fears, for Dube was not an advocate of black resistance to white rule, merely of black incorporation into the body politic of the state.
To achieve this, he encouraged his readers in thrift, industry, education, and the accumulation of capital. (66)

Dube's policies were equated with "Ethiopianism" just as those of Radebe of Ipepa, or Khomo of Leihlo la Babathso. In June 1906, when tensions were heightened by the use of troops in what was seen as an uprising against white rule, Dube's use of the words "Vukani Bantu" were sufficient to warrant a reprimand from the Governor. Dube assured both the Governor and readers of his loyalty:

"there were grievances to be dealt with, but I can fully realise that at a time like this we should all refrain from discussing them, and assist the government to suppress the rebellion." (67)

Izwi censured him for this: "We would rather lose a thousand papers than our self-respect." Dube did not dispense with criticism altogether, but lessened it to avoid the suppression of Ilanga. In August, he was again warned that the Government would prohibit his paper if he continued to print "mischievous and seditious articles." (68)

During 1907 and 1908, Dube urged greater recognition of African rights, but was drawn towards a more moderate line by F.R. Moor, the Prime Minister and Minister of Native Affairs, and by Marshall Campbell, a sugar baron who provided support for the Ohlange school. His criticism of the Native Bills of 1908 drew the accusation from the Prime Minister that he was "playing with fire": Dube's aim appears to have been to inform the white population of Natal of the probable consequences of their legislation.

"I have not criticised these bills because of any desire to oppose the Government or create friction between the natives and the authorities, but in the hope that I might prove to you and the very large number of MPs who support you that in bringing forward these bills which you honestly believe will benefit the natives, you are really calling into existence measures which I think will cause
discontent and probably further trouble with a section of the native population." (69)

He was fearful of the prospect of Union, and condemned the draft Act for its exclusion of African rights everywhere but in the Cape; he predicted "bitter hatred" resulting from such prejudice. (70) On the whole, Ilanga's coverage was more local than that of the Cape papers Izwi and Imvo. It was the vehicle for the dissemination of Dube's views, rather than of an organisation as the Ipepa had been for the Natal Native Congress. Its effect lay not only in the political awareness it helped inculcate in its Zulu readers, but in the awareness it forced on the Natal authorities to read and take note of African grievances.

Ilanga, as other African papers, was seen by the authorities as "an index to a certain aspect of Native thought, though not yet as a faithful guide to Native opinion as a whole." Maurice Evans, a member of the Native Affairs Commission, went further:

"For the great mass of black humanity for which we are responsible in this country there is no regular and ordered method by which we may learn their feelings towards us. Those who are educated may be represented by the articles in the few native newspapers, though, even to a greater extent probably than with us, these writings are really the expression of opinion of one man, and must not always be accepted at their face value." (71)

Nevertheless, Ilanga provided a means for its black readers to obtain news of events in other colonies, through correspondence with Izwi labantu and Naledi ea Lesotho via the Native Press Association. It also provided an opportunity for wider discussion of the methods best adopted to prevent, if possible, the Union of South Africa on such unfavourable terms.

Elsewhere in Natal, few towns produced newspapers commercially. The Newcastle Herald appeared regularly until the late 90's, replaced after the war by the
Newcastle Advertiser. Greytown, Dundee, and Ladysmith then produced papers, all published in English, with local circulations catering for the district farmers and traders. Vryheid, whilst part of the Transvaal, had produced a Dutch paper, but this was suppressed in the war, and the new Vryheid Herald, appearing in 1903, was an English publication containing only some Dutch news.

None of these papers achieved much recognition outside their respective districts, and Natal opinion, as received by other colonies, was that of the four major English dailies of Durban and Pietermaritzburg.

The Orange River Colony was increasingly seen as an adjunct of the Transvaal in its progress towards self-government and then towards Union. Its press reflected this in the Argus control of the Post, and the close association in staff and funding of the Friend with its northern neighbour. Natal tended in the opposite direction, towards greater isolation; this too was evident in its lack of newspaper links with other Colonies.

In both Colonies, however, the English press dominated its Dutch-Afrikaans companions. Although papers were fewer, the hostility between them was, if anything, exaggerated: few issues of the Witness or Mercury did not contain some scathing comment on the rival paper. The white papers of the other colonies took the opinions expressed by the Witness and the Mercury to be Natal opinion; but this was not given such extensive consideration as opinions expressed in the Cape or Transvaal.

It can be seen that the two Colonies of Natal and the Free State differed enormously in the papers they produced, Natal reflecting a variety of opinions all more or less supportive of Empire, and the Free State asserting a nationalism that required self-government and freedom
from British interference. In Natal this was an accurate indication of the predominantly English population and its political divisions. In the Orange River Colony, it can be seen more clearly as a result of urban interest, primarily English and commercial, in the production and purchase of newspapers. Local papers emerged only with the expansion of trade in small towns: the country circulation of the Bloemfontein papers likewise relied on city advertisers. The variety of papers and success of each reflected urban allegiances, and the preponderance of English journalists. The rivalry of English papers in Natal illustrates well the competition in trade and politics on which these papers thrived. The emergence of a Dutch-Afrikaans press, centrally funded and promoting the Afrikaans language and a national culture, was less dependent on commercial enterprise, and directed towards the unification of its readers, not their potential divisions.

So, too, was the Indian and African press. Only the Indian Opinion and Ilanga found expression outside Colonial boundaries: Gandhi's concern for Indians throughout South Africa, and Dube's part in the Native Press Association and South African Native Congress, gave their opinions a more national appeal than any of their white counterparts.
CHAPTER IV

MILNER AND THE WAR

The war had lasted two and a half years when Cecil Rhodes died in Muizenberg, and newspapers throughout South Africa came out in thick black borders, mourning the man who had become a symbol for British colonists' Imperial aspirations. War and martial law had prevented the publication of nearly every paper that would not have shared in the laments. A dearth of war news in March 1902, and only occasional rumours of peace negotiations, contributed to the fervour which followed Rhodes' death: papers published lengthy praises of his life, histories of the Chartered Company, extended interviews culled from old editions of Cape and British papers, and continuous reports of the sorrow expressed in public demonstrations in towns throughout the Colony. (1)

At that time, only the Star was published in the Transvaal, and only the Post in the Orange River Colony. In Natal, papers were only published in Durban and Pietermaritzburg, traditionally British. In the Cape, publishing was entirely suspended in many districts, while some publications still permitted were severely limited in their areas of circulation. Many papers ceased voluntarily on the outbreak of war: others were stopped under military banning orders; some collapsed through disruption of services and printing, constraints which small business could not survive; and all were affected by military censorship. (2)

War did provide "commercial compensations" to the Cape in exchange for the loss of customs and railway revenue: vastly increased trade from troops and refugees gave particular advantage to those papers in towns which supported the British cause against the Republics. The Cape Times and Cape Argus, the Daily Despatch and the
Eastern Province Herald all prospered, while papers in Grahamstown, Kingwilliamstown, and Cradock all turned to daily editions from previous tri-weekly appearances. This was not merely a response to market forces, nor a reflection of Cape feeling. It was rather the result of a deliberate concern with publicity for the Imperial cause, and the prevention of "Boer propaganda", initiated by Milner but continued by the military and supported by that section of the press which benefited from such a policy.

Alfred Milner's acknowledgment of an editor's powers of persuasion have already been made clear in his friendship with Garrett of the Cape Times, and participation in the appointment of the editor of the Star. He had worked on Stead's Pall Mall Gazette from 1882 to 1885; the experience taught him about campaigning journalism, and brought him connections with newspapermen that were essential in creating support for his later South African policy. A.N. Porter has considered Milner's influence in persuading the British public of the necessity of war against the Transvaal, and Chamberlain's part in publishing Milner's despatches in time to catch the Public Imagination.

In November 1897 Selborne knew the Suzerainty despatch of 16th October would give Kruger "a fit", but it would "be of great value in asserting our position before all the world." Likewise Milner was writing despatches which "if things get worse, it may be useful some day to publish." The speech at Graaff Reinet, which had been prompted by an Afrikander Bond address presented by the editor of Onze Courant, was specifically intended to be fully reported: Milner had to "scramble" to make copies for the press before the Dinner began in order to ensure immediate transmission to the Cape Town papers. The speech made the "profoundest impression" in Cape Town, but
was also praised in Britain, most notably by the Daily News, the paper edited by Milner's protégé, Edward Cook. (6)

In the Transvaal the British Agent, Conyngham Greene, was providing information for Milner. Excerpts from the Star were frequently included in his reports, and forwarded by Milner to Chamberlain for publication in the Blue Books. The Star, he reported, "may be taken to represent the views of the Uitlander population of Johannesburg," though this was disputed: Schreiner's Ministry objected that it could not reflect truthfully the views of all Johannesburg, let alone those of English speakers throughout South Africa. Papers such as the Standard & Diggers News and the Press were quoted only with translations of Volksraad debates, or complaints of misgovernment and municipal displeasure. (7)

Milner's reading of newspaper and public sympathy was disputed by Sir William Butler, his replacement while in England at the end of 1898. Butler "found the English newspapers in Cape Town wholly under the influence of Mr Rhodes." Even Garrett was a "devotee" of Rhodes, and Butler ascribed the growing hostility of the press towards the Transvaal to a "conspiracy" by the large English dailies to manipulate the distribution of news.

"All political questions in South Africa, and nearly all the information sent from Cape Town to England, are now being worked by what I have already termed a colossal syndicate for the spread of a systematic misrepresentation..." (8)

The Transvaal papers were "outrageous in their language of insult and annoyance", helped by the South African League to manufacture political capital out of incidents such as the "drunken brawl" of the Edgar case. The Cape press showed a "positive rancour of expression" towards the Dutch: most of the propaganda was, moreover, directed towards the British press in "a stream of misleading
Immediately on his return, Milner was forced to dismiss Butler's interpretation of events as "seriously misleading", and make further efforts to impress the opinions of the Star and the Cape Times on the British Public and politicians. The flow of press cuttings continued through 1899. Milner urged Chamberlain not to be gulled by the Opposition press: a "favourite device of the Government organs in the South African Republic, and of the apologists of the Government elsewhere, [is] to attribute the reform move, which is once more assuming such formidable proportions, to the intrigues of "capitalists". He reported, with excerpts from the Cape Times, that the English press was "practically unanimous". A deputation which brought "very strong expressions of support of my views" in the aftermath of the Bloemfontein Conference was publicised by the Cape Times, but no mention was made that it included four Directors, and the editor of that paper. (10)

Although Milner wrote frequently to Chamberlain of Ons Land, "the principal party organ" of the Bond, which had "taken a very strong line against Mr Rhodes and in defence of the Transvaal Government, not without much covert abuse of the Imperial Government and its intentions," extracts from that paper were rarely used to illustrate its opposition. (11) More prominently, excerpts were sent from two papers in Vryburg and Johannesburg, "as indicating views which I find are being expressed, more or less openly, in a certain section of the Press, both in this Colony and in the Transvaal." These had been included in translation in an article by the Cape Times on a "proposed national union" suggested in "extreme anti-British organs", with the object of "active support of the Transvaal in its defiance of the Imperial Government." The papers were, as the South African News
protested when the Blue Book was published, "obscure". The Stellalander had started publication in March 1897 as an Afrikander Bond organ but circulated only in Vryburg, while the Rand Post first appeared in March 1898, the only Dutch newspaper in Johannesburg, edited by M.P.C. Valter. Neither survived the war, and before their publicity in the Cape Times, neither had drawn much attention or readership. (12)

The Transvaal Leader thereafter used the Rand Post as evidence of the attacks to which Uitlanders were subject in the Republic. These, too, were included in despatches. In July Valter had claimed that, in the event of war, the Johannesburg agitators should be seen as the true instigators, and "to their ringleaders capital punishment should be meted out; such is, and has been, the just fate of the leaders of revolutionary movements far more justified than this one." This was quoted by Pakeman of the Leader as evidence of the "violent threats" made against Uitlanders. Valter then wrote to the Leader, "begging for a little fairness":

"Whenever occasion arises, you drag into your editorial writings the 'Rand Post, a Dutch paper published in this city', as preaching the gospel of wholesale murder". (13)

This comment on the fate of revolutionary leaders had been merely a warning to restrain violence, he continued:

"However much you may work for English supremacy... the Rand Post never preached "wholesale murder", and your inimical feeling towards the Transvaal cause should not cause you to speak untruly, and by so doing grossly to libel your opponents." (14)

Two months later, the arrest of Pakeman precipitated further action. Milner notified Greene that Chamberlain's attention had been drawn to newspaper articles threatening murder of the British, and asked the Uitlander Council to co-operate "in obtaining for me exhaustive evidence of
this press campaign from as far back as possible of threats against British subjects." (15)

Newspapers in England were prepared for the increase in publicity for Transvaal grievances by Milner's visit early in 1899, when he attempted "to interview all the leading politicians and pressmen". These included friends such as Edward Cook, editor of the Daily News, Spencer Wilkinson of the Morning Post, and E.B. Iwan-Muller of the Daily Telegraph. G.E. Buckle, the editor of The Times, Moberly Bell, its Manager, and Flora Shaw were already well acquainted with Milner: it was at this time that Buckle suggested Monypenny for the Star and special correspondent arrangements between the two newspapers. Milner also saw H.W. Massingham of the Daily Chronicle, Leo Maxse of the National Review, James Knowles of the Nineteenth Century, and James St. Loe Strachey of the Spectator. All gave him credit for the correctness of his policy in South Africa. Massingham, however, whose Cape correspondent was Albert Cartwright of the South African News, later protested in the Chronicle against the outcome of that policy:

"We shall go to war on an issue which has been deliberately changed during the course of negotiations, and we shall earn for ourselves in South Africa a heritage of hatred." (16)

He resigned in November, "when I was peremptorily required to maintain absolute silence on the policy of the Government in South Africa until after the conclusion of the war. That was impossible." (17)

The Daily Chronicle was therefore returned to Milner's support. For the first 15 months of war, only the Manchester Guardian, and Stead's Review of Reviews gave favourable publicity to the "pro-Boer" cause. This was not popular amongst the majority of British newspaper-buyers, and the circulations of both dropped. That of the
Manchester Guardian, however, remained higher than The Times. In January 1901 the Daily News was bought by Cadbury and Lloyd George, whereupon most of the journalists ousted from the Chronicle, who had taken refuge in the Guardian, returned to London journalism on the News. Cartwright, who had also abandoned the Chronicle's new jingoism, took over J.A. Hobson's role as Guardian correspondent from the beginning of 1900: Hobson had been sent to South Africa as special correspondent in July 1899. He sent telegrams and articles including interviews with Kruger and Steyn, which "enabled English readers to judge for themselves the standpoint of those South Africans whose views were deliberately kept hidden from British readers." (18)

Hobson concluded that "a biassed, enslaved and poisoned press has been the chief engine for manufacturing jingoism." He wrote at length of the control of news reports by the large capitalist companies which had invested in the major papers in South Africa, and which governed the supply of news to Britain. Hobson stressed Rhodes' financial involvement, but clearly Milner was taking a more active role in providing the right publicity at this time. Milner promoted those papers supporting his policy in his despatches, besides relying on English journalists to look favourably upon their publication. Thus the Cape Times was displayed as a fair-minded paper, ignoring petty differences of opinion in favour of the larger issues which would decide between "the independence of the South African Republic or the welfare of the Cape Colony as a member of the British Empire." (19)

Milner also denigrated those papers which purported to take an independent stance. Ons Land had asserted that it was not hostile to British interests, nor to the Imperial Government, but only to "the personal domination of Mr Rhodes, to the Chartered clique, and their corrupt
methods of Government, the "influence of Mammon in politics." Milner evidently disbelieved it, and intended that Chamberlain should too, telling him that this was "repeated ad nauseam in every issue of what is now the Ministerial organ, Ons Land," and pointing out that the "anti-British press manifests significant anxiety to see France maintain herself on the Upper Nile." All was used as evidence that lack of support denoted disloyalty. Thus, Schreiner's moderation was not typical of his party: "the vast majority of their utterances, which I do my best to follow in the Dutch press, consist of fervid appeals to "Afrikanders" to maintain the dominant position of their race." (20)

The Blue Book containing Milner's "helot" despatch of 4th May, was published on the 14th June, immediately after the dissolution of the Bloemfontein Conference, and emphasised the effects of "mischievous propaganda":

"A certain section of the Press, and not in the Transvaal only, preaches openly and constantly the doctrine of a Republic embracing all South Africa... this doctrine, supported as it is by a ceaseless stream of malignant lies about the intentions of the British Government, is producing a general effect upon a large number of our Dutch fellow colonists." (21)

Cook of the Daily News wrote that "the BP [British Public] has worked itself up finally at 'helots'"', though Selborne reminded Milner of the problems: "public opinion has been very difficult here.... Parliament has been much less favourable to your views and mine than the Press." Buckle of The Times informed Milner a month later of "how completely public opinion here, which was very hesitating and almost hostile at first, has now veered round in favour of you and your policy." Milner too congratulated Chamberlain:

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"As far as home opinion is concerned the management of the controversy has been perfect. Seeing how hopelessly the British people were dead to the real issues four months ago, it is wonderful where they stand today." (22)

British newspapers, certain that the situation was heading towards a crisis, despatched their war correspondents to South Africa in the first week of September.

With the approach of war many newspapers in the Republics had closed. Journalists on English papers joined the British troops or reported for Colonial papers or Reuters; those on Dutch papers joined the commandos. In the Free State, the Friend continued, supporting the burghers, until Roberts' arrival in Bloemfontein with British troops, though the Express had ceased publication the previous year and several of its staff joined the Boer forces. The Transvaal Government ordered all English papers to close except the Standard & Diggers News, which served as a Government Gazette for the Witwatersrand: its final edition appeared on 31st May 1900, when it was closed by British order. The Volkstem had continued in Pretoria, publishing an English edition for the remaining British residents there. A press was also established in a railway carriage, to provide a "Veldtocht editie" of the Volkstem for the forces. Editions were produced in Elandslaagte, Kroonstad, and Glencoe, containing the latest news of the war. Another itinerant press operated in the Free State, primarily from Fouriesburg, and produced a commando periodical entitled De Brandwag, official forms, and Christmas cards. (23)

The only other paper to continue publication was the Zoutpansberg Wachter of Pietersburg which was edited by Gustav Preller, previously in the Transvaal Mines Department. Preller produced editions irregularly for some nineteen months. The Wachter was typed and reproduced by stencil, and usually contained telegrams and
encouragement. Some seven editions appeared between 30th November and 20th December 1899, and thereafter nothing until February 1901. A report from Middelburg in March 1901 gave news of the successful operation on Kruger's eyes, and from Bothasberg news of Botha's meeting with Kitchener, who had expressed sympathy towards the misfortunes of highveld families, and accepted complaints of the "misuse" of Africans by British troops. Thereafter no copies remain: Preller was captured early in 1902 and deported to India, but on his return he chose to continue in journalism, editing first Land en Volk and later the Volkstem. (24)

Once British forces had established themselves in the major cities of the old Republics attention was given to creating a favourable press. In Bloemfontein, the Friend was taken over by a group of correspondents of British newspapers under the editorship of Rudyard Kipling, to promote the policy of "the maintenance of British supremacy in South Africa, [and] equal rights for all White men." Milner told Kipling of the value of such a paper "as a most efficient arm of the effort to pacify the Free State to their fate."

"You should address yourself more directly to the Boers and always with a view to impressing them with the magnanimous intentions and the benefits and advantages of British rule." (25)

On the correspondents' departure following the troops, the Argus Company was invited by the High Commissioner to take over the publication of the Orange River Colony newspaper, and the Friend was soon replaced by the Post. This remained the only commercial paper published in the old Republics for 18 months. It was greatly assisted by its monopoly of military and government advertising, and was sent not only to troops in that Colony, but also to the Transvaal. (26)
The Argus Company in Bloemfontein was supplied by the Press Censor with a list of "instruct ons", consisting of subjects which the Military Governor desired suppressed. These included any discussion of the military position in the district, the "ill-success" of the British army in any district, or "carping criticism of the conduct of military operations." Information on troop movements was forbidden, as was "any cheap triumph regarding the success of our arms or Dutch discomfiture - inconsistent with the dignity of our cause." "Anything tending to accentuate race-hatred, or to increase the present bitterness, or to unnecessarily offend the susceptibilities of the Dutch" was to be omitted, as was discussion of local politics and "hostile criticism of the present administration." (27)

The Post continued under these restrictions, the Company only complaining about the lack of privileges regarding the supply of telegraphic news that had been promised them, and disputing the charges for the insertion of military advertisements. Such difficulties were "easily overcome", as the Argus Manager, declared when requesting permission to restart the Star at the end of 1901. A Johannesburg Gazette had been produced for a year, with both plant and staff of the Star, but the reappearance of the commercial press would have great "moral effect upon the Boers still in arms and their supporters in South Africa and abroad." The Star, "by reason of its services to the country, no less than on the point of seniority, has some fair claim to priority." (28)

The Star was republished from 2nd January 1902, under the same restrictions as the Post, but with political discussion permitted. Moreover, Kitchener's Private Secretary was told that the High Commissioner "wishes the Star to have a free hand as regards criticism of the Civil Government." The Commander in Chief was less keen: "he rather dreads these but if the High Commissioner wishes
newspapers to start he will not object so long as they are kept in order." (29) Kitchener was reassured that "Monypenny will be Editor, and the Press Censor will have no trouble as he has been a military man himself. Nor need there be any fear of criticism of military matters":

"Lord Milner would undertake to advise the Press Censor in regard to purely political matters which he might be doubtful about, just as he used to see the Press Censor every morning for the first eighteen months of the war at Cape Town." (30)

The Star and the Post remained the two major papers in the new Colonies, though no objection was raised to the re-appearance of the Pretoria Transvaal Advertiser, which had likewise supported the British cause before the war. In April the Transvaal Leader Syndicate was permitted to republish, and the Leader came out in June. Newspapers that had previously supported the Republics only returned later. Land en Volk was restarted in August 1902, the Bloemfontein Friend in October, and the Volkstem not until March 1903. (31)

Attempts were made, however, to distribute through the new Colonies Dutch and Afrikaans papers which supported the British cause. Die Patriot of Paarl had continued to support Rhodes after his break with Hofmeyr and the Bond, and thus forfeited its reputation in parts of the Colony and the Republics. The unanimity of Free State and Transvaal burghers in resisting British pressure in 1899 was said to be "in spite of Oom Lokomotief", the previously popular Afrikaans writer in the Patriot, D.F. du Toit. (32) Likewise the Natal Afrikander of Pietermaritzburg had lost its popularity with support of Britain and criticism of the Republican Government.

In January 1902, Hershenshohn, the proprietor of the Afrikander, wrote to Hine, the Prime Minister of Natal, requesting "some return for the self-sacrificing policy I had adopted... a policy conscientiously dictated by a
stern sense of loyalty and duty and one which, in consequence, caused me very serious financial losses...

He reported that he would be forced to discontinue the paper unless given assistance, since "even those of my subscribers who have recently been permitted to re-occupy their farms, are not in a position to discharge their liabilities to me." He stressed further that though circulation was "necessarily limited", his was the only Dutch newspaper read in parts of the Orange River Colony and Transvaal by "persons who do not subscribe to, or read, English newspapers." It was therefore the best medium for imparting official information and advertisements in the new Colonies and Natal, particularly regarding the welfare of the Dutch "presently in the Camps." (33)

The struggles of the proprietors of both the Afrikander and the Patriot were related to Milner, who was "very anxious to assist them in some way and to get their papers distributed in the new colonies." The Governors of the Colonies were requested to buy 100 copies of the Afrikander to distribute free to Resident Magistrates. Geoffrey Robinson later requested confirmation that the ORC Government was indeed subscribing: "if not, we must ask them to do so." Early in 1903, the order was reduced to 50 copies to be distributed to Agents in Harrismith, Vrede, Frankfurt, Bethlehem and elsewhere in the Northeast, "where it is considered your paper will probably have more influence than in other parts of the ORC." At the same time, the Colony's Government agreed with the Editor of Die Patriot "to pay you sufficient to enable you to send your Agents 50 copies of each issue for free distribution in the ORC." It was insisted that "you will regard the whole arrangement as strictly confidential." The arrangements did not succeed in keeping either paper alive: Die Patriot ceased in 1904; the Afrikander was
taken over by Hershensohn's son, with money from Leyds, and turned to support for Responsible Government in the new Colonies under the editorship of J.S.M. Rabie. Thereafter only Land en Volk was a 'loyal' paper, having been purchased by William van Hulsteyn, the Star's lawyer, and financially assisted by Fitzpatrick. (34)

The major focus of newspaper activity, however, was in the Cape. Increased advertising for military supplies and the publication of official notices benefited some. There was a marked increase in readers for papers wherever military garrisons were stationed or Refugee camps existed. To some extent these readers and advertisers chose "pro-British" papers; but loyalty was not assured, and the papers defended their right to freedom of speech. A Proclamation of 12th October warned against "seditious acts or words", and Milner cabled to Chamberlain for a "strong request from HMG for establishing censorship." (35) Strict military censorship was established over cables, foreign and colonial: J.C. Molteno described to his brother that thus 'news of what is going on' was only permitted through military circles. Though "this perhaps is necessary", he protested strongly "that no expression of public opinion here is allowed to be sent to England":

"185 meetings were held throughout the Colony protesting against war, and yet they were absolutely ignored by the Governor, while every little League [meeting] mentioned had its resolution cabled over to the Secretary of State for the Colonies as the expression of public opinion here. Now we are not even allowed to cable our opinion." (36)

Censorship of press opinion, however, was only possible under martial law; moreover, the suppression of Opposition newspapers might offend British public opinion, and thus jeopardise the current enthusiasm for the war.

With the invasion of Boer commandos into the northern and eastern Cape, the Government consented to the
proclamation of martial law in those districts, which was enforced as British troops established themselves in the disaffected areas. Offences to be dealt with under martial law included "treasonable or seditious acts and words, or acts and words tending to excite disaffection, disloyalty, or distrust of Government." Its early administration, under inexperienced officers, was unsystematic and provoked much complaint. In January 1900 Kitchener found it necessary to stress that "sympathy with an enemy of like race is not an offence, unless accompanied by an act of disloyalty." (37)

The newspapers that survived in these country districts tended to be those that actively supported the British. In Vryburg, the British Bechaunaland News had been stopped when the town was occupied by the Boers, though the Stellalander continued until December. The News reappeared in August 1900, and then remained the only newspaper in the town. The Eastern districts which had, within weeks of the occupation of Colesberg, "gone over without hesitation and, so to speak, bodily to the enemy", and from which British loyalists were "being hunted out of town after town like sheep", were likewise returned to British rule. In Aliwal North, the "Bond organ", the Eastern Echo and Oostelijke Stem ceased, while the Northern Post survived and prospered, able to buy the plant of the defunct paper; it displayed its loyalty using headings for telegrams announcing the capture of Boer Commandos such as "Another Six Bagged." (38)

By October 1900 the stringency of martial law was being reduced, particularly with regard to the circulation of newspapers. Most of the foreign correspondents had returned home once the battles were over and Pretoria occupied; in England, correspondents turned their adventures into print and stories of the war reached several editions within months of publication, while
newspapers advertised artists' impressions of famous battles. The second rebellion, however, returned the whole Colony to martial law, with the exception of parts of the native territories, when further instructions were issued regarding the treatment of the press and inflammatory writing. Thereafter, Dutch farmers could no longer express sympathy with the Republics; and more than "passive neutrality" was required: British subjects "must be actively on the side of the Crown" and bound to give assistance. Newspapers were then prohibited if they "excited disaffection or fostered sympathy with the enemy." (39)

Meanwhile, Milner had concerned himself less with the local press of the Colony than with Ons Land, the "leading Bond organ", which "has worked ceaselessly, most energetically, and very cunningly to keep sedition at boiling point". He stressed to Chamberlain Ons Land's regret at the postponement of the Bond Congress of March 1900, and the deleterious effects on refugees of the "small but noisy gang of Radical agitators... carefully nursed by the South African News and our Colonial rebels generally." He attributed the disaffection of the Colony to the "unbridled licence of Press and pulpit;" a "carnival of mendacity" which had provoked the second rebellion. (40)

The South African News and Ons Land were already prohibited from circulation in the Orange River Colony, Transvaal, Natal and parts of the Cape; and from January 1901 were restricted to Cape Town. On 8th January, F.S. Malan, Ons Land's editor, was arrested on a charge of defamatory and seditious libel reflecting on the conduct of General French. A week later, The Times in London published from the Dublin Freeman's Journal "with a full sense of their responsibility as journalists", a long letter in which a British officer alleged that Kitchener,
in tracking De Wet, "sent secret instructions to the troops to take no prisoners." When this was reprinted by Albert Cartwright in the South African News at the beginning of February, he too was arrested for seditious libel. The editors of the Worcester Advertiser, E.J. de Jong, and the Somerset East Oosten, J.A. Vosloo, had also been arrested on libel charges in December. All four editors were found guilty of defamatory but not seditious libel; Cartwright and Malan were imprisoned for one year, the others for six months. (41)

The arrests and sentences provoked protests in the British Parliament and the letter columns of The Times and in the European press, since Cartwright had later published a contradiction of the allegation. He conducted his own defence at the trial, claiming that publication had been for the very purpose of producing this denial. This was considered insufficient defence of his action. The correspondence was ended by Iwan-Muller, Milner's friend and leader writer on the Telegraph, who commended the sentence, asserting that the News in one edition had "recorded quite sufficient sedition to justify the suppression of the paper which gave publicity to it": articles encouraging rebellion in the British press relied upon their dissemination through Ons Land and the News for their effect, and provoked disaffection. (42)

In January Ons Land had been forced to suspend publication, though the Advertentieblad appeared in its place, similar but lacking its political hostility. In October, with the extension of martial law to Cape Town, the offices of the News were searched and the paper warned against "anything treasonable, seditious, or of any value to the enemy", or any ridicule of British forces or criticism of Government such as had recently appeared. The News declared its decision to discontinue: "the functions of a newspaper neither owned nor controlled by
Mr Cecil Rhodes have for the present disappeared." (43) The Cape Times and Argus remained as the only two Cape Town dailies until August 1902 when the News returned. Ons Land, which appeared three times a week in response to its readership demands, had recommenced a month earlier; but for the last months of war and the consequent bitter debate over the suspension of the Cape constitution, none of the major papers hostile to Milner existed.

Imvo too was suspended. Jabavu wrote to Percy Molteno, in February 1900, of a campaign of boycotting Imvo, "not being sufficiently Jingo", preached in the local press. This had resulted in the withdrawal of a Currie Line advertisement by the East London Agency, worth £10 a year, "and this to a struggling native people is a great deal." Eighteen months later Imvo was banned from publication by military order, through "matter of an objectionable nature having appeared in your paper of late." The matter was not specified, but on inquiry was said to be "in the Kaffir portion, which [the local officer] did not understand." Jabavu protested that he was unaware of any objectionable statements, but no redress was forthcoming and Imvo remained unpublished until October 1902. Jabavu suspected "political antipathy", since many of those administering martial law "were connected with the politics of this country before the war." (44)

This containment of public opinion served to promote the prospects of British victory, while exhortations to the Boer forces to surrender, combined with a lack of public expression of support, emphasised Colonial weariness with war. It did not, however, necessitate complete approval of Milner's policy. Censorship had aggravated even the papers professing their loyalty.

In Natal, the press had succumbed willingly to censorship with martial law at the outbreak of war, having
"unanimously" commended the Natal Government's requests for reinforcements, and openly dreading the possibility of a native uprising. By February 1900, the Natal Witness complained that the manner in which censorship had been imposed caused "much adverse comment and indignation," for being "unnecessarily rigorous and inquisitorial." By May 1902, the Natal Witness was printing articles with excisions marked "Several sentences here have been struck out by the censor," though its articles concentrated, traditionally, on Colonial antipathy to Cape politics and "the Native Problem", and its tenor was fully supportive of British supremacy. The Natal Mercury reported the Press Censor's prohibition of discussion of the annexation of land to Natal from the Transvaal, expressing surprise that this should come after so much had been published, and taking the opportunity to complain that censorship, much without explanation, was now more severe than in "the darkest days of the war." (45)

Discontent with military restrictions was rife in the Cape too, where political controversy flared, during 1902 despite the extinction of an Opposition press. Even the Midland News at Cradock, which prospered during the war with sales to military camps taking 1,000 copies daily, and had added a weekly pictorial supplement to an enlarged daily edition of 8 pages, suffered. It was not an overtly party paper politically, as those of the ports commonly were, but it held some views that accorded with Progressive party papers, in denouncing the Treason Courts as "a farce ... as a meting out of adequate punishment for the crime of High Treason." It was censored, however, when the editor wrote against the proposed Suspension of the Cape Constitution, which would throw the "apple of discord" amongst Colonists, and which had been already refuted by William Crosby of the Daily Despatch in an editorial reprinted by his old paper, the News. The
editor first implied that his comments had been curtailed, and two days later printed in protest the full text of an editorial next to its censored version. The article had granted that "Lord Milner would be the ideal autocrat", but that "it is a poor cause that has to rely on the suppression of free speech to carry its point."

Prior to this, the whole of an article against suspension had been censored at the start of the debate, and its publication only permitted after the rival public meetings for and against the cause had been held. The report of the meeting against Suspension was likewise delayed, but when permitted was given full page treatment. (46)

The proposal to suspend the Constitution returned the Cape to political battles that censorship and suppression had attempted to lessen. The possibility had been suggested by Milner within the first few months of war, as a further means of repressing political dissent and rebellion, but Chamberlain rejected it. The abrogation of the constitution of a self-governing Colony, or any attempt to legislate in the Imperial Parliament for the Colony, would bring opposition from the Bond, "many, if not all, of the Progressives", every other self-governing Colony, and from the British Parliament. (47) As a temporary substitute, Parliament did not meet for eighteen months.

Milner was anxious to avoid the early recall of Parliament, which might foster disaffection and, with new elections, create a Bond majority. He wrote to Hely Hutchinson, Governor of the Cape since Milner had transferred to the Transvaal at the start of 1901, that it would be a mistake for Parliament to meet, and that the Home Government must remedy the breakdown of the Cape Constitution:

"... if the Home Government is to act at all, it must be in response to an appeal from the loyal Colonists. This ought to proceed from the Government backed by
you, and supported, if need be, by a popular agitation, in which case no doubt I could wake responsive echoes in England and even in the other Colonies... But I can't take the initiative. I can only come in as a backer..." (48)

Rhodes too was informed of the need for a strong loyalist appeal: the restoration of self-government should wait until the creation of a Federal Parliament with a British majority. In response to Milner's encouragement, a Petition was circulated amongst Members of the Legislative Assembly and signed by 45 Progressives including Rhodes. It was supported by a series of public demonstrations in favour of the move and countered by meetings opposing it. (49)

The issue had been raised in the press the previous year, when government without Parliament was discussed. Most Cape papers then opposed suspension, as they continued to do until acknowledgement of Milner's approval caused a change of policy. The exceptions were two Eastern Cape papers, the Grahamstown Journal and the East London Standard, both advocating suspension as a means to Separation of Eastern and Western Provinces. The Journal had campaigned for Separation for some fifty years: the influence of the Bond was seen as inextricably allied to the predominance of Cape Town in politics, and both were persistently opposed. (50)

Of those papers which did not share separatist views, Edgar Walton's Eastern Province Herald was the first to reverse its policy. In January two editorials had attacked Suspension, and the concomitant prevention of public discussion, freedom of speech and writing: "to submit to official domination would be a severe test of the loyalty of the most loyal. At the same time it would supply the disloyal agitators with the best weapon they could hope for." Walton then became a principal signatory to the Petition, and in March the Herald came out in
favour in an editorial entitled "The Danger at the Cape". Suspension was a prerequisite of federation: unless the Colony relinquished "the remnant of our constitution", the early Imperial federation of the Transvaal, Orange River Colony, Rhodesia and Natal would threaten the Cape with loss of trade, and commercial extinction. Moreover, the Prime Minister's opposition to suspension was portrayed as opposition to federation, and thus as an attitude "entirely opposed to that of the whole loyal population." Antipathy to Sir Gordon Sprigg became one of the main features of the Suspensionists' campaign. He was ridiculed as unfit to lead the Progressive Party, and a traitor to the British cause who "regards his own interests and his own ambitions as a consideration for outweighing the interests of South Africa or the British Empire."(51)

Rhodes' death in March deprived the Progressive party of their figurehead, but his support for the Petition was much publicised. The Colony was then plunged into a frenzy of political activity by public meetings in every town called by the South African League and Vigilance Committees, eliciting support for the Petition, and further meetings called by the Constitution Defence Committee to oppose it. At the end of May the controversy flared in the press, when the Petition was published alongside Milner's response to a request for his views.

