

T H E S I S

on

**“The history and growth
of the South African Press
from the time of the arrival of the first Press
until the present day;
a survey of the Bantu Press,
of legislation affecting the Press,
of the relationship between the Press
and certain institutions
and a prophecy
as to the probable lines
of development in the future.”**

**Presented by
Theo. E. G. Cutten, B. A.
to the
University of Pretoria
in
part fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree
of M.A. in Political Sciences.**

Pretoria.

July 11, 1933.

II.

C O N T E N T S.

CHAPTER I

- I. THE HISTORY AND GROWTH OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS.
- II. THE BANTU PRESS IN SOUTH AFRICA.
- III. LEGISLATION AFFECTING THE PRESS.
- IV. THE PRESS AND THE PULPIT.
- V THE PRESS AND POLITICS.
- VI THE PRESS AND PUBLIC OPINION.
- VII. THE PRESS AND THE POLICE.
- VIII CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE PRESS TOWARDS PUBLIC WELFARE.
- IX LAPSES FROM GRACE.
- X A GLIMPSE INTO THE FUTURE.

III.

"Here shall the Press the People's Right maintain.

Unaw'd by influence and unbrib'd by gain.

Here patriot truth her glorious precepts draw,

Pledged to Religion, Liberty, and Law."

Motto of the "Salem Register".

IV.

"So here's to the gallant reporters,

Those boys with the pencil and pads;

Those calm, imerturbable, cool, undisturbable,

Nervy, inquisitive lads.

Each time that we pick up a paper

Their marvelous deeds we should bless;

Those bold, reprehensible, brave, indispensable,

Sensible lads of the press".

Anonymous.

PREFACE

The Press is an organic body. Like the State, it is composed of many parts, and like the Government of the State, it is much maligned and, occasionally, faintly praised. It is almost universal in its ramifications, and wherever a small body possessing a certain degree of civilisation has sprung into being with the object of establishing permanent residence, efforts have been made to establish some sort of news service. The lines along which this news service has developed, the origin from which it has sprung, and the relations which certain of the resultant organisations bear towards the community as a whole, will be examined in the following pages, due regard being given to the Nantu Press of South Africa.

It is not uncommon nowadays to hear references to the "Yellow Press", or the "Gutter Press", and it will form part of the object of this work to see in how far these uncomplimentary adjectives are justified. No attempt will be made to defend the Press, or to attack it, but an impartial and dispassionate examination will be attempted, and, after a number of instances have been quoted of "lapses from grace", an attempt will be made to visualise the newspapers of the future, and to prophesy the nature of future developments in the newspaper world, having regard to the incursions of wireless, the improved means of communications, and the vast improvements in technique which have come about during the last few decades.

Speculation will be hazarded in regard to the development of the Press in the International sphere where, from the very nature of things, it has been slowest to develop. The need for an International Press

is not questioned by political writers of the day, and it is felt that, just as the daily papers within the State serve in some measure as a co-ordinating factor, so in the international world the Press would form a cementing force binding the nations of the world together, and fulfilling an important complementary role to the League of Nations which is still only half way up the steep hill to success.

The scrutiny to which the Press will be subjected in this thesis will not be based solely upon its position as it has been observed in this country alone. The South African Press is of too recent growth to be said to have reached maturity. It is now enjoying a vigorous youth, and additions in the form of new newspapers are still being made, as witness the advent of "Die Vaderland", the Afrikaans National Party organ, which superseded "Ons Vaderland" early in 1931, and "The Bantu World", the latest venture in Bantu journalism, which appeared for the first time in April, 1931. The field of research in this country, wide as it is, does not provide the sole basis of discussion, for, believing that "he little knows of England who only England knows", the writer has sought to make a comparison - to serve as a background - between the newspapers of this country and those overseas, especially in Great Britain. Except where otherwise specifically stated, however, the references to the Press in this work will mean the South African Press.

The vast interest taken by mankind in the Press since its inception is apparent from the large number of books, that have been published dealing with this subject from one aspect or another. There is apparently a big demand for informative literature dealing

with the Press, and it is right and proper that the newspaper reader should know and understand the circumstances under which a newspaper is produced each day, the difficulties which have had to be overcome, the conflicting interests which have had to be reconciled, the methods of news-gathering and display, in order that he may read his newspaper more intelligently. From the many publications above referred to, from newspaper files in this country and abroad, and from five years' personal experience in the office of the leading morning newspaper of the Transvaal, and a shorter period on an Afrikaans daily newspaper, the writer has drawn his material for the compilation of this work. Wherever possible, sources are acknowledged and full references are given, but where this has not been possible such information as the writer is able to give is appended.

EARLY HISTORY AND GROWTH OF THE PRESS IN SOUTH AFRICA

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The first printing Press arrived at Capetown in 1800.

It was not until more than a quarter of a century had elapsed, however, before the freedom of the Press in South Africa was obtained, as the crowning glory of a stern fight on the part of a handful of Press pioneers against the despotism of officialdom. The events which took place during the unsettled years of 1800-1828 constitute a romance in the history of South African journalism, a romance which was echoed in the Transvaal more than half a century later when the Press in that Northern Republic had frequently to seek the protection of the Courts of Law against the iron rule of President Kruger. These two periods-- 1800-1828 in the Cape and 1893-1898 in the Transvaal-- are epics in the history of South African journalism which stand out as landmarks deserving of greater recognition and attention than has so far been accorded them. Historians have, it is true, recorded the story of the struggle for the freedom of the Press in the Cape, but, as far as can be ascertained, the story of the fight for liberty in the Transvaal Republic has not yet been told. An endeavour will be made in the following pages to right that wrong.

I

Since four independent investigators have covered the field of the early history of the Press at the Cape, and since this has later² been amplified the writer has relied largely upon secondary sources

I
L.J.Meurant, "Sixty Years Ago"; A.C.G.Lloyd, "Birth of Printing in South Africa"; Professor J. du Plessis, articles in the "Cape Times", May 9, 10, 11, and 13th, 1929, and Gustav Preller, "De Volkstem" October 1st, 1924.

2.
"The Introduction of Printing into South Africa", by Douglas McMurtie, Director of Typography, Ludlow typograph Co., Chicago, Illinois, U.S.A. issued in brochure form.

sources for information in this regard. As far as the Transvaal is concerned, he has had to explore virgin fields and research in this connection has been among original documents, statutes and publications. The Press in the Orange Free State and Natal, less spectacular both in its origin and in its subsequent growth, has been the subject of further research, mostly among secondary sources, the fruits of which are included for the sake of completeness, while due attention has also been given to the country press, and to the weekly and monthly Press catering for sectional and specialised interests, and papers published outside the Union devoted to South African affairs. Owing to the magnitude of the task, however, the survey cannot claim to be exhaustive, but rather to reflect the nature and development of representative journals falling within the last mentioned categories. A complete list of newspapers, of whatever kind, in existence in South Africa, on September 1st, 1932, has been included as an appendix.

