

A NUMBER PAINTS A THOUSAND WORDS: A QUANTITATIVE APPROACH TO A PUBLISHING HISTORY OF SOUTH AFRICAN CHILDREN'S LITERATURE IN ENGLISH

MMM LABUSCHAGNE

Publishing Studies Programme
Department of Information Science
Margaret.labuschagne@up.ac.za

ABSTRACT

Works on the history of South African children's literature written in English focus either on bibliography (Davies 1992; Heale 1995, 1996), themes (Jenkins 1993, 2002) or even aspects such as character (Jenkins 2006). However, there is no evidence of a history of the publishing of English children's books in South Africa.

This article investigates possible methodological approaches to such a publishing history, within the context of the multi- and interdisciplinary field of book history. The focus is on empirical and quantitative approaches to book history, based on the tradition of historical and enumerative bibliography (Eliot 2002:283).

These approaches are then applied to a study of English children's fiction published in South Africa between 1900 and 1961. This section includes a production profile and a producer profile, as well as an analysis of each.

The article concludes by presenting the advantages and disadvantages of using empirical and quantitative approaches in the study of the history of publishing South African children's books in English.

KEYWORDS

children's literature, South African children's literature (English), history of literature, book history, publishing history, quantitative methodology, producer profile, production profile

Students of the history of the book are stopped again and again by the absence of data, most importantly by a lack of knowledge of what was actually published (Carpenter 1983a: ix).

1 INTRODUCTION

To date, works on the history of South African children's literature written in English focus either on bibliography (Davies 1992; Heale 1995, 1996), themes (Jenkins 1993, 2002) or even aspects such as character (Jenkins 2006). However, there is no evidence of a book or other writing giving the history of the publishing of English children's books in South Africa.

This article seeks to report on an ongoing study which aims to present a history of children's literature publishing in English in South Africa between 1900 and 1961. During the study, possible methodological approaches to such a publishing history, within the context of the multi- and interdisciplinary field of book history, where literature, publishing and history intersect, were explored. This article will focus on empirical and quantitative approaches to book history, based on the tradition of historical and enumerative bibliography (Eliot 2002:283), and how these approaches have been used in studies of book history.

The article continues with an elucidation of the methodology used in the quantitative part of the particular study under discussion, covering sources of data, methods of data collection, and analysis. It then presents the statistical profiles generated through this quantitative analysis, including a production profile and a producer profile.

These profiles are analysed for patterns and trends, and the article concludes by presenting the advantages and disadvantages of using empirical and quantitative approaches for studying the history of the publishing of South African children's books in English.

2 WHAT IS BOOK HISTORY?

A useful starting point in understanding the field of book history is the fact that it is a convergence of fields of study, rather than a separate field in itself. Howsam (2006:4) explains: 'The three core disciplines that converge upon the study of book and print culture are history, literary studies, and bibliography – the fields of study that focus respectively upon the book as a cultural transaction, a literary text, and a material artifact.' At the heart of this field, therefore, is its contested nature, its conflicted nature as an interdiscipline which draws upon the theoretical approaches and methodologies of existing fields. A definition of book history proposed by Roger Chartier (1989:161) encapsulates this, explaining that book history studies 'the text itself, the object that conveys this text, and the act that grasps it'.

2.1 STUDYING 'THE OBJECT THAT CONVEYS THIS TEXT': METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

'The object that conveys this text' refers to the material object, the book itself, based on its production attributes, rather than its content (Finkelstein & McCleery 2002:2). Book

historians have made this their clear focus, perhaps in reaction to literary theorists of the New Criticism, such as Leavis, who saw texts and their content in isolation to their production.

In addition, book historians are concerned with the production aspects of the text. Chartier (2002:51) states clearly that ‘there is no text outside the material structure in which it is given to be read or heard, locating the book as a result of publishing, of material processes, not even as a result of authorial intention’.

This is the focus of an area of book history known as publishing studies, which includes the international history of printing, printers, and the various agents involved in the production, distribution, and reception of books and other texts (Finkelstein & McCleery 2005:85). To date, publishing history has focused largely on the development of a print culture and printing, from the fifteenth to the nineteenth centuries. However, the study of contemporary publishing phenomena is also growing, including that of children’s book publishing¹. In fact, in his recent article on sources for research in children’s literature in South Africa, Jenkins (2008) mentions publishing history as a ‘very promising field of research’.

2.1.1 *Enumerative bibliography*

Approaches which focus on ‘the object that conveys the text’ are primarily empirical and quantitative, based on the tradition of historical and enumerative bibliography (Eliot 2002:283). In fact, the physical book has been the focus of study of the discipline of bibliography for centuries. Bibliographical study emphasises ‘the preservation and transmission of written texts’, especially through interpreting ‘the evidence that books carry within and alongside their texts’ (Howsam 2006:13). In practice, this has often been expressed through bibliographers attempting to find authentic versions of original texts (the most well known being Shakespeare), as opposed to corrupted ones (Finkelstein & McCleery 2005:8).

Another aspect of this tradition is enumerative bibliography, which ‘lists precisely what was published in a given period or genre, or by a particular author’ (Grenby 2004:203). In terms of children’s literature, enumerative bibliography is a strong tradition – interestingly, often combined with a measure of literary analysis. The most obvious is, of course, Darton’s *Children’s Books in England*, first published in 1932 and revised by Alderson in 1982 – Alderson being a great advocate of bibliography as the basis of a study of children’s literature. The bibliographic approach has also been used internationally by scholars in this field: it is most notably evident in the massive four-volume *Handbuch zur Kinder- und Jugendliteratur*; and in the Australian bibliographies of children’s books. Bibliographic histories exist for French, Italian, Dutch, Danish, Portuguese, Spanish and even Swiss children’s books, as well as for American, Canadian and Mexican books. There are no complete bibliographies for any of the Asian countries, nor for African countries, although there are some general bibliographies of African children’s literature, spanning the entire continent².

In South Africa, some work has been done in terms of developing a bibliography of children's fiction in English³. As early as 1946, Stanton compiled a *Bibliography of Books in English Especially Suited to South African Children*, although these are not all South African books by any means; while in 1965 Sewitz produced a bibliography as part of her university studies. Heale (1985, 1995, 1996, 2004a) has also created several bibliographies of South African children's books in English, including his *SACBIP 1995*, a list of South African English children's books in print. A new version of SACBIP is in the process of development, with an electronic database of books in print being an outcome of the project. In his 1996 title, which offers a review from 1907–1992 and is presented as a history, rather than a bibliography, Heale's signposts were firstly chronological but, also, he explains, 'representative of key authors and trends in writing and publishing innovations' (Heale 1996:2). He lists key political events and some technical innovations in an attempt to contextualise the survey, but does not relate the books themselves to a broader context. Heale's (2004a) newest publication is an informal discussion, again thematic, of various South African children's books.

Davies (1992) too made an effort to create what she termed 'a review of South African children's literature'. This title was aimed at teachers and librarians and offers a thorough thematically organised bibliography of children's books published in English and Afrikaans and still in print.

On its own, enumerative bibliography tends to result in descriptive lists of titles, genres or authors, which offer little insight into publishing history. To understand the factors that shaped the writing, publishing and dissemination of books, it is essential to know 'the basic facts of what was printed, by whom and for whom' and thus place this history firmly within a socioeconomic context (Carpenter 1983b:xi). This is because the reconstruction of book history 'provides crucial information regarding the structure and economics of the printing, and ultimately the publishing, trade' (Tanselle 1983: xx).

2.1.2 *Quantitative analysis*

Enumeration can answer questions such as: How many books were published in 1967? How many of these books were poetry books? Who was the most prolific author between 1940 and 1944? Which publishing houses published the most titles?