He had affirmed his support for the postponement of the Cape Parliament's meeting, but added that "it was not a question... of abrogating the Constitution, which was already abrogated, but of when and how they were to return to it. He was in favour of a gradual return to self-government, for after a civil war, a period when political controversy should be avoided was necessary." The Cape Argus quoted Milner's "desire to preserve the Colony from the disastrous political consequences which are likely to result from the resumption of Parliament and
party strife." Although he claimed local independence to be "the essence of our Imperial system", he believed an Interregnum would be "more likely to make for real freedom, for industrial and commercial development, and for the appeasement of race-hatred." It would, moreover, enhance the chances of "arriving, by mutual agreement, at satisfactory arrangements for the co-operation of the various South African Colonies in matters of common interest... and the way paved for their future union." This was taken as an endorsement of the Petition, and enabled the Suspensionists to equate their political demands with the true cause of loyalty to South Africa and the Empire. (52)

The two Cape Town dailies then gave their full support to the Petition, though both had opposed the prospect of Suspension five months earlier. The Cape Argus argued that the agitation of a free Parliament would hinder Milner in his work; the Cape Times referred to "the loss of our greatest statesman", and to the "racial feeling" of the Dutch which prevented a "legitimate division of public opinion." (53)

The declaration of peace at the beginning of June interrupted the controversy only briefly. Both the Cape Town dailies continued their campaign for Suspension throughout June, with frequent references to public demonstrations by "loyal Colonists". In this, as in the issues of rebel punishments and conciliation, the two factions were labelled "loyalists" and "irreconcilables". In Port Elizabeth both the Telegraph and the Herald promoted suspension. The Journal in Grahamstown devoted seven of its eleven editorials during the month to the cause, and one to a personal attack on the Prime Minister, stressing the duty of loyal subjects to support Lord Milner by signing the Petition. According to the Journal, every town in the Colony had come out in favour of
Suspension except for Queenstown and East London, as had their newspapers. (54)

This was not, however, quite accurate. Several staunchly British and Progressive party papers had chosen to defend the Constitution. These included the Journal's rival, Grocott's Daily Mail, though this paper was not recognised by the Journal as representative of Grahamstown opinion. The East London Daily Dispatch had too been one of the first to reject Suspension. It defended Sprigg, the Legislative Assembly Member for East London, throughout the controversy. As mentioned, the Midland News adhered to the views of its previous editor, William Crosby of the Dispatch. So too did the Queenstown Representative, which was also partly owned by Crosby. For these papers, Suspension "practically amounts to despotism", and the allegation of Thomas Smartt that opponents of the Petition were "pro-Boers" was angrily refuted. Federation, moreover, must come from within South Africa, and not be imposed from without. The Dispatch had frequently denounced the expression of "pro-Boer" opinion in England during the war: publicity such as Stead's had "helped keep the war going". With Peace, the Dispatch had insisted that "the treatment accorded to the conquered must be of a kind as will make them feel that they are really conquered, and conquered by Britain... The way must not be made too easy for them."

Having proved its loyalty, the Dispatch endorsed Sprigg's arguments against Suspension, that the division of the Progressive party on this issue would be "playing into the hands of that party of which they say they are so much afraid", and a weapon to be used against British supremacy. Crosby did not refrain from impugning the motives of the Petition papers: while Thomas Smartt alleged that the East London press had been "captured", the Dispatch asserted that it was "one of the few really
independent papers in South Africa, and that it has no connection whatever with any of the great capitalistic houses who influence so largely Public Opinion in other parts." (55)

News of Chamberlain's telegram to Hely Hutchinson, effectively refusing the Petition for suspension, was greeted with horror by Petition papers, through with relief by such as the Midland News and Dispatch which hoped for an end to acrimony. These found their positions substantiated by Chamberlain: there was "no proof" that the Constitution was "a positive danger to the peace of the Colony" and to the interests of the Empire; nor that "the great majority of the white population" desired a complete transfer of authority to the Imperial Government. Unless Parliament, duly called, refused to pass an Act of Indemnity for the state of martial law, no further measures could be taken. (56) The Journal, on the other hand, interpreted this refusal as a snub to Lord Milner, and spoke of the calling of Parliament as a betrayal of loyalists. For the Cape Times, it was "naturally a disappointment", which suggested that Chamberlain must be unaware of the strength of public opinion. (57)

Defeat made the Journal even more violent in its tirades against "the screaming farce of Parliamentary Government". The Cape Times redirected its hostility against Ons Land, which reappeared a fortnight later praising the recall of Parliament and end of war. The Cape Times returned to the theme of an "Afrikander conspiracy", nurtured by a return to parliamentary government and a legalisation of "disloyalty". It quoted passages published before the war in journals such as the Stellenbosch Quarterly and the Burghersdorp Studenten Blad, both college newspapers, in which essays appeared forecasting "an Afrikaner nation", and condoning "race hatred" on the grounds that it had been "encouraged among
the children of Israel, if not indeed commanded." The reappearance of Ons Land and the South African News forced the Times to conclude that "the liberty of the press has degenerated into licence somewhat too frequently here." With the prospect of an end to martial law, the Cape Times urged the retention of censorship to stop the spread of books and pamphlets "full of the most dangerous doctrines", and to prevent "incendiary DRC sermons." (58)

Though both Ons Land and the News had missed most of the Suspension debate, both immediately spoke out against the agitation, and against the deprivations of freedom the move would have entailed. The assertions of the Cape Times were made "to deceive the people in Britain", and the "Rhodes-ite" press denounced as frequently as before their suppression. Milner too was criticised: he had set himself "the very congenial task of abolishing Responsible Government in the oldest of the South African Colonies", in which he had been aided by the "capitalist" press. The topicality of the issue provided the opportunity to demand self-government in the new Colonies, the principle of which was set against the tendencies of the new Imperialism, with its centralising control and government by "pro-consuls and Secretaries of State and nominated Councils". This, for the News, was both anti-democratic and an alliance with plutocracy. (59)

Instead, the News declared a policy "which should guide everyone who aims at becoming a true South African," for self-government as enjoyed by Canada or Australia, and policy decided "not in Park Lane or in Downing Street, but in the free Parliament of a united South Africa." Whereas for Progressive papers Milner was the "family physician", curing South African ills, for the News and Ons Land he was the enemy of "true South Africanism", subjecting the country to war and capitalism from which the greatest danger was "a scheme of federation manufactured by Lord
Milner and the Colonial Secretary." (60)

The News therefore placed itself immediately in favour of Responsible Government in the northern colonies, and in opposition to the "pro-British" press which preferred a slow progress towards representation. For the Cape Times and Argus, failure of the suspension petition signalled a major grievance: the victory of party politics over the "Imperial ideal" signified the end of hopes for an early Union of South Africa under British auspices, and the strength of the "anti-British" party led the Progressives to concentrate, in newspaper coverage, on Milner's work of rehabilitating the mining industry in the Transvaal. Ons Land concentrated on reconstruction, but with criticism of the hardships suffered by displaced farmers, and hostile to the influence of the Transvaal mines in politics. (61) Conditions were thus created for party hostilities over the next years.

The South African Party attacked the Cape subjection to "diamonds", proposing responsible government and union to oust Milner and the "South African millionaires [who] engineered the course of politics that led to the war." The Progressives gave outright support to the High Commissioner, and attacked the Bond for its policy of "race-hatred" against the British. Furthermore, "such vulgar denunciations as 'capitalist'" would further divide the people politically and socially, and were concluded to be "worse than race-hatred." (62)

Milner had significantly affected the reporting of Transvaal and Cape affairs prior to the war, and had managed their interpretation by British politicians and the press. The war enabled not only a monopoly of a favourable press for some years in the new Colonies, but the elimination of dissenting papers from the Cape. By the end of 1901 only newspapers in sympathy with complete British victory circulated. The suspension agitation then
polarised political opinion and publicised divisions that had been increasingly successfully hidden by the stoppage of newspapers. In stimulating political controversy it recreated, in effect, the very conditions which Milner had hoped to control in his guidance of press opinion and management of its effect upon politicians. Although his involvement in the debate from the Transvaal was praised by one section of the press, it placed him firmly within the sphere of party politics and no longer, as he had hoped, above it. Unity could be manufactured in South Africa, but was as easily dispersed by newspapers eager to continue political and commercial feuds.
CHAPTER V

BUSINESS AND POLITICS

With the failure of the Suspension campaign and the resurgence of party politics in the Cape impeding prospects for rapid federation of the four colonies, Milner directed his attention to the development of the Transvaal mining industry, upon which British settlement and the retention of British supremacy would depend. The re-appearance of newspapers traditionally opposed to both him and his policy was expected to bring criticism of the administration. Milner therefore allowed only a slow resumption of the politics of the Fourth Estate: the Argus Company had achieved its near-monopoly in the new Colonies by constant re-iteration of its loyalty. Even this hardly anticipated the immediate expression of opinion divergent from Milner's own that flourished with the return of a commercial press. Attempts were made to curb the influence of editors: Fitzpatrick took on Milner's pre-war role as a direct intermediary of Government and press, in accordance with the importance given to the mining industry. The Dutch-Afrikaans press, when it re-appeared, concentrated its antipathy on this prevalence of capital in government; it found ready allies in those English newspapers opposed to the influence of Johannesburg, of capital, and of the newspapers produced by both.

The Star's Manager, Thomas Sheffield, had claimed "services to the country" in requesting permission to restart his paper. Milner's use of the Star prior to the war substantiated this, but it was not an opinion shared by all in administration: Emrys Evans, then Press Censor in Pretoria, minuted his scepticism.
"The Argus Co have the Bloemfontein Post, they will soon have the Star running, and although they profess to be willing only to start a daily paper in Pretoria as a temporary measure, I imagine I am not very far wrong in saying that their offer to assist the Military Authorities is a mere blind to be first in the field at Pretoria. At Bloemfontein the Managing Director alleged that it was the desire to assist the Military Authorities, although at a great sacrifice, that induced the Company to start a paper there, but I soon discovered that it was a mercenary and not a patriotic motive that actuated them. I am not aware that the Argus Company have any special claim to be first in the field here, and I would prefer to see some other Company or individual starting a local paper." (1)

Advantages taken by the Star included the monopoly of Reuter's telegraph service to the Transvaal, which was guaranteed transmission by the military without the delays to which much civilian news was subject, and "an understanding with the local censor as to revision of proofs." The publication of official proclamations and notices provided extra sales, and helped to disseminate the Star's opinions along with government announcements. (2)

Milner had specifically requested that the Star be permitted "a free hand as regards criticism of the Civil Government." Monypenny, the editor approved by Milner in 1899, returned to the paper from his army commission and his duties as Director of Supplies in Johannesburg. His loyalty to Milner did not diminish. For the first five months of publication the Star urged the Boers to admit the 'hopelessness' of their cause and praised plans for a reconstruction of the new British colonies. Major emphasis was laid upon South Africa's part in an Empire,

"whose watchwords are liberty and progress ... under whose aegis every race and people in the world have found a happy and contented home, ... where their nationality and individuality have been preserved in the great confederation of races forming the British Empire ... all living willingly and freely under the
British flag." (3)

Such paragraphs in the Star's editorials were frequently repeated verbatim in the leading articles of the Cape Argus and the Bloemfontein Post. (4)

The Star's monopoly of news was broken with Peace. The Transvaal Leader's Directors had requested permission to republish in April, citing "business urgency", and the loss of connections built up before the war through the Star holding a monopoly of advertising business on the Rand. Permission was granted when Richard Solomon and Patrick Duncan found "no valid grounds for refusal", but the Leader brought not merely commercial rivalry but politics which were seen to challenge the administration and lessen the effect of the Star's unstinting praise. (5)

The Leader had been established by Ecksteins "for a specific object" in April 1899. "That object has now been obtained, and its proprietors, having other big interests to look after, do not desire the additional worry and care of a daily paper." (6) It was, moreover, publicly known to be Ecksteins' personal property, which was thought to detract from its influence. Fitzpatrick therefore negotiated its sale to the Cape Times Company, which wished to expand into the Transvaal. Payment was in Cape Times shares, since Fitzpatrick "saw some difficulty in promising continued permanent advertisement support upon a large scale unless his House, and the Goldfields of South Africa, were interested financially in the Cape Times." The Cape Town Board, as has been described, retained overall control, but Ecksteins nominated one of the two Directors of the Transvaal Board which managed the Leader. (7)

Both the Star and the Leader were thus largely controlled by mining interests, of whom Fitzpatrick, as President of the Chamber of Mines, was particularly eager
to provide support for the High Commissioner and his policy. Whilst Monypenny was dedicated to Milner, and protected his proprietor's interests in the Star, Pakeman, whose reputation rested on the vitriol of his articles denouncing Kruger and the Republican Government, soon turned the Leader to criticism of the Colonial administration. According to Fitzpatrick, the Transvaal Political Association gained popularity "with the aid of the Leader, (Pakeman having quite gone off the rails for the time)." A "spectacle of division" amongst the British would do "infinite harm" and bring "joy to the heart of the Bond and the Boers:"

"His Excellency has been greatly worried, and I think the place brought a good deal into disrepute, by the Leader, but it has been quite impossible to control Pakeman, short of sacking him. This would have been no remedy, as it would have meant turning him over to the Lace faction for their new paper and making a bitter enemy of him." (8)

Pakeman's criticism of Milner's financial policy did not abate. In November 1902, the Cape Town Board was told that "there had been some trouble with the editor" and that E T Cook of the London Morning Post, had been offered the job by St. Leger and Syfret. The suggestion was Fitzpatrick's but Cook was also an old friend and protégé of the High Commissioner. The Board confirmed this "action of the Chairman and General Manager ... in the matter of the editorial management of the Transvaal Leader;" nevertheless Cook refused the appointment. (9)

In December 1902, Pakeman complained to the Cape Town Board "that his present position was unsatisfactory, that he was hampered, and that no definite policy had been laid down for him."

"It was decided to reply that the policy we wish pursued is that adopted by the Cape Times, viz. to give Lord Milner our support in the policy he is adopting in the settlement of the country, and
generally supporting federation on reasonable lines, that Lord Milner should be given fair treatment and not criticised captiously at every turn, and also pointing out that since the ownership of the paper has changed he has altered his policy somewhat." (10)

Pakeman would not suppress his criticism and was dismissed that month, taking with him his two assistant editors. E.J. Edwards, who had been assistant editor to Garrett before moving to the Transvaal, then edited the paper with one of his journalists, R Dawson. Pakeman continued his opposition to Milner's reconstruction: he aired his grievances in the Leader's new rival, the Rand Daily Mail, and in a letter to the London Daily Chronicle attacked the High Commissioner's "contempt for the multitude" and "partiality for the chosen few, who in this case happen to be millionaires." (12) His articles in the Bloemfontein Friend were reproduced by Hobhouse in the London press "to keep the Liberals educated" - "they are slashing", she wrote in admiration to Smuts. He became the Secretary to the Responsible Government Association, and in 1905 produced and edited the Daily Express, in Johannesburg, with financial help from H C Hull. It advertised itself as a "Temporary Daily Political Organ", and advocated the immediate grant of responsible government. Costs in Johannesburg were high, and competition against the well-backed dailies difficult with their advantages in news collection and distribution. Heavy losses and recurrent illness forced Pakeman to close the paper after only three months, in October 1905. (13)

The question of the grant of responsible government to the Transvaal continued to plague Fitzpatrick in his surveys of the Johannesburg press. The Star remained committed to Crown Colony administration, accepting only reluctantly the necessity of representative government even when endorsed by Milner. The Leader, though returned to support for Milner, was not so averse to the prospects
of responsible government as the Star. (14) The new Rand Daily Mail, however, was both critical of the administration and adaptable to prospects of change. It was also free from Corner House funds, and had found popularity from its first appearance for its greater emphasis on entertainment, and lesser concentration on 'heavy' news than its rivals. For this it gained their contempt, even though it challenged their circulations with its blend of extensive cable news from the colonies and Europe, short stories, and outspoken views. (15)

Within weeks of its commencement, the Rand Daily Mail was discussing the mistakes of the Repatriation Department, thought it would also proclaim the attempts made to rectify these and demand gratitude from the Boers. Its most frequent subject of attack was the Chamber of Mines, which was constantly berated for its inability to provide an adequate labour supply for the Rand. Natal "miserably fails in the courage to increase the hut tax beyond a paltry 14 shillings," resulting in a "dearth of labour everywhere, an impertinent and overbearing native population, and a problem that is being intensified year by year." It looked for redress from the Inter-Colonial Council, and a solution in Federation which would provide a Central Parliament for policy and action to induce Africans to "adopt the burden of civilisation." The Chamber bore the responsibility for labour, the "lifeblood of our prosperity," and the Chamber would be blamed by the public if submission to "Exeter Hall" prevented the institution of "practical methods" of forcing labour. On this issue, the Mail began asserting its restiveness against the bonds of a government 7,000 miles away, and declared its priorities would be instead the necessities of the Rand and a future South Africa. Indeed, it remarked that "grievances here are as plentiful as blackberries in England." (16)
In February 1903 the Mail was advocating direct representation, proposing the inclusion of Dutch members, but leaving the British "secure" in their predominance. Fitzpatrick saw the acceptance of representative government as merely a precursor of the demand for full responsible government. The continuation of this policy in the Mail and increasing criticism of the Administration prompted him to persuade Sam Evans, a partner in Ecksteins but also an Argus Company director, to quell the rising discontent: "... I think it is our policy and duty to get every one who has any influence at all to taboo the idea resolutely and uncompromisingly up to the very moment when we feel it safe." He also attempted to influence the Mail through his private secretary, J H Cox:

"You have quoted Adamson's opinions pretty often and what he says to you justifies the opinion formed on his published utterances. Things are not so bad as he thinks or, should I say, not to be so easily remedied as he thinks; nor is any one person or group of persons (like His Excellency or his Government) to blame to the extent that he thinks; and the remedy which he proposes, Responsible Government, is in my opinion a most extremely risky one." (17)

The letter, as he told Evans, was "not written for the pleasure of instructing Cox but solely to try and steady Adamson," then editor of the Mail.

Fitzpatrick continued his persuasion through newspapers. for this purpose the Star and Leader were more amenable but the "Daily Mail would be best as being not ours." He instructed his secretary to show certain of his letters on topical political issues to the editors of these three newspapers as well as politicians, but insisted on confidentiality: "they must not quote more or show more knowledge than they can get from the Inter-Colonial Council reports of last year (which please look up for ... them) and other published data, or from sources
other than my letter to you." (18) He had some degree of success: he told Wernher in August 1904 that the agitation for representation had, as he had warned, turned to "a cry for responsible Government, ... but, fortunately, I had also worked hard at the Leader and Daily Mail through Cox and, when E P Solomon and theirs did go the whole hog they were sat upon." Six months later he complained that the Leader was continuing to advertise their political opponents, and declared that "Edwards and Dawson are incorrigible." Solomon was pleasantly surprised by the Leader, telling Smuts that the paper had "recognised in its articles that it is a working arrangement," and that "the tone ... is fair and reasonable, considering that they are in opposition to us." (19)

The Rand Daily Mail, on the other hand, was returned to a more orthodox Progressive policy with its purchase by Abe Bailey in 1904, though Evans predicted that he would "come to grief as proprietor and editor-in-chief on the Rand Daily Mail." Evans, who had openly criticised Milner for his 'unsound' financial views, thought Adamson "certainly the best editor we have had here since Monypenny left," but saw "signs of trouble" between him and his proprietor. Evans was, however, far more amenable to Adamson's criticisms of the Administration than was Fitzpatrick. Evans had distrusted Milner's financial views as unsound from the date of his return to South Africa in 1902, and thought his "policy of agricultural development could not succeed." Fitzpatrick feared for the results of such open criticism:

I am afraid that Evans, in his perfectly genuine economic crusade, fails like many others to realise that, in the position which he holds as a member of the firm, it is not wise to speak his whole mind for the reason that those to whom he speaks - especially press men - will surely go one better. The unspoken comment is: "If he says this much, you can imagine what he must think!" (20)
Fitzpatrick, therefore, counselled discretion in the hope of keeping the press united in support for the Administration. Adamson eventually left the Mail when Bailey formed the Rand Daily Mails Ltd and leased the paper to a Syndicate in which Ralph Ward-Jackson became editor. It was always less adulatory of Milner than its afternoon contemporary; on the departure of the High Commissioner, the Mail included its criticisms of his policy, whereas the Star preferred to dwell on his achievements. Nevertheless, Bailey assured Fitzpatrick that "the Rand Daily Mail has been run on independent lines for the purpose of assisting the Progressive party", and there was no intention of altering this policy. The Mail under Jackson opposed the demands for immediate Responsible Government made by E.P. Solomon and Het Volk. It urged unity amongst the British population, dangerously divided in the face of Dutch unanimity, but also approved Bailey's ideal of a white race united in its complete authority over Indian, coloured and African. In this respect, its policy did not change with the takeover. (21)

Problems for the Crown Colony administration were thus highlighted in the two morning papers; but complete allegiance was not readily obtained in the Star either. Differences arose between editor and proprietors over the importation of Chinese labour. When first mooted, the idea provoked a vehemently hostile reaction from all the Rand papers. Monypenny of the Star wrote against the prospect in August 1902, but he was echoed in the Leader, the Rand Daily Mail, and the South African Mining Journal. Pakeman was denied publicity by his dismissal, though opposition to importation became a major theme of his Daily Express in 1905. The Rand Daily Mail wrote in a similar vein of the "Asiatic menace" and stressed more clearly white fears: guarantees were necessary that colonists would not be "overrun". The Mail was then a
frequent critic of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, preferring a policy of "open recruitment" to the mines, the immigration of white labour for railway work, and "municipal and state regulations which shall make it perfectly clear that the black man is and shall remain the subject and servant of the white." The importation of labour would "deepen the native problem", in denying "the dignity of labour and civilisation", but it would replace the skilled European worker too. Monypenny of the Star did not share this criticism of the WNLA, but echoed fears for the prospects of Europeans and stressed the necessity of reconstructing the Transvaal for white workers. (22)

Milner reported to Chamberlain in April 1903 that contrary to the commotion in the press, the Chinese proposal had grown in popularity since February. Opposed to it were the "labour agitators" and Monypenny of the Star, "and between them they have a strong following." He agreed that no one desired the importation: the controversy arose because some considered it essential, after all other attempts to find a cheap and sustainable labour force had failed, in order to increase mining revenue and "a great influx of British population." He himself favoured the plan. Milner assured the Colonial Secretary that the Government would only take action when the trend in favour of Chinese labour was unmistakable: until then, the issue would be fought in public. He warned, however, against too much credence in newspapers, insisting that the controversy was hardly taking the direction that "one would gather from the press." When considered against his despatches before the war, such a statement would indicate that his interpretation of political opinion counted for rather more than newspaper reports of it. (23)

The labour shortage received much attention in the
press, with monthly publication of recruitment figures: these reports were endorsed by the Bloemfontein Conference resolution that "the native population south of the Zambesi" did not comprise sufficient "adult males capable of work" to satisfy Colonial requirements, and by the later Report of the Transvaal Labour Commission which sat from July to October 1903. In December, the Chamber of Mines resolved in favour of the importation of Chinese labour. It was then recognised that support for this measure should be the policy of newspapers backed by Chamber members. Monypenny was aware of an accountability both to Milner who had approved his appointment, and more directly to the mining houses in whose interests the Star was run. He wrote a final editorial protesting against the passing of the Importation Ordinance, and resigned, "as the only way to put an end to what had become an impossible position." (24)

Concern that the obvious inference would be made about the means of his departure prompted the publication of a disclaimer of any proprietorial pressure the following day. He told readers that he had accepted the editorship "on the distinct understanding, guaranteed in writing, that I should have an entirely free hand as regards the policy of the paper; ... on no occasion ... has any attempt been made to interfere with my discretion." He paid his respects to his Board of Directors and "all the great mining houses" which its members represented, "for the magnanimity and self-restraint they have shown throughout, even when as during the last twelve months, I have thought it my duty to take a line radically opposed to what they considered to be their own material interest ..."

"It is because I am fully conscious of the generous licence the proprietors of the Star have accorded to me in difficult times that I have felt bound, in honour, now that our difference of opinion on a question of the first important has come to a crisis,
to withdraw of my own accord, and not to place them in a false position by continuing to oppose them from a platform with which they themselves have provided me. My views on the Chinese question remain unchanged...." (25)

Thereafter R H Douglas, the Assistant editor, wrote in support of Chinese labour, as did Monypenny's successor Basil Worsfold, an English barrister whose articles in English journals during the war had shown, in Milner's opinion, the only "true picture" of the Colonies. Worsfold's admiration for Milner pervaded his editorials, but he disliked the growing agitation for responsible government and resigned in 1905, whereupon Douglas resumed the position of Acting editor. Sam Evans thought that he was "not doing at all badly. He certainly is very much more in touch with this place than Worsfold ever was."

When Geoffrey Robinson took the editorship in October 1905 his first editorial was on Chinese labour, and the dangers of a potential liberal victory in the British General Election. These two themes were repeated through the Argus newspapers. Even with the Liberal victory in the British election, Chinese labour remained a constant theme with repudiations of alleged ill-treatment of labourers. The Star had proclaimed its opposition to Het Volk not on the grounds of "racialism", but for its "selfish and particularist policy". It nevertheless continued to proclaim the necessity of British predominance in any future government: a British administration was essential in the Transvaal, to keep the country secure from the future administrations in Bloemfontein and Cape Town. A nationalistic revival would turn the Orange River Colony over to the Boers, while the Cape Colony - in which British institutions had been shown to be no safeguard by a "series of unpardonable rebellions" - would be restored into "the hands of a rebel Ministry." (26)
Likewise at the Transvaal Leader, attempts had been made to bring the paper to a stronger support of mining house policy. In December 1903 the Cape Town Board received complaints from Louis Reyersbach of Ecksteins that editorials were "too weak" and that he did "not consider the present editor, Mr Dawson, good enough." Edwards, the Transvaal representative of the Cape Board, contradicted him, crediting Dawson for "doing well, and the Editorial has been worked economically." The Cape Town Directors took their representative's side in the dispute, pointing out firstly that Dawson was paid only £1,500 p.a., "and if we get another man we might have to pay him £3,000, and it would be quite an experiment," and only secondly that, "with the information before them, there is no need for any change, and that they could not have any dictation from outside as to the Editorial management." The Leader turned to support for Chinese labour once "well-safeguarded by legislation", promoting its value for the Transvaal to the extent that a year later it was "practically threatening separation" should the Ordinance be annulled. (27)

The Rand Daily Mail was also returned to orthodox policy with its takeover by Bailey: Chinese labour was praised as a means of increasing numbers of white workers and for its impetus to trade in the Rand. The "indissoluble alliance" of Progressive and mining houses was thus well-represented in the prepared unanimity of the three major Rand dailies which thereafter promoted the advantages to British settlement of Chinese labour, and condemned the agitation against it. (28) This unanimity was not reproduced elsewhere in South Africa; the issue of Chinese labour created deeper controversy than any other in the press.

The Pretoria papers, constantly aware of the threat to their profits from the expanding circulations of the Rand
dailies, consistently opposed the rise of Johannesburg in administration influence. Although Milner's Pretoria News came to accept the inevitability of the importation, it was fiercely opposed by its rival the Transvaal Advertiser. This paper had been permitted to restart in the capital in January 1902, its reputation one of strong support for British supremacy in the Transvaal. It was initially supportive of the administration and expressed hopes for reforms in social legislation. It soon began to voice suspicion of the administration's close association with mining capital, which exacerbated the rivalry between the two cities for the seat of power in the Transvaal. Opposition to Chinese labour arose from the Advertiser's hostility to subjection by the mining industry, and the danger this posed to the Transvaal. The Advertiser was a fiercely white paper, threatening "Asiatics Rampant" in its editorials unless the strictest segregation were imposed, and reporting the "silent anxiety" of the population on the "social side" of the experiment, though it was admitted that profit would be made from the Chinese. (29)

The newspapers in South Africa which supported the importation of Chinese labour were those that recognised dependence upon the mining industry as both necessary and beneficial. In the Cape the issue was complicated by a General Election early in 1904 that was fought largely on the merits of imported labour. The Cape Times had recognised that Public Opinion was very much against Asiatic immigration, as did the Cape Argus. Walton was told by Milner of his increasing conviction that such labour would be necessary to stimulate British settlement, and consequently the Eastern Province Herald proclaimed "no objection", provided that no competition in trade was permitted. Most Cape newspapers continued to oppose any idea of Asiatic immigration into the Cape. (30)
Progressive papers, which concentrated on the Transvaal development of the mining industry, therefore supported an Immigration Restriction Bill, to restrict entry into the Cape, whilst condoning importation of indentured Chinese labourers into the Transvaal. Jameson was forced to "continue the egg-dance" in his election campaign against a South African Party platform of complete opposition to imported labour. The SAP papers, Ons Land, the South African News, and Imvo, reiterated the harmful effects of a Chinese labour policy for years: it was deleterious to the prospects for African labour and threatened the survival of English South Africans, though the South African News predicted that it would affect the Dutch population to a lesser extent. The Progressive papers responded with their support, claiming increases in the numbers of white labourers, and, when the Importation Ordinance was repealed, attributed the depression that covered South Africa to uncertainty produced by the cessation of such a regular labour supply. (31)

Similarly in the Orange River Colony, the issue became one of party politics: while the Post sang the praises of mining expansion and South African prosperity, the Friend published stories of escapes and lootings, claiming that the fears of Johannesburgers with regard to a Zulu rising were as nothing compared to the daily fears of farmers living near the Chinese compounds. Both asserted that they spoke for all South Africa and both acclaimed their own Colony's exclusion of all Asians. The Post, while decrying the agitation against Chinese labour, stressed that its "real help" was as a labour reserve, "without contaminating the race." New industries would be created by this large labour reserve - which could not be ensured with only African labour - and thus encourage the immigration of white workers to compete against the coloured population. This, in turn, would prevent
colonists "lowering their position" and "surrendering governing power" by allowing much coloured integration. Since the Post thought it impossible to draw a colour bar in practice, Chinese labour became the essential means of white ascendancy. Without Chinese labour, and concurrent white managerial jobs, British workers would go 'home': the indentured labour of the Chinese thus was "the main factor in the struggle between white and black in South Africa". The Friend, however, saw the question as one of exploitation: the Rand would find sufficient white and black labour without the Chinese, but would be forced to pay higher wages and "treat both decently". Though this might shrink the gambling margin of their ventures, the country would not be the loser from such a policy. (32)

In Natal, the Durban Mercury and the Times of Natal in Pietermaritzburg supported the Transvaal's Importation policy, but every other paper opposed it. The Mercury praised the effects of this labour supply on trade and industry, which did not oust white labour as had been alleged: Milner was generally praised in the paper, and Het Volk criticised, which placed the Mercury firmly on the "Progressive" side; but the Mercury's editor, Cawthra Woodhead, did not refrain from expressing the opinion that both Chinese and Indians should leave Natal to be "a white man's country." (33) The Times, on the other hand, commented on the "general acceptance" of Chinese labour in South Africa. The Chinese were prevented from permanent settlement which accorded with its own policy of repatriating all indentured labour. There was no promotion of white unskilled labour: white settlers must be "limited to an aristocracy of brains and civilisation", and the country developed by the "fullest utilisation of native labour" together with as much imported labour as was available under strict indenture. (34)

Opposition to Chinese labour was, in Natal, bound to
the general detestation of the modus vivendi, which penalised "the entire trade of the British maritime colonies... to the advantage of a foreign competitor." Even the Times of Natal protested at the arrogance of Johannesburg, its "grotesquely provincial" opinions, and cynical indifference to the interests or public opinion of other Colonies. Although Natal had aided the Uitlanders in the war, Johannesburg's concessions to Delagoa Bay, and "grovelling at the feet of the Portugese" militated against complete acceptance by Natal of Transvaal labour policies. The Witness, the leading Natal paper to oppose the importation, claimed that it created an artificial situation which discouraged the employment of native labour, and destroyed hope that the Transvaal would be a white man's country. The Witness was echoed by its subsidiary, the Natal Advertiser, but its opinions were also shared by the local papers the Greytown Gazette, and the Vryheid Herald. Two outspoken weeklies, the Natalian and the Prince held standpoints akin to the Pretoria Transvaal Advertiser, supporting white labour against Chinese, Indian or African, and criticising most vehemently the "anti-worker" monopoly capitalists of the Rand, their newspapers, and Milner as their collaborator. (35)

Despite the variety of opinion shown in these few examples of Colonial newspapers, the division between support for the Rand mining industry, and criticism of the pressure it exerted upon other regions and trades, is clear. The issue of Chinese labour, though it became a battle-cry for the opposition in South Africa and their Liberal supporters in England, was seen by the Dutch press, its two English allies, the Friend and the South African News, and the Labour press, as a further instance of the growing subjection of South Africa to the gold-mining industry under British rule. As daily English
papers, these Cape Town and Bloemfontein productions gave much coverage to specifically political affairs, as their progressive counterparts did. The Dutch papers, on the other hand, while encouraging and reporting the development of the South African Party, Het Volk and the Orangia Unie, concentrated on their part in the reconstruction of a South African nation, for which the language movement was a focus. Volkstem was the only Dutch daily then published: Ons Land appeared three times a week, the Vriend twice a week. All directed themselves to country districts with consequently greater emphasis on rural affairs, and correspondingly fewer editorials on the party political issues that obsessed the English press. There was, most importantly, no rivalry between the major Dutch-Afrikaans papers in the Colonies: while the English and "pro-British" press was divided by commercial competition as well as by political ambition, the Dutch press could display a united front, dissent contained within its correspondence columns alongside appreciative agreement. (36)

This unity was created as much as that of the mining press in Johannesburg. In December 1902, the Handelsblad in Amsterdam published reports of a special meeting of "Het Christelijke National Boeren Comite", which resolved firstly to support the Dutch press in South Africa, and secondly to send a delegate to South Africa to discover how best a Dutch press could be promoted. The result was the supply of funds from Dr Leyds, the ex-Republic's envoy in Holland, to Louis Botha and Jan Smuts for the purchase and support of newspapers. (37)