EARLY PRINTING IN SOUTH AFRICA

The arrival of the first printing Press in Capetown in 1800 was the outcome of prolonged representations made from the Cape to Holland under whose control the Cape then was. The Press was required for the use of the Colonial Government for the printing of Government notices, proclamations, and other State documents.

³McMurtie states that an appeal for this printing equipment had been refused by the authorities at Amsterdam in 1785, and another such request three years later proved equally futile. In 1793, however, the Council of Policy at the Cape decided to establish a printing plant and promised to Johan Christian Ritter the appointment of Superintendent. Before these plans could be put into effect, however, the Cape was surrendered to the English and Ritter's high hopes were dashed to the ground. The privilege of being the first man to do printing in South Africa was nevertheless not denied him.

Ritter had obtained a small press from some source and, opportunist that he was, memorialised Sir George Yonge, then Governor at the Cape, to the effect that he had practised "such trifles" as his small apparatus would allow.⁴ By this time, however, Ritter was no longer alone in the printing field, for in 1795 H.H. Smith, a master printer, emigrated to the Cape.⁵ These two, though rivals, realised that in unity lay strength and combined in their efforts to obtain appointment as Government Printers. Smith likewise memorialised the Governor stating that he had already received the greater part of his printing plant and that he was daily expecting the arrival of the remainder of his equipment. He proposed, in the event of his appointment, to confine himself to the printing of such papers as were required by the Departments of the Government, together with notices of sales, catalogues, and other mercantile matters. The Governor promised to consider the application but enjoined Smith to print nothing in the meantime except in the services of the Government.

In spite of this promise, Sir George Yonge issued a proclamation on July 15, 1800, announcing the appointment as sole printers to the Government of Messrs. Walker and Robertson, an influential and well-established firm of merchants, which had imported press and types, three printers, and a Dutch translator. Ritter and Smith made common cause against the competition of this firm but their protests were in vain. On February 1, 1800, the printing plant had been established at 35 Plein Street and work was commenced.

4

These consisted of almanacs "calculated after the meridian of the place", handbills, and advertisements. The almanacs were mentioned by Lady Anne Barnard in a letter to Henry Dundas, dated June 1, 1800.

5

Professor du Plessis, "Cape Times", May 9, 1929.

The Governor's proclamation provided a heavy fine, together with the confiscation of all printing equipment, if anyone else presumed to do any printing whatsoever. Messrs. Walker and Robertson were further given permission to start a weekly paper.

6

Foiled in their object, Ritter and Smith appealed to the Government for recognition or compensation. The Governor promised to purchase a Press which Ritter was expecting from Europe and, on September 20th, Smith was enjoined to deposit with the Government all printing materials he had procured. Messrs, Walker and Robertson were by no means safe in their position as monopolists, for complaints from other sources regarding the high printing charges, coupled with the Government's uneasiness about the printing by private persons of what was in effect an official Gazette led the authorities to bring the monopoly to an end by the purchase of the plant. A Government proclamation of October 10, 1800 announced this decision and set forth a reduced schedule of prices for subscription to the newspaper, for advertisements and for commercial printing. A monopoly in the printing trade still existed only it had changed. The sole right of printing was now vested in the Government of the Colony. Prior to the Government's proclamation, Messrs. Walker and Robertson had commenced publication⁷ of the "Capetown Gazette" and "African Advertiser", regarded by some historians as South Africa's first newspaper.

6.

Lady Anne Barnard made the following interesting comment on this paper in the letter to Henry Dundas already referred to:- "This page is like a newspaper. The Government is resolved to have one here. If it answers as the printing of the almanac did in the Dutch time, it will be droll. The printer Ritter made a fortune of 2/- on this; each of the four districts took one at 6d-- all the inhabitants read or copied out of that one".

7.

August 16, 1800.

When the Government assumed control of the printing press it continued the publication of this paper. Smith was offered a position in the Government Printer's Office, but there is no further record of Ritter. The plant was not immediately transferred from 35 Plein Street to the Castle. A fourteen-page pamphlet on "Troostelyk Gesprek tuschen den Heere Jesus en de Moedeloose Ziel", published in 1801, shows that the "Drukkery van het Gouvernement" was not at the Castle at the time of its publication.

Much of the foregoing information has been extracted from Lloyd's "Birth of Printing in South Africa"^{8.}

During the Dutch occupation of the Cape from 1802 to 1806 the printing plant was transferred to the Castle where the weekly newspaper was given the name of "Kaapsche Courant" and was printed and published every Saturday "ter Gouvernement Drukkey in Het Kasteel", which was daily open for business from 8-12 and 3-6.^{9.} This was "Deel II. No. I. January, 1804 with the following inscription as a heading: "Die ondergetekende direkteur van 'Kaapsche Courant' is op Hooge autoriteit gelast, hier mede bekend te maken dat alle publicatien, proclamatie, notificatien, Keuren, wetten, Akten of Orders-- van welken aard of benaming die ook zyn mogen, welke in dit weekblad

8.

Mr Lloyd is Librarian of the South African Public Library at Capetown, which possesses 25,000 volumes (bound) of South African newspapers, including all the original correspondence, bail bonds, and documents in connection with the first issues of all the early newspapers from 1800. He is therefore in an admirable position to give an authentic and reliable account of the events of the period reviewed.

9.

The first page of the earliest issue preserved in the British Museum is re-produced in McMurtie's "Introduction of Printing into South Africa.

weekblad zullen geplaatst worden, en die bekrachtigd zyn door de onderteekening van enig wettige, behoorlyke, en voldoende kennis aan de ingezetenen dezer Colonie, even als die onmiddelyke gericht waren tot hun, wien dezetye in 't algemeen, of in 't byzonder zouden mogen aangaan."R. De Klerk Dibbetz."

During the period of Dutch control, there was issued on February 9th, 1804, a proclamation by Jan
IO
Willem Janssens, Governor, which is interesting not only as an early product of the South African Press, but also because of the place in which it was found. A Library in Massachusetts, in the United States, is surely one of the last places in which one would expect to find evidences of early printing in South Africa. But it was while searching in the Library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Massachusetts, for some early American imprints, that I was astonished and delighted to discover this broadside from Capetown. It was probably brought from the Cape by some New England ship Captain, it finally found its way into the incomparable collection in the Library of Society at Worcester, there to remind us more than a quarter of a century later, of a thread of connection between the people of South Africa and the people of North America in
II
the very early days of their history!"

IO.

Proclamatie: Jan Willem Janssens, Gouverneur en Generaal en Chef, benevens die Raad van Politie over de Kaap de Goede Hoop, en den Resoforte van dien in Zuid Afrika, etc., etc., and etc., aan elk en een iegelyk die deze zullen zien of hooren leezen, SALUT! doen te weeten:

II.