However, simply revealing these statistics is not enough – as Eliot (2002:287) argues, 'After all, quantitative book history carries with it a responsibility to make sense of what it reveals.' Joshi (2002:271) concurs; 'the endless lists [of statistics] are interesting not simply as raw numbers but in their capacity to reveal a wider literary sociology.' Clearly, this approach is somewhat problematic as statistics are unable to tell a story on their own. But as I argue in the title to my article, a number can nonetheless paint, if not as well as a picture, a thousand words. But what a statistical approach can do, as Darnton (2002:240) explains, is 'open the way to various narratives by revealing patterns', allowing book historians to construct 'a general picture of literary culture,

something comparable to the early maps of the New World, which showed the contours of the continents, even though they did not correspond very well to the actual landscape'. Joshi (2002:264) concurs, arguing that:

Quantitative methods expand literary history and make all sorts of discoveries possible, much the way that early maps did in the dissemination of knowledge about 'new' worlds. Statistics, like maps, are indeed lies to some extent, but [...] they are the lies that tell a truth that would otherwise not be evident. [...] quantitative data allow[s] a general picture of a literary culture to emerge that might otherwise be obscured by more conventional qualitative methods of textual analysis.

Using this map, it will be possible to challenge statements that suggest that by 1979 only 12 illustrated children's fiction books in English were actually being published each year in South Africa (Jammy 1990:91), with the number rising to about 30 by the 1980s, and fewer than 100 by the turn of the millennium (Heale 1986:14; 2004b:34). In other words, the one aim of using this empirical approach is to reveal something significant that was previously unknown.

On the other hand, empirical work is also important for 'calibrating or quantifying what was already known' (Eliot 2002:286), in other words statistics can confirm assumptions, as well as interrogate and challenge existing ones.

The value of a quantitative approach therefore lies in asking of the enumerative data: What do statistics tell us? In other words, what pictures do they paint? Does the data yield any patterns?

One example of such research has been undertaken at the University of Pretoria (UP), where the focus was on developing and interpreting quantitative data on contemporary book publishing, particularly in the establishment of the PTD (Publishing Trends Database)⁴. For example, Venter (2006) has done valuable research in tracking trends in contemporary Afrikaans fiction publishing, while Snyman (2004a, 2004b) has focused on contemporary Afrikaans children's fiction, including authors' profiles, a production profile and a publication history of Afrikaans youth series books in particular.

However, no such work has yet been undertaken in the field of English-language children's books in South Africa.

3 PAINTING A PICTURE WITH NUMBERS

To present a history of children's literature publishing in English in South Africa between 1900 and 1961, empirical research was required – and quantitative data has therefore been collected on the publishers active during this period, including the number of titles produced, the number of producers involved, and the authors who wrote these titles.

3.1 DATA COLLECTION

This section will investigate the parameters of the data, the sources of the data, and the data collection techniques used in the study.

3.1.1 *Parameters of the data collected*

a) **The parameters of ‘children’s literature’**

When offering a definition of children’s literature, one is faced with two terms which require explanation. The first of these is ‘children’, a term which would initially seem unproblematic. For example, Marshall (1982:7–8) offers a definition of children, in her discussion of children’s literature:

The term ‘children’ covers young people in the First, Second and Third Worlds, and those in the Fourth World, the children of seafarers, prisoners, refugees and gypsies. Then there are children in boarding schools and in comfortable homes; children in inner cities and children in prosperous farming areas; children in isolated mountain or desert areas; children with plenty to eat and children who are starving; children who are child prostitutes and children who live very sheltered lives; children who are handicapped mentally, visually, aurally, physically, some or all of these; children who are black, white, brown, mixed; children of different and differing religions; children who are male or female; children who are married or single; children who see war on television, children who live in war-torn countries and children who are fighting in wars; children who have food, health, education and love, and children who have none ...

However, this definition is not as clear as it may appear since any concept of childhood is culture-bound, both synchronically and diachronically. Culturally and historically, definitions of children have differed: childhood is not a stable concept. For example, the Puritans saw children as inherently evil, having been born with original sin; the Romantics saw children as noble savages, nearer to God than other people (Hunt 1991:59). Until the eighteenth century in Europe, the mortality rate was high and poverty was rife; hence the view of childhood as a protected developmental stage was not possible until the rise of capitalism and the Industrial Revolution freed a portion of the population from these constraints. Prior to that, children were really regarded as adults in miniature.

However, according to Nicholas Tucker (quoted in Hunt 1991:57), there are various transcultural and transtemporal features of childhood, usually relevant to people between birth and the age of 18, namely:

- children engage in spontaneous play
- children are receptive to the prevailing culture
- children experience physiological constraints
- children are sexually immature

- children have the tendency to form emotional attachments to mature figures
- children are incapable of abstract thought
- children have a shorter concentration span than adults do
- children are at the mercy of their immediate perceptions
- children are adaptable and do not think in terms of fixed schemata⁵
- children's cognitive skills develop in a common sequence

The surprisingly problematic word 'children' is then combined with the equally problematic term 'literature'. Eagleton (1989:11, 16) comments: 'Literature, in the sense of a set of works of assured and unalterable value, distinguished by certain shared inherent properties, does not exist.' He qualifies this by explaining that value judgements are variable and thus this canon of literature is merely a construct bound by time and culture. Value judgements are rooted in social ideologies and refer to the assumptions by which certain social groups exercise and maintain power over others.

This becomes clear in definitions of children's literature, such as that by Marshall (1982:8):

When I use the word 'literature' ... I mean those forms of reading material prepared for, offered to and read by children, other than the texts specifically intended to teach the mechanics of reading and those works covered by the term 'textbook'.

There are various problems with Marshall's definition. One matter in dispute is her differentiation between literature used simply for entertainment or pleasure, and literature used to 'teach the mechanics of reading'. According to Ellis (quoted in Hunt 1991:51), 'Literary texts are not defined as those of a certain shape or structure, but as those pieces of language used in a certain way by the community.' In other words, the definition of literature will vary according to the purpose to which the texts are put. Here, Marshall distinguishes between aesthetic and practical (usually didactic) purposes. This is the distinction between literature which is 'good' and literature which is 'good for...' (Hunt 1991:43). Such a definition is problematic since all children's books are created for practical purposes, this much being implied by the qualifier 'children's', which implies a reference to a set of books not belonging to the mainstream, books which are defined in terms of their intended audience, or their market, as publishers would have it.

Ewers (2006:2) too points out the difficulty inherent in attempting such a definition, offering two equally problematic approaches. On the one hand,

Many histories of children's literature are ... based on a definition of the subject-matter which results from its present-day form. They ... assume that their subject-matter never changed its fundamental form and take the current understanding of children's literature as a point of departure.

This results in histories of children's literature which simply restructure historical material according to contemporary criteria. On the other hand, there is the assumption of the 'sudden birth' of children's literature as a genre, which is problematic in that it fails to connect the genre with the past (Ewers 2006:3). Instead, Ewers (2006:4–5) suggests approaching children's literature as part of the literary production of the period as a whole, looking at the different classification criteria and generic selections of the entire system, and assuming that the system is subject to permanent change.

In other words, Ewers suggests using a systems theory approach where, in terms of the current study, children's literature, which could well be defined as 'books read by, especially suitable for, or especially satisfying for, members of the group currently defined as children' (Hunt 1991:61), forms part of the greater system of literature. More specifically, South African children's literature forms part of the larger system of South African literature as a whole, and South African children's literature in English a subsystem of that, in turn functioning within a broader cultural and political system.

b) **Linguistic parameters**

The study includes only titles published in English. It is essential to narrow this scope as South Africa has 11 official languages, with publications in all. However, translations are included, as several publishers produced parallel publications in English and Afrikaans, with the English version often in translation.

c) **Genre parameters**

It is necessary to interrogate Marshall's (1982) definition of literature in terms of genre (see definition above). Certainly, Marshall's intention is to distinguish between school readers and other literates/readers; however, many of the children who constitute her definition will seldom come into contact with school textbooks, let alone a glossy paperback or colourful picture-book. It is for this reason that this study will include the children's literature read at school (readers and prescribed works) as part of fictional literature. Many may argue that school readers do not belong here, but because of the lack of a reading market (largely for economic reasons), the books most of our children read are those provided at schools. This is often the only literature children come into contact with. In addition, because of our small reading market, many publishing houses, ensured of a market at schools, put a lot of resources, including money, time, marketing and creative effort, into these school readers. In fact, some of our most beautiful and best-quality children's books today are still published for this market.