The first Dutch paper to re-appear in the Transvaal after the war was Land en Volk: its criticisms of Kruger and support for his opposition had led Fitzpatrick to call it the leading Pretoria paper prior to the war, and accounted for its early resurrection. (38) In November
1902 it published an open letter from Louis Botha, expressing goodwill and desire to co-operate, but condemning the increased garrisons in the Transvaal as no similar indication on the part of the British. It was at first edited by Gustav Preller, though still controlled by Eugene Marais. In March 1903, Marais told a correspondent of the London Morning Post that he had been approached by Botha and Smuts with an offer to purchase his paper, "in order to discuss certain questions in its columns on which they could not come to any agreement with the Government." The Rand Daily Mail published this news as evidence of Boer separatism, and refusal to accept British dominance. Smuts denied intentions of starting a newspaper campaign against the Government: the money provided by Dutch funds was for widows and orphans, and not to be channeled into politics or the press. The Mail's Pretoria correspondent, however, reported that plans had been made to amalgamate the two Dutch papers, Land en Volk and Volkstem, under Engelenberg, since it was thought there was not the readership nor advertisers to support both. (39)

Nevertheless, Smuts did in fact write to Leyds the following month of plans to fight Milner's policy of anglicisation, for which Christian National schools were necessary, as was a strong Dutch press to retain the Dutch-Afrikander language and tradition, and to function as a political organ. "We wish to lay the foundation of a vast national politic in the future: and the first step is to have in our hands newspapers beyond suspicion." (40) As part of this plan Land en Volk and Volkstem could be bought and amalgamated under Engelenberg, who had worked with Leyds in Holland during the war years, and the additional printing plant could be sent to Bloemfontein to start another newspaper there. The Volkstem restarted in March 1903, owned by its editor, Engelenberg, and Wallach, its printer. In September, Smuts wrote to Leyds
confirming that Volkstem had been purchased, but that Land en Volk had been sold to a higher bidder. Leyds' contribution to the purchase of Volkstem resulted in him becoming a trustee of the paper, which was registered as the property of Wallach's Drukkers en Uitgewers Maatschappij Bpkt. (41)

Volkstem was not the only paper purchased with money channelled through Botha and Smuts. Controlling shares were bought in the Krugersdorp Herald, which challenged J B Robinson's Standard. In Potchefstroom, Het Westen was purchased to provide opinion contrary to that of the Potchefstroom Herald, or the Potchefstroomer. Although the Potchefstroom Herald survived as part of an expanding English provincial paper network, the Potchefstroomer lost to its new rival, and closed in 1907. Het Westen, which was started in November 1904, immediately supported the Generals. Funds were provided also for the continuation of the Natal Afrikaner, and for the formation of the Friend Printing & Publishing Company which from July 1904 produced the Dutch Vriend. (42)

The Volkstem became the chief exponent of Het Volk and the Generals in the Transvaal, and as such was criticised by the High Commissioner: "it is not an opposition paper. It is an implacable, unscrupulous, avowed enemy, using ink because it cannot at present use bullets." (45) While it criticised the administration, however, it was left to the English press to initiate discussions on the immediate necessity of Responsible Government, though Volkstem acknowledged that its political aim would be the recovery of self-government for the Colony. It attempted a wider dissemination of its news by the bi-weekly publication of an English edition. George Adamson of the Rand Daily Mail reported in April 1904 that the leading Boers wanted to press for responsible government, "but shrink from belling the cat." Volkstem
likewise initially confined itself to criticism of the Crown Colony administration for its inefficiency, especially in agricultural rehabilitation, lack of understanding amongst its personnel, and for its excessive preferential treatment for the mining industry and its controllers. (44)

**Volkstem** was immediately against the importation of Chinese labour, as were its colleagues in the other Colonies: the controversy was continued in Britain, where the Liberal newspapers continued their pre-war predilections for the "pro-Boer" press. The election of a Liberal Government early in 1906 ensured the annulment of the Importation Ordinance but also gave greater prominence to the opinions expressed in papers such as the **Friend**, which had strong links with Liberal journalists such as Massingham and Stead. Chinese labour thus became the issue on which the Dutch papers, the **Friend** and the **South African News** could promote their unity and find sympathy with the new British Government. Furthermore, the abandonment of Chinese labour was a symbol of the recovery of self-determination for the Colony, and progress towards a South African union that need not be controlled from Johannesburg. (45)

The Dutch press was also able to create support from its increased use of Afrikaans, which accompanied the regular reports of the language societies in the Cape and Transvaal. Hobhouse had queried the influences in the press opposed to British predominance, in writing to Smuts in 1904:

"Where is an Afrikander writing? Not in Johannesburg - and in the **Volkstem** is a Hollander. And the **Friend** has Mr Drew. Only far South in **Ons Land**, and that is never read in English." (46)

Malan announced at the end of 1904 that **Ons Land** would be produced in a simplified Dutch spelling in the new year,
and in March 1905 a speech by J H Hofmeyr provided the stimulus for much discussion of the future of an Afrikaner language. (47)

In the Transvaal, Gustav Preller, Assistant editor of the *Volkstem*, published a series of articles in the paper advocating the use of Afrikaans as a cultural and literary language, which were reproduced as a pamphlet in July 1905. The use of pure Afrikaans was copied by De Goede Hoop in the Cape, a monthly magazine edited by J H H de Waal, and was encouraged by Rabie as editor of the *Natal Afrikaner* and later of the *Vriend*. At the end of 1905, the Afrikaanse Taalgenootskap was formed, from a meeting in the *Volkstem* offices, of which Preller and Engelenberg were founder members. Preller was particularly flattered by praise from Smuts' wife of his articles: Jan Smuts had previously made "unflattering comparisons" of *Volkstem* with *Ons Land*, which was then using the simplified Dutch. Preller was adamant that Afrikaans was to be preferred, and requested Smuts' opinion on the "intrinsic merits" of the language question "in connection with our nationality." (48)

The use of a language which appealed to readers unfamiliar with Dutch was attractive as a means of creating a national consciousness. If Afrikaans were accepted as a written language, it could be read more easily than Dutch by an increasingly political public. Further progress was made towards this ideal in 1910, with the publication of *Die Brandwag*, which contained both Dutch and Afrikaans articles and was also financed by Leyds, "delighted" at the prospects of an Afrikaans journal, who took shares and offered to collaborate. *Die Brandwag* appeared on the day of Union, and Cilliers, its editor, was congratulated by Leyds with the hope that it "would help make our people the Dutch-Afrikanders into a true independent race." (49)
In encouraging a wider readership, the **Volkstem** would also profit from greater sales. In publishing his appeal for the recognition of Afrikaans, Preller stated that no Dutch paper had exceeded sales of 1,000 copies. **Land en Volk**, however, had boasted a circulation of 3,000 in July 1904: Marais was introducing simplified spelling and, gradually, Afrikaans, and claimed a higher circulation than any Dutch paper in the Transvaal. Against this, the **Star** was boasting sales of up to 11,000 on special occasions such as elections, while even the **South African News** claimed a circulation of 4,000, though this was the lowest of the Cape Town dailies. Preller and Marais both announced competitions for stories and poems in Afrikaans during June 1905; this was a common occurrence in English papers, particularly in country districts, providing entertainment for readers as well as news. (50)

Concentration on language in the creation of a national identity enabled the **Volkstem** to avoid the intense party strife that afflicted the English papers, but it also prospered through lack of rivals. **Land en Volk**, the Dutch-Afrikaans paper published in Pretoria that Smuts had failed to purchase in 1903, did not prosper against the **Volkstem**. Its purchaser had been Willem van Hulsteyn, a Johannesburg lawyer and later a member of the Transvaal Progressive Association, though in the early Crown Colony years he had fallen into disfavour with Fitzpatrick because of his acceptance of early reintroduction of representative government. **Land en Volk** wanted acceptance of the result of the war, and encouraged Afrikander unity with the British: though critical of jingoism and capitalists, Marais was not unduly hostile towards Milner, as other Dutch papers were. Milner indeed wrote to thank Marais for his kind expressions:

"I am glad you think, which is what I also think, that if I were to see more of the men who form the kernel of the Afrikander people in their own natural
surroundings, and apart from politics and politicians, we should get on well together." (52)

He further praised Marais and others who took "an impartial, and even kindly, view of me", for doing much to remove suspicion, and being of real service to the "country in which we live together."

Marais did, however, criticise the influence of capital in the strongest terms, and derided the Rand dailies' "crocodile tears" at the news of the death of Paul Kruger. In reporting the return of Kruger's body to the Transvaal for burial, he predicted that the "Phoenix of the Afrikander nation will rise from the ashes of the Great Dead." Where this paper differed from its Dutch colleagues was in the constant re-assertion that such a revival should be under the aegis of the Union Jack. In contrast, Volkstem and Ons Land raised the problems of unequal treatment of Dutch and English at the hands of British administrations, and accepted that grievances remained even when, in 1908, it was urged that these should be forgotten in the light of prospects of future Union, to "close for good a sad chapter in our history."

Land en Volk stressed the Imperial connection, but appealed also to white self-determination: it was necessary to "save the land from the capitalist bloodsucker who would turn it into a limited company." (53)

Land en Volk followed other Pretoria papers in detestation of Johannesburg, but unlike Volkstem it opposed the "Leyds clique", represented by Abraham Fischer in Bloemfontein and A D W Wolmarans in Pretoria. The Zuid Afrikaansche Post, a newspaper published in Holland since the war by M.C. Valter, editor of the Rand Post that had caused Milner and the Uitlanders such disturbance, accused Land en Volk of being a National Scout: Marais replied that the Post was merely Leyds' magazine. It admitted it
was opposed to both capitalists and the clique who wanted a "united hatred" of Britain; it complained too that it was crucified by its Dutch counterparts for this attempt "to bring white men of this country into line." White unity was essential, as was complete co-operation, "to stave off what the shrewdest can see looming - a decimating war of black against white." (54)

Marais did publicise the formation of Het Volk, and increasingly gave space to Afrikaans: he published story competitions as did the Volkstem, devoting large parts of subsequent issues to the resulting entries and to his own poetry. He finally left the editorship in August 1905, when the paper ceased for a brief period, to be resurrected as a fully Progressive paper. Fitzpatrick had already provided some support for the paper in its campaign for acceptance of British domination in South Africa, and it seems that he further provided the means to keep Land en Volk alive after Marais' departure. Farrar, whom he had asked for assistance in the venture, "failed me", he told Milner. By April 1906, the paper was supporting Farrar and the Progressive and attacking the "plaatselijke Hollandse", Botha, Smuts, Fischer and Hertzog. (55)

The paper did not prosper in its Progressive form. One edition in 1905 had contained an English editorial, and from November 1906 this practice was repeated, "yielding to the oft-expressed wishes of English-reading friends", but this did not ease its severe financial difficulties. In February that year, Fitzpatrick had reminded Selborne of "Lawley's personal pledge" to "see that all the advertisements that could possibly be given to Land en Volk should be given to it;" within the administration Fitzpatrick's wish to keep the paper alive was supported by Patrick Duncan. Selborne, however, could not provide additional subsidies for the paper because of
"the present temper of Parliament at home (and, it must be added, of HM's Government)." Whereas the Unionist Government in Milner's time had acceded to his requests, the new Liberal Government was less favourable to the interpretation of South African politics made by administrators appointed by its predecessor. Selborne's only means of supporting *Land en Volk* would be by withdrawing advertisements from the *Volkstem*, or "manufacturing Government advertisements and job printing for the benefit of *Land en Volk.*" Malcolm, Selborne's Private Secretary, explained to Fitzpatrick the reasons for Selborne's refusal by forecasting the results of such action:

"The people interested in the *Volkstem* would immediately complain to the Secretary of State and the Radical MPs. The matter would be brought up in Parliament and the Secretary of State would wire to us for explanations. We should have to tell him the facts and we should be pulled up by the Secretary of State. There would be a row - and a public row at that - and we should have defeated our own object of helping *Land en Volk.*" (56)

Fitzpatrick had provided his own contribution to the paper on the condition of Government advertisement, and it was admitted that "it would be unfair to ask you to spend the remaining £2,500 of that money and useless to spend it if, without special Government assistance, it won't save *Land en Volk.*" Malcolm suggested instead that Fitzpatrick find private money from Johannesburg, from men "who may have some of your generosity and public spirit, besides having larger fortunes;" Malcolm would himself "make a special set at Abe Bailey." No further subsidies were forthcoming, however, and the paper closed finally in January 1907 when the recession in the Transvaal was reducing all newspaper's sales. The Progressives then concentrated on the English press, and *Volkstem* was left as the only major Dutch paper in the Transvaal. (57)
By the end of 1907 the Transvaal Press was divided by language as by politics. The British press was dominated by the Rand dailies, all owned by gold magnates although displaying some variety in Bailey's *Rand Daily Mail*, which proposed a greater degree of Colonial self-determination than its colleagues would consider. The *Pretoria News*, though independent of, and opposed to, the influence of capital, nevertheless promoted the Progressive party whose leading politicians were those with mining interests. Similarly, with the demise of *Land en Volk*, *Volkstem* received no opposition from a Dutch-Afrikaans paper on a national level to its support for the Generals and Het Volk. This division set the party political battles that pervaded the years before Union, each side accusing the other of "racialism."

While *Volkstem* expanded its attractions through the medium of Afrikaans and its agricultural supplement, the *Boer*, the papers which had first prospered from Cown Colony Government were losing readers. The depression affected all newspapers, but the *Star* was hindered further by its attitude towards the Rand strike in 1907. The *Volkstem*, supporting the Government's attempts to end the strike, again benefitted from this opportunity to support strike-breakers and provide employment for urban Afrikaners hit by the recession, criticising companies that gave "exclusive access" to English miners. In a dispute in 1902, the *Star* had refused to publish strike notices, and in October 1906 the South African Typographical Union objected to the Town Council's grant of its printing contract to the Argus Company, which it claimed did not pay the Union rate of wage, nor honour the spirit of agreements. The *Star* was left with a reputation of hostility to trade unionism; it denied the allegation, but did condemn the leaders of the labour movement who were "badly tainted with socialism." It further asserted
that as a result of trade union policy, work was being sent to England and neighbouring colonies; "worse still, it has enabled coast firms who conduct their business with coloured labour to obtain a foothold in Johannesburg."

(58)

The Star retained its opposition to the labour movement in the dispute that simmered through the first months of 1907, and which resulted in state intervention in May. For the next three months the circulation of the Star, which had praised the action of the government, was lower than at any time since the war. A Report by John Martin, later the Company's General Manager, attributed the decline primarily to the fact that the paper was not popular politically. This referred particularly to "what may be called broadly the working class of the community:"

"There is a condition of active hostility to the paper on the Reef, and our circulation there is practically confined to business people in the townships and the members of the staffs of the various mines. A fact of peculiar significance in this connection came to my notice last week, namely, that three Mine Recreation Clubs (controlled by employees) have ceased to subscribe to the Star, though they still continue to take both morning papers. This is said to be directly in consequence of the paper's attitude to the strike question." (59)

Policy was hindered but would not be changed to arrest declining sales. The three Rand papers were, however, now similar enough in policy to rival each other on appearance and entertainment rather than on the details of Imperialism:

"Many people who have been in the habit of buying two papers daily now buy only one. They usually continue the one they find of the greater general interest and as far as can be ascertained it is the Star that has suffered in most cases by comparison." (60)

Further efforts were made to reduce Argus Company losses by increased co-operation with the Transvaal
Leader, which was also suffering from the competition of the popular Rand Daily Mail which gave more prominence to Trade Union demands. In February 1906 the Syndicate running the Mail brought out the Sunday Times, which was greeted with much hostility from dailies and boycotted by the Reformed Churches, but which usually sold out, and soon quelled doubts of its profitability. The Star and the Leader combined to produce the Rand Illustrated Weekly in place of their old weekly editions. It was recognised from the outset that it would not make immediate profit; the Cape Times Directors were told that "although the paper on the joint account would have a better chance, there was little likelihood of its doing more than pay its way." The following year, a full amalgamation with the Argus Company was proposed to the Cape Times Directors by the Johannesburg share-holders, "who were also large holders in the Argus Company." The two Companies inspected each other's books, but no agreement was reached, though the Johannesburg papers collaborated again in September 1908 in the Weekly Illustrated, advertised as "a South African magazine paper for South Africans, circulating to all parts of the sub-continent." (61)

The rivalry amongst the Rand dailies and their Sunday productions abated only in 1915, when the Transvaal Leader was amalgamated with the Rand Daily Mail, and the Sunday Post surrendered to the Sunday Times. The policy of the Rand Daily Mail was transferred into the hands of one representative of the Corner House, and one representative of Abe Bailey, "with the chairman of the Cape Times Ltd as referee in case of disagreement." Lionel Phillips, who had personally secured the losses of the Sunday Post and had filled Fitzpatrick's role of press baron for the Corner House, expressed some disappointment:

"There is of course no disguising from ourselves the fact that we have handed over to Bailey our two organs ... still, the position i.e. control to that
extent - has gone. Syfret, of course, will always consider which side his bread is buttered and as we are very much stronger than Bailey the chances are, under a little pressure, you could always get him to agree with you, but my impression is that he is pretty thick with Bailey and so, if it ever does come to arbitration as to policy, you will have to bear this in mind. The fact is we have always treated our press interests much too lightly considering their importance not only from the financial but from the prestige point of view." (62)

Phillips further suggested that Wallers, a Cape Times Director, should get Fairbridge or Martin of the Argus Company to represent their interests "with fidelity" in the Cape Times. However, he continued:

"I am less anxious at the moment to get our full representation on the Cape Times Board than to get the actual majority of the shares because, once we are in that position, we should have less contention to overcome from Syfret or other interested parties than we have as long as they know that the actual majority is not in our hands. As you know, I do not wish to use any power needlessly, but only when a serious case arises ..." (63)

The importance of mining companies' share-holdings in the major English newspapers of the Cape and Transvaal was not under-estimated by Phillips "the 'baas' of the magnate press", any more than by those papers which discounted this "magnate press" as a true reflection of English South African opinion because of its very subservience. (64)

Geoffrey Robinson, Milner's Private Secretary, had been brought to the editorship of the Star in 1905 to ensure the continuation of publicity for Milner's ideals. The British Liberal victory of January 1906, and subsequent Responsible Government with a Het Volk Ministry in the Transvaal, resulted inevitably in what Milner himself termed "a total collapse of ... the Milner policy and fabric," though he thought Robinson's work in South Africa essential: "the longer you can go on 'keeping your end up', I know how precarious it is, the better for South
Africa and the Empire." Though Milner accepted that "the fight is no longer for predominance" he remained adamant that the Progressive party could influence any Transvaal or South African Government as a well-conducted Opposition. The Star would be the main organ of this Opposition, though its Corner House backers were increasingly advocating a "frank and conciliatory attitude" towards Botha and Smuts. Lionel Phillips had decided that "getting on with the Boers is our only course;" though Milner found the phrase misleading, he sympathised with its object. (65)

To the backing provided by high capitalisation was added Milner's influence, in using the Rand dailies to promote his ideals for South Africa within the British Empire. The strong links of the Star and the Leader with papers in other colonies and in Britain enabled these papers to dominate the expression of English opinion in South Africa. By virtue of their dual allegiance they came to symbolise the association of capital and Progressive party politics against which the nascent labour movement and Het Volk could unite. The election of a Het Volk Ministry in February 1907 placed them finally in the position of an opposition press, in which calls for South African Union were made to counter the growing impression of British disunity. The English daily papers were, moreover, forced into a level of competition in which popularity - and perhaps acceptance of editorial opinions - became dependent on the supply of cable news, entertainment, and sport in the paper. Against this, the Volksstem monopolised news, opinion, and advertising in the national Dutch press, and consequently implied a unity amongst its supporters evidently absent in its English opposition.

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CHAPTER VI

THE GROWTH OF UNITY

In May 1904, the London Nineteenth Century published an article entitled "The Black Peril in South Africa", in which the principle obstacle impeding federation was named as the franchise of the Cape Colony, a "menace to white supremacy". This was enlarged upon by a local Natal paper, the Greytown Gazette. Because of the property and education qualifications, African or coloured voters already held sway in some constituencies, whilst at the last election both Bond and Progressive "obsequiously" courted their favours. Once it was acknowledged that chances of higher pay were increasing, and that the number of black children in education outnumbered white, it became essential that white colonists must make "radical alteration" to that franchise "for their own protection", or black voters would "swamp" white and return their own choice - and colour - of Member to Parliament. There was little fear, the article continued, that men of Natal, the Transvaal, or Orange River Colony would "prematurely grant" the franchise, since the example of the Cape would prevent "the danger of such weakness and folly." Nevertheless, the leaders of opinion both in the Colonies and at Home were working out a scheme of confederation, and "there stands in the way of it this obstacle of Kaffir enfranchisement in the leading colony which they must first either find or make a way to remove." (1)

This opinion was echoed by almost every other newspaper in South Africa, though the means of its accomplishment differed. The problem was, moreover, seen as one that must be solved by united white colonists: once the principle of colonial self-determination was established for native policy, just as for railways and
customs duties, the prejudice of white colonists was safeguarded. The pressure exerted by Cape newspapers to guarantee the survival of their Colony's franchise system was modified by acceptance of its refusal by every other Colony.

The issue of representation in South Africa was fought on the terms of the Vereeniging Peace. Article 8 of that Treaty had stated that "The question of granting the franchise to natives will not be decided until after the introduction of self-government." Milner had agreed in its drafting that the object of the clause was to exclude Africans from the franchise in any constitution granting self-government to the new Colonies, reassuring Chamberlain of the wisdom of "leaving the question of political rights of natives to be settled by the Colonists themselves." Although Milner himself later regretted this abandonment of rights, the clause became the keystone of South African determination to control native affairs, free of Imperial intervention, and its acknowledgement was insisted upon as vehemently by English as by Dutch newspapers and political parties. (2) While this largely prevented discussion of an extended franchise in the northern colonies, it did not preclude frequent expression of distaste for the Cape system. In the Cape, discussion of the franchise became another means of attacking party opponents, despite frequent appeals to the creation of a wholly South African policy. Moreover, in 1905 the Cape system was endorsed by only a few Colonial newspapers: whilst Cape Progressives recognised the necessity of retaining the semblance of British Liberal traditions, any associations with the institutions of that Liberalism were firmly rejected, and a stand made upon the Colonial right to formulate native policy according to the prevailing white prejudices.

The Cape election of 1904 had returned a Progressive
Ministry campaigning for Redistribution and an increase in the number of Members returned to Parliament which would favour the towns. The South African Party argued that if the Progressives were returned, and fulfilled their redistribution promises, "the rights of the farmers and the natives will be at the mercy of the magnates." The Progressive Party was displayed as a tool of the Chartered Company to salvage Rhodesia, or of the magnates to turn South Africa into "a plantation belonging to foreign capitalists." The South African News contended for the Labour vote in Cape Town and the South African Party, detailing the Transvaal Legislative Council's rejection of the Workmen's Compensation Act and forecasting that Cape Progressives would do likewise, while Ons Land campaigned for Amnesty, Compensation, and equality of language rights. (3)

The most topical question, however, had been the importation of Chinese labour to the mines, bitterly opposed by the SAP, and only reluctantly supported by Jameson on the grounds that they could not dictate to the Transvaal in its own policy, though they could legislate against Asian immigration into the Cape. A draft Exclusion Bill was published in the Cape Times a month before the election, to reassure white fears in the Cape that such immigrant labour would not compete in trade. Jameson rejected allegations that Chinese labour in the Transvaal would replace white miners, arguing that all white miners in South Africa were overseers or skilled workers: the industry would not profit from highly paid unskilled whites, and therefore the economic necessity of Chinese labour provided more white employment. He was strongly opposed by Tengo Jabavu, Sol Plaatje, Koranta, Imvo and the South African News, which accused the magnates of re-introducing slavery and depriving Africans of work. Jameson's opinion was that "the native vote
alone will turn the scale in this election, and that vote is a legacy which we have to do our best with," though he doubted his ability "to make the coloured man see the difference between the Cape Colony and the Transvaal before the voting." (4) He was, nevertheless, helped by cable news from the Transvaal of Louis Botha's evidence before the Transvaal Labour Commission, proposing that the native reserves and Protectorates be broken up and their inhabitants forced to work as a substitute for Chinese labour, a statement much publicised by the Progressive newspapers. The South African Party countered with reports of Jameson's own antipathy to black enfranchisement, and publicity for 'Progressive' measures such as the restrictive location laws of Port Elizabeth. The Progressives won the election, though the News attributed many of their victories to the disfranchisement of Cape rebels. (5)

The South African News paraded The Times' own statement that it deplored the African vote holding the balance of power in the Cape: the Imperial mask slipped occasionally, said the News, from its presentation of race equality. The Times, "the organ of the Raiders", was further accused of taking a "consistently anti-native line since the war ... now that the humanitarian argument has served its purpose with the British public," and of placing itself firmly on the side of wealth. (6) Jabavu had pointed out in September 1899 that Africans profited from the antagonism of the two white races: when united, both felt the black man should be kept in his place, but once bitterly divided, everyone wanted to "call himself a friend of the native." Though both parties made reference to the essential qualities of the Cape colour-blind franchise, each stressed its own superiority in protecting African rights or, rather, the pejorative associations of its rival, and both worked for the ideal of a large white
Through the Cape, though divisions between party, language and region were strong, they affected only the means and never the fact of white predominance. Newspapers protested against the high wages paid by the British military during the war, which "spoilt the natives" for work, and stressed the need for an adequate labour supply. The East London Daily Dispatch supported the necessity of African restriction to locations, and suggested that Indians should be segregated also, in markets as well as in residences. It opposed the current stress on examinations in African education, and suggested that the "evolution of the indigenous races" should be promoted by industrial training. Though the editor expressed distaste for Natal's native policy, he agreed that "no social equality, no liquor and no vote" was "a step in the right direction." While admitting that a few colonists considered the lack of African votes in the Natal Parliament "a very grave danger to the future of South Africa", the Dispatch preferred to adhere to the requests of the Boers at the Peace Conference, that there should be no native vote. Most British colonists, it continued, would be of the same opinion, for the "native vote is very fickle." The Cape franchise should be made no more liberal: rather "it is the opinion of many that when federation comes to pass, the native franchise for South Africa should be on much the same lines as it is in Natal at the present moment." Though this was accepted doctrine among white colonists, it was not a generally held view in Britain: re-iterating the belief that Africans must be treated as children, the Dispatch mourned the fact that South Africa had to bear the consequences of Exeter Hall theories: "there must be no question of equality, political or otherwise." (8)
The Dispatch had welcomed municipal locations established in February 1902, citing its own in November that year as the "best native location in the Colony", comprising some 8,000 people. It approved the Town Council ruling introduced from January 1903, that no permit would be given to build a hut or reside in the location unless a certificate had been obtained from an employer of work in the town, renewable quarterly, and advising a system whereby the work card was signed weekly by a Superintendent. The Dispatch told its readers that "the whole thing is in the nature of an experiment, but it is as much for the good of the natives as anyone and the men of influence among them should be prepared to help the movement." In Cradock, the Midland News protested only that the press had been kept in ignorance of the Location Bill of 1902, which it opposed as a retrograde step in centralising power in Cape Town: the Government was given authority to expropriate municipal land and override local regulations. All "upcountry municipalities" had already established locations: the Bill merely enabled Port Elizabeth and Cape Town to transfer their expenses to the central Government, instead of paying for their own "shameful neglect" of sanitary conditions such as had precipitated the plague outbreak in the capital. (9)

Both the Dispatch and the Eastern Province Herald approved the Glen Grey Act, although a form of compulsory labour. The Herald also quoted F.R. Moor of Natal with appreciation, who "deprecates sentimentalism in dealing with natives", agreeing that "while all justice should be done, social equality could not be tolerated." It did not, however, recommend the enfranchisement of Africans in the Transvaal and Orange River Colony, nor the prospect of "high-class education". Rather, the Herald advocated special representatives nominated by the Government in Parliament, and not "the popular vote, which frequently
means the swamping of the intelligent vote by the unintelligent at the instigation of mercenary leaders."
The greatest evil had come from the "want of proper control and supervision" in the Transvaal: instead of the "denial of human rights" accorded Africans under the Republic, the Herald praised Milner's strength of principle on native policy, of "elevation and encouragement" to work, and total liquor prohibition: Africans were not to be left to themselves "so disastrously" as in the Cape and Natal. (10)

The social removal of Africans and Indians from the white community was thus already paralleled by increasing demands for their removal from the body politic. The Report of the South African Native Affairs Commission, published in February 1905, stimulated debate on its recommendations, and provided further opportunity for party newspapers to attack their rivals. In the Cape Colony, the Cape Times pre-empted discussion by publishing leaked information which appeared in the Transvaal Leader in January, declaring that agreement had been reached and outlining the anticipated resolutions. It was admitted by the Commission that there would be no hope of political federation while the native franchise was in its "present chaotic condition": "the difficulty was to find a solution which would not necessitate removing natives from the parliamentary register of the Cape Colony." This would be achieved by a forcible and arbitrary separation of black and white for political purposes. Separate constituencies would be created for native voters, with separate members - six were suggested for the Cape Colony, including the Transkei, which would function as a single constituency - but no franchise permitted in a federal election. "Startling evidence" had been given to the Commission on the danger of the native vote and the ease of admission to the Cape rolls was seen again as a "menace
to white supremacy": at each registration "thousands" of names were added, and it was to be expected that native and coloured voters would soon outstrip whites in several settled districts. In Stellenbosch, Paarl, Worcester, Malmesbury and Caledon, the coloured voter was already supposed "to rule the political roost", although no alteration was made by the Commission to the coloured franchise. (11)

In commenting on the messages coming from the Transvaal, the Cape Times agreed that although the Cape native policy was founded on "wise and liberal principles", yet "its development in connection with the system of party government has led to deplorable results." Moreover, it was difficult to see how any other conclusions regarding political status could have been drawn "with practical result." In the Cape elections, each party bid for the coloured vote: questions of "native policy" no longer referred to the circumstances of the native population, nor to black and white relations, but only to "electioneering agents", whereupon "political demoralisation" ensued. However, the Times warned, it was "undesirable, even were it possible", to abrogate political privileges. Dutch and English opinion in the new Colonies was "practically unanimous" that it was not yet time to follow the example of the Cape safely; thus the Commission had formulated a policy suitable for a Federal South Africa. The natives were not, the Cape Times stressed, deprived of their rights, since these would be represented by their own members; but the influence of the vote of the native and "Cape boy" would be limited to the purely domestic affairs of colonies with a coloured franchise. The plan was open to criticism from "old Dutch" and "negrophilists", but the Cape Times pronounced its opinion that the recommendations comprised the inevitable and only solution to Colonial problems."
When the Report was finally published, the Cape Times endorsed its earlier approval. The principal points of importance were those on land, education, and representation, though the latter was "probably awaited with the liveliest interest." The paper quoted much of the Report in an editorial entitled "Black and White", giving emphasis to the figures quoted by the Commission on comparisons of black and white voters. When the Colony was granted responsible government in the mid-nineteenth century, the argument in favour of the native franchise was that the Hottentots had helped fight Cape battles on the borders, said The Times, and it was thus fair to give a "political guerdon." Now, however, in a total electorate of 135, some 21,000 were "non-European" voters, of whom 8,117 were Kaffir or Fingo. The evidence showed a quarter of a million adult males and therefore potential voters in this class, and qualification for the vote was easier with wage rises and the spread of education: already Victoria East, Somerset East, Fort Beaufort, Aliwal North, Wodehouse and Tembuland relied on "native decisions". Only five of forty-six constituencies had no African vote: for the Times, a "liberal humane and generous native policy" had been rewarded with an "ascent in civilisation". It continued, however, that if conditions had remained static, so too could treatment; but the statistics of populations and voters exhibited a situation "pregnant with future danger." "Nobody can regard with satisfaction a state of affairs in which the Kaffir and the Fingo in certain constituencies can already determine which of two rival white parties will win." In future, the Cape Times forecast that the native vote might "swamp the united whites"; though a "doctrinaire advocate of rights based on common humanity" may contemplate this with equanimity, the majority of colonists would agree
with the Commission in rejecting the possibility, and recommending that in the Cape existing rights be limited, while elsewhere such rights could be extended. (13)

The proposal for separate voting rolls was recommended by the Cape Times for avoiding "grave embarrassment" in the Cape Colony, and providing for the "wider outlook" in South Africa. The definition of "native" would establish a "uniform and permanent political status", giving a voice in discussion of affairs, and thus the "removal of all grounds of discontent" which arose from the present comparisons of status in different colonies. Furthermore, the Times stated that the question of whether other Colonies would accept coloured people into the franchise as the Cape did was one for them to settle. When Constitutions were discussed for the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies, the Times willingly insisted that both native and coloured must "wait patiently" for their future in the new colonies: the question had been left to the new governments because "all whites" in South Africa wanted it so. (14)

No attempt was made by the newspaper to encourage the present Government to initiate action on the separation of electoral roles, though it did quote Jabavu's recommendation for separate representation on the basis of manhood suffrage. The Cape Times also presented excerpts from the Commission's evidence to indicate that the views of Sauer and Merriman, who favoured the retention of the Cape system, were not echoed by the majority of farmers or Magistrates anywhere in South Africa. Transvaal farmers wanted no native entitlement to land, Theo Shepstone could never agree to a native franchise, while the Treaty of Vereenigning confirmed that there should be no change in the representations of the new Colonies. Though the Cape Times accepted the "vehement dislike" shown for the
prospect of an equal franchise for black and white, it insisted that this did not indicate resistance to any representation at all. (15)

Primarily, the Cape Times supported the Commission's findings as a means of creating a South African policy on native affairs which might reasonably unite the various opinions expressed in each of the colonies. It was presented as a policy which retained the liberal traditions of the Cape, and thus could be accepted by a British Government with a right of veto over certain Colonial legislation, and yet one which recognised the prejudice of white colonists. Furthermore, its findings on the shortage of native labour affirmed the paper's support for the Labour Importation Ordinance, and justified the proclaimed need for indentured labour. In response to the crises of farmers in the Transvaal that mine labour was reducing the numbers of Africans available for agricultural work, the Times postulated that mine work was preferred because of the higher wages offered, and that any reduction in the industry would create only white unemployment. Only the enforcement of the Squatters Law would remedy the agricultural labour market. (16)

The Cape Argus was more dubious of acceptance of the Commission's recommendations, and gave more publicity to correspondents whom the Cape Times termed "negrophilists." Joseph Orpen's request, that the question of black political rights be settled in anticipation of the grant of responsible government to the new Colonies, was given a sympathetic hearing but dismissed as impossible. Whereas the Cape Times remarked only that its own views were endorsed by the "majority of white colonists", the Cape Argus recognised that Orpen was supported in protecting the Cape franchise, but that feeling against any native representation increased towards the north. There, if Responsible Government meant the expression of European
wishes, "everyone knows that the natives would have no more rights than they had under the Republics." In the Cape, however, the Commission had shown that natives were "abounding content": the Argus continually made reference to the Colony's franchise as a successful means of providing a "way out of barbarism." The Argus insisted on discrimination between coloured and native, and between civilised and uncivilised: thus for "semi-independent tribes" there should be "no question of citizenship of civilised rights;" these would neither be understood nor wanted. Despite this insistence, the Cape Argus criticised Jabavu for his "low party attacks" on Jameson's Government, and objected to such "indulgence" in party politics. The black electorate was dismissed as ignorant of "the niceties of party warfare," while Imvo taught disrespect for Government through abuse of a particular Ministry. The Cape Argus was locally an expression of Powell's own views, and consequently an advocate of an integrated franchise for coloured and white voters, while also supporting the Progressive party. In editorials regarding South African policy, however, the Argus adhered to the Star's lead, in frequent praise for the benefits of Chinese labour, and fear of the consequences for the mining industry should a Liberal Government win the British election and repeal the Importation Ordinance. This subject dominated all others in the Argus as in the Cape Times. As the labour requirements of the Transvaal mining industry remained the dominant theme of the leading Progressive papers in the Cape, the "local" question of the Cape franchise receded into the background. (17)

Both Argus and Times, however, took the opportunity of discussion of the Native Affairs Commission Report to criticise what they saw as Merriman's hypocrisy in denouncing its findings. His advocacy of the Cape franchise, instead of a segregated representation, was
inconsistent with his other political utterances. Championship of the native vote was seen as merely a ploy for support, when his whole life had been "devoted to teaching the white people of this Colony that they form a natural aristocracy based on the employment of coloured labour." (18) For the opposition, the allegations of hypocrisy and deceit of African voters were thrown back against the Progressives.