McMurtie's "Introduction of Printing into South Africa". Four hundred copies of this brochure were reprinted from "Output", the House organ of Messrs. Seligson and Clare Ltd. Vol. II. No. 7, 1932. The writer obtained the copy from which this information is culled, from the Medical Library of the University of the Witwatersrand.

THE FIGHT FOR THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS

So far no independent Press had appeared on the scene. This fact greatly puzzled a Capetown youth, Norris Henri Meurant, the only son of a Capetown citizen.¹² According to his book he frequently wondered why it was taking so long for a newspaper to be established at the Cape. The settlers, he argued, had come from one of the most freedom-loving countries in the world- Holland - and the Huguenots were also people who cherished freedom. He came to the conclusion that the settlers were being systematically deterred from giving expression to their opinions. In this he was right as subsequent events go to show.

The Gazette reigned with undisputed sway for 24 years.¹³ It confined itself to the publication of Government ordinances, proclamations and notices generally and such mercantile or domestic advertisements as might offer. Politics were strictly barred, but a few paragraphs of news were offered for occasional consumption, as well as constructive articles from the pen of Mr John Barrow and other Government officials. Many years afterwards when the battle for the freedom of the Press was raging in South Africa the Editor of the 'Gazette' so far forgot his allegiance to the powers that be to enlarge upon the "full influence of free publication on the minds, manners, actions, and habits of men in social life". It was an offence that could not be condoned especially at a juncture when the Government had seen fit to interdict the free Press of the country.

12.

Sixty Years Ago", or "Reminiscences of the struggle for the Freedom of the Press in South Africa and the Establishment of the First Newspaper", published in 1885 by the firm Messrs. Saul Solomon in Capetown.

13.

Professor du Plessis, "Cape Times", May 9, 1929.

The consequence was as a writer in 1832 puts it, "all light was immediately flung out of the "Gazette" and advertisements" as at the present time, only tolerated. It was now printed by Mr. Bridekirk, and enjoyed, as it ever did, the patronage of many town and country readers. Indeed, it was quite the oracle of some people, and the country farmer would, of all men, be most miserable, were he to lose the delight of luxuriating over the market prices of "koorn", dry goods and "tabak", and of pondering well all that follows under the heads "Getrouwd" and "gedoopt" and the Gravesend news under that of "Overleden".¹⁴

Clouds were gathering on the horizon, as far as the "Gazette" was concerned, and its position as the only purveyor of news in the country was soon to be challenged. On January 5, 1822, it published a notice to the effect that "His Excellency, the Governor and Commander-in-Chief, has thought proper to direct that all public communications which may appear in this paper, signed with any official signature, cease to be considered as official communications to those persons to whom they may relate."

On December 23, 1823, George Greig, a printer who had recently arrived from London, discovered that there was no law prohibiting the publication of a newspaper. He accordingly addressed a letter to Lord Charles Somerset, the Governor, together with the prospectus of a news-sheet which he intended styling "The South African Commercial Advertiser", the object of which was to be "to exclude most rigorously all personal controversy, however disguised, or the remotest discussion of subjects relating to the policy or administration of the Colonial Government."¹⁵

14

Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette, January 2, 1832.

15

See following page.

The first issue of the "Commercial Advertiser" which appeared on January 7th, 1824, stated :

"That this, the first attempt to establish a Medium of general Communication at the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE should take place at the opening of a new season-- at a time when the mind is naturally disposed to look forward with hope that the events of the succeeding year may atone for the disappointment of the last--we cannot but think an auspicious circumstance, and, as the gradual influence of the genial seasons rears and protects the rising blossom until the fruit is matured-- so we cannot but hope that the patronage of our fellow subjects will attend our progress and finally crown our efforts with that reward which alone ...

He rallied to his support the poet Thomas Pringle who had arrived with the 1830 Settlers and had been unsuccessful in his farming activities at Baviaansrivier, Dr. Abraham Faure, a prominent clergyman at the Cape, and Fairbairn, who had come to the Cape from England at the express invitation of Pringle.

The benevolent governorship of Sir Rufane Donkin had raised the hopes of these Press pioneers, but Sir Rufane was succeeded by Sir Charles Somerset, who, on his return for the second period of his administration

displayed /

-
15. Meurant's "Sixty Years Ago" which has the following dedication: "To the Chairman and Members of the Newspaper Press Union of South Africa!- The reminiscences which the following pages contain are respectfully dedicated, by a brother pressman the Senior in the Colony, and the only person, he believes, now living, who has a personal knowledge of many of the facts. No fine writing has been attempted, the aim of the author having been to place on record as succinct and consecutive a history of the great and successful struggle for the liberty of THE PRESS IN SOUTH AFRICA as is obtainable from published records and other sources of information as well as of the subsequent spread of colonial newspaper literature, especially in the Eastern Province. In the hope that what he has compiled and written may clear up several controversial questions, and afford useful information, he submits the following pages to his brother pressmen and the public".
Capetown, May 30th, 1885.

16. New Glen Lynden

displayed his autocratic temperament by issuing a proclamation prohibiting the holding of public meetings. Not only the convenors but also the audience were threatened with severe punishment. Sir Charles was determined that there was to be no liberty of thought and freedom of expression at the Cape during his term of office. In the words of Fairbairn "he treated the Colonists as though they were an inferior and backward people".

In these unfavourable circumstances, therefore, it was not surprising that the Governor replied to the petitioners that he could not see his way clear to grant the request. Greig thereupon petitioned on his own behalf to which Lord Charles replied that "so many requests were being made for permission to publish newspapers that the matter would have to be considered before any decision could be arrived at"¹⁷. In the meantime the pioneers proceeded with their preliminary arrangements. Mr. Meurant, Senr., had interested himself in the matter and when a ship arrived at the Cape with a case of type ordered by a firm in India which had gone bankrupt, he purchased this case and presented it to Greig on condition that young Meurant was taken into the business for a training with prospects of rising to a higher position later.

These preliminary negotiations were not in vain, for in December 1822, although it went greatly against the grain, Lord Charles granted the necessary permission for the establishment of a newspaper.¹⁸ The immediate triumph

of /

17. Dr. Preller, "De Volkstem", October 1st, 1924.

18. Writing to a friend in England, Lord Charles said: "I foresee so much evil from an independent Press that I have shelved the matter so as to give time but ... it is one of those subjects which a person in office finds it difficult to word a refusal the public eye".

of the pioneers proved to be short lived. The paper, a bilingual monthly, was printed by the Government printer and the first issue appeared in March, 1833. The following issue was the last, for the Governor found it so offensive that he ordered the Fiscal to maintain a censor over it. Under these conditions some mild and subdued journalists might have been prepared to continue with the venture, but not so Pringle and Fairbairn. They dropped the project of a monthly magazine in favour of the more ambitious and powerful idea of a newspaper. A prospectus of the new venture was sent to the Governor but was ignored. On January 7th, 1834, the first issue of "The Commercial Advertiser" was issued from the Commercial Printing Office, 1 Longmarket Street.