Second, I chose to include all genres of fiction, including novels, short stories, folk tales, picture books, plays, poetry, nursery rhymes and even songs. I broadened the spectrum to include as many books as possible – later in this article you will see why it was necessary to boost the numbers!

d) **Temporal parameters**

Next, I had to determine the temporal or time parameters of the study, it being a history. As already mentioned, there is no evidence of a publishing history of South African children's literature in English, so it made sense to start at the beginning of the period and work forward. Existing studies of children's literature, particularly those by Jenkins (1993, 2002, 2006) and Hooper (1996:68), use political, primarily colonial, events in South Africa as signposts, appropriate to the systems theory. I therefore chose to focus on the colonial period in South Africa, going back to the first children's book published in English in South Africa as my starting date – my research shows this to be 1826.⁶ Because of the very low number of books published before 1900, this will be the beginning date of the results presented in this article. The end date of my study is 1961, pegged at the declaration of the Republic of South Africa, when South Africa became independent and left the British Commonwealth, ending the colonial relationship with Great Britain.

e) **Spatial parameters**

The study includes only books published in South Africa or, as Jenkins (2002:5) wisely explains, in the territory over which the present South African government has sovereignty, as South Africa was made up of various political entities before 1910. The study therefore excludes books by South Africans or about South Africa published elsewhere. This approach differs significantly from that of Jenkins (2002, 2006) who offered a broader definition of South African children's literature, including books written by South Africans, having significant South African subject content, or published in South Africa. The parameters include co-publications with local and international publishers.

3.1.2 *Sources of data*

It was essential to collect data in order to generate the necessary statistics on publishing during the period under study. However, as Galloway (2004:113) emphasises, 'useful and reliable statistical data on the South African book industry are [...] not readily available'. Eliot (2002:285) too notes the need for 'consistent, reliable and sufficiently continuous' data 'to form the longish time sequence necessary to understand broad trends in book history'. Nonetheless, there are sources of data on book history in South Africa and, as Griswold (2002:276) optimistically argues (in the Nigerian context), 'Literary statistics from a poorly documented book culture are like a very rough sketch: some of the lines may be off, but the picture emerges anyway.'

Still, for statistical methods to be useful, the statistics should not only have something to say, but also be reliable. This means that the sources of data used need to be interrogated and verified. As will be seen below, with the dearth of such sources in South Africa, as in India, as Joshi (2002:264) cautions, it is essential to be cautious about any distortions that can result, particularly when the origins and sources of that data are difficult to

verify and retrace. This caution can be exercised to a certain degree by using as many and as diverse a range of sources as possible, welcoming overlap as verification (Eliot 2002:287). The researcher therefore made a strong attempt to track down as many sources as possible and to interrogate the reliability of the sources provided. These sources will be discussed below⁷.

In addition, this dearth of sources points to the need to use a fixed sample, not any kind of random sampling – in essence, the researcher hopes that the data will be as complete as possible, bearing in mind that ‘statistics are not about certainty; they are about various levels of probability and about reasonable approximations’ (Eliot 2002:287).

a) **The Production Trends Database (PTD) and the South African National Bibliography (SANB)**

As mentioned above, much of the work on South African book history has been undertaken at the University of Pretoria. One of these projects has culminated in the creation of the Production Trends Database (PTD) as developed by the Publishing Studies Programme at the University of Pretoria.

The primary source in creating the PTD was the South African National Bibliography (SANB), which lists all published material submitted to the National Library of South Africa (NLSA) under the terms of the Legal Deposit Act 54 of 1997 (Galloway 2002:214).

The SANB has been compiled on a quarterly basis by the NLSA since 1959, with annual accumulations. The material, which includes all official publications, publications in all languages and even periodicals, is arranged according to the Dewey classification system, with the entries in each broad group being arranged alphabetically by author (Musiker 1986:35). A cumulative *South African National Bibliography 1959–1979* was published in 1997. The printed format ceased to exist in 2000, and the bibliography is now available only through electronic database and on CD-Rom (Galloway 2002:214).

Basing the PTD on the SANB does present certain challenges, as Galloway (2002:214) points out. First, the PTD was based on the electronic database of the SANB, which has a backlog in capturing data. In other words, the entire SANB is not all electronic yet, in particular for the period 1959 to 1979. This means that the PTD is not complete for that period either, nor for the period preceding that, although it does include some titles (see discussion below).

Furthermore, the printed volumes of the SANB show the date the book was received on deposit, not the year of publication, which can be confusing. Then, the highly inclusive nature of the SANB (i.e. the bibliography includes government publications, pamphlets, serials and magazines, as well as books) makes it an unwieldy source. In addition, the SANB is organised as a tool for librarians, which required some adaptation for the PTD (Galloway 2004:113–114).

Finally, the PTD only reflects records submitted under the Legal Deposit Act. As Snyman and Venter (2004:122) discovered in using the PTD, it is clear that many publishers do not meet the legal requirements of legal deposit and thus their books will not appear in the SANB and, by association, in the PTD.

In terms of the current study, the particular problem in using the PTD is that it does not cover the period under study completely. This necessitated looking for further sources of data, which will be discussed below.

b) **Other bibliographic sources**

Although the SANB has been in existence only since 1959, this does not mean that no bibliographies exist for the earlier period. South African libraries have a rich tradition of bibliography, dating back to 1821, when the South African Library (established in Cape Town in 1818) published its first library catalogue (Musiker 1986:31). This was followed by more complete catalogues in 1825 and 1834, and thereafter fairly regularly throughout the nineteenth century. Other public libraries also began producing catalogues during this period (Musiker 1986:31).

The first real bibliographies, as opposed to simply library catalogues, appeared in the late nineteenth century, including *Bleek's Catalogue of Sir George Grey's Library*, and *A Catalogue of Books Relating to South Africa*, which was compiled by CA Fairbridge and J Noble in 1886. This bibliography was groundbreaking in its inclusion of the full name of the author, full title, size, place of publication and date (Musiker 1986:31, 32). However, the most famous bibliography of this period, and one which has relevance as a source is the *South African Bibliography* (1910) by Sidney Mendelssohn, which contains some 7 500 items, including books, bluebooks, periodicals, letters, documents, and maps. Although Musiker (1986:33) comments that this bibliography does contain 'a British bias and many inaccuracies', the work is the earliest (fairly) comprehensive catalogue of works relating to publishing in South Africa.

Mendelssohn's work was regarded as so important as a bibliography that it was revised and updated between 1960 and 1979, recording omissions from and corrections to the bibliography, as well as additional work published up to 1925. This new version was published as *A South African Bibliography to the Year 1925, Being a Revision and Continuation of Sidney Mendelssohn's South African Bibliography 1910* (first four volumes published in 1979; fifth volume published in 1991; sixth volume in 1997). This revised bibliography became one of the major sources for this study, as it contains 35 000 items drawn from 29 South African libraries, a highly comprehensive list, and not based on the vagaries of legal deposit alone, but rather on real library holdings. In addition, it omits maps, atlases, periodicals, newspapers, manuscripts, government publications, and works in African languages, making the data collection far easier – as it was done manually (see below).

For the period after 1925, the *Retrospective South African National Bibliography for the Period 1926–1958*, published in 1985, was used as a major source. As mentioned above, the backlog in capturing data means that this material does not form part of the electronic SANB, and is thus not part of the PTD. Again, data collection was done manually.