The South African News was prepared to criticise the Commission as "a mere instrument for the execution of Dr Jameson's malignant determination to crush the native." Praise for the Commission from the Star had already caused the News to warn readers that the "chief mine organ" might have been taken into the confidence of the Commission, and consequently caution was essential on its pronouncements. When early reports of the findings were confirmed, they proved for the News the lack of truth in Jameson's denial of the rumour that the Progressives planned to disfranchise the native. The South African News stressed the dangerous implications of Progressive recommendations for the black vote. It had always championed the Cape franchise, whilst maintaining the need for a "large white population" that could defend its own supremacy by instituting high education and property or income qualifications for the franchise. In 1899, £100 income was considered inadequate because "many natives and coloureds earn more." In this respect, the paper reflected the views of J.X. Merriman and J.W. Sauer, two of its benefactors and writers, who insisted on the maintenance of a single qualification system. The News also supported the creation of a Central Native College, which would provide higher education and teacher training facilities for Africans, and which was ardently advocated by Jabavu, a loyal supporter of Merriman and Sauer and, through them, of the South African Party. (19)
Ons Land reported on the Commission's findings, stressing its definition of the word "native", which was to include the "aboriginal inhabitants" of South Africa, and "half-castes and their descendants by natives." It thus could include many coloured voters already on the Cape rolls: significantly, the districts which were said to contain predominantly coloured voters were also those in which Ons Land circulated more widely - the wine and fruit districts of the Western Cape, and the wheat districts of Malmesbury, Malan's own constituency. Otherwise there was no further immediate discussion of the Report in the paper's editorial columns: education, Bond Congresses in Cradock, and Hofmeyr's speech which sparked an inter-colonial debate on the merits of Afrikaans literature took priority over the Native Affairs Commission. (20)

Although the South African News and Ons Land were regarded as the mouthpieces of the two leading sections of the South African Party, they did not reflect the views of all its members. The Burghersdorp Stem was severe in its condemnation of its colleagues - and hence much quoted by the Progressive papers, especially the Cape Times, to indicate the extent to which the News was misrepresenting Cape opinion. The Stem announced its loyalty both to Bond and South African Party, but could not deny that at present the 'Imperialistic party' had a "better conception of the native" than the South African Party. The SANAC Report was an improvement on the current system, but not enough: though separate representation would afford some relief, the danger would remain socially. (21)

In contrast to the Commission's findings, the Stem put forward its own scheme for future representation, limiting its remarks to natives as "independent" people, and not to the Coloured population. The laws of the old republics should be enforced for Africans in districts
which whites had settled for generations: there "Kafirs are foreigners", and nothing else. Countries like Pondoland, part of Bechuanaland, and Griqualand should be separated from the Colony, and could be given self-government under the British flag: "we would not even consider it wrong if they were represented in parliament. Given them there the franchise and all possible rights... give them their own country, but let them not rule with us in our country."

The Stem envisaged rule along the lines of Basutoland, and would prevent any white owning immovable property in those areas. Similarly, no black would own immovable property in the Colony: "treat the native as a foreigner, but treat him well." In response to anticipated objections that Africans would thus be made strangers in their own country, the Stem replied that "the Cape Colony proper never was Kafirland"; those parts that had originally been inhabited by Africans would be given back to them. It refuted the contention that as British subjects Africans should be accorded equal rights on the grounds that not all British subjects were equal, even in England, "where a lord has more rights than another honest man," and may rule without being elected. India was ruled differently, and in Natal the Africans had no vote.

"Besides," the Stem continued, "it is now the question to look at what is necessary, rather than anxiously considering whether one acts according to fixed rules." Moreover, the Imperial Government would sanction even this legislation if the Imperial party supported it. In this, "the question of questions,... where the interests of all whites are concerned, there can be co-operation." (22)

The Cape papers gradually returned, from initial hopes of a South African unity emerging from the Commission Report, to the vicious and personal party battles that marked editorials. The city papers predominated in these feuds. In provincial towns,
editorials remained primarily concerned with rain, drought, scab and local trade rivalries. The Cape Mercury of Kingwilliamstown, for example, printed two excerpts from the Commission Report, but with no comment. A report of the Congress of the Central Farmers Association in February 1902 indicates that the Report was seen to bear little relevance to colonists' interests. Prevention of stock thefts, and the amendment of the Native Locations Act to prevent squatting were themes carried through most resolutions; but delegates left the meeting before the planned discussion of the Commission could commence. It was evident, however, that the Cape franchise would be readily dismembered should occasion arise. Progressive politicians such as Edmund Powell could insist on its retention in principle, though convinced of the necessity of strict discrimination in registration. The South African Party was also vocal in its advocacy of a system which considered only "class", although this was intended to prevent most Africans from obtaining the vote. The most ardent supporter of Jameson's Government, the Cape Times, was therefore in the forefront of those papers which accepted the Commission's recommendations as possible and desirable, while the only paper voicing a desire for even more radical change was the "old Dutch" Stem. (23)

In the Transvaal, no newspaper discussed the extension of the franchise beyond the white population. The Star announced in January 1905 that it was Lord Milner's intention to grant a form of representative Government to the Colony. Despite that newspaper's reluctance to admit that such a step was necessary, there should be "no need for disappointment", among those desiring responsible government. Representation would bring as much "freedom of legislation" as full responsibility, and keep the Colony "secure against the
interference of the House of Commons;" neither would remove the Imperial Government's veto, especially with regard to native or Asian affairs. The Star further assured potential opponents that intervention would be only on matters of "Inter-Imperial" concern, and unrelated to "party agitation", just as Lord Milner had permitted "interference" only in protection of the "acquired rights of British subjects." (24)

The Star had already insisted in discussion of a proposed Constitution that "the Question of admission of natives and coloured people to the franchise has been expressly reserved for the decision of the European population of the Colony themselves." On voting rights, the Star would also object if "unfair advantage" were given to rural districts: on these two basic points a constitution could be accepted. The Transvaal Progressive Association expanded on these points to insist on "one vote one value", but with a franchise based either on municipal qualifications with six months' residence, or for "all white male British subjects" with an income of £150 p.a., or who had been included on the first Burgher roll of the Republic. The Star thought there was no "fear" of a Dutch majority, it was necessary to ensure that "the most enlightened and progressive section of the community should be in the majority." For this reason, J.C. Smuts was criticised for advocating "democracy": Het Volk's Head Committee had proposed that, in a country with a very small white population, it was "inexpedient to discriminate between one white man and another", suggesting that "broad democratic principles" be employed and white adult British male suffrage be granted. (25) Though critical of each other, both utilised the promise of a white franchise, and no attempt was made to alter these provisions.

When the report of the South African Native Affairs
Commission was published, the Star welcomed it with comment on the general advisability of harmonising the direction of native affairs. Every newspaper refrained from immediate discussion of its details, citing the need to consider its findings at length. The Star did, however, comment on the three aspects of the "native problem" which it considered of "the most general and immediate concern to Europeans now." These were the degree to which the native population was incompetent to provide an unskilled labour supply for industrial development, the limits within which this deficient supply could be increased and improved, and the terms on which the native population could "be allowed with safety" to share the political privileges of the European community. The Report reaffirmed for the Star the conclusions of the Transvaal Labour Commission, and justified the Labour Importation Ordinance, but was remarkable also for its condemnation of the Cape franchise system in which "the native was arbiter in European struggles." In recommending a separate roll on the New Zealand system, the Star took credit for drawing attention to this possibility in July 1904. (26) Its primary consideration was, however, the supply of labour.

The Star remained loyal to a Progressive party programme, denying the possibility of any other than a white franchise as contrary to the stated intentions of the British Government in the Treaty of Vereeniging. The Rand Daily Mail was more critical, though it accepted that most people who "know the country" would agree that the Commission's recommendations on land tenure were sound. For the Mail, the most difficult problem was that of the Cape Colony, where "some unaccountable blunder" extended the franchise, on equal terms with Europeans. The Mail opposed entirely the recommendations for native constituencies, represented in a European Parliament,
though it was possible that Europeans could be nominated to attend to native affairs in each Parliament: more credit was given to Theophilus Shepstone's views and a system of government along the lines of Natal. The Mail had never, in its short history, accepted even the remotest possibility of black and white equality on any level. The Mail was "wholly with the Boer" regarding the necessity of forcing sufficient labour to meet white requirements, and insisted on "municipal and state regulations which shall make it perfectly clear that the black man is and shall remain the subject and servant of the white." The war had instilled a "temporary importance" into the black man which was "out of place": the British had therefore to impress the fact that British treatment may be milder than that of the Boer, but the position of white superiority was unaltered. (27)

The Volkstem had as little praise for the Commission as the Rand Daily Mail. Its first editorial on the subject was entitled "Stem recht voor Kaffirs!", and recorded the editor's disappointment with the Report. Its "worthless opinions and advice" were clearly intended for "home consumption", and with regard to the franchise question, where a decisive choice had to be made, it had committed itself to "an utterly wrong and regrettable course" that was "in conflict with sound Afrikander ideals." The assertion that African interests were not guaranteed in the Crown Colonies and Protectorates was an "unjustifiable indictment", "as if the blacks were not treated properly in the self-governing states of South Africa!". Nor did the Report draw attention to the "general dissatisfaction" which prevailed in the Crown Colonies "in regard to the highly precarious manner in which the interests of the blacks are not only "guaranteed" but coddled and spoilt!" All South Africa would protest against the principle of including black
representatives in a white parliament: "whatever the future holds for Bantu, Bechuana, Griqua, and other natives, there is now not the slightest necessity in the state for their political equality with the white race." (28)

Although the prospect of a white-only franchise was prepared by the Vereeniging clause, its eventuality was ensured by the increasing insistence of all Transvaal newspapers on the self-determination accorded to white Colonists that was implied in the restriction. This was grounded firstly in the growing agitation for self-government, and secondly on the hostility of "pro-British" papers in all the Colonies to a Liberal Government in Great Britain. The Imperialism of the English press in South Africa was an allegiance to the British Unionist party rather than to the "British traditions" cited by proponents of the Cape franchise. The formation of Campbell-Bannerman's Liberal Ministry in December 1905 was feared by the Progressive press, and therefore by most of the dailies, for its repeal of the Importation Ordinance, but welcomed by the Dutch and their English allies as the precursor of self-government for the new Colonies. (29)

The distaste shown by the Progressive papers for a Liberal Government was a result primarily of its "pro-Boer" sympathies, but it rested also on a foundation of antipathy and distrust of "radical" notions concerning legislation on Africans. The Rand Daily Mail was the most outspoken in its enmity: its exhortations to the Chamber of Mines to increase the labour supply were accompanied by suggestions that the public should combine "in routing Exeter Hall and the philanthropic mugwumps". These were the two factors creating the storms of protest against labour policy in South Africa, which prevented a practical solution for a problem which "strikes as every colonist knows, at the future of the European races of South
Africa." Exeter Hall - the term used to denote all that was most hated about the influences of the Aborigines Protection Society and other British pressure groups - was accompanied in its agitation by a "shrieking press, hardly less ignorant." The Mail wanted no pressure from Britain in the solution of the labour question - which lay at the root of the 'native problem' - even before responsible government was granted: thereafter no interference would be tolerated. (30)

The Star was less extreme, though it too had feared that a Radical Government would deprive the Transvaal of the right to manage its own affairs, and repudiate the colonists' desire "to see the Native question... left entirely to the South African Legislatures." Its editorials concentrated on more reasoned arguments against the "selfish and particularist" policy of Het Volk and the dangerous aims of the Responsible Government Association, contrasted with the thorough support for the Lyttelton Constitution which the Star showed. The paper was very much aware of the state of the 'Home' Press, commenting on the "anti-capitalist" stance taken by the Daily News and the Tribune, and the Liberal Imperialism of the Westminster Gazette - then edited by John Spender, a confidante of Campbell-Bannerman - which was, in the Star's opinion, "just as dangerous." The Spectator was also "anti-capitalist", but spoke of the Liberal Government's intentions in South Africa as tantamount to "Krugerism". In response, the Star frequently published reports of "unanimous protests" at the Wanderers Club against Liberal intentions, and expressed the hope that the British public was aware of these Johannesburg protests against the "unwarrantable statements" made regarding the treatment of Chinese labourers, and aspersions cast on the fitness of white colonists to control their own affairs. These remarks were directed
only partially to Johannesburg: the Argus Company's links with The Times gave the Star the opportunity to express opinions that may not have been transmitted by the telegraph agencies. The Company's London publication, the African World was also able to publicise the Star's editorial opinions to a wider readership in Britain. (31)

The Star was not as violent in its denunciations of Exeter Hall as its rival the Mail, but it echoed the same views in its arguments. Its support for the Transvaal Progressive Association caused it to publish an official statement on the party's policy towards Africans and Asians in January 1906. This provided for segregated land tenure in defined areas, exclusion from the franchise, and representation only through the Commissioner for Native Affairs. The Star also gave prominence in the specific issue of land tenure to the Rand Pioneers Association, whose object was to "make the Transvaal a white man's country". The Rand Pioneers objected to any land purchase except by whites, unless stringent conditions were applied which could debar such purchase by Africans if contrary to the wishes or interests of the white inhabitants. (32) In 1905 a Native Land Tenure Ordinance was drafted, to provide for the registration of all African property in the name of the Commissioner of Native Affairs, but this was refused by the Imperial Government in April 1906. The Star had sympathised with the object of the law, in protecting the "amenity and market value" of property which was currently being decreased by the "unrestricted invasion of coloured people". The editorial added that the majority of Europeans did not object to Africans investing savings in property - indeed, it was approved as a sign of advancing civilisation, - but "what they ask, and what they have a right to expect, is that both races should be limited to certain clearly defined areas." When the Ordinance was refused, the Star called it an
"unfortunate precedent", and predicted that it was unlikely that future prohibitive legislation could be passed by a future Government, since Britain would retain its veto on native legislation under Responsible government. It hoped, however, that "fuller knowledge" of the position and feelings of the white population would change the Government's attitude. The disadvantage of the whole episode was that now Africans knew they could purchase land 'anywhere', and the Star recommended the suggestion of Godfrey Lagden and the Native Affairs Commission for the restricted purchase of land: "as Europeans are not allowed to acquire land in the enormous native reserves, there is no injustice or inequality in forbidding natives to acquire land in some other parts of the country, which may be treated as white reserves." The Aborigines Protection Society had condemned the SANAC Report as unfair to Africans, but the Star re-iterated that this recommendation was "just, reasonable, and politic", and reflected the wishes of all the Transvaal people. (33)

The political divisions that beset the newspapers in the Transvaal and Cape were displayed most clearly in the rivalry of the Bloemfontein Post and Friend, one recognised as the Argus Company's extension of the Star in the Orange River Colony, and the other as the organ of the Orangie Unie. On questions of Chinese labour and Responsible Government these two papers divided on the same lines as colleagues in the neighbouring colonies. The Post remained opposed to Responsible Government, as had the Star in the Transvaal, while the Friend publicised the formation of the Orangia Unie, and its meetings throughout the country. Similar divisions followed: the Post supported Colonial institutions, such as the Land Settlement Board and the Central South African Railways, which were in turn denounced by the Friend. With regard
to African affairs, however, the Friend was, during the editorship of Dewdney Drew, considerably more favourable to the prospects of African representation than the Post.(34)

The Post was not sympathetic to African political aspirations, and feared that the Liberal Government would make a native franchise a condition of the grant of self-government, in keeping with the "sentimental ignorance known as philanthropy." Thus it followed the Transvaal line, in hoping for a definition of relations between black and white that ensured that "outside the reserves the Kaffir is a servant. He should not be allowed to live in the white areas unless he works and contributes adequately to the expenses of government." The Post protested against the "practical enslavement" which constituted the Afrikander treatment of Africans, but also against the "present haphazard methods... which instil democratic assumptions into the native without fitting him for power." It expressed concern for the "material and moral advance" of Africans, but refuted entirely the possibility of enfranchisement with the remark that colonists were "practically unanimous" that "the native vote is wholly bad." It did, however, allow for some degree of coloured integration. The protests by both parties, that the franchise should exclude both native and coloured voters, were accepted as representative of "the general feeling of white people in this Colony and elsewhere in South Africa" but the Post pointed out that the principle had never been established, and people with coloured blood had been accepted even in the Raadsleden and highest offices of state. These could not be disfranchised, though the Post agreed that "South African opinion must determine the native policy." (35)

The Friend had always campaigned for freedom from the Imperial Government's direct intervention in the Colony's
affairs, insisting that the Liberal Government consider white colonists and not grant the franchise to others without white consent. Such a move would only inflame race prejudice. Whites could not forego their claim to be the governing race, but the "civilised coloured" could be admitted to a share of the prerogative. How much voting power, and under what conditions, were to be questions of local settlement: the Friend suggested an education test, with the proviso that anyone thus excluded could be admitted on a property qualification. Although both papers insisted that deference be shown to Colonial opinion, the Friend devoted more space to consideration of African politics than its contemporary, and gave more encouragement to the formation of representative institutions. This was expressed along with criticism of the treatment of labour on the Rand; and Lord Milner's "black record" on the native question. The Friend opposed any compulsion to work, but suggested that property and education made Africans "instinctively the white man's ally", while the sharing of privileges brought with it the defence of shared interests. To illustrate this, the Friend asserted that Africans possessing stock were the most strenuous upholders of the pass laws: whites should therefore encourage private ownership, which would lead to security of tenure, and lift the tribes from barbarism. Moreover, Africans were "a component and most necessary part of the body politic":

"They have their place and their rights in the state, as well as we, and they will far more cheerfully obey our rule if we give them some machinery for expressing their views - should it be only, like the Basutoland Pitso, a nominee assembly - and if they know their representations are considered." (36)

The Friend's policy stemmed from its editor, Dewdney Drew, who supported his recommendations by thorough reports of Conventions at Lovedale and of the African
People's Organisation in the Cape and Orange River Colony. In 1910, the South African Native Convention nominated Drew as one of their four senators. Jabavu seems to have acted as the Friend's special correspondent for the Lovedale Convention that took place at the beginning of 1906, for the newspaper contained much fuller reports of this "unique occasion", "remarkable for its divergence of race and unanimity in object", than any other white paper. The Convention discussed and resolved in favour of a scheme to create at Lovedale a central institution for teacher training and higher education. Likewise the meetings of the APO were fully covered, on the grounds that it should be interesting for the European population of the Colony "to know the trend of the minds of the coloured people of the Colony". Grievances were expressed at the number and expense of passes required, the raising of the poll tax, the harsh squatters law, and the lack of recognition of loyalty from the British Government following the war. Objections were made, too, to the classification of coloured people with Africans in the Colony, which was seen as most unfair: coloured people had fought for equal rights for all civilised men during the war, and had been promised equal rights, but the British Government gave them nothing. (37)

The Post was the least successful and the least reported by others of the Argus Company's newspaper chain: Selborne and Milner, as has been described, both saw it as an essential component of the British campaign against Afrikaner dominance, though it was partly recognised to be a losing battle in the Orange River Colony. The Friend was regarded as the mouthpiece of the Orangie Unie, and as such the Post accused its rival's African sympathies of being merely a preparation for the Bond appeal in the Cape to the "blanket vote", and a means of appealing to British Liberals. The Friend did certainly have British Liberal
friends. W.T. Stead had promoted the paper under its previous ownership before the war, and afterwards requested the Friend to undertake a South African edition of his Review of Reviews, though this was refused as too risky a prospect commercially. Stead remained sympathetic to the paper, as did H.W. Massingham, who had joined the Daily News on its conversion to the Liberal cause in 1901. During 1905 Massingham toured South Africa, and visited the Friend, producing a series of articles in the News which were printed by Drew's paper, but damned by the Post. The Friend's acceptance of a separate representation so that all grievances could be expressed was couched in terms to which British Liberals were amenable. The Post, on the other hand, was represented rather by its promotion of Chinese labour, and the 'slavery' this represented to the Liberal popular press, while its editor condemned the Unie and Friend policy as one which "offers our country entirely to the rule of a majority of coloured natives." This was both "cruel" and "folly": the precedents of such a policy in America and Hawaii were "grim with slaughter", said the Post. "Mr Steyn and his party were preaching to minds fully made up in this matter. We will have none of it." (38)

The differing attitudes of the two streams of opinion was most forcibly expressed during the Natal troubles of 1906. It is worthwhile considering briefly the beginnings and progress of the "revolt", to assess the performance of the press both in Natal and other Colonies in reporting the facts. In July 1903, Imvo commented on the gross exaggerations of reports of unrest coming from Natal, repeated in the Cape and other Colonies, and referred to the suspicion with which the Zululand Delimitation Commission was viewed. The Acting Assistant Magistrate of Pietermaritzburg, J.B.K. Farrer, and the Commissioner for Native Affairs in Zululand, Charles Saunders, attributed
the continuation of rumours regarding unrest during 1905 to the newspapers which reported them. Three years later, assessing the commencement of the troubles which led to the trial of Dinuzulu, E.G. Jellicoe, counsel for the Chief, also ascribed much of the trouble to "the long-continued mendacity of that palladium of licentiousness, the local press."

"From the date of the Delimitation Commission Report of 1904, the Press of the Colony assiduously gave currency to all sorts of rumours of unrest and disaffection amongst the natives, and there is no doubt that as one result of this long-continued mendacity many up-country settlers became frightened, and panic-stricken people imagine symptoms and anticipate maladies which after all is very nearly the same as having them." (38)

On investigation, no "substantial foundation" was found for these rumours. The Governor attributed their source to "nervous Europeans" and to "mischievous" Africans, and their cause to the imposition of the Poll Tax which became due for collection on 1st January 1906. A Circular was therefore issued to all magistrates in December warning against placing too much credence in reports of disaffection. (39)

The Greytown Gazette was one Natal paper which had frequently referred to "the wave of unrest rolling among the natives in all parts of Africa", and recalled the disasters of the Damaraland Rebellion, the Matabele wars, and the troubles of both Transvaal and Cape. The Gazette's editor commented on the recent spate of articles on unrest, and the rumours that Dinuzulu was posing as the champion of blacks against white rule in South East Africa: though he assured readers that these should be discounted, yet it was said to be true that Africans were "sulking in sullen discontent", and increasing in disrespect for whites. The Gazette traced the source of this discontent firstly to black enfranchisement in the
Cape Colony, and secondly to the teachings of the Ethiopian Movement. The Cape should retrace its steps from the "evil example" of its easy franchise law, or federation would be rejected by the other four colonies. Even white representatives, as recommended by the Native Affairs Commission, were no safeguard for white colonists. The Ethiopian Movement presented the more serious danger: only twelve years old, it had already spread sedition through the population. Its object was political, and aimed at the reversal of the position of European and native, but "the former is not even to have the protection and justice which he today freely grants to the latter." (40)

Elsewhere in Natal a level of agreement was reached by the newspapers in condemning the Cape franchise, and suggesting a Native Council or accepting the recommendations of the Native Affairs Commission for separation of black from white franchise: this would "remove or prevent the evils consequent upon natives taking part in the ordinary elections," and "safeguard the interests of the whites." This was "a matter of self-preservation", but would also reduce the present unwillingness of every other Colony to federate with the Cape on account of its franchise. Papers also disputed the Commission's findings on education and the Ethiopian Movement. Education could not be denied in a Colony which inherited British traditions of "freedom and rule", but should teach only discipline, self-respect, decency, and habits of reverence for and obedience to authority. The Mercury had "no sympathy" for the aspirations of Africans who wished their children to become professionals. Just as the Mercury wanted Africans for "labour in European homes and farms," so the Times of Natal thought that, while education would stimulate the desire to earn, this was only a temporary
effect and, in the Eastern Cape, where education was spreading rapidly, "it is more difficult to get domestic servants than anywhere in South Africa." Thus, though some approval was given to the Commission's report, it was seen as weak and of little practical value to those who saw the native question as "centred in the supply of native labour." By the following year, however, the Mercury could remark that it had been completely disregarded by the Government, and could have been "a Report on the dodo" for all the attention it had received in the Colony, except through the Press. (41)

The discussion of Ethiopianism spread through South Africa, closely associated with the debate on African education stimulated by the Commission's Report. The Cape Times and the South African News came to agree on the benefits of a Central Native College, if only to prevent the education of African students in America, but the Cape Times wanted this to concentrate on industrial or agricultural training, and scorned the idea of an institution equivalent to university status, while the News continued to support Jabavu in this ambition. Emphasis on the political intentions of Ethiopian churches was heightened by the rumours of unrest that permeated the South African papers towards the end of 1905. The Cape Times reported the Natal Government's contention in December that such stories originated with Europeans, and that these should not be published by newspapers as they created anxiety amongst the natives. It then reported further unrest in the south west of the Cape, attributing both this and the recent Basutoland scares to the "pestilent propaganda" that Africa was the heritage of the coloured man: "the sort of South African 'Liberalism' which ostentatiously sympathises with 'Stone' rhetoric in Cape Town, even in its most absurd and mischievous extravagances, is more truly responsible for waves of

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unrest such as this which is now sweeping over the southwest, than the misguided coloured people themselves." (42)

Newspapers in Natal conceded Government demands and refuted the rumours, whilst constantly referring to their existence and reporting heavily on the precautionary measures being taken by the Government in case of a rising. There were also many cases cited of Africans fined or imprisoned for spreading rumours or calling meetings which were assumed to be reason for European alarm. Only The Prince, a satirical Durban weekly, credited the rumours and asserted that "one of these days we shall have a native rising. Everybody knows that." The Witness in Pietermaritzburg spoke of the "Marauder's Refuge" in the Drakensberg, and reported daily on payments of the poll-tax and suspected refusals. The speeches of the Ministers of Defence and Native Affairs were printed as they toured the country, but letters also appeared assuring city readers that Dinuzulu was aiming to recover his predominance in black society, with dangerous implications for the whites. Nevertheless, the MCC's tour of Natal in the last week of January 1906 still ran to seven and a half columns in the Witness' leader pages, compared to the usual column on Natal politics. (43)

The first news of the Richmond District "Native Disturbance" came from the Natal Advertiser, which led with four columns of news, using bold headlines and stressing its sensational value though, as the editor of the Times of Natal commented, most of the news at that stage was local in character and of relatively little importance. The Mercury included the news in its third section, reporting that "Armed natives attack police while taking prisoners - Sub-Inspector and Trooper killed." The official news was that at Umgeni a Chief had reported that some men were refusing to pay the poll tax, depositions

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were taken, and on the day arrests were to be made, the
two men were killed. The Governor cabled the news to
England, adding that information was being received that
other natives were arming and joining those affected.
Some of the Carbineers and Field Artillery were mobilised,
and that afternoon on the advice of Ministers, Natal was
placed under martial law. (44)

The Times of Natal called immediately for action, and
for the authorities to exact reparation for the murder and
check disaffection. Even if the problem were indeed
local, as news reports implied, it would be "criminal
folly" to ignore the tension in the Colony and not call
out the Militia. Though the press had maintained a "wise
reticence" during the past few months, it was now time to
demand the retention of an Imperial garrison in Natal, and
severe punishment of rebels. The Times' rival, the
Witness, described the event merely as "an incident which
bears a close relation to the everyday faction
disturbances among our native population", but it did
report that "the country is in a state of tremendous
excitement due to the reported murder of Sub-Inspector
Hunt and Trooper Armstrong at Byrne." In Durban, the
Mercury's Richmond correspondent had immediately reported
that the 50 natives "visible" were presumed to be
"Ethiopian", as their leader was understood to belong to
this group. The Mercury's editorial article took up the
assertion, and demanded that this pernicious influence be
crushed, preached "under the guise of religion." The
prompt action of the government was welcomed in calling up
the Militia, despite reassurances that the incident was an
isolated one. Three days later, however, the Mercury
insisted that the murdered men represented law and
Government, and that such defiance could not be excused
even if there were no indications of serious danger in the
disturbance. The "real question" was whether Natal was to
be governed by the present European administration or by "lawless natives." Whites must demonstrate their intention to rule, for which an "overwhelming display" of force was recommended. Only the Prince restricted its remarks to the commotion caused in Johannesburg by the "alleged native rising", which had seriously affected the market. The incident was the result of the "fatuous folly" of the Government but the Prince too stressed that the offenders must be caught and published: "let the black man gather around and learn the lesson that the White Man is He who Must Be Obeyed." (45)

Press telegrams were censored, but the Governor asked to rely on the "honour" of local papers not to insert alarming reports. As the editor of the Witness wrote, he was "only too anxious to coincide in every respect with [the Prime Minister's] wishes, to see that matter was left out of the paper with which the authorities might not have been pleased." When telegram censorship was withdrawn, it was explained to the reader that censorship would have been worthwhile, if only by denying Ethiopian propagandists - if they were indeed at the bottom of this - the pleasure of reading the anxiety of Europeans. (46)

In March, news of Leuchars' "firing" of the kraals at Mapumulo was received: the Witness titled its reports "Settling the Natives", and declared the great "moral effect" that this would have. The Times of Natal thought it "swift retribution", and a "splendid lesson" for those Africans forced to watch. This opinion was echoed by many Cape and Transvaal newspapers: the Daily Dispatch urged the Cape Government to prepare in case of a Cape rising, while the Kingwilliamstown Telegraph wanted the natives taught to respect the law: every South African colonist would fight in the event of a rising, for Europeans stood shoulder to shoulder "when it comes to a matter of instilling the rudimentary principles of respect for
justice in the breasts of savages." The Star praised the Natal Government for its firmness, and Leuchars for his offensive strategy that would nip rebellion in the bud, and rebuff "an organised attempt to set the rule of the white men generally at defiance." The Rand Daily Mail agreed, and publicised offers of assistance from the Transvaal in quelling the disturbance. (47)

Dissenting voices were heard only in the South African News, Ons Land and the Bloemfontein Friend. In the midst of the rumours the Friend had written that "it is hard to see how a white people could shape to less advantage than those in Natal are at present doing," by passing repressive legislation and then panicking when the time came to enforce it. Again in February the Friend wrote on "Panicky Natal" treating a police affair as an insurrection. Allowances might be made for a small white community surrounded by natives, but action should still accord with dignity: Natal's reaction did not help white prestige in Orangia and it would become incumbent upon the other Colonies to restrain Natal, lest the "native mine" explode and "set the whole house ablaze". Similarly the South African News merely regretted the collision of white and black, offered sympathy to all, and hoped that order would soon be restored and supported by "all law-abiding people white and coloured." It hoped too that Natal would be neither cruel nor unjust, and criticised the imposition of martial law, as did the Friend and Ons Land, thinking it unwise to hold military trials or "drum-head arraignments" for insurgents, instead of trying cases in the civil courts. Moreover, readers were reminded that "in native wars there is an unhappy tendency to brutality," when Europeans saw themselves as the hunters and the native as the fox. Comment was made on Natal's denial of education or any means of improvement to Africans. The News concluded that the Colony was reaping
the fruits of its doctrine that "the native is born a savage, and should die one." (48)

This reaction of the 'liberal' dailies and Ons Land brought scorn and horror from their contemporaries. Previously Natal had received only sympathy and aid from the rest of South Africa, and the Times of Natal responded to the News with deprecation of the Cape franchise which its enemy championed. The instinct of political preservation alone, it continued, was enough for "universal prejudice" against educated Africans. Every Progressive paper followed the Natal Government's interpretation of events: the Post and the Cape Times further fuelled the political battles by condemning their rivals. Ons Land called trial by martial law a "violation of civil liberties", and criticised Jameson for his support of the Natal Government. The Cape Times therefore questioned Ons Land's refusal of sympathy:

"Are there no moderate Dutchmen on that side with whom the question of white supremacy is more than party capital, and the safety of their brother colonists more than native votes? If Dutch and English cannot stand together on this question, what hope is there for South Africa, and what guarantee of co-operation in the face of danger?" (49)

The High Commissioner corroborated the interpretation placed on events by the press, and was in turn quoted in support of their recommendations. Though the Natal outbreak appeared to be a "small affair", the Cape Times warned that it was more important than it looked on the surface: "we have Lord Selborne's word for it... it is at least certain that weakness or failure in crushing a small rebellion might easily lead to more widespread trouble, and that the disaffected natives will watch eagerly for signs of dissenion in the camp."