The little group of pioneers had been increased by the addition of Louis Henri Meurant, Michael Kearns, and John Mackley. The first issue of the newspaper contained a bit of versification on "The Paper". The following three verses may be regarded as typical, both as regards tone and standard:

"What is 't informs the country round
 What's stolen or strayed, what's lost or found
 Who's born, and who's put underground.
 The paper.

"Abroad, at home, infirm, or stout,
 In health, or raving with the gout,
 Who possibly can do without
 The paper.

"Its worth and merits then reverse,
 And since it now begins the Year,
 Forget not midst your Christmas cheer,
 Nor think you e'en can buy too dear.
 The paper".

While this struggle had been going on, Messrs Faure and Pringle had been granted permission to publish

two journals in the English and Dutch languages and these duly appeared in 1824 as "The South African Journal" and "Nederduitsch Zuid-Afrikaans Tijdschrift". The second number of the former referred to the "Arbitrary system of government and its consequences". Pringle was brought before the Governor and browbeaten. He left the country and thereafter wrote: "The Governor's will is law. His disapproval means ruination"¹⁹. "The South Africa Journal" did not survive its second issue. Its Dutch counterpart, under the moderate guidance of the Rev. A. Faure continued for nearly 30 years. The contents of his paper, being concerned mostly with ecclesiastical and religious affairs, gave no offence in official quarters.

In the words of Professor du Plessis ("Cape Times", May 10th) "The star of democracy had risen and that of autocracy was hastening to its setting". Papers were beginning to spring up in various quarters and for various purposes. On August 18th, 1824, the "Chronicle" appeared. Its full title was "The South African Chronicle and Mercantile Advertiser" This was under the direction of Bradekirk, and was tantamount to a Government organ reflecting the views of Lord Charles Somerset and countenancing neither criticism nor complaint directed against the ruling powers. The "Chronicle"²⁰ languished on until 1826.

Mr. J. C. Gubbins, of Otterhoop, has in his possession the first half-yearly files of the "Commercial

Advertiser"

-
19. Pringle referred to Somerset's rule as a "Reign of Terror" - Meurant's "Sixty Years Ago", page 24.
20. Shortly afterwards Sir Richard Plaskett, the Colonial Secretary, wrote: "Mr. Bradekirk has given up his paper as a losing concern. I did everything to keep him up, by giving him information, advertisements and even writing for his paper. But he had no editor and his cause had few friends".

21.

Advertiser" according to Mr (now Dr.) Gustav Freller. This is probably the only one in the Transvaal. It was purchased by the present owner from Mr. Maskov, of Seapoint, at a sale in 1911. The prospectus sets out that the paper will, in the first place, supply trade and commerce news and will serve as an advertising medium, altho' the interests of the ordinary reader will not be overlooked, and "it will also be our aim to publish literary matter". We are now providing an opportunity for those who have in the past had no scope for their talents in this direction. We hope thereby to advance literature in the Cape by kindling an interest in literary works. We appeal to all patriotically-inclined persons to support us in this endeavour and we earnestly hope that we shall receive sufficient support to justify us proceeding with our enterprise."

The subscription was four rix dollars a quarter. A single issue cost three shillings. The prospectus is dated 1823 and is unsigned. The name of the publisher is given as "G. Greig, Printer, 1 Longmarket Street". The first issue dealt with political affairs in England. Freller remarks that the paper was strictly fair in its policy of bilingualism but adds-- that this was not necessarily due to the sense of fairplay or knowledge of human nature on the part of Fairbairn or Pringle. Each succeeding issue contained articles dealing with the liberty of the Press and the slogan of Johnson that "A people without a Press cannot be regarded as civilised" was freely bandied about. Also sentiments favouring harmonious race relations. "Let us not quibble about words. It does not matter who or what we are -- whether we are English, or German, or Hollanders -- so long as we live here, have our homes here, and as the interest of the country in which we live is our

interest /

interest, we can call ourselves Africans".²² The "Advertiser" met with instant success. The second number published on January 14th, described the experiences of the proprietor with the first issue. "We were gratefully surprised to see so many of the native (by native Greig means Dutch) inhabitants of this Colony among our supporters, and the numerous inquiries which were made as to our intention in future of translating into the Dutch language the most interesting parts of our miscellaneous intelligence convinces us of the expediency of making arrangements for that purpose".²³ The suppression of the "Advertiser" was ultimately due to the Government's inveterate aversion to free speech and a free press. Under the editorial guidance of Fairbairn and Pringle, the "Advertiser" grew bolder and bolder until, in the sixth edition a reference to the "Liberty of the Press" was made. The following number began to report judicial proceedings and in particular that cause celebre the trial of Cooke, Edwards, and Hoffman. In the twelfth number the testimony of Cowper was cited as to the benefits of a free Press. Matters came to a head over the reports of Cooke-Edwards trial. This was a sort of test case to challenge the despotism of the Government who, instead of forwarding a memorial by Lancelot Cooke regarding alleged malpractices in the disposal of negro slaves by Charles Blair, the Collector of Customs, and a friend of the Governor's, indicted Cooke on a charge of publishing a libel, together with William Edwards, the Attorney who drafted it, and J.B.Hoffman who copied it out. The reports of the sensational trial went a long way towards increasing the sales of the "Advertiser".

The /

-
22. "Afrikaners" is the word which has since sprung into more common usage.
 23. Professor du Plessis, "Cape Times", May, 1929.

The judgment was given in March when the Court "decreed all further investigation to be at an end, released the defendants from all further personal appearance, and wholly acquitted them of the charges made in the indictment". This was a setback for the Government and on May 4th the Fiscal demanded of Greig that he should submit the proof sheets of the next number of the "Advertiser", which was to appear on the following morning, for his approval. This Greig did ²⁴ and accordingly the famous eighteenth number was duly issued,

accompanied /

-
24. The correspondence between the Fiscal and Greig reproduced in Meurant's "Sixty Years Ago" page 56, is illuminating. On May 4th, 1884, a Messenger from the Fiscal arrived at the Commercial Printing Office with the following note:

No. 11, Strand Street,
May 4th, 1884.

To Mr. George Greig,
Commercial Printing Office,

Sir,

I hope that you will have no objection to sending me a proof sheet of your eighteenth number of the "South African Commercial Advertiser" previous to its being struck off.

Your immediate reply will much oblige me.

I have the honour, etc.,

(Signed) D. Denyssen. (Fiscal)

To this Greig sent the following reply:

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge your note to-night as follows — Here Greig reproduced in full the Fiscal's letter.— To this note I have the honour to state in answer that I am ready to reply, with promptitude, to every "official order".

(Signed) George Greig.

Proofs were accordingly sent and the Fiscal later wrote:

"I have no objection to your going on in printing the pages of your eighteenth number now in my possession, which, however, I hope will not be construed as an approval of that part thereof which bears upon the administration of this colony".