A further library-based bibliography used was the catalogue for an exhibition held in Cape Town in 2004 as part of the IBBY Congress: *Amandla eBali: an exhibition of South African children's books* (NLSA 2005). This catalogue contains detailed bibliographic data on the titles showcased. Importantly, the exhibition was not intended as a comprehensive history of children's literature, but served rather as an introduction to the 'broad and complex ... subject of children's literature and traditions of storytelling in South Africa' (NLSA 2005:2). The data from this catalogue was therefore used primarily as verification of data already found in the other bibliographies listed above.

The bibliography of holdings of the NELM (National English Literary Museum) was searched for relevant titles and information, while archival searches were also performed, particularly as verification for existing data.

In addition, amateur bibliographies drawn up by teachers and lovers of children's literature proved useful sources, although again primarily as sources for verification. These sources include those by Heale (1985, 1995, 1996, 2004) and Davies (1992).

c) **Literary sources**

Where possible, data was collected from original copies of the titles themselves, including the blurb copy.

In terms of secondary literary sources, existing research on children's fiction in South Africa was also used, including that by Jammy (1990) and Jenkins (2002, 2006), as these sources mention and even discuss some titles in detail, including their bibliographic and publishing details.

3.1.3 *Methods of data collection*

SANB data that is available electronically forms part of the PTD, which could be searched electronically. However, other sources required manual collection.

a) **Collection via the PTD**

The PTD is based on data imported from the SANB, with the following data fields included:

- title
- author
- publication date
- source (ie publisher and physical description of the publication)
- language

- SANB call number (Dewey decimal classification number)
- genre/category (eg fiction)
- ISBN (International Standard Book Number)
- keywords (broad subject headings)

The database itself is customised to allow the user to sort records according to the data fields listed above. Using this function, the researcher withdrew data according to the Dewey decimal classification number for English fiction. The researcher then withdrew titles indicated by J (juvenile literature), and used her discretion in searching for further titles that may have slipped through this categorisation, deleting any duplicate titles and records for reprints (not revised versions).

b) **Manual collection**

As Eliot (2002:285) wryly comments, collecting data manually is a time-consuming and laborious process, one without shortcuts. However, this process was essential, first because the PTD is incomplete for the period under study. Second, as will be explained below, the process of verification of data is an important one, and many sources for verification are not electronic.

Essentially, this data collection method meant reading through the bibliographies and other sources and inputting relevant data (ie data meeting the parameters listed above) directly into an MS Excel spreadsheet, using the categories provided by the PTD.

3.1.4 *Verification of data*

The data collected for this study is essentially secondary data – the data formed part of existing bibliographies or research. The advantages of using such data are well known: time can be saved and previous findings can be reanalysed to reveal new information.

However, using secondary data does have limitations, especially in terms of primary data collection errors. In addition, the aims of the compilers of the bibliographies and research were not the same as those of this researcher: this becomes especially evident in the use of SANB data, which has been organised for the purposes of legal deposit, as mentioned above. Furthermore, the completeness of the data can be a problem, again with the data's reliance on the effectiveness of the legal deposit system.

Eliot (2002:289) sounds a strong word of caution in relying on bibliographies compiled on the basis of legal deposit requirements. In his research, Eliot found that new penalty clauses for legal deposit in the UK introduced in 1842 and enforced in the 1850s meant that the intake of legal deposit material after that rose by leaps and bounds – he could easily have attributed this to an increase in the production of books; instead, his data simply reflects an increase in adherence to the law on legal deposit. Because of these limitations, it was essential to verify and update the data using other sources, as described above.

3.2 DATA ANALYSIS

The numeric data was then sorted and analysed using a database specific to this study. In brief, the analysis of the data meant breaking it down into categories, with the hope that these would then reveal patterns, trends and relationships.

a) Analysis using the Children's Literature Database (CLD)

This data was repackaged in MS Excel as a database of South African children's literature written in English. Creating the database entailed categorising the data according to the following fields:

- author
- title
- date of publication (of first edition)
- edition
- series
- publishing category
- publisher
- place of publication

Although most of these categories are self-evident, the question of publishing category becomes a site of struggle. Chartier (1989:167) explains:

... the explicit indicators by which texts are designated and classified create expectations of the reading and anticipations of understanding. That is the case as well for the indication of the genre, which links the text to be read to other texts that have already been read, and which signals to the reader the appropriate "preknowledge" in which to locate the text.

Classifying the books according to genres or publishing categories was based primarily on the category as defined by the publisher, and secondly on the category defined by the library classification. Where books were not defined by either category, it was necessary for the researcher to consult the text itself and classify it. The study of the genre categories is continuing and will not be reported on in this article.

3.3 COMPILATION OF PROFILES

With the data organised into fields, profiles were compiled. The following profiles were compiled:

- a producer profile, indicating which publishers were active in South African English children's fiction publishing between 1900 and 1961
- a production profile, indicating how many titles were published each year between 1900 and 1961
- A genre or category profile and an author profile have yet to be completed.

a) **Production profile**

The following graph plots the number of titles published over this period per year.

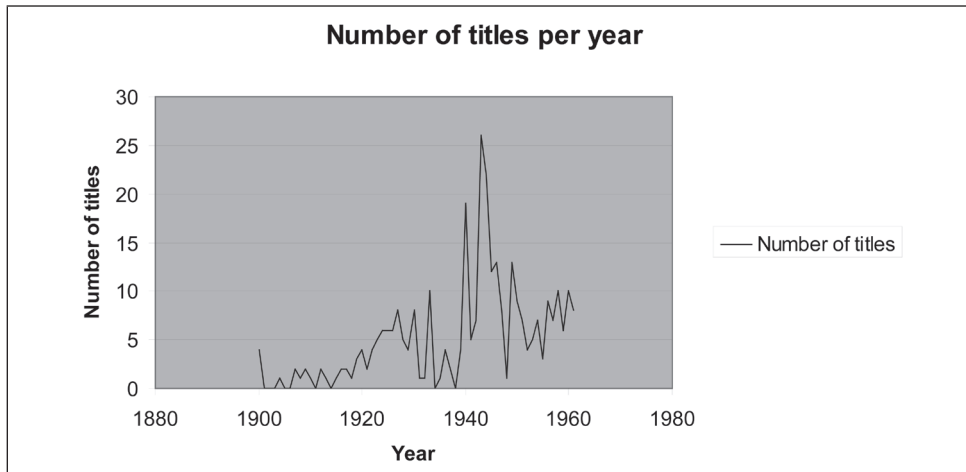


Figure 1: Number of titles published per year: 1900–1961

What pictures do these graphs paint? Does the data yield any patterns? Creating profiles does mean some manipulation of data. Eliot (2002:285) warns against distorting or exaggerating the information, instead allowing for significant features over time to become visible. To avoid this, an inductive approach may be followed. For instance, Snyman (2004a:9) explains her inductive approach to Afrikaans series books: that she was looking for distinguishable historical periods in the production of such books (as opposed to those determined by existing histories of Afrikaans literature), where she then grouped titles by decade.

Here, a similar approach, grouping books by decade, is suggested by the data. The statistics in Figure 1 suggest broadly that the numbers of English children’s works of fiction published in South Africa increased steadily during the first 20 years of the century, dropped in the late 1930s and spiked in the 1940s. In fact, most of the books were published during the 1940s. I then grouped these per decade, as there is some trend towards this grouping being logical.