The Progressive press was uniting against the reactions of the Friend, News and Ons Land for taking a
line "more favourable to the natives in revolt than to the Government and its forces". It was joined by the Burghersdorp Stem, which again berated its Bond colleagues and pronounced the battle one to decide whether whites should be masters in South Africa. As with Land en Volk, the Stem saw the danger as one for all South Africa, and distrusted the signs of Exeter Hall it found in the sympathy being shown to black people by its fellows. (50)

The Progressive papers again united at the end of March in support of the Natal Ministry's resignation, when the Colonial Office demanded the postponement of execution of twelve Africans sentenced to death by a Richmond court-martial, though their sentences had been confirmed by the Governor. News of the impending executions, the Secretary of State cabled, was exciting strong criticism in England, and further information requested. The Natal Ministry resigned on the grounds that its constitutional authority was being challenged, and the Natal papers sprang to its defence, reporting it as a protest against Imperial Intervention in a self-governing Colony. They endorsed the Governor's assertion that only prompt action and court-martials were preventing further trouble, and that interference would encourage resistance. The Times of Natal predicted an "Imperial crisis" should Britain interfere in the conduct of native policy by South Africans, but strong condemnation of the British Government was voiced by all the Natal papers. Within three days the Prime Minister had withdrawn his resignation and the executions permitted. This was reported as a victory in the battle between a self-governing Colony and the "autocrats of Downing Street". The British Government were represented as "negrophiles" and a menace to a society that they could not understand. The Vryheid Herald further insisted on protection for colonists against "savage hordes", and urged its readers,
"Let us be South African first, and Imperialists after!" (50)

The Crisis in Natal provoked an editorial article in every Progressive daily, even those which had not previously seen the necessity of pronouncing on the Natal troubles. The Cape Times thought that the Imperial Government's "bungling" of the affair would be construed by Africans as weakness, and called the Friend's 'rejoicing' for the stay of execution "disgusting." The Star, too, berated the Imperial Government's "restless policy of interference", claiming that on this point it had run into "the most solid wall of public opinion in South Africa," and had alienated the one Colony least likely to give it trouble. Vacillation had already harmed Natal's defeat of the uprising, while "the depression of the white man's prestige throughout South Africa is probably the most serious of all the consequences of this ineffable blunder." (51)

The Star noted with pleasure the reluctance that had been shown by colonists to rely on Imperial aid in the suppression of rebellion, and the use of Transvaal forces in putting down the rebellion was seen as the first step towards concerted South African action. There had been demonstrated, said the Star, a genuine South African impulse towards a national policy in native affairs during the last few months' events. Furthermore, the main lines of this policy would have to be decided by a conference within South Africa. The native outrages had indicated a general restlessness through South Africa, and emphasised the "paramount necessity of ruling the savage tribes of the sub-continent with a very firm hand." (52)

The Friend remained true to its own policy: although it could understand the Natal Government's indignation at British interference in its autocracy, it hardly justified the use of such rebellious language in refusing to submit
to the dictates of the Imperial Government. Natal had previously gone to war "on the right of the Imperial Government to interfere in the internal affairs of an independent State," and the Friend would not now waste pity upon the Colony. It had already condemned the Natal Government for shelling an empty kraal and burning homes of old men, women and children, an exercise "in part oppressive, in part ridiculous". The allegations that Het Volk, the Unie and the Bond were thus siding with the Natal rebels was, however, refuted by Louis Botha and the Volkstem. Blacks had been "senseless" to act against their own interests and oppose the supremacy of the white man. Moreover, the position of blacks in Natal was "almost better than than of a white man". The court-martials were nevertheless regretted, and hopes expressed that there would be no war, even though it had been thought that in such a case the whites would unite, for the farmers would suffer. The native question should never be a party question, but it should be recognised by the British Government as a "purely South African" problem, which should not be dictated by policy from across the sea. It must be left to white men to solve along their own lines. (53)

When the Letters Patent for the Constitution of a responsible government in the Transvaal and Orange River Colonies were issued, the one issue to which all the Progressives objected was the reservation of native legislation by the Imperial Government. It was seen as a limitation of power, even by those who had protested against such responsible government only a year previously. For the Star, this was the "contentious point" which implied a "special distrust of Transvaal statesmen" over and above their self-governing neighbours in the Cape and Natal, and it recorded a solemn protest. The Cape Times saw this restriction of legislation on
persons not of European descent" likewise as of "doubtful wisdom", since it would tend to "raise hopes which cannot be gratified", and would thus irritate the coloured people of the Colony. On this point too, the Friend and the Post were now in agreement, that native affairs were best left for solution by the South Africans themselves. (54)

The most vocal colonists, therefore, had united on the subject of South African control of native affairs, though there remained party political issues on which they were easily divided. The Progressive party papers throughout South Africa re-iterated the need for the British Government to defer entirely to white opinion on native policy: the Dutch papers, and the Liberal dailies, had always taken the view that British interference should be minimal. The need for a united native policy was impressed upon all the Colonies by Natal's ineffective control. The danger that white interests would suffer by a depletion of their labour force, should the Imperial Government appropriate all African affairs, prompted immediate action to ensure that control was kept firmly in colonial hands. A report that Britain intended "safeguarding" Africans by planning the virtual independence of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and parts of the Transvaal as a vast reserve, with policy to lie entirely in Imperial hands, was scouted by the English papers: it would be "foolish interference", and the implication that South Africans were not be be trusted would be both resented and resisted. "On that point South Africans are resolute: they are united. The question at stake is more than one of policy; it is one of self-preservation." (55)

The Natal newspapers had immediately seen revolt in the initial murders of white officials in Brynetown. The reprisals and escalation of the trouble into rebellion were more a result of the panic engendered by newspapers
than of any consideration of justice. The papers had printed but discounted denials of unrest: a letter from R.C. Samuelson to the Greytown Gazette refuted rumours, but the editor entitled it "Moonshine". Another from J.T. Nel of Mapumulo was published in March 1906 stating that there should be no fear of Africans nor of a general rising, but that "the whites are to blame for this state of affairs." Two months later the Gazette was publishing news of "wily Bambata", and urging repeatedly that the youths who joined this leader must be taught "the severest lesson that war can instil". Letters were printed about the military reserve, but the editor appended a comment to the correspondence page of his paper, addressed to J.T. Nel, that his opinions had already been expressed and "do not need reiteration." Nor did any of the Natal newspapers reduce their coverage of the elections of local Militia officers during January 1906: these were accompanied by meetings, parades, and general acclaim of the troops. There were also frequent "Bisleys", serving as rifle-shooting competitions as well as social occasions. All were fully reported in the newspapers, and only the Times of Natal registered the possibility that any scare on the part of the African people may be due to the recent election of Militia officers. (56)

None of the major Natal papers consulted African opinion over the reasons for this potential unrest. The Prince, a Durban weekly which was one of the most violent expressions of racial prejudice in the Colony, was the only paper to quote an African newspaper. In March 1906 it quoted Izwi, describing the Byrnetown affair as "an unfortunate fracas with the police", and blaming it upon "the lying rumours circulated about the intentions of the Zulus to rise against the Europeans." The alarmist measures with which the Natal Government had responded were described as a part of the policy of the Randlords:
"to unsettle the natives is to confirm the Chinese and bluff the Liberal Government." This was the conclusion of the Prince also, which shared Izwi's antipathy to the mine-owners; though it did not lessen its hostility towards Africans, the Prince did congratulate Izwi on its outspokenness. (57)

For Izwi, "the wild talk and alarmist rumours are a part of the machinery of the hireling press." The Star had nursed the infant taxation of Africans: it grew under the Randlords, and became policy under Godfrey Lagden. It was then passed to the Native Affairs Commission, where again it was endorsed by the Star.

"We need not stop to ask how much of the burdens of the State apart from realised capital the Star and its plutocratic confederates bear, but the Commission responded well to the suggestion of extra taxation and reported for a general poll-tax over and above the usual taxation." (58)

The assertion of Natal authority had been the inevitable outcome of this Rand-inspired policy. For Soga, Izwi's editor, the "chief hope of our social salvation here in Africa" lay in the nascent Labour parties. Moreover, it was vital to remain aware of the true nature of the events in Natal: Soga saw the beginnings of "the irrepressible conflict between Capital and Labour... which capitalist influences are endeavouring to sidetrack by arming the natives as in Natal on the false issues of Ethiopianism and the black Peril while taxing them and seizing their lands." (59)

Izwi, Imvo and Ilanga all repudiated charges of sedition against Ethiopian churches; but all feared for African prospects in the aftermath of the heightened tensions in white society. Soga impressed upon his readers the need for black unity to protect their hard-won franchise rights in the face of increasing white prejudice. Dube criticised the Natal Government's
ignorance of African aspirations, and warned that their repression would lead to war and race-hatred. He too appealed for greater organisation amongst Africans, and stressed the possibility of appeal to England for redress of grievances. Despite Dube's repeated mention of white colonists as "the ruling race", he was warned by the Governor of Natal and his newspaper threatened with suppression if he continued to publish "mischievous and seditious articles." These endeavours to be heard by "the ruling race" fell on deaf ears. A petition against the Natal Native Bills of 1908, requesting more representation, freehold tenure on mission lands, and freedom from interference in locations, was rejected absolutely. The latter points went "so far beyond the region of practical native politics, that they are almost impertinent in their exemplification of the old adage of giving a man an inch and he wants a yard;" whilst the request for representation - for four extra Legislative Council members, nominated by the Governor-in-Council and not elected - was "preposterous in its naive simplicity."

(60)

Few newspapers in South Africa accepted the need for any African representation: many of those that did, still preferred that it be segregated from white politics. Any imputation of injustice delivered by the African press or community leaders was seen, moreover, as an integral threat to the survival of white supremacy in South Africa. In discussing the Report of the Natal Native Affairs Commission, which had considered the causes of discontent leading to the rebellion of 1906, the Times of Natal could agree in its censure of the Natal Government, but pronounced the Report "too negrophile in tone:... too tender a sympathy is professed for the native," and no brief given to the white man, the "bearer of the burden... who after all is the most interested party in this
important discussion." The discussion of the "native question" in South African papers turned from a theoretical consideration of the merits in principle of a colour-blind franchise, to the harsh reality of a white Colony represented as "standing on the verge of effacement." That section of the press which most valued its British associations, and denigrated the native policy of its opponents as tantamount to slavery, did not represent the institutions and traditions which African, Coloured and Indian had associated with Britain. The election of a Liberal Government, which might enforce such radical notions onto the colonists, turned the Progressive press towards a South African nationalism that had not previously been considered possible. The press that represented the "anti-native" parties of Het Volk and Orangie Unie - as Soga described them - never contemplated the demise of white supremacy; with the support of two English liberal editors the "Boer" case was thus presented as more favourable to potential African votes than the Progressive. The collaboration of Boer and Briton on the necessity of Colonial self-determination was founded on white prejudice, and enshrined this prejudice in the approaching Union. (61)
The ideal of a united South Africa had been expressed in newspapers for many years prior to its accomplishment. It was, as Lord Selborne had understood, merely a "vague ideal, a convenient heading for political programmes, a suitable close for a public speech," or, indeed, a fine topic for an editorial in times of scarce news. (1) The possibility of its actual achievement was first voiced in the post-war hostilities of party and race by Francois Malan, in Ons Land. A series of articles, discussing the potential structure of "A United South Africa", appeared in August and September 1906, only weeks after the final defeat of Bambata in Natal, and amidst increasing resentment on the part of the Progressive papers at the Liberal Government in Britain and its reservations on Colonial control of African affairs. The newspapers which had always spoken out against Imperial interference in Colonial affairs were joined by those previously willing to call on the Imperial Government for assistance should occasion demand. Malan's articles were reprinted in translation in the Star within three weeks of their first appearance, and Malan himself, who had previously only been berated as an opponent of the Cape Progressives, was praised by the Star for "sterling service" to the cause of federation in thus initiating public discussion. For the first time, the major newspapers were united in desiring a federation that would emanate from the Colonies, reflecting Colonial necessity, and would not be imposed from above by the Imperial Government. (2)

The newspapers which discussed this federation, however, represented only small sections of their communities. They were unequal in influence and in
distribution, and those with the greatest power had frequently survived only through the backing of large companies or ambitious politicians. Although hundreds of newspapers and magazines were being published in South Africa in these years, few gained attention on a national level. Talk of union still took place within a press that thrived on its localism: when agreement was reached for a National Convention, and during its meeting, newspapers campaigned for the fullest possible rights and representations for whichever group or region they served.

Closer Union Societies, formed in towns throughout South Africa, aimed "to knit South Africa into a nation", and foster the development of a national spirit through speeches and pamphlets. Many of these Societies were staffed by newspaper editors and proprietors, who in turn supported and promoted these aims in their own papers. The newfound unity of these editors was most apparent in Cape Town, where the Society was chaired by W.P. Schreiner, but staffed by journalists and directors of the prominent newspapers. F.S. Malan, editor of Ons Land, acted as vice-chairman with J.W. Jagger, a director of the Cape Times; B.K. Long of the Times shared the position of Society Secretary with R. Philippson Stow of the South African News; while the Executive Committee included both Maitland Park of the Times and H.E.S. Fremantle of the News. The Cradock Closer Union Society included James Butler of the Midland News; while in Klerksdorp H.M. Guest of the Mining Record acted as vice-chairman. The views of these proponents of Union were thus broadcast through the districts in which their papers circulated, and the image of a united South Africa was presented to the reading public as both necessary for the country and advantageous for the district. (3)

Furthermore, it was considered worthwhile to establish another journal specifically for the purpose of

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publishing information and opinions on the Union of South Africa. The State proclaimed itself "A South African National Magazine", and announced its intention of serving as "the medium through which people in all parts of South Africa will be able to learn opinions which prevail elsewhere, and through which they can urge their own." Until delegates to the National Convention provided detailed recommendations on the form and feasibility of Union, The State would "simply promote the cause of Union by pointing out the evils of disunion." The variety of views it then presented, from politicians and journalists as diverse as Edmund Garrett, Gustav Preller, Patrick Duncan and H.S.L. Polak, were evidence enough that agreement would be impossible on any individual question. Unanimity on the question of union was, therefore, stressed as both reason and consequence of a united South Africa. (4)

Unity was a veneer on the surface of politics which briefly diverted the newspapers from more traditional courses. The newspapers which advocated union did so in the hope of furthering their own political ambitions and with no intention of denying those ambitions to suit opponents. Union was a practical possibility because the major newspapers advocated it; by the time discussion commenced, these papers had established themselves as arbiters of opinion, and as such they remained unchallenged until the appearance of an Afrikaner Nationalist press. (5)

These newspapers created their ascendancy as a deliberate means of achieving influence in the affairs of state. From the earliest days of printing in the Cape Colony, the newspaper press had been associated with politics and dissent. The battle for the freedom of the press was one which every South African journalist could invoke at the mention of government displeasure. It was
essential, too, for these newspapers to be seen to give
independent support to leaders and parties; the charge of
a "bought" press was common on both sides of the political
divide. It was answerable only with an editor's
integrity: journalists worked for papers in whose
political traditions or ambitions they believed. If sold
out by the altered allegiances of a new proprietor, the
editor resigned, respecting his own reputation and his
employer's interests. Proprietors did not relish the
prospects of dismissal: sacked editors were rarely silent
on the means of their loss of employment, and a newspaper
whose proprietors were known to dictate policy was only a
stooge. Every paper thus acclaimed its own perfect
liberty of action, and maligned at every opportunity the
motives of its opponents. (6)

Editorial independence became a corollary of
political loyalty in the strengthened polarity of
allegiance that accompanied war. Newspaper editors were
traditionally politically active: a great many newspapers
were founded for the expression of political principles,
and many - the Grahamstown Journal was a notable example -
remained the organs of personal opinion of their editors
and proprietors. These opinions were voiced with candid
vehemence towards political opponents. The independence
enjoyed by such editors continued the tradition of the
country newspaper, which was often the creation of one man
who served as investigative journalist, editor, printer,
publisher and newsagent. A newspaper in the country town
symbolised both prosperity, in the printer's ability to
make a living from local advertising and sales, and
political awareness. By 1904 almost every constituency in
the Cape was served by at least one local paper: many
towns saw two, rivalling each other in politics and
language. (7)

While country newspapers continued with little news,
less editorial comment, and much information on scab, rinderpest, rain and drought, city newspapers turned to political rivalry. Their primary justification was the presence of readers and advertisers. The rapid multiplication of the English press was an immediate consequence of immigration and the expansion of trade resulting from increased town populations. In both Kimberley and Johannesburg a spate of newspapers came and went with the first diggers; as Kimberley receded, so, too, did its newspapers.

Francis Dormer, whose newspaper enterprises stretched from Queenstown to Salisbury, though based in Cape Town and Johannesburg, epitomised the political founder of newspapers overtaken by the changing requirements of the industry. His early dedication to the ideals of Cecil Rhodes caused him to found a network of newspapers that could serve the federated South Africa of which both men dreamed. A newspaper company that aspired to national status required enormous capital backing, and brought Dormer the assistance of Rhodes and the large Johannesburg mining companies. When policy differed, Dormer was no longer able to fight or buy out the considerable interests held by his share-holders. (8) The transformation of the Argus Company from the personal foundation of one man, albeit with rich backers, into the property of a combination of gold-mining interests, signified the demise of the newspaper which served a purely political interest. Thereafter the Star was committed to a defence of the mining industry. So, too, were its Company colleagues, the Cape Argus and the Bloemfontein Post: outlets in three of the four Colonies provided a wide audience for the opinions of a localised industry. Gold revenue may have convinced the Government of the Transvaal that the mining industry was a necessary part of the body politic, but the expression of its views throughout South Africa,
and the constant reiteration of its progress, needs and results, brought an awareness of the industry's influence even to those who detested its power.

The Dutch press differed in origin and frequently in intent. Newspapers were begun in the Republics in response to specific Government requests and assistance for raising the political awareness of the farmers. The wealth of the Transvaal brought with it opposition to Government from Dutch newspapers as well as English: controversy flourished in Kruger's Republic amongst the Dutch papers just as it did in the English press of the Crown Colony. The closure during the war of every newspaper which had supported the Republican Governments impeded the early expression of discontent with a new authority, just as it was intended to do. The revival of a Dutch press was therefore made dependent upon foreign funds, administered through Botha and Smuts, and provided them on their return to politics with ready support. (9)

The intention of this press was the assertion of a nationalism which would counter the frequently expressed desire of the English press to eliminate the Dutch as a political force in the state. The recognition and use of Afrikaans in the press marked a willingness for newspapers to remain in the forefront of education. Literacy and political consciousness had been seen to promote sales for English papers: coupled with the monopolies enjoyed in its regional circulation the Dutch-Afrikaans press found itself expanding at the very time the English language papers were forced to retrench. Years of rivalry in advertising and printing work had only served to emphasise the inherent disunity of English speakers. In expansion, however, the unity of Afrikanerdom was seen to be as much manufactured by its previous lack of opposition, as British unity had been during the war by the suppression of papers sympathising with the enemy. Sol Plaatje, an
interested observer but one less concerned to continue a
specious rivalry of English and Dutch, commented,

"Most of the Dutch journals, especially in the
northern provinces, take up the views of English-
speaking Dutch townsmen (solicitors and bank clerks)
and publish them as the opinion of the South African
Dutch. Het Westen [of Potchefstroom] (now Het
Volksblad) on the other hand, interprets the Dutch
view, sound bad or indifferent, exactly as we
ourselves have heard it expressed by Dutchmen at
their own farms."

Political rivalry after the war was manifested
primarily in opposition between language groupings. The
retention of English liberal editors in the Bloemfontein
Friend and the Cape Town South African News lessened the
sense of racial division of which the Progressive press
accused the Boers. A similar acceptance was not shown by
their rivals. The help supplied to Milner before and
during the war by the English press of the Cape and
Transvaal had left a residue of distrust which was
confirmed by the continuing employment of British editors,
brought out from England at high cost, with little or no
experience of South Africa or, in certain cases, of
journalism. Evocative terminology added to the
viciousness of the struggle: English Progressives were
referred to as Imperialists or jingos, while the Dutch
were termed Bond in the south, and Boer irreconcilables in
the northern colonies.

The association of British administration and
subservience to capitalist interest was strong in all
papers unrelated to the gold industry. Even the Natal
papers distrusted the power wielded by Johannesburg, and
protested loudly at the removal of trade in order to
satisfy mine labour requirements. Elsewhere the outcry
against the misrepresentations of the "capitalist press",
and the part it had played in creating the war, were
absorbed into the fabric of the nascent nationalist and
labour movements. The liberal press which first incorporated these charges into its political programme thereupon lost support.

Recognition that the rivalry between the Progressive and Boer press was less fervent than its perpetrators alleged came relatively late to the satirical weekly, the South African Review. The magnates and Dutch were accused of holding similar land policies. As such, it suited them to be divided by race: if the same race, they would belong to the same party, and therefore another would arise to challenge their ascendancy. The prospects for a white labour party, whose interests the Review tended to support, were more highly rated in Union than the prospects for any continuation, let alone extension, of the black franchise. A.K. Soga of Izwi laBantu had already fastened his hopes on the future of the labour party in South Africa. He rebuked Africans who praised the Boers, "as if any good can be expected to come out of the Golgotha of Dutch Afrikanderism:"

"Just as much good may be expected from Jingo Imperialism. Both regard the black man as so much chattel property to be used as cattle or sheep to be ploughed or shorn just as it suits their purposes... [We] shall certainly expect nothing in future but what the native is prepared to wrest by sheer compulsion for himself." (11)

The Indian Opinion agreed: theories on the segregation of the races, and the separate development of whites from Africans or Indians, were merely attempts at justifying "on some higher ground" the fact that "the dominant race in South Africa is prejudiced against colour." (12) The inherent truth of these assertions was made plain long before Union in the expressions of distaste for any but white votes in almost all the white newspapers. The political rivalry of English and Dutch was accentuated by the newspapers controlled by each.

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Only on the essential retention of white control were both united, and it was in the midst of fervent discussions of the best means of avoiding real power falling into any but white hands, that a practical attempt at white union could be made.

The traditions of newspapers were venerated by the journalists that worked on them. The most successful editors made a newspaper's policy their own, and left that tradition perceptibly altered by the imposition of a personality upon it. The duty of an editor, moreover, was to formulate ideas and expressions with which to persuade the reading public of the inherent justice of that policy. It is evident, too, that each newspaper takes on a significance beyond the mere expression of views both for those that write and those that read the paper. For all those denied a voice in Union, promises of fair treatment or eventual representation were little recompense for persistent prejudice.
T. W. BECKETT & CIE., BEPERKT.

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No. 20, Vol. 1.
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Warren: Rev. W. E. Pepper, Jesus College, Oxford,
Rev. W. E. Pepper, Jesus College, Oxford,
Rev. Dr. Parke, M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford.
Rev. Dr. Parke, M.A., Magdalen College, Oxford.

Assistant Masters: Mr. A. W. Peacock, Jesus College, Cambridge,
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1892.—Enlarged to ten pages.
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1896.—Size of page enlarged.
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1900.—Weekly Pictorial Supplement added.
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Circulation rising all the time.

During the war the MIDLAND NEWS secured perhaps more than any other South African paper, in staff of special correspondents throughout the country, organised during peace, served the paper well, and several were subsequently attached to the Intelligence Department. In the official list of over forty correspondents who accompanied Lord Roberts in Khaditarnar to Kimberley thither, the MIDLAND NEWS was the only Colonial paper (outside Cape Town) to receive a War Correspondent. The MIDLAND NEWS was repeatedly first in the field with important news. A paper post was organised from Namaqualand to Cradoc, and birds were in training from De Aar, when commanded by the military.

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The MIDLAND NEWS supplied Kimberley with the latest news during the siege by means of native runners. The most popular paper in military camps, one camp alone taking 1,000 copies daily. Record increase of permanent subscribers, postal list extending over every portion of South Africa.

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BURA STREET. KING'S TOWN.

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Steer Proprietor - W. W. COTTREYER.

Baker's Sale - Now Proceeding!

Baker's Sale - Now Proceeding!

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ENTHUSIASM IN TOWN.

About 2:30 p.m. yesterday a large column of cavalry, under General de Tassigny, was advancing towards Driefontein from the south-west, and shortly afterwards a hussar brigade marched out of the town following the same road. General French's flying column had marched from Modder River, and was now on the point of entering Kimberley. The news spread as quickly as a rumour always spreads out of the Golden Barge at Beaufort West. In a few hours of double- starched billings, there were rifles with curious spectators, who could hardly believe that their victory was on the point of being spread out in magnificent order, and, keeping pace in the centre of the column, advanced at a great pace, and by about 5 o'clock from the relief column was, as far as could be seen, the first to enter Kimberley. The column was as far as could be observed being the first to enter Kimberley. Our artillery replied by bursting shells through the columns. The range was only about 500 yards, and the shells were placed in most magnificent positions.

We understood that a large British force was still in the neighbourhood of Kimberley, and that General French's flying column, marching to relieve Kimberley, was advancing more rapidly than expected. The column paraded on without any further opposition on the part of the enemy. The troops marched in magnificent order right across the town, and spread out in equal columns. A most stirring sight. The day two troops moved on to Modder River, passing through Kimberley to the south-west, where the British were expected to make a stand. The circumstances of the arrival (the Mayor and the military authorities) of the British forces, which had advanced to relieve Kimberley, were as follows: The General French had the advantage of the position, but there were no signs of any serious opposition. The British forces were advancing more rapidly than expected. The column paraded on without any further opposition on the part of the enemy. The troops marched in magnificent order right across the town, and spread out in equal columns. A most stirring sight. The day two troops moved on to Modder River, passing through Kimberley to the south-west, where the British were expected to make a stand. The circumstances of the arrival (the Mayor and the military authorities) of the British forces, which had advanced to relieve Kimberley, were as follows:

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OCCUPATION OF ALEXANDERSFONTEIN

FOOD SUPPLIERS CAPTURED.

On Wednesday morning an intelligence report was sent to the British authorities by native women to the effect that the Food suppliers had been captured by the Boers. The report was confirmed by an advance of British troops, Major Fraser ordered a number of the Boers to surrender. After a short parley Major Fraser made a reconnoitring of the position. The Boers were few in numbers, but there was little or no sign of Boer activity. Major Fraser, on his own responsibility, marched the Boers against the Boers, who were not formidable. The Boers were few in numbers, but there was little or no sign of Boer activity. Major Fraser, on his own responsibility, marched the Boers against the Boers, who were not formidable.

McGregor Museum, Stellenbosch 1910
"Trade follows the Flag."

It is for YOU to see that it is YOUR Trade.

JOHN BULL (Ioq.): "Here's your new playground, boys, it has cost me a pretty penny. Make the most of it!"

You can make the most of it by Advertising in

CAPE ARGUS (Cape Colony)
(Daily and Weekly Issues).

JOHANNESBURG STAR (Transvaal)
(Daily and Weekly Issues).

BLOEMFONTEIN POST (Orange River Colony)
(Daily Issue).

RHODESIA HERALD (Salisbury, Northern Matabeleland)
(Daily and Weekly Issues).

RHODESIA ADVERTISER (Umtali)
(Bl-weekly Issue).

BULAWAYO CHRONICLE (Southern Matabeleland)
(Daily and Weekly Issues).

The Six Representative Papers of South Africa.

Send for Printed Tariff of Advertisement Charges to

The ARGUS PRINTING & PUBLISHING CO., Ltd.
16 & 17, Devonshire Square, Bishopsgate, LONDON, E.C.

(U. Mitchell & Co. receive Advertising for the above Papers.)
"I am often accused of running against opinion; but I only wish I could get these gentlemen who serve me to take the hint I freely offer them about the prospects of this country a few years hence. I observe that they are very ready with their glowing sentences, as they are with their destructive criticisms; but they are not so ready to back their opinions when I challenge them to do so." — Lord Minto at Melbourne, July 18.

The Bookmaker: "10 to 1 on the 'Magna!' 7 to 1 against 'White Labour! Ever 'Bureaucracy!'

Come on, gents, stand by the old firm."
"ALCOHOL KILLS."

This picture is a reproduction of the painting by M. Bernard, the famous French artist, who lent it to the Anti-Alcohol Congress of Paris when the society was giving lectures on the evil of drink. It shows the dying moments of a husband and father who drank himself to the grave. The society thought so much of the realistic, though horrible, painting that thousands of large posters with its reproduction were printed, and Paris to-day is literally plastered. The picture has done a great deal toward lessening the drink evil—a subject which is at present a perplexing problem to France.

THE CRAVING FOR LIQUOR CAN EASILY BE OVERCOME WITH A COURSE OF EUCRASY TREATMENT.

The serious consequences which occur through alcoholic excess have unexpected complications of such a terrible nature as to be neither described or even contemplated without a shudder. The drinking habit has a rape of increasing power which is peculiar to the disease. First comes the "rarely touch anything" period. Then the regular "moderate drinker." Then there is the free "jolly good fellow" phase, which rapidly develops into the "drunkard" stage, eventually terminating in inanity, to be followed by a death too ghastly to describe.

HARMLESS, SAFE AND EFFECTIVE.

The EUCRASY TREATMENT is perfectly harmless, safe and effective. The drunkard can be cured while at his home without any loss of his daily work & he can also be treated without his knowledge and against his own will. Our literature explains everything in detail and we forward same in plain envelopes, sent on approval, FREE OF CHARGE. Personal consultation at our Institute is gratis. Call or address THE EUCRASY INSTITUTE, P.O. Box 616, or DAVY'S CHAMBERS, RIEBEIK ST. (between Kirk and Jeppe Sts.), JOHANNESBURG.

MAN toils from dawn till set of sun,
While Women's work is never done.

Very few men realize what women have to go through—the household work and women, the constant care of the children—are hard enough for a healthy woman, but how few women are really healthy and free from suffering! Nothing has ever been prepared which will afford more aid to women's troubles than Woolf Holland Gin, and the Standard and Purest Holland Gin is

WOLFE'S Aromatic Schnappps

It instantly relieves all griping pains, and being both tonic and libating in its effect, it relieves the system of all impurities without any weakening effect. Recommended by doctors and authors of the world over.

Agents—MARITIENSG, GRIMM & FRASER, East London.
Unification Illustrated.

THE PRESENT & COMING EXODUS!

HIPPOPOTAMUS BACK AGAIN IN ADDERLEY ST. SOON.

PRETORIA VS CAPE TOWN.

Thorny Marks: "EUCHRED, DAVID!"

A PREJUDICIAL BRIDE.

WHAT! EAT THE WHOLE HOG!

PRETORIA'S DEIFIED SOUTH AFRICA ACT!

THE FETISH!

A LARGE NUMBER OF PENINSULAR PEOPLE, AS USUAL, STAND BY THE DEBT ACT (NOT REALLY HATING IT) BECAUSE IT IS THE WICKED GOD YOU SHOUT PEOPLE.

LOOK AT THE BOOZE!

THEY'RE NOT RUSHING IT THROUGH ON DRAK NO.

PRETORIA IMMEDIATELY ON PUBLICATION OF DEBT ACT, LOST NO TIME IN RUSHING INTO DEBT!

YET THEY SAY IT WAST A GUY'S BRIEFS!

I'VE GOT THE APPLE!

(APROPOS OF MR. LINDSAY'S SPEECH.)

AND I'VE GOT THE PIG!
WANTED, A SOUTH AFRICAN ST. GEORGE!

THE MAGNATES, IN RETURN FOR "GENEROUS" TREATMENT, WILL NOT INTERFERE WITH POLITICS.
"SOUTH AFRICA" IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN WILDS
FOOTNOTES TO INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION


2 John Barrow: An Account of Travels into the Interior of South Africa in 1797 and 1798; London 1801, p.377; Lady Anne Barnard to Henry Dundas 1.6.1800; quoted by T.E.C.Cutten, op.cit. p.6nl

3 Dundas to Lord Hobart 8.10.1801, ibid; G.M.Theal: Records of the Cape Colony, May 1801 - February 1803, pp.79-82

4 Thomas Pringle: Narrative of a Residence in South Africa, passim

5 G.M.Theal: Records of the Cape Colony 7.10.1826

6 ibid.

7 A.C.G.Lloyd: The Birth of Printing in South Africa, p.34ff


10 ibid; and see below, Chapter I

11 ibid.

12 ibid; B.Willan: Sol Plaatje

13 Newspaper Press Directory 1899 - 1900; L.J.Picton: NICPrint 50, p.60

14 ibid; A.Rabone: Graaff Reinet's First Newspaper; SATJ July 1968, p.53


16 Groupings are termed as they were in the Census of 1911 in the Union of South Africa; Education of the People: ability to read and write: Cape - white 76.18%, black 9.21%, coloured 9.96%; Transvaal - white 75.41%, black 5.88%, coloured 29.72%; Orange Free State - white 73.17%, black 9.95&, coloured 13.17%; Natal - white 81.59%, black 3.11%, coloured 23.63%; Census 1911, Part III, pp.xlf; Education in the Colonies, XXII, Part I, p.1; Cd417/1900

17 Cradock News 1858; in 1861 the articles were published in book form: Zamenspraak tussen Klaas Waarzegger en Jan Twyfellaar; Newspaper Press Directory passim; A.Gordon Brown, op.cit. p.79,10ff; see also T.E.C.Cutten, A.H.Smith,
op.cit. passim; Meurant produced Het Kaapsche Grensblad with Afrikaans articles included to serve the frontier farmers who were losing touch with High Dutch; both the Cradock News and Cradocksche Nieuwsblad were the property of J.S. Bold & Co.