In forwarding further proofs, Greig wrote:

"I accompany them with this note in order to have an opportunity of stating that my sending you proofs previous to publication is not a voluntary act on my part but an act of obedience to authority".

accompanied, however, by this notification :

"His Majesty's fiscal, having assumed the censorship of the S.A. Commercial Advertiser, by an official order sent to the printing office a messenger late in the evening before publication. We find it our duty, as British subjects, under these circumstances, to discontinue the publication of this paper for the present in this Colony, until we have applied for redress and directions to His Excellency the Governor and the British Government."

Three days later the Government ordered that Greig's press should be sealed up and that he should leave the Colony within a month. ²⁵ The Press was sealed up but not the type and Greig was able on May 10th to issue "Facts connected with the stoppage of the S. A. "Commercial Advertiser". Greig sailed for England and submitted his case before Earl Bathurst, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, who sanctioned his return to the Cape with liberty to publish his paper. Accordingly, on August 31st, 1825, the "S. A. Commercial Advertiser" resumed publication, the issue being styled No. 13, though nearly 30 months had elapsed since the appearance of No. 18. Fairbairn was now sole editor, Pringle having returned to Europe. The "Advertiser" ran an unchequered course until the 135th issue on March 10th, 1827, when, by order of Earl Bathurst, it was again suppressed for having published an extract from the London "Times" reflecting upon the character

of /

25. The official order read as follows :

..... and whereas the personal conduct of the said George Greig has proved subversive to the due submission to the lawful commands of the constituted authorities in this Colony, and without which peace and tranquillity cannot remain undisturbed, you are further authorised and directed to notify him that he is to leave the colony within one month of the date hereof and that in default of so doing he shall be arrested and sent out of it by the first possible opportunity".

(Signed) Charles H. Somerset.
Mourant's "Sixty Years Ago". Mourant adds: "How much do Editors and the public of the present day owe to the brave men who so manfully and uncompromisingly battled for and eventually gained the incalculable victory for the freedom of the Press in South Africa".

of a Cape official. Governor Bourke supported the movement for a free Press and an ordinance was eventually sanctioned in April, 1829 -- the Magna Charta of the Press in South Africa, permitting the publication of any newspaper which conformed to certain not very stringent regulations, and undertook to observe the local libel laws. The "Advertiser" set out for the third time on October 3rd, 1828 and continued thereafter to exercise a widespread influence. ³⁶

The ball had now been set rolling and the beginning of 1828 saw the inauguration of "De Verzamelaar" and "The New Organ". This was before the Magna Charta of the Press had been obtained and the year which saw the establishment of these two newspapers was the same year in which Lord Charles Somerset levied a stamp duty on printed newspapers and certain other periodical works. As the number of newspapers was still extremely small, the imposition of this duty cannot have been a revenue-raising measure and must be regarded as an attempt to stifle the Press by economic pressure. The Press survived, however, and the duties were repealed in 1848. ³⁷ Fairbairn and Greig owned and edited the "New Organ", while J. Duasse de Lima, LL.D. edited "De Verzamelaar", which was published by Bridekirk.

³⁸

Dr. F.C.L. Bosman has described de Lima, a converted Hollando-Portuguese Jew, as the father of Hollands journalism in South Africa. Out of the ashes of "De Verzamelaar" arose "De Zuidafrikaan", and de Lima was succeeded as Editor by C.E. Boniface, a Hollanderised Frenchman, who later
 edited /

-
36. Professor du Plessis in the "Cape Times", May, 1929, and L. J. Keurant's "Sixty Years Ago".
37. This matter is dealt with more fully in Chapter III.
38. "Drama en Toneel in Suidafrika".

edited Natal's first newspaper.

The history of these two papers was almost identical with that of "The South African Journal" and the "Nederduitsche Zuid-afrikaanse Tydschrift". The former died almost at birth while the latter continued intermittently over a long period. Both the "New Organ" and "De Verzamelaar" started off without the necessary licence, and, while de Lima later complied with the requirements of the Governor, Fairbairn determined to offer active resistance and to state his case before the Colonial Office. The paper in the meantime lay dormant and was not revived. "De Verzamelaar", which is referred to by Meurant as a kind of "Dutch Punch" indulged in personalities and Society gossip.

Only one other paper appeared before the Liberty of the Press was secured. This was "The Colonist", a weekly paper published in English. Bridekirk was the publisher while the editorial responsibility fell upon the shoulders of William Paddy, a Trinity College, Dublin, graduate. Its life was short, from November 22nd, 1827 to September 30th in the following year, when Paddy left for Grahamstown to assist in the editorship of the "Grahamstown Journal". "The South African Quarterly Journal" appeared spasmodically from October 1829 to October 1831, and during 1833-34. It was not a newspaper, however, but a scientific journal which served as the organ of the South African Institution

THE MAGNA CHARTA OBTAINED.

The Year 1839-- the year of liberation of
 the

the South African Press--by an ordinance issued under the
 30
 Governorship of Bourke was followed by a decade of intense
 activity in the newspaper world. Some of the more important
 of these publications, which sprang up in Capetown and Grahams-
 town were :

April, 1830. "De Zuidafrikaan".
 June, 1830. "The Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette".
 December, 1831. "The Grahamstown Journal".
 February, 1833. "De Kaapsche Cyclopedie, published
 also in an English edition, the Cape Encyclopedia--
 a purely religious four-page weekly
 1835, the "South African Christian Recorder", a mission-
 ary monthly with a good deal of local intelligence.
 1837, the "Moderator and Meditator", bilingual journals,
 with Dutch as the predominant language.
 1837, "Leesvrugten", with religious interests solely
 and not a single item of contemporary information.
 1838, the "Eastern Province Government Gazette" pub-
 lished at Grahamstown every Thursday (from June 13th).
 1838, the "Price Current" every fortnight by G. W.
 Silberbauer for the benefit of the Capetown mercantile
 community.
 1838, "De Ware Afrikaan", a Dutch weekly from Oct.4th.
 October, 1838, "De Koningbij", a monthly of religious
 scope but with some news of general intelligence
 In 1840 three journals made their debut on the first
 days of the year:
 The "Colonial Times" at Grahamstown.
 The "Cape Times" at Capetown³¹(not the present Cape Times
 which first appeared in 1876)and the "Cape of Good Hope
 Shipping List", also at Capetown.

Of these, perhaps the first-named, "De Zuid-
 afrikaan" is the most interesting. Started on April 9th by
 Messrs. F.A.Brand and O.N.Neethling with the avowed object of
 awakening their fellow countrymen from their widespread apathy,
 it set itself out to expose "humbugs", among the first of
 these being, the Free Press, the Independent newspaper, the
 Missionary, and the Phillipine Party.