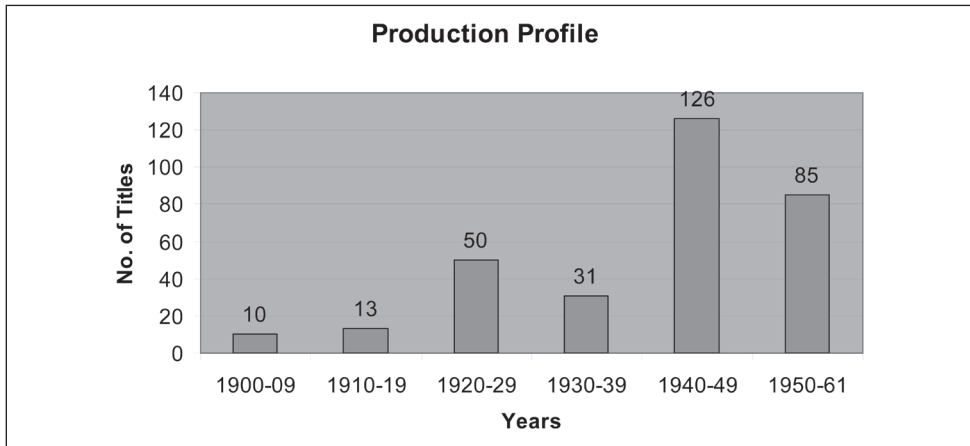


Figure 2: Number of titles published between 1900 and 1961 per decade

The graph in Figure 2 shows that 315 works of children's fiction were published in English in South Africa between 1900 and 1961.

What picture do these numbers paint? The main impression is that very few books were being published. Why? In explaining these incredibly low numbers it is important to bear in mind that South Africa was a British colony all through this period. In fact, in 1900 Britain was at war to gain control of the gold-rich Boer or Dutch areas, in the Second Anglo-Boer War, also known as the South African War in that it involved all South Africans in one way or another. Peace was made in 1903, with British rule extending across the entire country. Along with this came the policy of Anglicisation. However, in 1910, when the Union of South Africa came into being, it was agreed that English and Dutch were to be the official languages.

As a result of this colonial situation, most books that English-speaking children would have encountered would have been imported from the UK. In fact, many regard Percy Fitzpatrick's *Jock of the Bushveld* (1907) as the first South African children's book (eg Heale 1995, 1996; Jammy 1990). It was published in London and tells of the experiences of a white man and his dog; women and African people were entirely subordinate, even peripheral.

The market for indigenously produced books was therefore very small, particularly given the high rate of illiteracy among African people as a legacy of the colonial period, but also with the rise of Afrikaner nationalism, particularly in response to British rule. Over the past two hundred and fifty years, Dutch had developed into an indigenous language, known as Afrikaans. In 1925, Afrikaans became an official language, a great victory for the supporters of Afrikaner nationalism. There was a consequent demand for books for Afrikaans-speaking children and the development of Afrikaner publishing houses (Jammy 1990) – we do see a positive spin-off for English children's books as well, with a rise in publications in the 1920s. Although

the quality of these books was poor, they pointed to the development of South African authors and illustrators.

As we know, with a small market print runs are small and prices are high. This meant that indigenous books could not compete with the prices, or the quality, of imported titles. One interesting result was that South African authors began publishing their books overseas, with a South African co-publisher, which is still common practice today.

We do see an interesting surge in publications in the 1940s, for which I can so far account in terms of World War II, the concomitant paper and ink shortages in England, the prohibition on new publishers, and the difficulties of importing books from overseas, which protected and therefore stimulated the indigenous publishing industry and gave impetus to both English and Afrikaans publishing in South Africa (Musiker 1986:193; Hooper 1996:73). This spike certainly warrants further research, especially as we see the sharp fall in the 1950s.

b) **Producer profile**

The producer profile is extremely diverse, with 75 producers or publishers responsible for these 315 works.

Forty-one of these producers were organisations or publishing houses responsible for a single publication each. Looking more closely at these 41 producers, I found the following:

- The majority were established publishers who published in other categories for the most part, or took on jobbing, such as the Pietermaritzburg City Printing Works, Cape Times or H.M. Guest, usually involved in journals and newspapers.
- Others were new publishers, both local and international, which we will find publishing far more in South Africa in later years, such as Macmillan and Heinemann.
- Then there were social or religious groups which published works for their members or to develop their work, such as the Arabic Study Circle, the Jewish Book Centre, the Junior Literary Society, or the International Mission Society.
- Bookshops published one-off works, such as Dagbreek Book Store.

Sixteen titles were self-published, meaning that the authors themselves published the work, paying for it to be produced. This is often referred to as vanity publishing, but there are other reasons for self-publishing – where you can deal with your market directly, for instance. This area warrants further research.

This graph shows producers of more than one title:

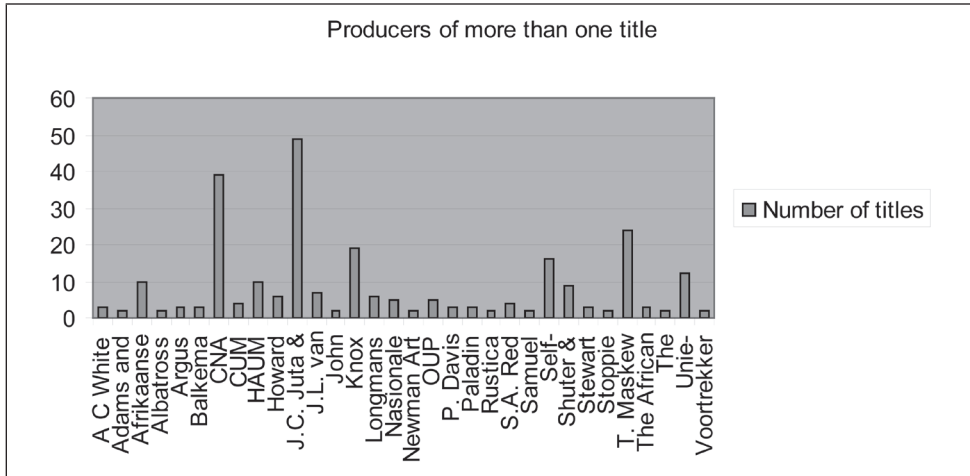


Figure 3: Producers of more than one title between 1900 and 1961

The graph in Figure 3 shows that 10 producers published two books each; six published three books each; two published four books each; and two, five books each.

- The trend here is once again new publishers, whom we hear of later, or publishers starting out on a children's list, such as the Christian Publishing Company, known by its Afrikaans acronym of CUM (*Christelike Uitgewersmaatskappy*) based in Johannesburg (Nienaber 1943:122); Nasionale Pers (now the biggest media conglomerate in South Africa, Naspers); and Oxford University Press.
- One interesting producer here, linked obviously to the period under study, is the Red Cross Society, which published several educational plays for children.

Ten different producers were responsible for six or more works each. I will now discuss each of these producers individually, as they made a significant contribution to publishing at that time:

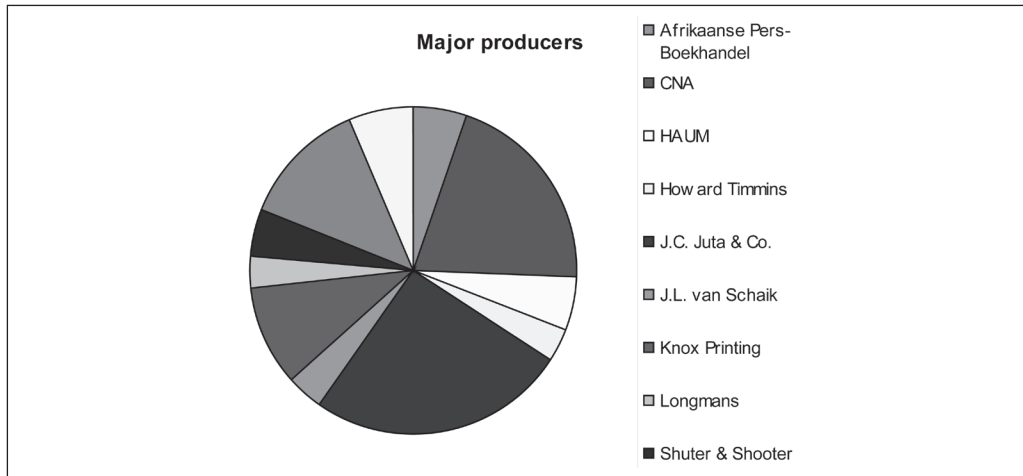


Figure 4: Producers of more than six titles between 1900 and 1961

J.C. Juta and Co.