18 Friend 10.6.1950; G.A.L. Green: An Editor Looks Back, pp. 75-82
19 L.J. Picton: NICPrint 50, p. 33ff
20 John C. Tarr: Printing Today, passim; Records of the Newspaper Press Union, SAL; see also Wessel de Kock: A Manner of Speaking
21 The Cape Times was printed from 1876 on a Payne 2-feeder flat-bed press, producing 1-2,000 sheets per hour, power-driven but hand-fed by two men; in 1897 this was changed for a power-driven Reel Lancaster press, producing 5,000 copies per hour, and rotary web-fed with folding attachments for printing from stereotyped plates; in 1899 the plant was further modernised with the introduction of a Victory 2-reel press (at 22,000 copies per hour) and in 1904 with a 3-reel Hoe Press (at 28,000 copies per hour); Cape Times 1.11.1926
22 The South African Typographical Union heard in February 1898 of the arrival of linotype machines in the Cape, with six due to be imported into the Transvaal; they petitioned the Government unsuccessfully to prohibit the immigration of contract hands with these machines, on the grounds that they would further aggravate local unemployment; agreement was made for new operators to teach key-boarding to old hands; the Star refused to discuss wage rates until three months’ experience of new machines had elapsed; an agreement reached in October 1898 favoured the employers’ decisions on staff redundancies - action was considered by the unionists, but rejected since the closure of the Johannesburg Times (27.10.1898) endangered the job security of the printworkers; Picton, op.cit. p. 110ff
23 L.J. Picton, op.cit. p. 110ff; Cape Times Minutes 1807-8 passim
24 Report of the Commission of Enquiry into the Press, 1864; Annexure V, p. 556ff; See Appendix B
25 ibid; E. Potter: The Press as Opposition, p. 50ff
26 ibid; L.E. Neame: Todays News Today, p. 142
27 ibid; Picton, op.cit. p. 110ff; Cape Times and Central News Agency together purchased rights to run bookstalls on Central South African Railways after the war, which in turn fostered the sales of Cape Times and Argus Company publications
FOOTNOTES TO INTRODUCTION

28 E.T.Cook: Edmund Garrett, p.142
29 G.A.L.Green: An Editor Looks Back, p.140; railway opened August 1906
30 Neame, op.cit. p.144; Cape Times Minutes 1908 passim; Raymond Williams: Communications pp.26-29
31 Land en Volk 8.4.1904; Ons Land 22.6.1905, 24.6.1905
32 During August 1877 a letter to De Zuid Afrikaan came from a "Hollandse Afrikaner" suggesting an Association to promote the Dutch language; Hofmeyr and Reitz in their biography of J.H.Hofmeyr assert that this came from Hofmeyr himself; their biogrpahy was published in 1913, and translates "Afrikaner" as "Afrikander" in English, although Afrikander became Africander in the newspapers' anglicised form; "Afrikaansche" was used in the Transvaal to differentiate from "Hollander" in the pre-war antagonism to Leyds and his clique; in this sense Eugene Marais of Land en Volk was one of the first to speak of "Afrikaners"; see below, chapter V; "British" came to carry Imperialist associations, and in heated debate became "Jingo"; similarly "Dutch" became "Boer" or "irreconcilable"; terminology was intimately related to national or Imperial aspirations, and was deliberately confrontative; see J.H.Hofmeyr and F.W.Reitz: J.H.Hofmeyr p.75; McCracken quotes the Cape Argus 25.5.1869 in the first General Election, commenting: "On the hustings and at some of the meetings men of position and ability stated amid the applause of their hearers that they or their candidates were Afrikanders." J.L.McCracken: The Cape Parliament, p.109
33 The State February 1909, P.Duncan: The Asiatic Question in the Transvaal; April 1909, The Month; Pretoria News 9.1.1909
CHAPTER I

1 Census of the Cape Colony, 1904, pp.20-21,251-2, CA:4/11/5
2 Newspaper Press Directory 1901; Cape Census 1904, Return of Population, Education of the People,p.252;
3 ibid.
4 Newspaper Press Directory 1900-1901
5 ibid.
6 St Leger had been editor of the Diamond Field,1873-4, and later of Saul Solomon's Daily News in Cape Town,1875; Richard Murray was the son of the founder of the Cape Argus. Murray soon sold out, leaving St Leger as sole proprietor by the time Rutherford Harris became involved.
7 Cape Times advertisement 1876
8 There was then no cable link to England; mail steamers took 26 days to make the voyage, so, too, did news. Telegraphs in the Colony were limited to 50-60 words daily, and concerned mainly shipping movements. In 1876 Kimberley was connected by telegraph to Cape Town and two years later the Cape was linked with Natal via Uzimkulu; within the Colony messages could be sent at 1/- for ten words, and 6d for each additional five words, though a local rate existed of 1/- for twenty words. In 1889 this was reduced to 1d per word, with a minimum charge of 1/-: this applied both within the Cape and in exchanges with Natal, the Free State and the Transvaal. See Appendix A: Reuters News Agency.
9 Cape Times advertisement 1876: O. Schreiner to W.T.Stead, September 1891, Stead Papers II,249; G.Shaw: Garrett Papers,p.71n3; for a history of the Cape Times, see G.Shaw: Some Beginnings, Cape Town 1975
10 Cape Times 27.1.1879
11 Cape Times 19.4.1877; 15.12.1880
13 Cape Times 29.1.1877, 19.4.1877
14 Cape Times 18.7.1890
15 Cape Times 31.7.1890, 9.5.1892; the "mutiny" was over the contract for running the refreshment rooms of the Cape railway, which had been given to J. D. Logan by J. Sivewright without calling for tenders.
16 Cape Times 24.6.1895, 25.6.1895
17 E.T.Cook:Edmund Garrett, A Memoir, p.30
18 An interview with Oom Paul: Pall Mall Gazette January 1890
19 Pall Mall Gazette 27.4.1889; Cook, op.cit. p.35
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

21 Francis J. Dormer: Vengeance as a Policy in Afrikanderland, p. 221ff.
22 Memorandum of Agreement between F.Y. St. Leger, F.R. Harris, and F.E. Garrett, 1895; quoted by Cook, op. cit. p. 65n.
24 Cook, op. cit. p. 89
25 ibid.
26 F.E. Garrett to A. Garrett 28.7.1897, Garrett Papers
27 Cape Times 28.3.1936, December 1895 passim;
28 Cape Times to A. Garrett 1.1.1896, Garrett Papers
29 F.E. Garrett to A. Garrett 1.1.1896, Garrett Papers;
30 Cape Times 1.1.1896
31 F.E. Garrett to A. Garrett 30.12.1895 to 6.1.1896
32 Cape Times to A. Garrett 1.1.1896, Garrett Papers;
33 Cape Times 27.2.1896; see also G. Shaw, South African Telegraph v. Cape Times, p. 30-2
34 F.E. Garrett to A. Garrett 1.1.1896, Garrett Papers
35 Cape Times 7.4.1897, Garrett Papers
36 F.E. Garrett to A. Garrett 9.6.1897, Garrett Papers;
37 Cape Times 25.9.1897
38 F.E. Garrett to A. Garrett 18.8.1897, Garrett Papers
39 William Hay of the Cape Mercury stood for the Bond against Garrett, and was supported in his candidature by Jabavu's Imvo, but lost to the two Progressives; F.E. Garrett to A. Garrett 30.3.1898,
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

Garrett Papers; Cape Times 16.3.1898; Cape Argus 16.3.1898

40 quoted by E.T.Cook, op.cit. p.158; Review of Reviews July 1899


42 A.Milner to J.Chamberlain 1.3.1899; Cape Times 22.2.1899, in Cd.9345/1899

43 Cape Times Articles of Association, Schedule B; CA: LC221/8/C214; Minutes of Cape Times Co Ltd

44 F.E.Garrett to A.Garrett 9.9.1896

45 F.E.Garrett to A.Garrett 4.6.1899; G.Shaw, Some Beginnings, p.66; E.T.Cook, op.cit. p.87

46 Cape Times Minutes 5.7.1898; F.E.Garrett to A.Garrett 7.8.1898, Garrett Papers

47 Cape Times Minutes 12.2.1901; E.T.Cook, Diary 12.1.1901, quoted by S.Koss: The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain, p.339; E.J.Edwards arrived in South Africa in 1888, been 'pioneering' in the Transvaal, and in 1891 become sub-editor and Chief Assistant to St.Leger

48 Cape Times Minutes 12.5.1902; G.Shaw, op.cit. p.128; E.R.Syfret, Chairman of the Board of Directors, had wanted a Commercial Editor from Manchester or Glasgow. the most likely places to find a suitable man, to devote more space to commercial news.

49 Cape Times 4.1.1905

50 Cape Times 11.1.1905, 16.2.1905, 20.2.1905

51 Cape Times 17.2.1905, 20.2.1905

52 Cape Times 17.2.1905

53 Cape Times 11.3.1905, 6.5.1905, 11.6.1906, 12.9.1907; I.Colvin: Life of Jameson, p.283

54 Cape Times Minutes 10.8.1906, 21.10.1907

55 Cape Times Minutes 12.4.1907, 15.4.1909, 23.4.1909, 7.1.1910, 28.4.1911; G.Shaw, op.cit. p.137

56 Cape Times Minutes 12.5.1902, 15.5.1902, 16.5.1902

57 Cape Times Minutes 26.5.1902, 14.8.1902

58 Cape Times Minutes 14.12.1903

59 Cape Times Minutes 17.8.1911, 5.10.1911, 26,10,1911, 27.9.1912, 15.4.1915


61 Dormer became editor in 1879, after his reports of the battle of Isandhlwana had markedly impressed Solomon

62 Neame, op.cit. pp.13-15; Solomon, op.cit. passim

63 Cape Argus 1.7.1881, 26.2.1882; F.J.Dormer: article written December 1900, reprinted in Vengeance as a Policy in Afrikanderland, p.11; J.H.Hofmeyr: Onze
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

Jan, p.208; see also biographies of Cecil Rhodes by John Flint, p.55; J.G.Lockhart & C.M.Woodhouse, p.84; T.E.Fuller, p.148-9


65 F.J.Dormer to E.Powell, 21.11.1890, unclassified Powell Papers, Bristol University

66 F.J.Dormer to E. Powell, 7.9.1899, Powell Papers

67 ibid.

68 Dormer to Powell, 21.11.1890, Powell Papers; 'The Saint' was Ferdinand York St.Leger, founder and owner of the Cape Times; Walton was Edgar H. Walton, then part-owner of the Eastern Province Herald in Port Elizabeth

69 ibid.; see also Chapter II on the Argus Company in the Transvaal

70 Neame, op.cit. p.109

71 Cape Times 1.3.1898; G.Shaw: Garrett Papers, p.1201

72 Cape Argus 7.2.1906, 8.3.1906, 4.4.1906; see also Chapter II

73 Cape Argus 3.1.1906, 10.12.1906, 2.1.1907, 17.4.1906, 22.11.1906, 15.2.1907; Indian Opinion 18.3.1905, 9.6.1906, 7.9.1907; E.Bradlow: The Cape Community during the period of Responsible Government, in B.Pachai (Ed.): The International Aspects of the South African Indian Question, p.165

74 Cape Argus 9.1.1907, 30.1.1907; see also below, Cape Provincial Politics

75 quoted by Neame, op.cit. p.161

76 Anglo-African Who’s Who, 1905

77 Neame, op.cit. pp.161-167; Cape Times Minutes 4.8.1908

78 State Library Pretoria, List of Newspapers 1964; Neame op.cit. p.176; Newspaper Press Directory 1911

79 W.Scully to J.X.Merriman 6.1.1897, P.Lewsen (Ed.): Merriman Papers vol II, p.196;


81 J.X.Merriman to P.A.Molteno 6.2.1897, 18.8.1897; Molteno Papers p.58-9


FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

84 South African News 2.5.1899
86 South African News 12.6.1899
87 South African News 5.10.1901; Milner to Chamberlain 28.10.1900, Milner Papers II, p.187
89 J.W.Sauer to J.C.Smuts 3.3.1909; F.J.Centlivres to J.C.Smuts 8.4.1909; Smuts Papers II, pp.547,552,557
90 F.J.Centlivres to J.C.Smuts 12.5.1909, Smuts Papers II p.567
91 L.N.Thompson: The Unification of South Africa, p.453-4; Phillipson-Stow to Directors, South African News Co. Ltd, 31.5.1910, Merriman Papers IV, p.192
92 Newspaper Press Directory 1896; State Library Pretoria: List of Newspapers
93 P.J.Nienaber: 'n Beknopte Geskiedenis van die Hollandse-Afrikaanse Drukpers, p.20ff; J.H.Hofmeyr: Hofmeyr, pp.43,56,74,104
94 Zuid Afrikaan 12.3.1879, 13.8.1881, 16,8,1881, 22.5.1884, 26.5.1884; De Zuid Afrikaansche Tijdschrifte 1.12.1877
96 van de Sandt de Villiers Printing Company Ltd, 25.3.1892; CA: LC209/C157; Zuid Afrikaan 14.1.1892, April-August 1891 passim; the editor, Dr J.W.G.van Oordt, resisted pressure to translate editorials into English, or to "water down" the Afrikaner cause; Davenport, op.cit. p.141
97 Congress Notulen 1892, quoted in Davenport, op.cit. p.142; J.T.Molteno; The Dominion of Afrikanderdom, p.38; Hofmeyr, op.cit. p.441; unlike the English papers, Ons Land appeared three times a week, priced at 2d
98 vd S. de Villiers Printing Co Ltd, CA: LC209/C157; Ons Land 6.5.1897
99 Advertentieblad 19.4.1901; published 10.1.1901 to 18.7.1902; Men of the Times, 1906
100 Cape Times 4.1.1905; Ons Land 3.1.1905, 15.2.1901; Smuts to Merriman 22.6.1905, 31.8.1905, 4.3.1907, 17.2.1908, Smuts Papers II, pp.197,285,325,404
101 Die Burger 8.4.1932
102 Ons Land 30.8.1906, 1.9.1906, 4.9.1906, 6.9.1906, 8.9.1906, 11.9.1906; Star 17.9.1906, 19.9.1906, 22.9.1906, 3.10.1906; Selborne Memorandum
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

1.1.1907, Minutes of Ministers of Cape Colony 28.11.1906, Cd.3564/July 1907

103 Advertisement published 26.1.1911 in A.P.O.; Copies of the Spectator exist only to the end of 1902, but references were made to it in other papers until 1911; A.P.O. 12.3.1910; Izwi 21.1.1908


105 Spectator 29.6.1901, 21.8.1901; Izwi 22.7.1902

106 Spectator 9.2.1901, 5.10.1901, 25.10.1902

107 Cape Argus 12.12.1906; Saunders, op.cit. p.88; A.Odendaal: Vukani Bantu! pp.100,212

108 Cape Argus 17.4.1907

109 A.P.O. 12.3.1910; Cape Argus 5.1.1906

110 Odendaal, op.cit. p.98

111 Cape Argus 3.1.1906

112 ibid.

113 Die Patriot 15.1.1876; T.E.C.Cutten, op.cit, p.36; I. Hofmeyr: Building a Nation from Words; Wits History Workshop 1984, p.8

114 J.H.Hofmeyr: Life of J.H.Hofmeyr, p.414; Die Patriot 20.6.1878


116 Hofmeyr, op.cit. p.514; Davenport, op.cit. p.142

117 quoted in Davenport, op.cit. p.170; A.Joelson: Memoirs of Kohler of the K.W.V., p.60

118 Het Dagblad 30.9.1898; J.H.H.de Waal: Die Lewe van D.C.de Waal, p.231; Davenport, op.cit. p.176

119 Newspaper Press Directory 1900


121 Ons Land January 1905 passim

122 C.Lighton: 100 Years of the Diamond Fields Advertiser, pp.7-10; F.R.Statham: My Life’s Record, p.160; B.Ronan: 40 South African Years, p.88

123 Diamond Fields Advertiser 3.1.1896, 8.1.1896, 21.10.1896, 2.3.1897, 6,10,1897; H.H.Gous: The Diamond Fields Advertiser 1896-8, p.6; G.A.L.Green: An Editor Looks Back, p.64

124 Diamond Fields Advertiser 21.5.1897; B.Willan: Sol Plaatje, pp.50-51

125 Diamond Fields Advertiser Ltd. 1.4.1898, CA: LC221/9/C225; Green, op.cit. p.63ff.

126 Newspaper Press Directory 1900; Cape Times Minutes 13.10.1902

127 Lighton, op.cit. p.21; Green, op.cit. pp.62-82,143

128 ibid.; Neame, op.cit. p.158ff.
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

129 Neame, op.cit. p.207-8
131 Graaff-Reinet Printing & Publishing Company Ltd, CA: LC249/31/C563
132 Davenport, op.cit. p.142ff.
133 Hofmeyr to Te Water 27.8.1891; quoted by Davenport, op.cit. p.141-2
134 De Koloniale Drukpers Maatschappij Bpkt, 7.9.1892, CA: LC210/3A/C163; J.Flint: Cecil Rhodes, p.160-1
135 Koloniale Drukpers Mpy records: CA: LC210/3A/C163
137 Newspaper Press Directory 1894, 1900; Somerset Budget Ltd 23.1.1917: CA: LC231/90/C1552; Milner reported on his tour of the Southern and Southeastern Cape in the Spring of 1897, that Afrikander feeling was being "worked up" for the elections: "As the Dutch farmers are very ignorant, and only read papers which systematically mislead them, it is difficult to remove these false impressions." A.Milner to Lord Selborne 13.10.1897, Headlam I, p.99
138 Cape Times 13.1.1905
139 Stem 16.2.1905, 9.3.1905, 22.2.1906; Cape Times 13.1.1905, 22.2.1905
140 Newspaper Press Directory 1891, 1900
141 Newspaper Press Directory 1901, 1902, advertisement 1903
142 J.A.Hobson: The War in South Africa, p.208; Lewsen: Merriman Papers III, p.112n
143 Midland Printing & Publishing Company, CA: LC220/6/C204
144 Northern Newspaper Company Ltd, January 1908, CA:LC270/51/C889
146 Midland News 1.7.1902, 3.7.1902, 5.12.1902
148 Newspaper Press Directory 1890; Middellandsche Afrikaander Drukpers Maatschappij Bpkt, records, CA: LC225/11B/C271
149 Newspaper Press Directory 1895
150 Prospectus for The Journal, of Grahamstown, 1830, reprinted in L.H.Heurant: Sixty Years Ago, p.83ff
151 Journal 7.1.1902; Newspaper Press Directory 1900
152 Grocott's Daily Mail February-December 1899; Newspaper Press Directory 1896; L.J.Picton: NICPrint 50, p.52ff; se also T.E.C.Cutten, op.cit. p.28
153 Newspaper Press Directory, Colonial Supplement,
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

1885, 1900

154 Newspaper Press Directory 1902, advertisement and listings; Press Commission Report, Annexure 4, p.284ff; the population of the East London Electoral Division in 1904 stood at 58,975, of whom 4,697 were registered voters; 15,814 could read and write: Cape Census 1904, pp.9,250

155 Cutten, op.cit. pp.21-34; Press Commission Annexure 4, p.284

156 East London Daily Dispatch Ltd, 4.5.1915, CA: LC312/62/C1428

157 Queenstown Daily Representative (Pty) Ltd, 9.3.1921, CA: LC364/129/C2152


159 R. Solomon to J.X.Merriman 25.4.1903, Lewsen III p.385; South African News 15.9.1906; Eastern Province Herald 27.12.1905


161 Eastern Province Herald 24.3.1902; F.S. Malan, op.cit. p.54-5

162 Newspaper Press Directory 1908; Eastern Province Herald, Union Anniversary edition 31.5.1960; Port Elizabeth Electoral Division contained a population of 46,832, of whom registered voters numbered 10,851; inhabitants who could read and write were 19,571: Cape Census 1904, pp.9,250

163 Newspaper Press Directory 1900,1910


165 Kaffrarian Steam Printing Company Ltd, April 1895, CA: LC215/38/C71

166 J.T.Jabavu to J.Rose Innes 23.2.1895, quoted by Dickson, op.cit. p.12


168 South African Review 10.6.1896; see above on South African News, Diamond Fields Advertiser


170 King Printing Company Ltd 26.10.1901, CA: LC234/188/C358

171 Originally known as the Kaffir Express, the paper was split into two sections in 1876; Jabavu, op.cit. passim; Dickson, op.cit. passim

172 Newspaper Press Directory 1890, 1810

173 Act 14 of 1887; Jabavu, op.cit. p.40
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I

174  *Imvo* 23.3.1887
175 quoted by Dickson, op.cit. p.39
176 *Imvo* 10.3.1888, 3.4.1888; Dickson op.cit. p.42; the business became a partnership with John Knox Bokwe in 1898, in an attempt to heal the growing divisions between the Mfengu, for whom Jabavu spoke, and the Xhosa and Tembu, whom Izwi more usually represented; the partnership lasted only two years, and was replaced by Jabavu & Company; see S.Trapido: African divisional politics at the Cape, *JAH* IX,1,(1968),pp.79-98
178 ibid.
179 Molteno to Jabavu 18.9.1903, Solomon p.228
180 Jabavu & Company, CA: LC230/15/C315
181 Molteno to Jabavu 18.9.1903, Solomon p.228
182 *South African Spectator* quoted in *Imvo* 3.12.1907, Jabavu op.cit. p.136
184 Jabavu, op.cit. p.29
186 *South African News* 6.12.1899
188 *Izwi* 22.8.1901
189 W.B.Rubusana to C.J.Rhodes 12.5.1900, quoted in Odendaal, op.cit. p.16,295n87
190 *Eagle Printing Press Company Ltd* 15.11.1899, CA: LC228/14A/C298
191 Company letter heads, ibid; advertisement, *Newspaper Press Directory* 1903;
193 *Izwi* 3.9.1901, 21.8.1906
194 *Izwi* 19.8.1902
195 *Izwi* 23.10.1906, 21.1.1908, 24.3.1908, 28.4.1908; *Imvo* 27.6.1905, 15.5.1906
196 *Izwi* 21.8.1908, 10.3.1908
197 *Izwi* 16.4.1909
198 *Izwi* 22.1.1907, 12.11.1907, 14.1.1908, 21.1.1908
199 *Izwi* 24.3.1908
200 Record of Proceedings of Ninth Congress of the Newspaper Press Union, Bulawayo, 8.11.1897, S.A.L. A 070.GNEW
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER I


203 Odendaal, op.cit. p.51; L. & D. Switzer, The Black Press in South Africa and Lesotho

204 SANAC Report 1905, para.322; Cape Argus 19.9.1906

205 E.T.Cook: Edmund Garrett, pp.83,142
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

CHAPTER II

1 Staats Courant 25.9.1857; 1859 title changed to Gouwernements Courant; De Oude Emigrant 15.10.1859, deceased October 1862?


3 Newspaper Press Directory 1900, 1908; Dictionary of South African Biography, vol. IV


6 Newspaper Press Directory 1895,1896

7 De Voortrekker, Vryheids Drukpers Maatschappij Bpkt, 5.2.1898-23-9-1899; S.A.L. Microform Newspapers Listing 1888

8 Standard 7.3.1903, 11.2.1905, 22.3.1905, 8.4.1905, 13.10.1906; see also D.Denoon: Capitalist Influence and the Transvaal Government, H.J.11,2(1968) pp.301-31

9 State Library Pretoria List of Newspapers; Newspaper Press Directory 1890-1910

10 P.Fitzpatrick to H.Graumann 11.9.1888, Duminy & Guest p.14

11 Newspaper Press Directory 1895,1896

12 Newspaper Press Directory 1890, 1895, 1905


14 Volkstem 22.1.1878; suppressed 1.10.1878 - 23.11.1878; Shepstone to Bartle Frere, October 1878?, quoted by Cutten, op.cit. p.54; Volkstem 17.12.1880


16 Volkstem 30.7.1888, 15.3.1890, 10.4.1890: this latter date announced the Government’s holding of £1,125 worth of shares in the business

17 Volkstem 7.2.1889, 27.9.1893, 18.7.1894, 17.8.1895, 30.12.1895; Land en Volk 12.4.1892


19 Volkstem 19.2.1891, 24.8.1897, 15.4.1897,
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

11.1.1899, 11.7.1899; P.G. Badenhorst, op.cit. p.53
20 Volkstem 20.4.1880; Badenhorst, op.cit. p.20
21 Volkstem 26.6.1890, 18.2.1896, 21.6.1899
22 Volkstem 12.5.1890, 4.2.1899
23 State Library Pretoria List of Newspapers; Badenhorst, op.cit. p.24-9
24 I. Wallach: The Perfect Gentleman, pp.1,24; H.C. de Kock: F.V. Engelenberg, p.21
25 Volkstem 8.10.1895
26 Land en Volk 26.11.1895; Star 17.8.1897; Volkstem 11.6.1896; Badenhorst, op.cit. p.11
28 Land en Volk 10.1.1893; letter from B. Gluckstein, ex-editor of the Press; H. Kaye: The Tycoon and the President, p.96-7; Johannesburg Times 4.1.1895 - 27.10.1896; South African Telegraph 1.8.1895 - 3.9.1898; L. Weinthal: Memories, Mines and Millions, p.15; Press 22.5.1897
29 Pretoria News 11.7.1898
30 Land en Volk 10.10.1888 - 30.8.1907; P. Fitzpatrick: The Transvaal from Within, p.74
31 Land en Volk 7.7.1891, 29.9.1892, 26.1.1892, 1.3.1892, 6.7.1893; C.T. Gordon: The Internal Political State of the South African Republic 1890-1895, University of the Witwatersrand M.A. Thesis 1962, p.34ff
32 Selborne to P. Duncan 19.2.1906, Duncan Papers, UCT: BC294 D6.2.3
33 Land en Volk 30.9.1904, 20.1.1905, 10.2.1905
34 Volkstem 7.1.1905, 8.2.1905
35 Selborne to P. Duncan 19.2.1906, Duncan Papers, UCT: BC294 D6.2.3
36 Oost followed General J.C.G. Kemp as editor of Die Vaderland, a Pretoria paper founded in 1915
37 Milner to P. Duncan 31.5.1924, Duncan Papers BC294 C12.109
38 Milner to Duncan 13.8.1924, Duncan Papers BC294 C12.114; Pretoria News 17.5.1909, 28.1.1909
41 Hay & Herbert News 24.7.1909; Transvaal Mining Argus 25.2.1887 - 22.9.1893
42 E. Rosenthal: South African Dictionary of National Biography; Star 2.10.1885
43 Transvaal Mining Argus 21.9.1887; Rand Daily Mail 22.9.1906: The Fourth Estate, Reminiscences of a
Press Pioneer

M.S.Appelgryn: Johannesburg, Origins and Early Management, UniSA 1985, p.52ff; Rand Daily Mail 22.9.1906

L.Phillips to J.Wernher 8.12.1894; Fraser & Jeeves, pp.76,94n64; Gordon, op.cit. p.88; South African News 12.6.1899

Star 2.6.1899; Standard & Diggers News 5.6.1899; South African News 3.6.1899, 5.6.1899, 12.6.1899; Mendelssohn was offered the Johannesburg Sewerage Concession in 1898, see E.Marais: The Fall of Kruger's Republic, p.135

Executive Council Minute 5.4.1899, Leyds Papers, quoted by C.T.Gordon, op.cit. p.88

Weekly Press 5.10.1895; Volksraad Debates 20.7.1890, 15.8.1890; Star 2.10.1895; Gordon op.cit. p.88

Rand Daily Mail 22.9.1906; Cape Times Minutes 15.5.1902; see also C.van Onselen: Studies in the Social & Economic History of the Witwatersrand, for an indication of the coverage of social conditions by the Standard & Diggers News


Argus Printing & Publishing Company, 1886 Deed of Settlement, SAPL

Neame, op.cit. p.41; Star 18.10.1937; Staats Courant 1.5.1889

L.J.Picton: NICPrint 50, pp.36,110ff

Argus Printing & Publishing Company, 8.6.1889 Deed of Settlement, SAPL; Argus Printing & Publishing Company Ltd, CA: LC196 (C64); Press Commission Report, Annexure IV, p.53ff; those companies which provided stable backing for his newspapers also provided worthwhile investments for Dormer's private portfolio: in 1893 he received shares in Rand Mines; see R.Kubicek: Economic Imperialism in Theory and Practice, p.55ff

Eastern Star 29.3.1889

Star 28.10.1889; Neame, op.cit. p.47

Star editorial of July 1889 quoted by Neame, op.cit. p.50

January 1889, printed in F.J.Dormer: Vengeance as a Policy in Afrikanderland, p.218ff

Dormer to E.Powell 7.9.1889, 21.11.1890, unclassified Powell Papers, Bristol University

25.5.1891, Neame, op.cit. p.63

Dormer to Annual General Meeting, Argus Printing & Publishing Co. 1891, quoted in Neame, op.cit. p.63

Neame, op.cit. pp.64-5; Mashonaland Herald 27-8-1891 - 8.9.1892

Dormer to AGM, Argus Printing & Publishing Co.
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1895, quoted by Neame, op.cit. p.70; Bulawayo Chronicle 12.10.1894

64 Neame, op.cit. p.61

65 Star 16.7.1899, 14.4.1889, 21.8.1891, 10.1.1896; see also Star 10.10.1937; M.S.Appelgryn: Johannesburg, p.128

66 Neame, op.cit. p.81, Dormer, op.cit. p.215

67 January 1895, July 1895, printed in Dormer, op.cit, p.204ff

68 Dormer, op.cit. p.219; E.T.Cook: Edmund Garrett, pp.85-6n

69 Dormer, op.cit. p.221; Star 23.7.1895

70 Press Commission Report, Annexure 4, pp.53-6; Tudhope died in 1804 and was replaced by Thomas Honey


73 Star January 1896, passim


75 P.Fitzpatrick to J.Rose Innes 12.2.1897, Fitzpatrick to L. Phillips 23.12.1896, 8.2.1897, Dumin & Guest, pp.76,83,87; Uns Volk 8.2.1897

76 Argus Company Minutes 24.3.1897, quoted in Neame, op.cit. p.100; Dormer, op.cit. p.23

77 Cutten, op.cit. p.99-100

78 Comet 25.3.1897; Standard & Diggers News 25.3.1897; Dormer, op.cit. p.25

79 quoted by Neame, op.cit. p.109

80 P.Fitzpatrick to LPhillips 18.10.1897, Duminy & Guest, pp.125,489n43; Fitzpatrick to A. Beit 27.9.1897

81 ibid.

82 A.E.Fraser to A.Milner 10.7.1898, quoted by A.N.Porter: Sir Alfred Milner and the Press, p.331n31

83 S.Evans to W.T.Stead 7.7.1898, quoted by A.N.Porter, op.cit. p.331: Dormer, op.cit. p.135

84 Fitzpatrick to J.Wernher 30.1.1899, Duminy & Guest, p.174; for a survey of Milner's newspaper links see A.N.Porter: Sir Alfred Milner and the Press 1897-9, Historical Journal XVI(1973) p.323-339

85 C.Greene to A.Milner 10.3.1899; Porter, op.cit. pp.333-5; V.Stent to E.Chappell 29.7.1914, Duncan Papers BC294 C12/194; H.C.de Kock in I.Wallach: The Perfect Gentleman, p.21
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86 A.Milner to C.Greene 11.3.1899, Headlam I, 325; G.Halle: Mayfair to Maritzburg, p.226
87 Dormer, op.cit. p.100-135
88 Greene to Milner 11.9.1897; Star 3.9.1897, 4.9.1897; Cd. 9345/1899
89 Dormer, op.cit. pp.18,278; but see also J.A.Hobson; The War in South Africa, pp.157,193
90 G.V.Fiddes to A.Milner 7.4.1899; Porter, op.cit. p.336; Monypenny to Walrond 14.5.1899, Headlam I, p.344
92 Star 3.3.1905
93 see below, chapters 3,4
94 The Government Gazette was a weekly issue of an average 77 pages, at an average 3,100 issues per edition, and a yearly expenditure of £50,000; it was becoming a paying concern when the Star restarted in 1902, and, although it did not benefit from advertisement revenue, was a prestigious printing contract to hold; the Government Printing Works were likewise a desirable acquisition, with 14 printing presses of modern design, complete with folding, stitching and litho facilities, besides Steam and Electrical Generators; part of the Argus deal was to offer supplies through its own London agents, already contracted to the Cape and Orange River Colony Government Printing Offices, more cheaply than were available through the Crown Agents; Raitt to Colonial Secretary 3.2.1904; Argus Company to Colonel Glynn, High Commissioner's Office 18.11.1903; W.E.Fairbridge to Colonial Secretary 7.1.1904, TA: CS1081/062/03
95 Colonial Secretary to Argus Company 29.3.1904, TA: CS1081/062/03
96 W.E.Fairbridge to Colonial Secretary 4.5.1904, 24.11.1904, TA: CS1081/062/03
97 Robinson's Diary 10.3.1905, quoted in J.E.Wrench: Geoffrey Dawson and Our Times, p.40ff
98 ibid; A.Milner to A.Lyttelton 2.4.1905, Headlam I, p.539; D.Denoon: A Grand Illusion p.182
99 Wrench, op.cit. p.58ff; Neame, op.cit. pp.146-157
100 G.Shaw: South African Telegraph v. Cape Times p.8
101 L.Phillips to Ecksteins 4.2.1899, Fraser & Jeeves, p.111
103 Transvaal Leader 10.8.1899
104 Hobson, op.cit. p.209
105 Cape Times Minutes 11.4.1899
106 Cape Times Minutes 2.8.1901, 7,3,1902, 7,4,1902, 12,5,1902; see above, Chapter 1
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER II

107 E.J.Edwards to Directors, Cape Times Co. Ltd. 15.5.1902; Cape Times Minutes 15.5.1902
108 ibid.
109 ibid.
110 ibid.
111 Cape Times Minutes 15.5.1902, 26.5.1902, 14.8.1902
112 Cape Times Minutes 14.8.1902
113 Cape Times Minutes 7.11.1902, 8.12.1902
114 Cape Times Minutes 14.12.1903
115 Cape Times Minutes 4.6.1912
116 Rand Daily Mail 24.9.1902, 22.9.1906
117 E.J.Edwards to Cape Times Directors, Minutes 15.5.1902; S.Evans to P.Fitzpatrick 15.5.1905, Duminy & Guest, p.389
118 Rand Daily Mail 22.9.1906; Press Commission Report Annexure 4, p.359ff; Rand Daily Mail 22.9.1906; see Appendix B, C.N.A.
119 Press Commission Report, Annexure 4, p.359ff; Rand Daily Mail 27.1.1903, 22.9.1906
120 Sunday Times 4.2.1906
121 Editors of the South African Mining Journal who moved to daily papers included Robert J Pakeman, of the Star, Transvaal Leader, and Daily Express; Clifford Tainton of the Evening Chronicle; H. Wilson Fox of the Diamond Fields Advertiser; and John Stuart of the South African Telegraph; see also B.Bozzoli: The Political Nature of a Ruling Class, pp.26.40ff
123 Rand Daily Mail 16.5.1904; TA: GOV150 GEN362/04; see also Odendaal, op.cit. pp.51,149
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

CHAPTER III

1 Newspaper Press Directory 1900-1910
2 ibid; Census 1911; Education of the People, pp.328-343,x1ff; 82% of Natal whites could read and write, only 3% of blacks; in the Free State, 73% of whites could read and write, 10% of blacks
3 Friend Centenary Supplement 10.6.1950
4 ibid; Press Commission Report, Annexure 4, p.63ff
6 Friend 10.6.1950; A.G. Barlow: Almost in Confidence, p.30
7 Friend 7.1.1896
8 Friend 1.6.1899, 29.9.1899; Barlow, op.cit. p.69
9 Barlow, op. cit. p.68
10 Friend 15.8.1890, 2.1.1894: 10.6.1950
11 Friend 25.2.1875; Cutten, op.cit. pp45-9
12 Friend 10.8.1850
13 ibid.
14 ibid; Newspaper Press Directory 1890-1900
16 There was also a supplement entitled Het Oranje Vrystaatsche Familie Blad, Een Weekblad voor Jong en Oud, which had serialised Josiah Angove’s “The Transvaal of Today” in Dutch, controversial because it was generally considered to be derogatory of the British in South Africa; Express 5.6.1879 - 18.2.1880
17 Friend 27.7.1882, 14.5.1890
19 ibid; South Western Printing & Publishing Company Ltd, CA: LC229/14B/C310
20 Friend 16.3.1900
21 Bloemfontein Post 1.5.1900; Friend 10.6.1950; Barlow, op.cit. p.66-82
22 The Lourenco Marques Guardian was begun in 1805, owned by A.W. Bayly & Company, proprietors of the Barberton Herald & Gold Fields News, and of the Harrismith Chronicle; the Argus Company bought shares in 1922, but retained them for only four years: losses were continuous, but the project was sustained because of its value to the mining industry in labour recruitment in South East Africa; Paver Brothers, established by B.F.G. Paver and F.R. Paver, set up African Newspapers Ltd, later becoming the Bantu Press, which by 1934 had
purchased and amalgamated Imvo, Izwi, and Mochochonono: by 1946, 11 of the 13 African papers then available in South Africa were controlled by the Bantu Press, in which the Argus Company were major share-holders: R.Ainslie: The Press in Africa, p.42ff

23 Argus Company, Bloemfontein Branch Manager to Acting Colonial Secretary, Bloemfontein 16.3.1905, TA: GOV914/PS66/15/05

24 Governor's Private Secretary to W.E.Fairbridge 22.3.1905, TA: GOV914/PS66/15/05

25 Milner to J.P.Fitzpatrick 18.8.1905, Duminy & Guest, p.408

26 ibid.