32

It is claimed that "De Zuidafrikaan" was the
 first paper to reflect South African sentiment. Its policy

can /

30. See Chapter III.

31. Professor du Plessis in the "Cape Times" (May 11th, 1929).

32. By Dr. F.C.I. Bosman in "Drama en Toneel".

can best be described in its own words: "In assuming the title of "De Zuidafrikaan", we hoist a banner which shall serve as a rallying point to all Colonists, both old and new. In fact, all who inhabit this country and derive nourishment from her bosom, are Africans and are bound, both by duty and by interest, to further the well-being and guard the reputation of our country". It was first a weekly and later a bi-weekly paper.

The paper continued under its original name until 1894 when it was incorporated with "Ons Land". This latter title was the one by which the paper was popularly known until its demise on April 8th, 1932, 100 years after the foundation of "De Zuidafrikaan". The full title of the amalgamated organ was "De ZuidAfrikaan verenigd met Ons Land". "Die Burger"³³ in commenting on the death of this venerated and venerable paper said: "History shows that Holland-Afrikaans papers have flourished or succumbed in proportion as they have correctly interpreted the voice of the people. "Ons Land" is being buried to-day. As a pioneer in Afrikaans nationalism and leader of the Hollands-Afrikaans kultuur, "Ons Land" played a big part in the awakening of the Hollands-Afrikaans people in the Cape to a full realisation of their national consciousness! After tracing its history throughout the hundred years, "Die Burger" continued "When General Hertzog broke away from the conciliation sickness in 1912 "Ons Land" decided to follow the beaten track rather than to break with the Party. That decision sealed its fate. As certainly as General Hertzog triumphed, so surely has "Ons Land" perished. It stayed with the Government but broke with the people. The people had no

time /

time for a newspaper which preferred to be a Government organ rather than a mouthpiece of the people... It fell a victim to the policy which recognised the sacrificing of individual rights in the cause of co-operation."

The "Cape of Good Hope Literary Gazette", too, was of interest. It was printed and published by Bridekirk and claimed to be "devoted exclusively to Literature, criticism, science, and the advancement of useful knowledge". The "Gazette" degenerated rapidly. Under which of the above Heads, for instance, could the following extracts ³⁴ be placed?:

"Let us glance at the advertising notices of the good old times of Interdiction and exclusive privilege!

We just dip into the State Papers of the "Cape Gazette", beginning 1808:-

"Wanted - a good breast of milk"

"To let, two wholesome breasts of milk", while

An advertiser acknowledges his gratitude to the good Earl of Clarendon for "Having been graciously pleased to grant the undersigned permission to leave the Colony".

"Mr. Stramban, not having any more use for his slaves or horses, intimates that they are to be had at the following fixed prices:

His best cock	R. ds ...	2,000
Two -do-	do.	1,200
Two house servants, each	do	1,500
A female woman(sic) with two children	3,000

The following two extracts from the "Gazette" are given, not as an indication of degeneration, but as being of interest:

"The people /

34. "The Gazette", March 1834, page 46.

"The people of Calcutta have resolved to celebrate the emancipation of the Independent Press in a style worthy of their intelligence and good sense... They have determined to raise an elegant building for the reception of a library". 35.

"The newspaper is the seizer upon your button hole. You can neither eat your breakfast, smoke, take snuff, indulge in a full-faced, non-medicinal tumbler of half-and-half without a newspaper". 36

"The Grahamstown Journal", the first paper to be published outside of Capetown, was due to the inspiration and enterprise of Mourant, who, having left Capetown in 1838, overcame tremendous difficulties in establishing and maintaining the "Journal" (1831). Three years later Perry, who had been unsuccessful with the "Colonist" in Capetown, migrated to Grahamstown, where he became associated with the "Journal" which had in the meantime passed into the hands of Godlonton, a former clerk in Government employ. The writer has in his possession a miniature reproduction of the first issue of the "Journal". It was a four-page pamphlet with advertisements on the front page, while the greater part of the remaining pages were taken up with a very full report of a public meeting of the Albany Temperance Society, an account of an outbreak of smallpox, and a leading article in which it was stated that: "The importance of Graham's Town as a Commercial Station alone seems sufficient to entitle it to a Local Newspaper; or, in other words, appears to insure adequate remuneration to the Proprietor. The Editor does not propose to inflict invariably on his readers what is usually called a LEADING ARTICLE Perhaps he has not yet chosen a political /

35. "The Gazette", November 1835, page 173.

36. "The Gazette", July 1835, page 113.

political hobby-horse and he is not prepared to witch the world with didactic essays." The standard of the paper may be judged from the following paragraph; "We regret that we are unable, from want of space, to present our readers with the Report, which we have prepared, of the proceedings of the Graham's Town Infant School Society, which took place in the Wesleyan Chapel on Monday last. Next week we shall not fail to lay it before our readers".

The paper bears the date of December 30th, 1831, and the miniature reproduction was issued as a supplement to "Crocott's Daily Mail" on December 15th, 1831

For nearly a decade the "Journal" held undisputed sway in Grahamstown. It was the oracle of the Eastern Province and the only paper which, without vituperation, could expose the policy of Dr. Phillip and the "Commercial Advertiser".³⁷ "On New Year's Day, 1840, however, a rival appeared on the scene under the name of "The Colonial Times" and the Editorship of Dr. Ambrose George Campbell. Like the "Commercial Advertiser" it was anti-colonial and negrophilist". Professor du Plessis found that the sentiments which appeared in it every Wednesday were anathema to the Grahamstown public and the eighteenth number, published on April 29th, 1840, was the last. John George Franklin took over the plant and issued a paper called the "Cape Frontier Times" which met with greater success than the "Colonist". Dr. Campbell, not yet having learnt his lesson, announced anonymously in the "Cape Frontier Times" that "on the first Monday in June at 4.0.p.m. will appear a literary magazine or review, "The Echo", conducted by members of the

Fudge /

37. Professor du Plessis in the "Cape Times", May 11th, 1929.

38

Fudge Society. "Sir George Cory regards this paper as a "scurrilous" publication".

The decade 1840-50 was as productive of newspapers, journals, and magazines as the previous decade. Among the productions of this period were "The Cape Times Mail and Mirror of Court and Council", established on March 6th, 1841, by William Buchanan, and described as "a new and valuable publication, reporting with great care and fidelity law court cases, proceedings of Council, Municipality, and other meetings"; "Het Kaapsche Handelsblad" and "The South African Advocate and Capetown Spectator", both established in January 1843, and neither lasting for very long; "The African Journal" (June, 1843); "A Register of Facts, Fiction, News, Literature, Commerce, and Amusement", which lasted about three years; the bilingual "Suidafrikaansche Kronijk" ("South African Chronicle") on January 5th; "The Cape of Good Hope and Port Natal Shipping and Mercantile Gazette", both in 1844, while in the same year, "Het Kaapsche Grensblad" was issued at Grahamstown by the versatile and energetic Meurant.

In January of the following year "The Cape of Good Hope Christian Magazine" was established as the official organ of the Church of England Evangelicals. It lasted until December 1846.