The biggest producer of children’s books (49) in this period was J.C. Juta and Co., now known as Juta. This publishing house was started by a Dutch immigrant, Jan Carel Juta, who was, interestingly, married to Karl Marx’s sister. Juta had arrived in Cape Town in 1853, representing the Dutch bookseller Kolff and Co. (Rossouw 1987:86). By 1854, he had opened his own bookselling, stationery and publishing business on the corner of Wale and Burg Streets in Cape Town, stocking not only Bibles, but also books in German, Dutch and Italian, as well as cigars and perfume (Nienaber 1943:68–69). As Nienaber (1943:69–70) explains, the business developed quickly and focused primarily on educational and religious titles, such as the popular *Kaapsche Kinderbijbel* by John Murray, which was sold out within six months, a phenomenon entirely unheard of prior to that.

Juta’s younger son died suddenly in 1883, which led to a rapid decline in JC Juta’s health. He left for England for treatment in 1884, where he died (Van Rooyen 2005:340). After Juta’s death in 1886, his wife continued to run the business, taking on partners messieurs Duncan, Woodbridge and Cuypers, and establishing branches all over South Africa, including Johannesburg (1888), Grahamstown (1898), Port Elizabeth, East London and Durban (1903). By 1919, a limited company, Juta and Co. Ltd, had been established (Nienaber 1943:69–60; Rossouw 1987:87). The company remained in the Juta family until 1909, when Henry Juta, the eldest son, gave up the company to the leadership of Tom Duncan (the nephew of the original partner), with the company facing bankruptcy. Under Duncan, the company regained financial stability, and continued under Douglas Duncan, Tom’s son, from 1947. Juta remained with the Duncan family until 2000, when James Duncan (Douglas’s nephew) relinquished control to an outsider (Van Rooyen 2005:340–341).

During the period 1900 to 1961, most of the Juta works published for children were school readers, including the Pioneer Reading Series, the Royal School Series, the South African History Plays series and the Juta Juvenile Library, which was not aimed exclusively at schools. Juta still exists today as a privately owned company. It is very well known for its law publications and its academic works, although its trade division includes the imprint Juta Kids, which aims to ‘offer young minds the opportunity for expanded learning beyond the formal school curriculum’ (Juta Trade Imprints – Double Storey 2009).

Central News Agency (CNA)

The Central News Agency (CNA) was the second largest producer, publishing a total of 39 books in the period. The CNA, now better known as a book and stationery supplier, was established in 1903 by AV Lindbergh and his brother, as well as a certain Michael Davis and his father (Rossouw 1987:28)⁸. They were originally based in Johannesburg, but also had offices in Durban and Cape Town (Rossouw 1987:28). Many of the titles here belong to the Dassie Books series, which may well have been aimed at the school market as well. They published in a variety of genres, which testifies to a highly diverse publishing list⁹.

Maskew Miller

Thomas Maskew Miller began publishing in 1893, with branches in Cape Town, Pretoria and Bulawayo: the latter two only operated from 1901 to 1914 (Rossouw 1987:104). In 1924, the firm became a limited company and the imprint became Maskew Miller Ltd (Rossouw 1987:104). The two imprints produced 24 children’s literature titles during this period, although their main list did focus on school textbooks. However, the children’s list included poetry, fiction and short stories, as well as the delightfully named series ‘Maskew Miller’s Pleasant Stories for Young Readers’.

Maskew Miller’s company merged with Longman in 1983 to become known as Maskew Miller Longman. Today Maskew Miller Longman forms part of Pearson Education, in turn owned by Pearson plc (Van Rooyen 2005:342).

Longman

Longman, later Longmans, Green and Co., was founded in England in 1724 by Thomas Longman and retained a Longman at the helm until 1972, when Mark Longman died. In 1968, Longman was bought by Pearson.

During this period, Longman had an interest in South African publishing, and in fact produced six titles from its offices in Cape Town, at least two of which were readers aimed at the schools market, as part of Longmans Day-by-day English Course.

Knox Publishing and Printing Company

Knox Publishing and Printing Company produced 19 children's books in this period. Most of these are collections of African folktales, specifically for children, but they also published trade titles, not intended for the school market. Knox Printing Company still exists today, but ceased publishing operations in the 1960s (Knock 2009).

Unie-Volkspers

Unie-Volkspers was established in Cape Town in 1936 to publish the United Party's mouthpiece, *Die Suiderstem* (Nienaber 1943:121). By 1961, it had produced 12 children's titles in English, including short stories, poetry and fiction. It also published books of various kinds, including English books with a South African setting. In 1940, it began publishing a magazine, *Naweek* (Nienaber 1943:121).

Afrikaanse Pers Boekhandel (APB)

Another Afrikaans company, Afrikaanse Pers Boekhandel, published 10 works in this period, including at least one co-publication, and a children's reading series. This publishing house and bookseller, based in Johannesburg, was originally a publisher of the well-known pro-Afrikaner publications *Die Vaderland* and *Die Brandwag*, with an additional focus on cheap paperbacks in Afrikaans, the *AP-Sakbiblioteek* (pocket library) (Nienaber 1943:121). In 1962, APB amalgamated with Dagbreekpers to form Afrikaanse Pers Beperk, which then merged with Voortrekkerpers (established in 1937 with the centenary of the Great Trek, and also a publisher of some English children's books) to form Perskor in 1971 (Venter 2006:338). By 1998, Perskor had amalgamated with Kagiso, only to be bought out by Maskew Miller Longman.

In this period, we see them moving into the English and Afrikaans schools market, with most of the titles in the research forming parts of series of readers (eg The Bennet Readers), and one being a poetry anthology aimed at schools.

HAUM

Yet another primarily Afrikaans publishing house, HAUM (Hollandsch-Afrikaansche Uitgevers-Maatschappij), produced 10 works. HAUM was established on 1 May 1894 as a Cape Town branch of Jacques Dusseau and Co of Amsterdam. They had offices in Cape Town and Pretoria (Nienaber 1943:122; Rossouw 1987:40). Their initial focus was on distributing reasonably priced Dutch literature, on request of the Dutch Reformed Church in South Africa (Venter 2006:341). On 2 January 1911, HAUM became the property of JH de Bussy of Amsterdam, and from this period the company turned to developing the Afrikaans language as it progressed from a 'kitchen' language to a fully fledged language of learning and government. HAUM published several important works of Afrikaans literature during the 1920s and 1930s. In 1957, the company was taken over by the Dutch Reformed Church, but by 1974 it was transformed by a merger with

Johan de Jager, establishing De Jager-HAUM (Venter 2006:342). Many incarnations and mergers later, HAUM, no longer even an imprint, forms part of the Naspers group. Although HAUM published in most genres before 1961, most of its works in this period were aimed at the educational and religious markets; its English children's books are no exception, forming part of its Sunshine Series, one aimed at schools.

Shuter & Shooter

Shuter & Shooter's origins are in the printing, bookselling, music and stationery firm of Vause, Slatter and Co., which was established in Pietermaritzburg in 1850. Vause, Slatter and Co. was acquired by LG Shuter in 1921, while on 12 January 1925 RA Shooter, a former employee of Juta in its Cape Town and East London offices, Deale Bros. of Bloemfontein, P. Davis and Sons in Pietermaritzburg and Leonard Bayley of Pietermaritzburg, joined as a partner to become Shuter & Shooter. Publishing activities began in the 1930s, and Shuter & Shooter became a proprietary limited company in 1947 (Rossouw 1987:140; Shuter & Shooter 2009). Shuter retired in June 1948, selling his interests to CA Roy, manager of Wm. Collins in South Africa, while Shooter retired from active directorship in 1951, allowing Roy to acquire financial control of the company in 1955. In 1966, the *Natal Witness* bought into the company and acquired financial control. Today, Shuter & Shooter still exists, and is still based in Pietermaritzburg, having merged with Reach Out Publishers (Pty) Ltd. in 2002, to become Shuter & Shooter Publishers. It still publishes widely for children, having launched a trade imprint, Shuter, in 2007 (Shuter & Shooter 2009).