27 Neame, op.cit. p.192ff; Press Commission Report, Annexure 4, p.63ff; John Martin replaced William Fairbridge as the General Manager of the Argus Company in 1915; he was later a Director of the Central Mining Investment Corporation and Chairman of Rand Mines, President of the Newspaper Press Union, 1918-1921, and first chairman of the National Industrial Council for Printing in 1819; see H.Lindsay Smith: Behind the Press in South Africa, for a particularly vitriolic attack on both Martin and the Argus Company

28 Press Commission Report, Annexure 4, p.63ff; Barlow, op.cit. p.51

29 Barlow, op.cit. p.99; Press Commission Report, Annexure 4, p.63ff; Friend 10.6.1950

30 De Wekelijksche Vriend 9.7.1904; De Vriend des Volks 1.10.1905


33 Friend 10.6.1950; Press Commission Report, op.cit.; Barlow, op.cit. p.100

34 Post 10.5.1806; De Vriend: Dr O'Kulus se Oogdruppels vir Nasionale sieknes; see Irving Hexham: Totalitarian Calvinism, p.200ff; Barlow op.cit. p.119

35 A previous national paper was the South African Farmer's Advocate & Home Journal, owned by H.H. Beamish but printed from its commencement in 1903 by the Bloemfontein Post; it was eventually bought out and liquidated by The Friend Newspapers Ltd; both were advertised as non-political, and distributed through all four colonies; Friend 10.6.1950

36 Drew became a Member of the Legislative Council in
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

1907 as a Constitutionalist; he entered the Union Parliament in 1915 as a Unionist; Friend 10.6.1950; Dictionary of South African Biography; Cape Times Minutes 1909 passim; Odendaal, op.cit. p.170-3

37 Both Mackenzie and Drew opposed the Nationalists as editors of the Friend; Karroo Drukpers Maatschappij Bpkt, 15.5.1903, CA: LC245/28A/C510; Friend 10.6.1950; Argus Annual 1897; G.A.L.Green: An Editor Looks Back, p.167; Christian Zinn was a founder of the Afrikaanse Koerant Maatschappij in Cape Town in 1912, publishers of Die Voorloper, the first weekly paper wholly in Afrikaans in South Africa; money was provided by F.W.Reitz, Louis Botha, and J.B.M.Hertzog, amongst others, but the company was liquidated in 1913; CA: LC296/69/C1122

38 Friend 10.6.1950; see also H.Lindsay Smith: Behind the Press in South Africa

39 Newspaper Press Directory 1900-1910; the English edition of the Kroonstad Times did appear three times a week; A.H.Smith, op.cit. p.101ff

40 Cutten, op.cit. p.39ff

41 T.Shepstone to Henrique Shepstone, Shepstone Papers 374, quoted by Cutten, op.cit. p.42

42 ibid.

43 ibid.

44 ibid.


46 B.Ronan: Forty South African years, p.216; Natal Mercury 10.5.1902, article by Ronan; see also Indian Opinion passim; A.J.van Wyk: Roses and Rue, in B.Pachai (Ed): South Africa’s Indians, p.93ff


48 see below, Chapter 4; Nienaber, op.cit. p.76ff; L.E.van Niekerk: Dr W.J.Leyds in die Suid-Afrikaanse Politiek 1802-40, p.90; D.W.Kruger: Die Afrikaner se Erfporsie, in Dagbreek en Landstem 8.3.1970


50 Mark Radebe, Evidence to the South African Native Affairs Commission, 9.5.1904, SANAC III, p.539

51 Natal Witness 13.4.1901

52 Odendaal, op.cit. p.81; SANAC III, p.539

53 SANAC Report, pp.323-4; see also S.Marks: The Ambiguities of Dependence JSAS 1,2. (April 1975) p.162
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER III

55 ibid.
56 ibid; Newspaper Press Directory 1882, 1891, 1900
57 Natal Mercury 1.5.1902, 10.5.1902
58 Natal Mercury 9.5.1902; Indian Opinion 3.11.1906, 3.2.1906
59 Newspaper Press Directory 1880, 1900; it advertised itself as "a weekly journal for all interested in South African affairs", and contained political and financial news
60 Natal Mercury letters 2.5.1902, 17.11.1908
61 B.Pachai: History of Indian Opinion, p.28-9; Indian Opinion 4.6.1903
62 M.K.Gandhi: An Appeal to Every Briton in South Africa, 1895; The Indian Franchise - An Appeal, 1895; Indian Opinion 4.6.1903
63 Indian Opinion 4.6.1902, 17.11.1904, 18.1.1907, 1906 passim; see B.Pachai, op.cit. p.28ff
64 Times of Natal 13.6.1903
65 quoted in Indian Opinion 24.10.1908; L.E.Neame: The Asiatic Danger in the Colonies; B.Pachai, op.cit. p.72
66 S.Marks, op.cit. p.165
67 "Rise Up, You People!", quoted in Izwi 5.6.1906; Odendaal, op.cit. p.70; S.Marks: Reluctant Rebellion, p.333
68 Izwi 5.6.1906; Governor to Minister of Native Affairs 21.9.1906, quoted by Odendaal, op.cit. p.71
69 J.L.Dube to F.R.Moor 4.8.1908, quoted by S.Marks: The Ambiguities of Dependence, p.174
70 Ilanga lase Natal 5.3.1909
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

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1 See, for example, Cape Argus 27.3.1902, 28.3.1902, 3.4.1902, 5.4.1902, 10.4.1902
2 Newspaper Press Directory 1899-1903
3 "The Newspaper Press of South Africa", article in Newspaper Press Directory, 1900
5 Selborne to A.Milner 11.11.1897, A.Milner to J.Chamberlain 23.2.1898, Headlam I, pp.106,218; this latter letter referred to the dismissal of Chief Justice J.G.Kotze from the Transvaal Bench
6 A.Milner, diary 3.3.1898, Headlam I, p.247; Cape Times 5.3.1898; Cape Argus 4.3.1898; the Cape Times missed its 'scoop' on this occasion, when Garrett was away in Huizenberg and the sub-editor went home early missing the reams of late telegraphs sent by their correspondent; the paper recovered its reputation with Garrett's 'scoop' interview with Rhodes some days later, in which Rhodes emerged from his political silence following the Jameson Raid as a Progressive opposed to the "little gang in Camp Street;"
7 F.E.Garrett to A.Garrett 9.3.1898; The Times 7.3.1898; Daily News 7.3.1898; Manchester Guardian 9.3.1898 letter from F.R.Statham
8 Conyngham Greene to A.Milner 11.9.1897; Star 4.9.1897; Standard & Diggers News 3.9.1897; in Cd.9345/1899; E. Fraser to A.Milner 6.10.1898; Cape Colony Ministers to Governor 24.1.1899; Cd.9404/1899; see also Star 17.3.1899, 28.7.1899; Press 26.7.1899; Transvaal Leader 28.7.1899; Standard & Diggers News 28.7.1899; South African News 8.7.1899; in Conyngham Greene to Milner 9.7.1899, 28.7.1899; Cd.9518/1899
9 ibid.
10 Milner to Chamberlain 11.4.1899, Cd.9345/1899; Milner to Chamberlain 14.6.1899, Cd.9415/1899; Cape Times 10.6.1899, 13.6.1899; Cape Times Minutes 1898-1900 passim
11 Ons Land 2.6.1898, article sent by Milner to Chamberlain 7.6.1898; Milner to Chamberlain 18.5.1898, Headlam I pp.253-5; J.A.Hobson: The War in South Africa, p.109
12 Milner to Chamberlain 1.3.1899, Cd.9345/1899;
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Cape Times 22.2.1899
14 ibid.
15 Milner to Chamberlain 5.9.1899, Cd.9530/1899; Greene to Milner 19.7.1899; Uitlander Council to Conyngham Greene 18.7.1899; Greene to Milner 2.9.1899; Milner to Chamberlain 4.9.1899; in Cd.9521/1899
16 Milner to G.V.Fiddes 23.12.1898, Headlam I, p.288; Daily Chronicle 9.9.1899; see also S.Koss: The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain; Dictionary of National Biography
17 H.W.Massingham to J.Bryce 5.12.1899; Massingham resigned 21.11.1899, which changed the Daily Chronicle's views overnight; S.Koss, op.cit. p.384
18 J.A.Hobson: The Psychology of Jingoism, 1901, pp.19-29,109,125; Manchester Guardian 11, 15, 21, 25, 26, July 1899; Hobson conducted a correspondence with Edmund Garrett in the letter columns of The Times regarding their antipathetic views: The Times 30.10.1900, 2.11.1900,6.11.1900, 13.11.1900, 24.12.1900; sales of the Manchester Guardian dropped from 41,000 to 36,000; D.Ayerst: Biography of a Newspaper pp.274-281
20 South African News 1.7.1899, 5.7.1899; Ons Land 8.6.1899; Milner to Chamberlain 18.5.1898, 7.6.1898 enclosing Ons Land article of 2.6.1898, "a fine type of a large number to the same effect," which criticised the Ministry; the Cape Times was "fair-minded"; Milner to Chamberlain 12.7.1898, 19.10.1898; Headlam I, pp.234-5,262,282; Hansard Parliamentary Debates, IVth Series, LXXV, 728-36
21 Milner to Chamberlain 5.4.1899, Headlam I, p.353
22 E.T.Cook to A.Milner 20.7.1899; Selborne to A.Milner 27.7.1899; G.E.Buckle to A.Milner 18.8.1899; P. Lyttelton Gell to A.Milner 25.8.1899; Milner to Chamberlain 27.9.1899; Headlam I, pp.355,473,497,546
23 Volkstem was produced in both Dutch and English from 2.10.1899 until 31.5.1900; Veldtocht edities Elandslaagte 14.11.1899, Kroonstad 29.3.1900, TA: G.S.Preller argief A787, 10-11-15/67; A.H.Smith: The Spread of Printing, pp.146-7; Cutten, op.cit. p.68
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

24 Zoutpansberg Wachter 30.11.1899, 8.3.1901, proofs; TA: G.S.Preller argief A787 10-11-15/67
for Kipling’s Friend, see above, chapter III; Friend 10.6.1950; Friend 16.3.1900; A.Milner to R.Kipling n.d. quoted by A.G.Barlow: Almost in Confidence, p.82

25 ibid.

26 E.J.Lugard 23.8.1900, copy to Monypenny; TA: GOV549/PS185/01

27 Argus Printing & Publishing Co to A.Milner 8.11.1901; TA: GOV549/PS185/Star

28 O. Walrond to Congreve 11.12.1901; Military Governor’s Office to Walrond 25.11.1901; TA: GOV549/PS185/Star

29 O.Walrond to Congreve 11.12.1901; Congreve to Walrond 12.12.1901; TA: GOV549/PS185/01

30 P.Duncan to O.Walrond 21.11.1901; Walrond to Assistant Secretary, Transvaal Administration 10.12.1901; Assistant Private Secretary to Transvaal Leader Syndicate 22.4.1902; TA: GOV549/PS185/Star; Hess’ Critic was refused permission to republish in 1901, without reason given, agreed only 7.7.1902

31 D.F.du Toit was the brother of Rev. S.J.du Toit, editor of Die Patriot, who published articles in the paper under the pseudonym Oom Lokomotief; J.N.Blignaut, Kroonstad 25.8.1899, Cd.420/1900

32 J.Hershensohn Snr to A.Hine 7.1.1902; TA: GOV549/PS185/01

33 Walrond to Secretaries, Transvaal and Orange River Colony Administrations 31.10.1902; Assistant Private Secretary to editor, Die Patriot 28.1.1903; H.A.Wilson to J.Hershensohn 11.2.1903; TA: GOV549/PS185/01; L.E.van Niekerk, op.cit. p.90; see above, chapter II, Transvaal Newspapers

34 A.Milner to J.Chamberlain 11.10.1899, Headlam II, p.19; Newspaper Press Directory 1900, 1901

35 J.C.Molteno to P.A.Molteno 18.10.1899, 25.10.1899, Solomon: Selections from the Correspondence of P.A.Molteno, pp. 111-114

36 R.Buller memo 7.12.1899; Kitchener memo 30.1.1800; L.S.Amery: The Times History of the War in South Africa, VI, pp.547ff

37 Northern Post 11.4.1902; Midland News 24.1.1902; Newspaper Press Directory 1900

38 Amery, op.cit. VI, pp.553,559; see, for example, The Times 4.2.1901, which contained a full page advertisement headed, in bold print, "I thank God we have kept the flag flying", advertising war pictures of the Relief of Ladysmith free to all purchasers of Bovril; Pen Pictures of the War,
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER IV

London 1900; South African journalists who published books on the war included Ben Viljoen: My Reminiscences of the Anglo-Boer War, London 1902, and H.M.Guest, editor and proprietor of the Klerksdorp Mining Record, who printed his own Incidents in the Western Transvaal, Klerksdorp 1902; British correspondents included Bennet Burleigh of the Daily Mail: The Natal Campaign, which ran to three editions in 1900; Julian Ralph, also of the Daily Mail: Towards Pretoria, the thrilling story, which also ran to three editions; Alfred Kinnear, Michael Davitt, and of course L.S.Amery of The Times, who wrote The Times History of the War in South Africa

Martial law was declared in the Cape 17.1.1900; A.Milner to J.Chamberlain 17.1.1900, 31.1.1900, Cd.264/1900; A.Milner to J.Chamberlain 28.10.1900, 14.11.1900, Cd.547/1900; Headlam II, pp.53,65,167,170

South African News 9.2.1901; The Times 16.1.1901; Het Oosten 28.3.1901; W.Hely Hutchinson to J.Chamberlain 19.4.1901, Cd.903/1902

The Times 16.5.1901, 21.5.1901, 22.5.1901; Le Temps 19.5.1902; South African News 12.12.1900 reported the Bond meeting at Worcester; Hansard Parliamentary Debates IVth Series, XCIII, 400 (1901)

Ons Land 8.1.1901; Advertentieblad published 10-1-1901 - 19.7.1902; South African News 14.1.1901; Merriman Diary 10.10.1901, Lewsen III, p.307

J.T.Jabavu to P.A.Molteno 24.8.1900, 3.2.1900; Solomon, pp.132,187; Percy Molteno was the London representative of Currie's Union Castle Co; he helped Jabavu's son's education in North Wales at this time; Imvo was banned August 1901 - October 1902

Martial law was declared in Natal 15.10.1899, withdrawn 4.10.1902; Memo, Ministers to W.Hely Hutchinson June 1899; W.Hely Hutchinson to J.Chamberlain 12.8.1899; Natal Witness 20.2.1900; in Cd.44/1900; Natal Witness 15.5.1902, 27.5.1902; Natal Mercury 8.5.1902; in Cd.941/1902

Midland News, advertisement Newspaper Press Directory 1903; Midland News 2.8.1902, 12.2.1902, 4,14,17,18,19,21.6.1902

A. Milner to J.Chamberlain 14.12.1899, 10.9.1900; Headlam II, pp.29,123-4

A.Milner to W.Hely Hutchinson 30.1.1902; Headlam II, p.407

A.Milner to C.J.Rhodes 30.1.1902; A.Milner to C.Boyd 31.1.1902, 15.3.1902; Headlam II,
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pp.405,409-10


51 Eastern Province Herald 3.1.1902, 10.1.1902, 12.3.1902

52 Cape Argus 31.5.1902; A.Milner to Vigilance Committee 30.4.1902; Headlam II, p.415

53 Cape Times 31.12.1901; Cape Argus 13.1.1902

54 Cape Times 30.5.1902, 3,7,11,18,6.1902; Cape Argus 4,19,25,27.6.1902; Grahamstown Journal 5,10,19.6.1902; Diamond Fields Advertiser 17.5.1902; Northern Post 20.6.1902

55 Midland News 17.6.1902; Grahamstown Journal 10.6.1902; East London Daily Dispatch 2.6.1902, 5.6.1902, 1,4,7,17.7.1902; Queenstown Representative 5.6.1902; Eastern Province Herald 30.6.1902

56 J.Chamberlain to W. Hely Hutchinson 2.7.1902, Cd.1162/1902; Midland News 7.7.1902; Daily Dispatch 7.7.1902

57 Grahamstown Journal 8.7.1902, 10.7.1902, 21.7.1902; Cape Times 7.7.1902, 10.7.1902, 21.7.1902; Cape Argus 7.7.1902


60 Cape Times 18.6.1902; Cape Argus 27.6.1902; South African News 26.9.1902, 12.11.1902; Ons Land 13.11.1902

61 A.Milner to W.Basil Worsfold 24.10.1902: Milner described the Cape as the "Achilles' heel" of South Africa, Headlam II, p.428; Cape Argus 16.10.1902, 29.10.1902; South African News 29.10.1902, 1.11.1904, 10.2.1904; Ons Land 30.9.1902, 9.2.1904, 6.5.1905;

62 Midland News 1.7.1902, 7.7.1902; Het Oosten April 1903 passim; Cape Times 16.9.1903; Cape Argus 8.12.1902

63 A.Milner to J.Chamberlain 28.6.1902, Headlam II, pp.415-6

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CHAPTER V

1. Minute from Emrys Evans, re: Chief Censor, Cape Town to Chief Censor, Pretoria, 13.7.1900; TA: GOV549/PS185/Star

2. Ernest Collins, Manager, Reuters Telegraph Company, to T.Sheffield, n.d.(12-20.12.1901?); Reuter's service was to start 30.12.1901, the general service at £15 p.m. and the special war service at an extra £10 p.m., with a special cable link to Cape Town while the Leader was out of print at £25 p.m.; T.Sheffield to A.Milner 8.11.1901; T.Sheffield to O.Walrond 10.12.1901, 20.12.1901; O.Walrond to T.Sheffield 20.12.1901; Walrond advised Sheffield to consult the military authorities regarding the guarantee of the telegraph supply, but told him not to mention "our staff or the H.C. in regard to these things." TA: GOV549/PS185/Star

3. Star 2.1.1902, 9.5.1902, 13.5.1902, 14.5.1902

4. Cape Argus 20.5.1902; Bloemfontein Post 9.5.1902; the editor of the Star held the control of national policy: see above, chapter II

5. W.Hosken for Transvaal Leader Syndicate to Assistant Private Secretary 8.4.1902, 21.4.1902; Assistant Private Secretary to W. Hosken, Transvaal Leader Syndicate 22.4.1902; see also P.Chas. Falconer, Government Printer to O.Walrond 2.1.1902: "If my friend Sheffield is given an inch now by getting first chop of anything he may claim an ell as a right when say for instance the Leader starts."; GOV549/PS185/Star

6. E.J.Edwards to Directors, Cape Times Ltd 15.5.1902; Cape Times Minutes 14.8.1902, 9.9.1902; The Times 20.3.1901

7. ibid; J.Chamberlain to A.B.Markham in The Times 20.3.1901: "Why shouldn't Messrs. Eckstein acquire a paper if they desire to do so?..."; the plant and premises of the Transvaal Leader were found to be completely inadequate for the anticipated work: new premises were constructed and restocked at a cost of £97,000; the money was provided by a loan from Ecksteins and a share issue in February 1904, of which most was taken by Boyd and Carpenter, the Corner House representatives on the Cape Times Board; from April 1904, 74,250 of the 150,000 issued shares in the Company were owned by H.C.Boyd, F.J.Carpenter, L.Reyersbach, A.Ries, and F.Rutherford Harris; Fred Luke St Leger (who held 9,700 shares) usually acted as alternate at Director's meetings for Boyd, the largest single
shareholder; Rutherfoord Harris had originally objected to the proposed sale of the Leader, but did not pursue this objection; Cape Times Minutes 28.5.1902, 14.7.1902, 3.8.1902, 14.8.1902, 23.10.1902, 30.11.1902, 14.12.1903, 24.12.1903, list of shareholders as at 11.4.1904

8 P. Fitzpatrick to J. Wernher 23.8.1902, Duminy & Guest p.342; Fitzpatrick thought the political agitation "worked" by Dale Lace and "a very low class labour leader."


10 Cape Times 8.12.1902

11 Cape Times 23.1.1902; Rand Daily Mail 22.12.1902, 24.12.1902


13 Friend January - March 1904; E. Hobhouse to J.C. Smuts 11.4.1904, Hancock and van der Poel: Selections from the Smuts Papers II, p.162; in 1904 Pakeman published his Political Letters from the Transvaal in London: Fitzpatrick described them as "vicious, dishonest and, fortunately, silly"; P. Fitzpatrick to A. Bailey 1.6.1904, Duminy & Guest p.360; Daily Express 3.4.1905 - 7.10.1905, 84 issues; Pakeman's Assistant editor was Douglas Blackburn, who was later converted to the benefits of Chinese labour; Pakeman died 7.7.1906; Star 8.7.1906; Cape Times Minutes 6.10.1905; Times of Natal 10.3.1905

14 Star 28.12.1904, 12.1.1905

15 see above, Chapter II

16 Rand Daily Mail 11.2.1903; P. Fitzpatrick to S. Evans 11.5.1904; P. Fitzpatrick to J.H. Cox 3.5.1904; Duminy & Guest pp.353-356

17 P. Fitzpatrick to S. Evans 11.5.1904, ibid.

18 P. Fitzpatrick to S. Evans 16.2.1905, 21.6.1904; P. Fitzpatrick to F. Eckstein 30.3.1905; P. Fitzpatrick to A.J. Wright 11.6.1904; see also P. Fitzpatrick to F. Eckstein 23.2.1905: enclosing letter from Moberly Bell of The Times, "worth considering for there is no doubt they have helped enormously and, as far as I know, their profit out of the Transvaal does not pay for their correspondent's salary and cables. This is, I think, impolitic. It would be a bad day for us if their interest slackened or they got a bit sour.... Surely advertisements could be arranged among some
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V

19 P. Fitzpatrick to J. Wernher 31.8.1904; P. Fitzpatrick to S. Evans 18.2.1905; S. Evans to P. Fitzpatrick 12.6.1905; Duminy & Guest pp.385-8, 402-5


21 Star 1.8.1902; South African Mining Journal (South African Mines, Commerce & Industries) 14.3.1903; Rand Daily Mail 3.3.1903, 9.3.1903, 20.3.1903, 21.3.1903; Daily Express 3.7.1905

22 The Bloemfontein Conference 1903 resolved that the "native population South of the Zambesi" comprised insufficient "adult males capable of work" to satisfy Colonial requirements; Transvaal Labour Commission, sat July-October 1903, Report February 1904, Cd. 1896/1904 p. 11; A. Milner to J. Chamberlain 6.4.1903; A. Milner to E. H. Walton, proprietor of the Eastern Province Herald 8.4.1903; Headlam II p. 461

23 A. Milner to J. Chamberlain 6.4.1903, ibid.

24 South African Mines, Commerce and Industries 15.8.1903 (this magazine reverted to its original title in 1908); Transvaal Labour Commission Report p. 11, Cd. 1896/1904; Star 3.12.1903, 4.12.1903

25 W. F. Monypenny in the Star 4.12.1903; Monypenny walked back to England, returned to The Times, later wrote 2 volumes of the Life of Disraeli


27 Cape Times 14.12.1903; Bloemfontein Post 10.5.1906; Times of Natal 25.2.1905; Transvaal Leader, December 1903, January 1905 passim; see also R. Kubicek: Economic Imperialism in Theory and Practice, p. 70ff, regarding Reyersbach's disputes with Phillips


29 Transvaal Advertiser 4.12.1903, December 1903 passim, 7.5.1904, 25.5.1904; closed 3.9.1907; H. R. Abercrombie: The Secret History of South Africa, p. 188
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32 Bloemfontein Post 10.1.1906, 3.2.1906; Friend 9.1.1906, 10.1.1906, 13.7.1906

33 Natal Mercury 5.1.1906, 20.1.1905, 3.3.1905, 7.4.1905, 5.1.1906; cf. Indian Opinion 13.1.1906; re letter of Maurice Evans to Mercury 30.12.1905, opposing all indentured labour, particularly Chinese; Evans wanted better use made of African labour, and disputed the findings of the Native Affairs Commission regarding insufficient labour, while the Rand was rich enough to afford white labour anyway; while the Mercury would have preferred all Indians and Africans to go, and leave Natal a white man's country, it pleaded the danger of financial instability should indentured labour be stopped with inadequate safeguards: these were "popular platitudes" for the Opinion; C Davidson Don: Cape Mercury 1893-4, Cape Argus 1894-9; Reuters correspondent during war, offered the editorship of the new Bloemfontein Post, but went instead to Natal before the Post appeared; editor of Times of Natal 1901-1910; Acting editor of Transvaal Leader 1911; editor of the Star 1915 - 1939; Times of Natal 6.1.1905, 23.1.1905, 3.1.1906, 6.1.1906

34 Natal Witness 1.1.1906, 3.1.1906, 17.7.1907, 19.7.1907, 27.9.1907; the Witness, edited by Horace Rose, was adamant that South Africa would only federate if Chinese labour were removed; further hostility to the Rand was exhibited in opposition to the modus vivendi and to the WNLA; Times of Natal 3.7.1907; Vryheid Herald 2.3.1907, 23.11.1907; Natalian 3.7.1908, 2.10.1908; Greytown Gazette 4.11.1905; Prince 3.2.1906, 19.2.1906

35 see Isobel Hofmeyr: Building a Nation from Words; Afrikaner Language, Literature, and National Identity 1902-24; Wits History Workshop 1984
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V

37 Handelsblad 19.12.1902; Dr D.J.Nathan to A.Milner 3.2.1903, 7.3.1903; TA: GOV549/PS165/01; Star 6.3.1903; Land en Volk 20.11.1902

38 J.P.Fitzpatrick: The Transvaal from Within, p.74; Land en Volk September 1902 passim; Gustav Preller was then editor under Eugene Marais

39 Land en Volk 17.10.1902; Rand Daily Mail 27.3.1903; Morning Post, reporting by E.F.Knight; Engelenberg became editor of Volkstem in 1889, working in Holland during the war with W.J.Leyds; he returned in March 1903 to joint ownership of the paper with Izaak Wallach; they had formed a partnership in 1895, which lasted until this re-organisation of the Company and resulted also in the formation of Wallach’s Drukpers en Uitgewers Mpy in Pretoria

40 J.C.Smuts to W.J.Leyds 18.4.1903, TA: Leyds argief 253:IV; quoted by L.E.van Niekerk, op.cit. p.89; Smuts reckoned ‘30,000 was necessary to buy erven in Pretoria and Bloemfontein for printing works as well as the newspapers

41 Smuts bid £2,500 for Land en Volk, but failed to purchase the paper; Volkstem cost them £8,000; W.F.Leyds to F.V.Engelenberg 21.1.1926, J.C.Smuts to W.F.Leyds 24.9.1903; TA: Leyds argief 255, 259:11; van Niekerk, op.cit. p.90; Het Westen began 18.11.1904; see I.Hexham: Totalitarian Calvinism; F.V.Engelenberg: The Boers and Empire; Contemporary Review November 1902

42 The Herald was probably a continuation of Ben Viljoen’s Ons Volk, on purchase of the press and plant; Standard 7.3.1903, 11.2.1905, 8.4.1905, 13.10.1906; suspended 23.9.1899 - 30.8.1902; Western News 17.8.1906 (opposed to Het Volk and capitalists)

43 see Chapters I & II; Volkstem December 1903 passim; Selborne to P.Duncan 19.2.1906, Duncan Papers, UCT: BC294 D6.2.3; H. de Graaf was the proprietor of Het Westen, which split in 1915 to provide both Die Weste and the Bloemfontein Volkssblad

44 Volkstem 7.1.1905, 21.5.1909; Ons Land 9.3.1905, 23.3.1905, 18.5.1905, June, July 1908 passim; P.J.Nienaber, op.cit. p.107ff; Het Kerkblad was the first journal to be supported by the Dutch Committee for Aid to the Boers; it was a continuation of Maandbode, both Dutch Reformed Church publications, including church news, sermons, theological articles and controversies but also comment on national affairs and social questions; it took the Synodal line and stressed education, and equality of language, publishing a
series of articles by Rev P.C. Snyman in 1905, 1906 and 1907, favouring parental not state control of schools; see I. Hexham: op. cit. pp.93,145; cf. report on Bond Congress at Cradock in February 1905: speakers opposed compulsory education on the grounds that the coloured people would profit from this too, and farms would lose labour to the schools; the argument for compulsory education was similar: without it, "the kafirs, who had good schools and taught their children," would be able to represent them in Parliament and rule them (Queenstown - de Wet); the newspaper editors - F.S. Malan of Ons Land, J.A. Vosloo of Met Oosten, and C.H.O. Marais of Onze Courant - all advocated compulsion in order to raise standards; Ons Land 23.2.1905, Cape Times 23.2.1905; see also Chapter II; Volkstem 18.1.1905, 28.1.1905, 3.10.1905, 17.2.1906, 7.3.1906; August 1903, February 1905 passim; J. H. Cox to J. P. Fitzpatrick 28.4.1904, Duminy & Guest p.353ff

45 Ons Land 4.4.1905; Volkstem 2.10.1905, 17.2.1906; Post 10.5.1906, 30.10.1906; W. T. Stead wanted the Friend to print the South African edition of the projected inter-Imperial Review of Reviews; Friend 11.10.1902;

46 I. Hofmeyr: Building a nation from words, p.31; E. Hobhouse to J. C. Smuts 28.5.1904, Hancock & van der Poel, II, p.165; Natal Afrikaner 8.5.1904, 15.5.1904, May 1908; Natalian 22.5.1908; Greytown Gazette 20.5.1904

47 Volkstem 13.12.1905, on foundation of Afrikaanse Taalgrootskap, 14.12.1905; I. Hofmeyr, op. cit. p.31; Ons Land 9.3.1905 - Is't Ons Ernst?; Malan corroborated Hofmeyr's Stellenbosch speech and discussed it in the leader columns: Is't ons ernst met de aankweking van onze moedertaal? Malan, Rabie and Frelle were considered the most influential journalists

48 Volkstem 1.4.1905, 19.4.1905 - 14.6.1905, 8.8.1905, 28.10.1905, 1.11.1905, 11.11.1905; Marais' poem Winternag, heralded as the apotheosis of Afrikaans, was published 15.7.1905; De Goede Hoop July 1903, 3.11.1906 on formation of Afrikaanse Taalvereeniging; there was some dispute between this organisation and the Afrikaanse Taalbond of J. H. Hofmeyr; cf. I. Hofmeyr, op. cit. p.46n75, and G. S. Preller to Isie Smuts April? 1905, Hancock & van der Poel II, p.187; F. J. L. Rompel, Engelenberg's Assistant editor, also wrote and published books on Boer heroes

49 Brandwag 31.5.1910; Nienaber, op. cit. p.104ff; Land en Volk 30.6.1905; Preller: Laat't Ons Toch Ernst
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER V

see Chapter I; Volkstem 19.4.1905, 14.6.1905, 11.11.1905; Land en Volk 30.6.1905; Marais claimed a circulation of 3,000 for his paper, boasting that this was higher than any other Dutch Journal published in the Transvaal, 29.7.1904
J.C.Smuts to W.F.Leyds 24.9.1903, TA: Leyds argief 259:II; quoted in van Niekerk, op.cit. pp.90-1; P.Fitzpatrick to A.Milner 26.11.1905; Duminy & Guest pp.413-4, 501n6
Land en Volk 17.10.1902; A.Milner to E.Marais 22.5.1903, Headlam II, p.356
Ons Land 4.4.1905, 16.7.1908; Land en Volk 17.6.1904, 22.7.1904, 30.9.1904, 11.11.1904, 23.12.1904, 20.1.1905, 10.2.1905; Volkstem 11.1.1905, 8.2.1905
Land en Volk 17.6.1904, 23.12.1904, 20.1.1905, 10.2.1905
Land en Volk changed proprietor 25.8.1905 from Eugene Marais to K.Gast; who was then replaced by the Land en Volk Syndicate; P.Fitzpatrick to A.Milner 26.11.1905, Duminy & Guest pp.413-4, 501n6; Land en Volk April 1906 passim. Winternag published June 1905 prior to Marais' departure
five weekly from October 1906; registered as published by K.Gast 10 & 17.11.1905; from 1.12.1905 by Land en Volk Syndicate, see Land en Volk 4.12.1908; P.Duncan to Selborne 13.2.1908, Selborne to P.Duncan 19.2.1908, Duncan Papers UCT: BC294 D6.2.3; D.O.Malcolm to P.Fitzpatrick 4.5.1906, Duminy & Guest p.429
ibid; Land en Volk 27.11.1906, 29.1.1907
Volkstem 25.5.1907; Star 11.10.1906; the South African Typographical Union claimed the Argus Company did not pay Union rates, nor honour the spirit of their agreements; Argus Company unsigned to Col. Glynn, 16.11.1903; TA: CS1081/0062/05; cf. Cape Times Minutes 13.10.1902: E.J.Edwards reported trouble with the lino hands at the Leader: the wages they were demanding were paid because the other houses would not co-operate in "resisting the demands of the men"; see also B.Hirson et al: Whatever did Happen at Jagersfontein? ICS Seminar 1987 p.7
John Martin Report to Argus Printing & Publishing Company, November 1907; Neame op.cit. pp.156-7; Star 16.5.1907, 21.5.1907, 22.5.1907; South African Mining Journal 24.11.1906, 18.5.1907, 25.5.1907; see C. van Onselen: The Main Reef Road

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61 John Martin Report to Argus Company, November 1907, Neame op.cit. p.156
62 Cape Times Minutes 5.9.1907, 4.8.1908, 25.9.1908, 14.4.1909, 23.4.1909, 16.9.1909, 4.11.1909, 14.4.1910; Newspaper Press Directory 1909; Kingswell of the Rand Daily Mail was more sympathetic to Trade Unions and consequently his paper suffered less from sales reductions; see also Chapter I, on the Sunday Post and quarrels between the Johannesburg and Cape Town sections of the Company
63 Cape Times Minutes 15.4.1915; L.Phillips to E.A.Waller: Fraser & Jeeves, p.289
64 ibid.
65 See Appendix A, Reuters, and B, Central News Agency; South African Review 27.8.1909
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VI

CHAPTER VI

1 Nineteenth Century May 1904; Greytown Gazette 2.7.1904, citing school attendances by 90,000 coloured children and 60,000 white

2 Article 8 of the Treaty of Vereeniging, drafted 20.5.1902; Cd1096/1902; A.Milner to J.Chamberlain 25.5.1902, A.Milner to Selborne 10.5.1905; Headlam II pp.351-7; L.M.Thompson: The Unification of South Africa


2 Cape Times 16.9.1903, 8.1.1904; South African News 17.9.1903, 11.1.1904, 3.5.1904, 28.5.1904, 5.6.1904; see also Midland News 19.4.1902, Cape Times 17.10.1902; Eastern Province Herald 1.4.1902, 14.6.1902; Daily Dispatch 1.8.1902, 6.10.1902, 17.10.1902; cf P.A.Molteno to D.Currie 14.9.1904, P.A.Molteno to Board of Directors, Durban Roodepoort Gold Mining Co Ltd, protesting against the use of Chinese labour as he had against the reduction of wages for African labourers after the war: it was "a great evil and a great wrong to natives and whites in South Africa;" Solomon pp237-240; South African News 19.1.1904 refers to "the Bechuanaland native newspaper" - Koranta - regarding meetings of Africans protesting against Chinese labour, which was viewed with considerable alarm; L.S.Jameson too was doubtful of the benefits as he was forced to fight for his victory in the Cape election: "without this abominable Chinese question we should have swept the floor with {the SAP}."); L.S.Jameson to Sam Jameson 30.9.1903, 9.12.1903, 16.12.1903, 30.12.1903, all quoted in I.D.Colvin's Life of Jameson, pp.228-230


6 South African News 11.1.1904, 26.1.1904, 9.3.1904, 7.7.1904, 5.8.1904; The Times 25.1.1904, 6.7.1904; Cape Argus 17.19.1902; the South African Party was described by the News itself as composed of "Dutch farmers and English liberals", 2.3.1904

7 Imvo 25.9.1899; South African News 13.1.1904, 9.3.1904
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VI

8 Daily Dispatch 11.1.1902, 20.3.1902, 17.6.1902, 17.10.1902, 16.4.1902; Midland News 18.2.1902;
9 Cape Times 13.1.1905; Cape Argus 9.1.1903; Midland News 4.10.1902; Daily Dispatch
22.11.1902: the location figures included African, Indian and Malay residents, but it was
also said to include a few Europeans
10 Eastern Province Herald 8.5.1902, 24.3.1902, 25.2.1902
11 Cape Times 13.1.1905; Transvaal Leader 12.1.1905;
of SANAC Report, Cd2399/1905
12 Cape Times 13.1.1905; the Cape Times
distinguished between "coloured men" and "Cape boys" in this editorial, saying it was
impracticable to define coloured from white, but "Cape boy" referred to a specific race and was
therefore classed with "native".
13 Cape Times 9.2.1905, 10.2.1905, 11.2.1905; SANAC
Report, para 430-8: the voting of the future
would be - it said - on race lines "prejudicial
to good relations", as Europeans would not
tolerate representation by a Member of Parliament
returned by the African vote alone
14 Cape Times 10.2.1905, 11.2.1905, 28.4.1905
15 Cape Times 19.4.1905, 22.4.1905
16 Cape Times 10.2.1905, 4.10.1905
17 Cape Argus 25.4.1905, 13.7.1905, 2.11.1905,
7.12.1905, 2.1.1906, 30.1.1906, 4.12.1907
18 Cape Argus 10.1.1906, 22.4.1905; Cape Times
24.4.1905
19 South African News 18.6.1899, 9.3.1904,
19.7.1904, 9.2.1905, 10.2.1905, 11.2.1905; Star
18.7.1904; J.X.Merriman to J.C.Smuts 4.3.1906,
quoted by L.M.Thompson, op.cit. pp.116-8; see
also Cape Times 22.4.1905; see above Imvo in
Chapter I; D.D.T.Jabavu: Life of J.T.Jabavu
20 SANAC Report Definition, Cd 2399/1905
21 Stem 11.2.1905; Cape Times 16.2.1905
22 ibid.
23 Cape Times 1.3.1905; Somerset Budget 22.2.1905,
1.3.1905; Cape Mercury 15.2.1905, 3.3.1905
24 Star 12.1.1905, 3.1.1903
25 Star 3.1.1905, 10.1.1905, 19.1.1905
26 Star 12.7.1904, 9.2.1905; South African News
19.7.1904; the Natives Affairs Commission sat
September 1903 to January 1905: Cd2399/1905
27 Rand Daily Mail 30.1.1903, 13.3.1903, 24.3.1903,
10.8.1904, 29.12.1904, 11.2.1905, 16.2.1905;
Transvaal Leader 30.12.1904, 12.1.1905, 9.2.1905;
Pretoria News 30.12.1904, 9.2.1905
28 Volkstem 11.2.1905, 14.2.1905, 15.2.1905,
16.2.1905, 7.3.1906; Transvaal Leader 15.2.1905
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VI

29 Star 30.9.1905, 2.1.1906
Rand Daily Mail 27.1.1903, 30.1.1903, 13.3.1903, 6.1.1905; after Bailey's takeover, the Mail publicised his appeals for the unity of British and Dutch against all other races in the country, although initially it expressed some scepticism, and did not retreat from its vehement denunciations of Het Volk

30 Star 30.9.1905, 2.1.1906, 27.1.1906, 1.2.1906, 2.2.1906, 26.2.1906; after Bailey's takeover, the Hail publicised his appeals for the unity of British and Dutch against all other races in the country, although initially it expressed some scepticism, and did not retreat from its vehement denunciations of Het Volk

31 Star 30.9.1905, 2.1.1906, 27.1.1906, 1.2.1906, 2.2.1906, 26.2.1906; the London Tribune was edited by L.T.Hobhouse after leaving the Manchester Guardian in 1902; it was extremely critical of the Natal Government during the "rebellion" of 1906, and had already dispatched William Butler to South Africa in that year to investigate the controversial reports of English-Dutch rivalry and Chinese labour; Daily News was then edited by A.G.Gardner, assisted by H.W.Massingh and Herbert Paul; Westminster Gazette was edited by J.A.Spender; and the Spectator by J.St.Loe Strachey; re: Argus publications in London - the original magazine was the African Review, established in 1896 with Fred H Hamilton, who had just left the Star after the Raid, as editor, and was specifically designed to put forward the Uitlander case to the British public; it was owned by a Syndicate in which the Argus was the controlling partner; later the weekly South African Star was launched, but was not a success: Hamilton edited it with James Smith as cable editor, and Clifford F Tainton - of the Star and South African Mining Journal-to deal with the Johannesburg end of the business; it ceased production in October 1896; the African Review competed with other London monthlies such as South Africa of E.P.Mathers, and African World of Leo Weinthal after the war: both these men had also been newspaper editors in Natal and the Transvaal; when interest in South Africa lagged, circulations dropped, and in 1905 the African Review was merged into the African World; see Neame, op.cit. p.97

32 Star 15.9.1905, 4.1.1906; Indian Opinion 11.2.1905, 14.4.1906, 15.4.1906
33 Star 9.4.1906, 15.9.1905; there was more publicity over the test case of Edward Tsewu's application for a land transfer, reported by all the major dailies in Johannesburg; Indian Opinion 13.1.1906, remarked on the escalation of hostility towards Indians in public and press; the Critic's explanations on behalf of Progressive interests, on Asian immigration

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restricting white immigration by limiting jobs was, for the opinion "an example of the claptrap that satisfies the average Colonist."