Among the many other publications which were at this time being brought into existence at the Cape, - some of them with very doubtful claims to the style and status of a newspaper - were the "Cape of Good Hope Penny Magazine", published in Capetown in 1843, the "South African Christian Watchmen"/

38. Who has the only approximately complete copy of the "Echo" in his possession.

39. Index to the Grey Collection.

"Watchman", a monthly magazine printed at the Wesley Mission at Kingwilliamstown in January 1845; the "Free Church Witness for the Truth in South Africa", a religious monthly started at Capetown in January 1847; "The South African or Cape of Good Hope Consolator", first published in October 1843, and supplanted by the "Cape of Good Hope Examiner and General Intelligence"; "The Shopkeepers and Tradesmen's Journal", a bilingual sheet set up in April, 1847; "The Cape of Good Hope Observer", a 16-page quarto published weekly as from 1849; "Het Volksblad", inaugurated on July 6th, 1849. In January 1850, "The South African Church Magazine and Ecclesiastical Review", a monthly paper made its first appearance. It was enlarged eight years later and appeared as the "South African Church Magazine and Educational Register". The last newspaper to see the light before the close of the first half of the Nineteenth Century was the "Cape Monitor" which was started in October 1850 at Capetown, during the days of the anti-convict agitation. It was founded by a syndicate of merchants whose advertisements were refused by the other newspapers because the advertisers were suspected of truckling with the Government.⁴⁰ "The Monitor" became a popular and influential journal, partly through the "Pen and Ink Sketches" of members of the first Cape Parliament.

In 1849 "Het Volksblad" made its appearance founded by B.J. Van der Sandt, together with "Onse Jan" Hofmeyr, the pioneer of Hollands journalism in the 19th Century. He aimed at the preservation of race identity in the co-operation of the two races at the Cape. It ceased for a while but reappeared in 1856 as champion of the Liberal direction of the Ned. Geref. Kerk and flourished. To combat this /

40 Professor du Plessis, in the "Cape Times", May 13th).

this influence the orthodox churchmen founded "De Volksvriend" in 1832, a biweekly. The first two editors, B.J.H. Ruistenbeek and the Rev. W.R. Thompson did not make a success of the venture and were succeeded by "Onse Jan". In 1869 "De Volksvriend" overshadowed "De Zuidafrikaan" which had maintained an impartial attitude in regard to the Church question, and two years later "De Zuidafrikaan" and "De Volksvriend" became amalgamated under the name of "De Zuidafrikaan".

"Het Volksblad" brought about its own downfall by an exaggerated conciliation policy and with the death of Van der Sandt it ceased publication. Its place was taken by a paper actuated by purely Afrikaans ideals, "Die Patriot"⁴¹ of the Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners, 1878.

Towards the end of the century, "De Volksbode" appeared for a short while, a semi-ecclesiastical organ, which warned the country against Rhodes even while he co-operated with "Onse Jan".

It will be seen that thus far Cape publications of any importance had been confined to Capetown and Grahamstown. This position could not long endure. Mr. J. S. Christophers, London Editor of Chase's Guidebook, gave a practical hint to the inhabitants of Elizabeth Town to start a newspaper by printing as a specimen the "Algoa Bay Gazette and Elizabethan Chronicle". The hint was taken and on May 5th, 1845, John Ross Phillip founded the "Eastern Province Herald" which is still flourishing to-day. The "Herald" was taken over three years later by John Paterson, who, in September, 1850, started the "Eastern Province News" and achieved the feat of editing two journals simultaneously. These

pioneers /

41. This paper and its successors are fully dealt with later in this chapter.

pioneers in the Eastern Province were not alone in the field of journalism there. "The Port Elizabeth Telegraph and Mercantile Gazette" (September 6th, 1848) and the "Port Elizabeth Mercury or Register or Passing Events", March 5th 1850. Both of these were outpaced by the more substantial and permanent "Herald", of which the Hon. Sir E.H. Walton, K.C., ex-High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa in London is now Proprietor, while Mr. E.B. Walton is Editor, and Mr. J.L. Walton, Managing Director. Port Elizabeth's newspaper service has since been enlarged by the advent of the "Advertiser", in conjunction with which is run a country edition called the "Weekly Telegraph".

This brings to a close the review of the first half of the Nineteenth Century. While the progress in newspaper production in the northern areas in South Africa will be considered in detail later in this chapter, it is instructive to call a halt at this stage and compare briefly the position existing in the Cape, The Free State, Natal, and the Transvaal. More than thirty papers had appeared in the Cape (although not all of these were still in existence at the close of the half-century); four newspapers had appeared in Natal; one in the Free State; and none in the Transvaal. This position was only to be expected. Early newspaper development was confined to the coastal regions. Lack of transport facilities and of rapid means of communication militated against early development in the Northern territories.

The second half of the Nineteenth Century is notable from many points of view. It was during this period that the Press made considerable strides in the more northern parts /

parts of South Africa, that most of the large and important newspapers now in existence were established, that newspapers became to be actively associated with the building up of a new language, that country newspapers came into being on a large scale, that the freedom of the Press was fought for and won in the Transvaal, that the Bantu Press came into prominence, that transport and communication facilities were developed to an extent which greatly facilitated the work entailed in newspaper production, that overseas newspapers and other publications began to find a profitable market, thus greatly adding to their own scope, influence and prestige, and that missionary enterprise awoke to the realisation of what a powerful benefactor the printed page could be to them in their slow and patient work of evangelisation.

It would serve no purpose to enumerate each and every newspaper that came into being after 1850. These are so numerous that this investigation would be swelled to an intolerable magnitude if this were to be undertaken. Many of the newspapers, especially those of the country "dorps" are of such minor importance as not to justify any detailed study. There are certain aspects of these newspapers, however, to which attention must be directed. They have certain characteristics which are not encountered in the larger newspapers of the country. In the first place, the majority of the country newspapers are either issued weekly or bi-weekly. They are furthermore usually bilingual, a characteristic which is not found in a single newspaper in any of the large towns of the Union. Many of the earlier country newspapers were also endowed with double-barrelled names, as, for instance, the "Adelaide Free Press and Farmer's Friend", the "Farmers' Chronicle /

Chronicle and Stutterheim Times", or "The Middelberg Hoeveld en Belfast Nuus". This tendency is on which is rapidly being supplanted by a desire for short pithy titles, such as the "Karoo Nuus", the "Ladybrand Courant", or the Bethal "Echo".

The most significant feature of these characteristics peculiar to the country newspapers is the principle of bilingualism, a principle which the writer would like to see extended to the more influential newspapers in this country. The necessity for bilingualism in the country districts arises from the fact that, owing to the limited population of the districts catered for, every endeavour must be made to appeal to all sections of the scattered community. Thus newsprint is provided in both official languages. This necessity does not arise in the large towns, where satisfactory circulations are obtained without having to resort to this device. The principle, necessitated though it is by economic considerations, is a sound one. Both English and Afrikaans-speaking people in the country are provided with an opportunity of learning whichever of the languages is not spoken in their own homes. The language, furthermore, is that which is in every day use and which is most likely to be of assistance to either section in their daily dealings with the other. It is, of course, not possible to estimate to what extent advantage is taken of this opportunity, but the vital fact remains that the country newspapers, through this principle, are a potential source of greater understanding, mutual respect, and tolerance, by one section of this country towards the other.