In the period 1900 to 1961, Shuter & Shooter produced nine books, ranging from poetry to novels and folktales. Its focus since its inception has been on educational books, especially for schools, with a special focus on African languages, including Zulu (Rossouw 1987:140; Shuter & Shooter 2009). Today, this still holds true, with many trade titles continuing to be marketed as readers for schools.

Van Schaik

Johannes Lambertus van Schaik, a Dutch immigrant, arrived in South Africa in 1911, first working for de Bussy (who later started HAUM). He established his own company in Pretoria in 1914, taking over the firm JA Wormser, initially publishing only in Afrikaans and Dutch, although later also in English and even African languages (Nienaber 1943:120; Rossouw 1987:163; Venter 2006:323). By 1938, the company had grown to such an extent that the bookselling and publishing divisions were split. After JL van Schaik's death in 1965, the two divisions were taken over by his sons, Jan and Hans van Schaik (Venter 2006:324). Van Schaik was bought out by Naspers in 1986, although it still exists today with its focus being in the field of academic titles.

In the period under review, JL van Schaik published seven English children's titles, including folktales, poetry and fiction.

Howard Timmins

Finally, Howard Timmins, based in Cape Town, published six works, fitting with the African tone of the list. These were all for the youth, and probably formed part of its general list.

The pictures that these numbers paint for us are interesting. First, all of the major publishers of children's books in South Africa at that time were indigenous, except for one – they may have been started by immigrants, but were located here and published for the South African market. Second, many of the players were clearly moving into an English market, having started publishing only in Afrikaans and Dutch – here we have the clear advantage of creating translations and co-publications, an approach later fully exploited by HAUM. A further observation is the close link that still remains today between the educational and trade markets in South Africa. Finally, several of these publishing houses still exist today in one form or another.

4 CONCLUSION: THE VALUE OF QUANTITATIVE METHODS

Does a number indeed paint a thousand words? This paper has shown that quantitative methods are highly useful when exploring a history of children's literature publishing in English in South Africa. The research so far proves clearly that Jammy's (1990) analysis is wide off the mark, and that by 1961, just before South Africa became a republic and left the Commonwealth, indigenous English children's literature formed a lively part of South African publishing, with both books for schools and general titles for children being published. This approach is therefore successfully able to interrogate and challenge existing research, with valid numerical evidence.

Statistics can also indicate the most important producers of children's books during the period, providing the new information that indigenous South African publishing has a long history and that the influence of international and multinational companies is not pervasive.

Further statistical research on genres produced, as well as authors involved in production, will offer more insight into the publishing landscape of the period.

Still, as Braudel (cited in Joshi 2002:273) argues, 'Statistics are contributions, not solutions.' The statistics cannot explain why Juta began publishing reading series after several folktales – a major catalyst for this growth is clearly the education system, as books began to be produced for the schools system. This shows a clear shift in the editorial policy at J.C. Juta and Co. in response to the education system – but this can only be proven through non-quantitative research.

In order for a more complete story of children's literature publishing to be told, these quantitative findings therefore need to be supported, enhanced and expanded by qualitative, primarily literary, research.

NOTES

- 1 See Reynolds & Tucker's (1998) *Children's Book Publishing in Britain Since 1945* for a useful application in the field of publishing studies and publishing history.
- 2 See, for example, Mpesha (2007), Schmidt (1975, 1979), and Sewitz (1965).
- 3 In contrast, thorough bibliographic work has been done on Afrikaans children's literature; see, for example, Lohann's (1989) *Afrikaanse Kinderboekgids* or Kruger's (1991) *Kinderkeur*. There is also a history of Afrikaans children's literature, which offers critical essays on the different genres published over the past century, but presents no discussion on the publishers involved (Wybenga & Snyman 2005).
- 4 See Galloway (2002); Galloway (2004); Galloway & Venter (2005); and Venter (2006). In brief, UP's research programme was launched in 2001 and has focused on generating contemporary publishing statistics, based on both secondary sources and primary sources. The programme offers three kinds of research, including an electronic production trends database (known as the PTD), which tracks trends back to the 1980s, annual survey reports on the current shape and size of the industry, and, ultimately, a complex relational bibliographic and financial database on the contemporary South African publishing industry. So far, the PTD, in particular, has been used for postgraduate research projects, one focusing on Afrikaans adult fiction, one on Afrikaans children's fiction and one on isiZulu adult fiction, all of which provide investigations of contemporary production patterns and trends in the related literary fields.
- 5 The theory of schemata implies a framework for understanding how the changing patterns of children's experience lead them to form and change ideas about the world. Each person's behaviour is channelled by continuous prediction about the world, based on the set of schemata the person holds at that time (Kelly quoted in Huck et al 1987:61). Piaget (quoted in Sutherland & Arbuthnot 1986:29) also refers to the process whereby children assimilate information into their existing schemata (also referred to as units of knowledge), but then accommodate these schemata by modifying what they previously believed.
- 6 The very first children's book published in South Africa (although not by a South African) was *Divine and Moral Songs*, a reprint of the beloved hymns by Isaac Watts (generally regarded as the father of English hymnology), and published by William Bridekirk in Cape Town in 1826 (Mendelssohn 1979).
- 7 See Jenkins (2008) for a thorough discussion of a variety of sources for research regarding South African English children's literature, including bibliographic and critical works.
- 8 In contrast to this date, according to CNA (2009), 'CNA is one of the oldest retail brands in Southern Africa having commenced trading in 1896, which makes CNA an incredible 109 years old.' This inconsistency requires further research, although I would suggest that the publishing arm was only established in 1903.
- 9 In 1933, we find the first book in their Dassie Books Series, interestingly written by Jan Juta.

REFERENCES

- Carpenter, K (ed). 1983a. Books and society in history. Papers of the Association of College and Research Libraries Rare Books and Manuscripts Preconference, 24–28 June, 1980, Boston, Massachusetts. New York: Bowker.