34 see above, Chapter III; Selborne to P. Duncan 8.7.1907, Duncan Papers, UCT: BC294 D6.3.4; Selborne, Smuts and Botha agreed that the disintegration of the Central South African Railways would mean financial ruin for the Orange River Colony, "but to judge from the articles in the Friend Fischer seems quite determined to do it."; Post 6.3.1906, 14.5.1906, 25.7.1906, 15.5.1906, 1.6.1906, 5.8.1906, 1.8.1906; Friend 9.2.1906, 23.3.1906, 12.2.1906, 22.2.1906, 3.1.1906; see B. Willan: Sol Plaatje, p. 120, who quotes "The Educated Nigger and His Paper," an article appearing in the Friend 9.3.1903, before Drew took over the editorship from Barlow

35 Friend 25.7.1905; Post 23.7.1906, 16.2.1906, 27.6.1906, 19.5.1906, 7.11.1906; the Post particularly scorned W.T. Stead for requesting a black franchise for the new colonies

36 Friend 3.1.1906, 6.1.1906, 12.2.1906, 28.3.1906, 12.4.1906, 25.7.1906, 2.3.1906

37 Friend 4.1.1906, 28.3.1906; the Cape Argus carried Reuters reports fully of African Conventions; the Friend’s report was scathing in its discussion of Soga’s contributions to the meetings - the editor of Imvo’s rival, Izwi - and criticised the paper, which had been called a "rag", much to Soga’s distress

38 Friend 3.1.1906, 22.2.1906; Post 30.10.1906, 7.11.1906; Cape Times 29.1.1906; Cape Argus 4.1.1906; Imvo 8.7.1903; S. Marks: Reluctant Rebellion, pp. 153-161; E.G. Jellicoe to Colonial Office, Statement of Facts 29.2.1908, in Cd3998/1908; the Delimitation Commission had published its report in October 1904; for a narrative of events, see S. Marks, op. cit. pp. 160-244

39 H. McCallum to Secretary of State 5.1.1906; Circular to Magistrates 28.12.1905, Cd2905/1906

40 Greytown Gazette 11.6.1904, 25.6.1904, 1.4.1905, 18.3.1905, 15.4.1905

41 Times of Natal 28.2.1905, 16.2.1905, 17.2.1905; Natal Mercury 24.3.1905, 10.2.1905, 27.3.1905, 9.2.1905; Natal Witness 17.3.1906, 2.4.1906, 9.2.1905, 3.2.1906; the Times of Natal thought SANAC "very properly" dismissed the idea of increasing wages to induce labour, and preferred an increase in taxation with the enforcement of the Squatters’ Law; cf Vryheid Herald 27.1.1906, 3.2.1906; Times of Natal...
6.1.1906: whites in Natal should be limited to "an aristocracy of brains and civilisation", not indulge in unskilled labour: "in that sense, South Africa never will and never can be a 'white man's country'."

42 Cape Times 13.1.1905, 13.2.1905, 4.5.1905, 30.11.1905, 15.12.1905; South African News 24.3.1906, 12.2.1906; cf the Post 24.2.1906 said there had been comparatively few rumours of unrest since the war, though many prior to 1899


44 Natal Advertiser 9.2.1906; Times of Natal 9.2.1906, 9.1.1906, 10.2.1906; Governor to Elgin 9.2.1906, Cd2905/1906

45 Times of Natal 9.2.1906, 10.2.1906, 12.13.14,15.2.1906; Natal Witness 9.2.1906, 14.2.1906, 12.2.1906; Natal Mercury 10.2.1906, 12.2.1906; Prince 17.2.1906

46 Vryheid Herald 17.2.1906; Witness 24.2.1906, 15.2.1906; Mercury 15,16.2.1906; Governor to Secretary of State 15.2.1906, Cd2905/1906; re censorship, Witness to Prime Minister's Secretary 1.4.1906: S.Marks: Reluctant Rebellion p.188

47 Witness 17.2.1906, 2.3.1906, 3.3.1906, 5.3.1906; Times of Natal 5.3.1906, 6.3.1906; Star 5.3.1906, 10.2.1906, 16.2.1906

48 Friend 6.1.1906, 10.1.1906, 20.2.1906; South African News 12.2.1906, Witness 17.2.1906; Cape Argus 19.4.1906

49 Times of Natal 1.3.1906; Stem 5.4.1906, 22.2.1906; Star 2.7.1906; Cape Times 7.4.1906; Ons Land 31.3.1906, 3.4.1906, 5.4.1906

50 Cape Argus 19.4.1906; Times of Natal 29.3.1906; Witness 31.3.1906, 2.4.1906; Vryheid Herald 31.3.1906; Elgin to Governor 28.3.1906, Cd2905/1906, complained that murder cases should be tried in civil courts

51 Cape Times 31.3.1906, 2.4.1906, 4.4.1906; Star 30.3.1906; Rand Daily Mail 31.3.1906; Leader 31.3.1906

52 Star 18.5.1906, 10.7.1906, 4.7.1906, 7.7.1906; Volkstem 7.7.1906, 7.3.1906

53 Friend 6.3.1906, 30.3.1906, 31.3.1906; Volkstem 17.3.1906

54 Star 10.12.1906, 14.12.1906; Cape Times
FOOTNOTES TO CHAPTER VI


55 Natal newspapers were also willing for federation on grounds of achieving a common native policy - then crushing the rebellion would become a federal expense; Times of natal 26.2.1906

56 Greytown Gazette 23.7.1904, 3.3.1906, 3.5.1906; Mercury 13.2.1906; Witness 2.3.1906, 3.3.1906; Times 5.3.1906, 6.3.1906, 5.1.1906; Cape Times 7.3.1906;

57 Izwi 13.2.1906, 20.2.1906, 27.2.1906, 12.11.1907, 23.10.1906, May 1906 passim; Prince 21.4.1906, 25.11.1904, 12.5.1906, 17.2.1906, 3.3.1906

58 Izwi 27.2.1906; Star 9.2.1905 et sequ.

59 Izwi 3.9.1901, 5.8.1902, 16.9.1902, 27.10.1908, 16.1.1908; Star 13.2.1906; I am most grateful to Andre Odendaal for this information

60 Izwi 12.11.1907, 14.4.1908, 24.3.1908, 5.5.1908, 14.7.1908; Imvo 26.6.1906; Ilanga 23.2.1906, 3.3.1908, 15.11.1907, 20.3.1908, 17.11.1906, 4.5.1906; see S.Marks, op.cit. pp.332,73, and S.Marks* Ambiguities of Dependence p.174; Odendaal, op.cit, pp.332-3; Indian Opinion 3.3.1906; Natalian 24.7.1908, 24.4.1908, 14.8.1907

61 Mercury 15.2.1906; Cape Times 14.12.1906, 24.4.1906; Times of Natal 19.8.1907, 14.8.1907; Mossel Bay Advertiser 3.4.1906; Izwi 7.5.1907, 14.1.1908

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FOOTNOTES TO CONCLUSION

CONCLUSION

1 Selborne Memorandum: A Review of the Present Mutual Relations of the British South African Colonies, 1.1.1907; Cd3564/1907


3 The State January 1909, vol. 1, no. 1; see also Hay & Herbert News 16.12.1908; Closer Union Societies were more prolific in the Cape Colony - by April numbered 36 in the Cape, 17 in Transvaal, 4 in Natal and 2 in the Orange River Colony; The State did discuss issues more wide-ranging than were tackled in local newspapers, but was forced to remark, amidst the controversy surrounding Union, that "if an ordinary citizen fell into a trance for a fortnight and on waking were told that the National Convention had reported, his first question would probably be, "Where have they fixed the capital?"." (February 1909)

4 The State Ltd, registered 3.5.1910, LC285/61/C1070, the journal was taken over by Syfrets' partners including G.E.D.Orpen, A.N.Foot, and C.L.Short; magazine started January 1909 as an illustrated monthly with several hundred pages, the cost kept down to 6d by a well-advertised contribution of £2,000 per annum from Abe Bailey for three years; the magazine was to be independent of "party and race", edited by Philip Kerr under Patrick Duncan, and with an editorial committee consisting of F.S.Malan, Howard Pim, and Hugh Crawford; examples of articles included: Gustav Preller, Union and the Boer, F.E.Garrett (written 1906-7), Natives and the New Constitutions, H.S.L.Polak (editor of Indian Opinion from 1906), The Asian Question in the Transvaal, Wilfred Wyburgh, Native Policy

5 Star 24.6.1908, thought "both sides wish to sink their petty differences in the presence of a great national opinion;" but see Cape Times 18.2.1909, against the Bond and Het Volk; VolksteD 18.5.1908 protesting against British mistrust; Ons Land 23.5.1908, 26.5.1908, 18.7.1908, the latter article pleading for a final end to the compensation question

6 See particularly S.Koss: The Rise and Fall of the Political Press, for repeated resignations when papers were sold to political adversaries;
Pakeman was sacked, so too was Saxon Hills, while resignations unregretted by proprietors included those of Francis Dormer, William Monypenny, Robert Philippson Stow, and Arthur Barlow; though the Rand dailies were known to be owned by the mining companies or Bailey, monopoly guaranteed the market.

7 Cape Mercury 16.6.1905; the Cape Parliament included journalists - in 1888, F Y St Leger, Edmund Garrett, F S Malan and Edgar Walton all were elected; in 1904 journalists who were also MPs were Malan, Walton, and Josiah Slater of the Grahamstown Journal, who had won Victoria East - Garrett's old seat from Dewdney Drew in a bye-election in 1903; the only districts without their local papers were Namaqualand, Clanwilliam, Jansenville, Hamesbury, Stellenbosch, Piquetberg and Swellendam, but the latter four were all closely covered in OnsLand.

8 See R.V. Kubicek on Julius Wernher's conviction that the French journals had to be bribed, in order to help keep the stock-market buoyant; the Argus Company, as mentioned above, bought out the Natal Advertiser in 1918, and the Diamond Fields Advertiser in 1929; see also F.J. Dormer: Vengeance as a Policy in Afrikanderland: Neame, op.cit. passim; Francis Williams: The Right to Know, p.147.


10 Depression hit all newspapers, but English papers working on high expenses required a very high level of sales and advertising revenue to remain stable - and both of these were reduced dramatically; in 1907 many rivals, both Dutch and English were removed, which lessened the competition; in 1915, when the Rand Daily Mail absorbed the Transvaal Leader, Het Westen in Potchefstroom was finding the means to expand into Bloemfontein, while a new paper, Die Vaderland, started in Johannesburg.

11 South African Review 27.8.1909; Izwi 7.5.1907, 23.10.1906; Keir Hardie's support for the Zulu rebels was well publicised by Progressive papers, and much criticised.

12 Indian Opinion 12.10.1907, in reference to articles in the Friend by Wilfred Wybergh discussing his theories of regional segregation of the races.
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ABBREVIATIONS
Used in the text and footnotes

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>CA</td>
<td>Cape Archives</td>
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<tr>
<td>CAS</td>
<td>Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town</td>
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<tr>
<td>EHR</td>
<td>Economic History Review</td>
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<tr>
<td>HJ</td>
<td>Historical Journal</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICS</td>
<td>Institute of Commonwealth Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>JAH</td>
<td>Journal of African History</td>
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<tr>
<td>JICH</td>
<td>Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History</td>
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<tr>
<td>JSAS</td>
<td>Journal of Southern African Studies</td>
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<tr>
<td>NNAC</td>
<td>Natal Native Affairs Commission, 1908</td>
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<tr>
<td>NUSAS</td>
<td>National Union of South African Students</td>
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<tr>
<td>SABC</td>
<td>South African Broadcasting Corporation</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAHJ</td>
<td>South African Historical Journal</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAIRR</td>
<td>South African Institute of Race Relations</td>
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<td>South African Library, Cape Town</td>
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<td>SANAC</td>
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<td>SANC</td>
<td>South African Native Congress</td>
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<td>SAP</td>
<td>South African Party</td>
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<td>SATJ</td>
<td>South African Typographical Journal</td>
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<td>SATU</td>
<td>South African Typographical Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TA</td>
<td>Transvaal Archives, Pretoria</td>
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<td>UCT</td>
<td>University of Cape Town</td>
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APPENDIX A

REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

Prior to the establishment of Reuters News Agency, little foreign news was available to Colonial papers except from Government sources or through arrangements with other newspapers. Only papers as wealthy as The Times of London could station correspondents in European capitals for a continuous supply of news, or send them further afield to report wars and uprisings. Even with the establishment of telegraph links, the cost was prohibitive and restricted the service to well-backed papers and Governments.

A cable linked South Africa to Europe via Durban and Aden in 1880; the Cape had been joined to Natal, and to Kimberley, by 1878. A West coast cable linked Cape Town to Portugal and thus to the European telegraph system in 1889, but a direct line to Britain was opened only in 1901. Cable messages were expensive: in 1879 each word sent cost 8/11; by 1895 this had been reduced to 5/2, while between 1899 and 1903 it was reduced by 6d a year from 4/- to 2/6 per word. Decreases in cost continued slowly: in August 1908 the rate went down from 1/- per word to 9d. The Transvaal Leader remarked that with cheaper cables there was "less likelihood of the press falling exclusively into the hands of powerful rich men with interests not always identical with public interests."(1)

While the telegraph was increasing in use and importance, newspapers were proliferating, whilst those that could find the capital were modernising and expanding in the greater competition for sales and advertising. Whilst the cost of producing a newspaper increased, advertising rates were cut to attract revenue from rivals, and prices reduced to encourage sales. No daily paper in the Cape, Natal or Orangia could survive unless priced at 1d in the early years of this century. Transvaal newspapers remained priced at 3d, and costs were correspondingly higher. It was essential, therefore, that South African papers came to some agreement over the provision of news.

Reuters Telegram Company was established in 1865; competition between Baron Julius de Reuter and the rival agencies of Charles Havas and R. H. Wolff resulted in
the first Agency Treaty in 1869, when the world was divided into spheres of interest in which each Agency would hold a monopoly of news. Wolff covered Austria, Scandinavia, and Russia; Havas the French Empire, the Latin Mediterranean, and later South America; Reuter was allotted the British Empire and the Far East. By 1876 an Agent was established in Cape Town, though until the arrival of a cable link with Britain the service remained local.

Reuters provided a general news service, reputedly of a purely factual nature, and from 1880 a Special Service which could include political interpretation but was mainly used to report newsworthy disasters that would appeal to the widening newspaper readership, such as "shipwrecks, railway accidents, fires, explosions (with loss of life), earthquakes, cyclones, startling crimes, deaths, etc." Different rates applied to each, but both enabled newspapers to receive both foreign and intercolonial news more cheaply than private arrangements could provide. This, in turn, led to the arrival of the Special Correspondent, employed by the wealthier papers, who could be despatched to topical locations and wars to report exclusively for the paper and thus attract still greater sales.

Francis Dormer's Newspaper Press Union was formed with the intention that proprietors could thus unite against increasing costs demanded by the cable services. At its Third Annual Congress in 1886, the Eastern Province Herald was suffering a complete severance of cable news because of a dispute with Reuters: the Agency was demanding full payment despite two breaks in communication and six weeks without messages. The Eastern Star and the Grahamstown Journal were also involved in the dispute, and in consequence another telegraph Agency had been formed by Dormer. It was impossible to rival the international advantages enjoyed by Reuters, and newspapers reverted to the European service.

A Reuters telegram announced the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand. The following year Reuters sent a correspondent to establish a Johannesburg office. M. J. M. Bellasyse. His reports at the end of 1895 led to remonstrations from the Cape Times and Cape Argus that he was biased in favour of the Republican Government; the Cape Times sent its own correspondent to the Transvaal as did The Times of London, thus ensuring reports favourable to the policy of the papers. Herbert Reuter, then head of the firm, was convinced of
Bellasyse' impartiality as a correspondent, but bowed to public pressure and dismissed him in November 1899. The Daily Mail had been prominent amongst London papers in depreciating the value of Reuters South African reports, and the slur, coming from the new and popular Mail, was damaging to Reuters as a commercial enterprise. Henry M. Collins managed the Agency in Cape Town thereafter, while H. A. Gwynne co-ordinated war correspondence. This tended to favour Imperialist interests, since both men were ardently British during the war, and thus was seen as reversing the previous tone of reports, to the approval of the jingo London press.

Reuters had established a South African Department in London, to which Roderick Jones was brought as Editor. He had assisted Leo Weinthal, Reuters' Pretoria correspondent in the 1890s, both in his news agency work and as editor of the Press and later the Pretoria News. At the end of 1905 he returned to Cape Town to take charge of the Agency's Southern and Central African business.

Dissatisfaction remained at the news received from London, and on the close of war several English papers in the Cape and Transvaal demanded a say in the selection of news sent from Britain. There was continual dispute over payments: the Cape Times Minute Books from 1903 abound in aggravation at Reuters charges, at a time when the depression was reducing revenue but competition was still forcing prices down.

In January 1903, the Cape Times was paying Reuters 1/- a word for its cables, or '1,200 each month, plus 10% on this amount. Since the Cape Times held agreements with local papers to supply them with both Cape and foreign news, Reuters charged the Times an additional 10% on '150 for news supplied to other papers. Reuters frequently requested alteration of these charges, and disputes continued for some years. A Special Service was arranged between Reuters and the Argus and Times publications for war news: this provided 10,000 words a month for which the Cape Times, Transvaal Leader, Star and Argus all paid '150 a month, but its advantage was that the service could be denied to their rivals the South African News and the Rand Daily Mail. The agreement also involved limitations of publication times, the Cape Times Company publishing special slips from midnight to noon, and the Argus retaining a monopoly of noon to midnight. Special services were also arranged for events such as the tour of the South African cricket team in England in 1904, for which 7,000
words were reserved, plus 3,000 for English county cricket reports: the Times again shared costs with the Argus.

From 1904 onwards, attempts were made to cut costs by the papers, although it was recognised that the cable service was essential for all papers' popularity. The Cape Times and Argus publications shared sufficient interests to warrant sharing cable services also: their separate publication times gave each the chance of cable "scoops". Only in 1905 was agreement made to allow the Rand Daily Mail to share the cable service with the Times and Argus. Disputes continued amongst the papers over the amount of words required each month, and their cost.

In 1908 the General Manager of the Cape Times Company, J. A. Hall, suggested a cable service independent of Reuters, but shared with the Argus and South African Mails Syndicate, publishers of the Rand Daily Mail and Sunday Times. This would be provided by their own correspondents in London, and it was hoped would provide a more suitable service than Reuters was giving. It would provide a general service of 200 words a day, and two special services of 50 words a day. The cost would be £700 a month and E. J. Edwards was appointed London Manager. Arrangements were made with the Volksstem in Pretoria for the provision of an inter-colonial service with the support of the Dutch papers, and a subsidy from the Transvaal and Orange River Colony Governments. The three largest newspaper companies in South Africa thus established the South African Amalgamated Press Agency, though it was plagued by disputes over personnel and the quality of cables. Reuters refused a quarter share in the business, and the Cape Times, Transvaal Leader, Star, Post, Cape Argus, Rand Daily Mail, and Sunday Times all ceased using Reuters for the supply of overseas news. All other South African papers continued their contracts with the Agency.

As Dormer had found in the 1880s, it was impossible to compete with the world monopolies of the major European press Agencies in procuring adequate foreign news to satisfy requirements. In 1899 negotiations were re-opened with Reuters, and in February 1910 agreement was reached to form Reuters South African Press Agency. This was a partnership in which Reuters South African business took a 7/12 share, and the Cape Times, Argus, and Mail companies a 5/12 share. Reuters would supply the partnership with
international news, and in return hand over all distribution rights for its cables in British Africa South of the Zambesi. The agreement could be extended to Mozambique and German South West Africa if the consent of Havas and Wolff was obtained. Reuters would distribute no news in these areas unless to the partnership. The partnership would also supply Reuters with all its South African news. Moreover, South African members of the partnership would only circulate news approved by the partnership within South Africa. Thus, as the Press Commission Report of 1964 pointed out, Reuters and the owners of the largest dailies in Johannesburg and Cape Town came to determine what Agency news, both domestic and foreign, was received by the South African press, and what South African news was sent to London. The arrangement remained unaltered until 1929.

In the period before Union, the major dailies had already been establishing special privileges with Reuters, which undercut their rivals deliberately. To some extent foreign, and certainly Home, news was more important to English papers than to Dutch. But competition, and the increasing need for a viable and popular newspaper by each political grouping, ensured that all remained dependent on Reuters. Nevertheless, just as the quantity of Home news included by the English dailies was seen as an indication of an Imperial bias, so the lack of it in other papers may well have fostered the growth of interest in South African news and nationalism.

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The earliest commercial newspapers had been sold directly from the printing works of their proprietors. As professions diversified, the businesses of printing and newspaper production became separated, though most of the larger newspaper companies kept job printing plants until well into the twentieth century. Although the smaller country newspapers, which were printed in time for sale on market day to attract the largest number of buyers, could still be sold from the newspaper offices, many chose also to employ agents who would take the papers further afield for sale. This particularly applied to the larger urban newspapers, where increasing rivalry warranted greater attempts at attracting sales. The higher the sales, the more attractive the prospect of advertising in the paper became, and the higher the potential profits for the newspaper company.

During the latter half of the nineteenth century newspaper reading was still a comparatively rare habit, and most papers were sold by subscription, delivered by hand or sent by post to those who had ordered in advance. There are frequent references to the impecunious nature of a printer's existence in the days when few people bothered to reimburse the newspaper producer. In country districts the problem remained. Jabavu stopped providing 2,000 copies of Imvo to subscribers who had not paid their dues in 1909. Likewise at the Hay & Herbert News the editor frequently urged the prompt payment of subscriptions. In the edition of 22 July 1909, the News reprinted, with much sympathy, a "wail" from the Karoo News, a paper printed and published at Willowmore:

"Persons indebted to the News are respectfully solicited to pay their accounts forthwith. It is no use to honey the matter. Payments must be made at least once a year or I shall run down at the heel. Everyone says, "How well that man van den Berg is doing," when the fact is I have not positively a spare pair of trousers. My wife is actually engaged in turning an old pair wrong side out, and in her efforts to make a shirt out of two old ones, is seriously affecting her reason. She declares that where she was raised they never do such things, and besides it is a vulgar piece of
business altogether. Come! Come! pay up and look
good, keep peace in the family and enable me to
wear my clothes right side out!"

While many country proprietors remained on the
brink of bankruptcy for much of their lives, town papers
and the companies that controlled them - by the early
twentieth century few major papers were still run by
individuals - could diversify their businesses. This
involved the passing of the distribution of the
newspaper over to an agency specially formed for the
purpose of publishing - i.e. selling - newspapers, and
thus allowed the newspaper company to concentrate on the
production of the paper - the gathering of news and
advertisements.

The Central News Agency was the largest
distributor of South African newspapers. It was
established as a business in 1896 by Michael Davis and
Albert V Lindbergh, the latter an employee of The Star
in Johannesburg, who had been in charge of its
circulation for some years. The two men purchased a
corner stand in the centre of the town, from which they
sold newspapers to passersby, as well as organising the
distribution of subscribed copies along the Main Reef
Road. Arrangements were also made with British
newspapers and journals for their sale from the same
business premises: imported journals were popular, and
had previously been only available through private
subscription from London, or via each journal's Agent in
the Colonies. On the outbreak of war, the Agency was
managing the publication of the Star, the Standard &
Diggers News, the Critic, the South African Mining
Journal, and several small weekly or monthly
publications.

War disrupted business in the Transvaal, but
enabled Lindbergh and Davis to gain a foothold in the
Cape and Orange River Colonies. Arrangements were made
to distribute the Cape Times and Cape Argus in the Cape
Colony, and to distribute the Bloemfontein Post when
that paper was founded by the Argus Company in the
Orange River Colony. Besides newspaper distribution in
three of the four states, the partnership opened book
and stationery shops in both Johannesburg and Cape Town.

During 1903, the partnership was turned into a
limited Company by its founders. In order to obtain
sufficient working capital Davis and Lindbergh
approached the Argus and Cape Times companies with an
offer of shares. This was taken up, and on
incorporation these companies held together 38.5% of the
total capital of the Central News Agency Limited. Davis and Lindbergh held together 52% of the capital, and retained overall control of their company until 1928, when Davis disposed of his share of the holding to Gordon & Gotch Ltd, a London firm dealing in the export of periodicals. The balance of power within the Agency remained constant thereafter until at least 1953: although the administrators of the estate of A.V. Lindbergh held nominally more shares than any other single holder, any combination of three of the four major holders - Gordon & Gotch, the Argus Company, the Cape Times Ltd, or Lindbergh - could control the business.

It was evidently to the advantage of Lindbergh and Davis that the major newspaper producers in the Cape, Transvaal, and Orange River Colony should hold an interest in the welfare of the new Company. It would also be to the advantage of the newspaper producers to have some control over the distribution of their newspapers. Agreement was reached, however, which far exceeded simply these benefits. Shares were taken by the Cape Times and Argus Companies on condition that they would participate in the direction of CNA affairs. Furthermore, the CNA agreed that it would at no time distribute any afternoon or morning daily newspaper "coming within the sphere of publication of the daily papers owned or controlled now or at any time hereafter by the Argus Company or by the Cape Times Limited" without their specific assent to such publication. This condition was to remain unaltered as long as the distribution contracts remained in force regarding the Cape Times, Transvaal Leader, Cape Argus, Star, and Bloemfontein Post.

Contracts between the two Companies and the Agency further provided that the CNA should "push and foster" sales of those Companies' journals "as much as possible," in preference to competing or rival publications. Certain plant, staff, carts, and motors of the Agency were to be "expressly and solely used for rapid distribution" of Company newspapers. The Agency was also prohibited "from employing the plant, carts, motors, staff or other facilities of the {Agency} in assisting or aiding in the publication or the distribution of any such competing or rival publication." (1)

These arrangements were not publicised at the time of incorporation, and no attempt was made to inform other newspaper producers that their newspapers would be treated as secondary to those of the major shareholders.
Certain other regulations, however, ensured that it was more difficult for rival newspapers to enter into distribution agreements with the CNA. The Agency undertook, in its contracts with the Cape Times and Argus Companies, not to "publish any paper, periodicals, or other publications (other than those of the said The Argus Company Limited and Cape Times Limited) unless and until a deed of indemnity and guarantee" had been given to the Agency by the aspirant newspaper indemnifying the Agency, its Directors and officers, against loss, damages, or costs arising "by reason of any such paper, periodical, or publication containing any libellous or defamatory statement, having been published, by them or any of them."

The Agency in return received the right to distribute the papers of these two Companies in any town in which it started business. Formal contracts were exchanged in December 1903, when the Agency was incorporated, between all the Argus and Cape Times papers. Preferential treatment was apparently already being accorded to these companies since in August 1902 the Minutes of the Cape Times Ltd record that the General Manager was giving permission to the CNA to resume publication of the South African News in Cape Town. Formal contracts were exchanged with this Company also in December 1903. The following year, Lindbergh was one of the three men who formed a syndicate to run the Rand Daily Mail for Abe Bailey: in December contracts were drawn up between the Rand Daily Mail and the CNA to provide for distribution arrangements, and in February 1906 extended to its sister paper, the Sunday Times. In Natal, the Natal Mercury was distributed by the Agency, from 1904, and The Latest from 1908. During 1906 the Bloemfontein Friend handed over its publication arrangements. The business grew rapidly, offering an unrivalled advantage to those newspapers which could afford to participate in its services. During this period, however, there were no links with the Eastern Cape newspapers though the Agency controlled most newspaper distribution on the Witwatersrand as well as in Cape Town and Bloemfontein.

These arrangements remained in force, though not without some acrimony on the part of the newspapers. The Cape Times had cause to complain both of inadequate service from the News Agency in the distribution of its papers during 1905, and, two years later, to remonstrate that Lindbergh's interests in the Rand Daily Mail were likely to affect adversely the contract drawn up between the CNA and the Transvaal Leader. In 1907 the original contracts were terminated, and new agreements reached,
though these still included clauses for the preferential treatment of Argus and Cape Times papers. In August 1908, the Cape Times Board, who were not very well disposed towards Michael Davis, suggested that a Cape Town man be chosen as their representative on the Board of the CNA, to replace E.J. Edwards, who was resigning as Director and sometime editor of the Transvaal Leader, where he had acted also as a Director of the CNA, to become the Cape Times Company's London representative. E.R. Syfret thereafter acted as both Chairman of the Cape Times, and local Director of the Central News Agency. In 1914 the newspaper's interests in the Agency were still strong enough to force a supplementary agreement on the Agency whereby Syfret, who had been dropped from the Agency Board, should be re-instated and retain his seat on the Board for as long as the Cape Times Limited retained its shareholding in the Agency, and as long as the distribution agreement remained in force. The newspaper had the further right to nominate any other Director to replace Syfret. The following year the contracts of 1907 and 1914 were entrenched by a further contract which ensured that previous contracts be "permanent as far as the Agency is concerned, and shall continue with full force and effect until terminated by the Cape Times Ltd." The Central News Agency "shall not have any such right to terminate both or either of the said agreements." (2)

The business of both the Agency and the newspapers could prosper from such arrangements. In July 1903 the Cape Times and CNA together secured the Cape Railway Bookstall contract, whereby they were empowered to run every bookstall at stations on Cape routes. The arrangement was renewed in 1908. Though yearly figures for the Agency are not available, it seems from the Cape Times records that the CNA paid an average yearly dividend of 10% to its shareholders.

The process of distributing newspapers became a separate industry from that of newspaper production for the large town dailies. Diversifying into books and stationery - which had also been the province of early newspaper printers in small towns - the CNA managed to establish itself as an unrivalled distributor. It was able to pass on these advantages to those newspapers most directly involved in the Agency. The Press Commission Report of 1950-1964 remarked of this that it was a monopoly calculated to deprive Afrikaans newspapers of distribution facilities equal to those provided for the English papers. In the first decade of the century, the Agency was certainly aligned politically with the English newspaper Companies which
supported most prominently the British ascendancy in South Africa, and its foundation incorporated into its charter the necessity of promoting these newspapers, with both financial and political rewards. Its monopoly in centres with large white, English-reading populations - with the exception of the Eastern Cape - was established early, and thus guaranteed the Central News Agency a position that was not only powerful, but hard to challenge.

References

1 Press Commission Report V, p529ff; Annexure XI: CNA, Structure, Finance, Control
2 ibid; Cape Times Minutes 11.7.1903; 17.12.1904; 8.2.1908; 2.9.1904;