- Carpenter, K. 1983b. A statement on the history of the book, in K Carpenter (ed), *Books and society in history*. Papers of the Association of College and Research Libraries Rare Books and Manuscripts Preconference, 24–28 June, 1980, Boston, Massachusetts. New York: Bowker: vii–ix.
- Chartier, R. 1989. Texts, printings, readings, in L Hunt (ed), *The New Cultural History*. Berkeley: University of California Press: 154–175.
- Chartier, R. 2002. Labourers and voyagers: from the text to the reader, in D Finkelstein & A McCleery (eds), *The Book History Reader*. London: Routledge: 47–58.
- CNA. *About us*. <http://www.cna.co.za/CNA/Help/About%20Us> (Accessed 10 November 2009).
- Coetzee, HS & Retief, HJM (reds). 1990. Kinder- en jeugboeke. Referate gelewer tydens die Haum-Daan Retiefsimposium oor Kinder-en Jeugboeke. Pretoria: Universiteit van Pretoria.
- Darnton, R. 2002. Book production in British India, 1850-1900. *Book History* 5: 239–262.
- Davies, S. 1992. *Reading Roundabout: A Review of South African Children's Literature*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.
- Eagleton, T. 1989. *Literary Theory. An Introduction*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Eliot, S. 2002. Very necessary but not quite sufficient. A personal view of quantitative analysis in book history. *Book History* 5: 283–293.
- Ewers, H-H. 2006. Between description and interpretation. Historiography and canonization in the field of children's literature. Paper delivered at the Writing the History of Children's Literature: Meta-theoretical Perspectives Conference, Centre for Children's Literature, Danish Pedagogic University, Copenhagen, 18–21 November 2006 (Unpublished).
- Finkelstein, D & McCleery, A (eds). 2002. *The Book History Reader*. London: Routledge.
- Finkelstein, D & McCleery, A. 2005. *An Introduction to Book History*. London: Routledge.
- Galloway, F. 2002. Statistical trends in South African book publishing during the 1990s. *Alternation* 9.1: 204–205.
- Galloway, F. 2004. Notes on the usefulness of publishing statistics for a broader South African book history. *English Studies in Africa* 47(1): 109–118.
- Galloway, F & Venter, RMR. 2005. A research framework to map the transition of the South African book publishing industry. *Publishing Research Quarterly* 20(4): 52–70.
- Grenby, M. 2004. Bibliography, in P Hunt (ed), *International Companion Encyclopedia of Children's Literature*. London: Routledge: 203–221.
- Griswold, W. 2002. Number magic in Nigeria. *Book History* 5: 275–282.
- Heale, J. 1985. *Young Africa Booklist*. Glasgow: Blackie.
- Heale, J. 1986. South Africa children's books in English, in M Hölscher (ed), *Doer-Land-Y/Far far away: South African Illustrated Children's Books*. Cape Town: National Gallery: 11–14.
- Heale, J. 1995. *SACBIP 95. All South African Children's Books in Print*. Grabouw: Bookchat.
- Heale, J. 1996. *From the Bushveld to Biko. The Growth of South African Children's Literature in English from 1907 to 1992 Traced Through 110 Notable Books*. Grabouw: Bookchat.
- Heale, J. 2004a. *Adamastor: A View over the Children's Literature of South Africa*. Grabouw: Bookchat.
- Heale, J. 2004b. Gloom or Boom? *Books for Africa: Special Souvenir Magazine on the 29th IBBY World Congress*. Cape Town.

- Hooper, ASC. 1996. History of the South African publishing and book trade, in P Westra & LT Jones (eds), *The love of books*. Proceedings of the Seventh South African Conference of Bibliophiles held at the South African Library, Cape Town, 8–10 May 1996. Cape Town: National Library of South Africa: 67–76.
- Howsam, L. 2006. *Old Books and New Histories: An Orientation to Studies in Book and Print Culture*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Huck, C, Hepler, S & Hickman, J. 1987. *Children's Literature in the Elementary School*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Hunt, L (ed). 1989. *The New Cultural History*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hunt, P. 1991. *Criticism, Theory and Children's Literature*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Hunt, P (ed). 2004. *International Companion Encyclopedia of Children's Literature*. London: Routledge.
- Jammy, E. 1990. The English children's book in South Africa, in HS Coetzee & HJM Retief (eds), *Kinder- en Jeugboeke*. Referate gelewer tydens die Haum-Daan Retiefsimposium oor Kinder- en Jeugboeke. Pretoria: Universiteit van Pretoria: 88–96.
- Jenkins, E. 1993. *Children of the Sun. Selected Writers and Themes in South African Children's Literature*. Braamfontein: Ravan.
- Jenkins, E. 2002. *South Africa in English-language Children's Literature, 1814–1912*. Jefferson, N. Carolina: McFarland.
- Jenkins, E. 2006. *National Character in South African English Children's Literature*. New York: Routledge.
- Jenkins, E. 2008. Sources for research in South African English children's literature. *Mousaion* 26(2) *special issue*: 179–191.
- Joshi, P. 2002. Quantitative method, literary history. *Book History* 5: 263–274.
- Juta Trade Imprints – Double Storey. http://www.juta.co.za/profile/juta_detail.jsp?jutaco_id=3409&nav_id=2010&tier_id=2265&qsWithChildren=true (Accessed 10 November 2009).
- Knock, P. 2009. Telephonic conversation with Paul Knock, MD of Knox Printing, 9 November 2009.
- Kruger, JA. 1991. *Kinderkeur: 'n Gids tot Bekroonde Suid-Afrikaanse Kleuter-, Kinder- en Jeugboeke tot 1989*. Pretoria: Unisa Press.
- Lohann, C. 1986, 1989. *Afrikaanse Kinderboekgids: 'n Geselekteerde, Gegradeerde en Geannoteerde Bibliografie van Afrikaanse kinderboeke*. Pretoria: Daan Retief.
- Marshall, M. 1982. *An Introduction to the World of Children's Books*. Hants: Gower.
- Mendelssohn, S. 1979, 1991, 1997. *A South African Bibliography to the Year 1925, Being a Revision and Continuation of Sidney Mendelssohn's South African Bibliography 1910*. London: Mansell.
- Mpesha, N. 2007. *African children's literature: a bibliography*. www.authorhouse.com/Bookstore (Accessed 1 October 2009).
- Musiker, R. 1986. *Companion to South African Libraries*. Johannesburg: Ad Donker.
- National Library of South Africa. 2005. *Amandla eBali: an exhibition of South African children's books*. Cape Town: National Library.

- National Library of South Africa. 1985. *Retrospective South African National Bibliography for the Period 1926–1958*. Cape Town: National Library.
- National Library of South Africa. 1997. *South African National Bibliography 1959–1979*. Cape Town: National Library.
- Nienaber, PJ. 1943. *'n Beknopte Geskiedenis van die Hollands-Afrikaanse Drukkers in Suid-Afrika*. Kaapstad: Nasionale Pers.
- NLSA *see* National Library of South Africa.
- Reynolds, K & Tucker, N. 1998. *Children's Book Publishing in Britain since 1945*. Aldershot: Scolar Press.
- Rossouw, F. 1987. *South African Printers and Publishers 1795–1925. From a South African Bibliography to the Year 1925*. Cape Town: South African Library.
- Schmidt, NJ. 1975. *Children's Books on Africa and Their Authors: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Africana Publishing Co.
- Schmidt, NJ. 1979. *Supplement to Children's Books on Africa and Their Authors: An Annotated Bibliography*. New York: Africana Publishing Co.
- Sewitz, M. 1965. *Children's Books in English in an African Setting 1914–1964*. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand.
- Shuter & Shooter. *Our history*. <http://www.shuters.com/about-us/our-history.html> (Accessed 9 November 2009).
- Snyman, ME. 2004a. Afrikaans youth series books: exhibition of societal change. *Innovation* 28: 9–16.
- Snyman, ME. 2004b. Wie skryf wat vir wie? 'n Outeursprofiel van die Afrikaanse kinder- en jeugprosa (Fiskie) 1990–2001. *Literator* 25(3): 17–42.
- Snyman, ME & Venter, MR. 2004. Produksiepatrone van Afrikaanse kinder- en jeugprosa: 'n verkennende statistiese ontleding 1990–2001. *Mousaion* 22(1): 119–136.
- Stanton, PJ. 1946. *Bibliography of Books in English Especially Suited to South African Children*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.
- Sutherland, Z & Arbuthnot, MH. 1986. *Children and Books*. 7th edition. Glenview: Scott, Foresman.
- Tanselle, GT. 1983. Introduction, in K Carpenter (ed), *Books and society in history*. Papers of the Association of College and Research Libraries Rare Books and Manuscripts Preconference, 24–28 June, 1980, Boston, Massachusetts. New York: Bowker: xvii–xxiii.
- Van Rooyen, B. 2005. *How to Get Your Book Published in 30 (Relatively) Easy Steps: A Hands-on Guide for South African Authors*. Johannesburg: Penguin.
- Venter, RMR. 2006. Die materiele produksie van Afrikaanse fiksie (1990–2005) – 'n empiriese ondersoek na die produksieprofiel en uitgeweryprofiel binne die uitgeesisteem. PhD-proefskrif, Universiteit van Pretoria. (Ongepubliseerd)
- Westra, P & Jones, LT (eds). 1996. *The love of books*. Proceedings of the Seventh South African Conference of Bibliophiles held at the South African Library, Cape Town, 8–10 May 1996. Cape Town: National Library of South Africa.