Country newspapers are less sensational than those of the towns; they are devoted largely to local interests,

and /

and are little concerned with international affairs. They provide much reading matter of an instructive nature for the farming communities and provide a link between scattered areas in the same district and contribute in a small measure towards brightening up the dull moments of farm life. They also provide an educational factor of great importance in areas where schools do not exist or where the standard of education is of an elementary nature.

In order to give some indication of the growth of country newspapers in the Cape, the following examples have been taken from a total of approximately 100. ⁴² In 1860 "The Colesburg Advertiser and Boerenvriend" was established as a bilingual weekly newspaper; "The Uitenhage Times and Farmers' Journal", a bi-weekly (1864); "The Albert-Times and Moltens News" was set up 1868 and is published every Friday; "The Fort Beaufort Advocate and Adelaide Opinion" first saw the light of day in 1869, as did "The Albert Times and Moltens News" with which are incorporated "The Burghersdorp Gazette" and "Stonsberg Courier"; these were followed by the "Beaufort West Courier", a bilingual weekly founded in the same year; "The Frontier Guardian and Dordrecht Advocate", a bilingual weekly (1873); "The Somerset Budget" published twice a week in English (1872); "The Oudtshoorn Courant and South Western Chronicle", a bilingual tri-weekly newspaper (1872); "The Kokstad Advertiser and East Griqualand Gazette", a weekly (1873); "The Worcester Standard and Western Province News", a bilingual weekly (1894).

Other newspapers falling under this category include "The George and Kanyana Herald", published on

Wednesdays /

42. The information here given has been abstracted from The Newspaper Press Directory.

Wednesdays; "The Graaff Reinet Advertiser", a bilingual paper published three times a week, South African and Imperialist in tone; "The North Western Press" at Prieska, which circulates in an area larger than Natal; "The Northern News" at Vryburg, which circulates throughout Bechuanaland and the adjoining territories; and the "Humansdorp Re-Zoho", a bilingual weekly newspaper.

Among the more important newspapers which were established in the Cape during the second half of the Nineteenth Century were "The Cape Argus" (1857), the oldest existing English newspaper in the Western Province, which brings out a week-end edition frequently running to 48 pages containing special features and a review of week-end sport; "The Diamond Fields Advertiser" established in 1875 at Kimberley, the only daily paper published in Griqualand West, an area of 15,000 square miles, which has a daily and a weekly edition, the circulation of the latter approximating 35,000, in 1899 it became a unit in the Argus group of newspapers; the "Cape Times", conservative in Imperial politics but progressive in South African matters, enjoying a large and influential circulation, not only in the Western Province, but in South Africa as a whole (1876). The "Cape Times" was founded by Frederick York St. Lager and R.W.Murray and was edited from 1895-1900 by Fydell Edmund Garrett whose work greatly enhanced the reputation and influence of the paper.⁴³ It was later edited until 1921 by sir Maitland Park, who died in that year. The present editor is Mr. B.E.Long. Its intaglio process is unique not only in South Africa but also among the London Press. Its leading articles are widely read and respected while /

43. Harmsworth's Universal Encyclopedia, Vol.2., page 1670.

while one of its features is the clever daily cartoon of Mr. Wyndham Robinson.

In January, 1837, "The South African Magazine" came into being at Capetown and in 1838 the "Queenstown Daily Representative and Free Press" was established, circulating in the North Eastern Cape Province and the Transkei. It is still in existence to-day. The first issue of "The South African News" was published at Capetown on May 20, 1898. It was moderate and conciliatory in tone.

THE BIRTH OF A LANGUAGE.

It is of interest to note that one who was closely associated with the growth of the Press at the Cape was also credited with being the first person to write any work of merit in Afrikaans as distinct from Hollandic which was until 1860 the generally accepted counterpart of English at the Cape. This was L.J. Meurant. His Press activities have already been referred to in this chapter, while his book constitutes the first authentic account of the early struggles for the freedom of the Press at the Cape and of the development of the Press in the Eastern Province. In 1861 Meurant published a brochure entitled "Die Zamenespraak tusschen Klaas Waarzegger en Jan Twyfelaar over het onderwerp van Afscheiding tusschen de Oostelyke en Westelyke Provincie". The title is sufficient to indicate that the language was not Afrikaans proper but it represented the sowing of the seeds, the harvest of which was to be reaped during the first and second

Taalbewegings. /

44. "Sixty Years Ago".

Taalbewegings.

The desire on the part of the South African born inhabitants of the Cape for a language of their own led to great activity in the world of letters.⁴⁵ Although many of the publications issued under the aegis of the Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners and other such bodies cannot strictly be regarded as newspapers, they may be considered here for their historic interest and to make this investigation into the history and growth of the South African Press complete.

In order to do this most satisfactorily, it will be necessary to deviate from the chronological order which has so far been preserved as far as possible so that the various publications connected with the Taalbewegings may be treated together, rather than scattered about in the consideration of other papers of their period. This latter method of treatment would have taken the propagandist papers out of their context, thereby robbing them of much of their significance.

The object of the "Genootskap van Regte Afrikaners" was "Om te staan vir ons Taal, ons Nasie, en ons Volk". One of the means whereby this end was to be achieved was the issue of a monthly paper, "Die Afrikaanse Patriot", the first number of which appeared on January 15th

1876./

45. For a complete history of the "Taalstryd" see articles in "Die Huisgenoot" by J.H.H. de Waal, February to April, 1932.

1876. It had scarcely fifty subscribers, and was the subject of much adverse criticism. The Cape Synod of the Dutch Church discussed the matter and criticised the pamphlet. Children were forbidden to read it and teachers to act as contributors or agents. The "Cradocksche-Afrikaner" said of it: "Semi-educated Griquas will surely be delighted with this paper". "Die Patriot" was further attacked by the "Cape Times", "The Argus", "De Zuidafrikaan" and other papers. In spite of this unfavourable reception, "Die Patriot" struggled on until in 1877 it became a weekly. Three years later it had 3,000 subscribers, having partially regained favour by its expressions of sympathy with the Boers in the South African Republic, in their protests against British Annexation in 1877. This encouragement resulted in the Suidafrikaanse Taalbond Congress at Paarl deciding in 1898 to issue a monthly organ, "Ons Klyntji", the first Afrikaans non-political organ. Both papers were under the editorship of the Rev. S.J. du Toit, the father of the first Afrikaanse Taalbeweging.

A cloud appeared on the horizon when he criticised President Kruger and supported Rhodes' policy, even after the Jameson Raid. Influential members of the Genootskap resigned and demanded the refund of their capital in an attempt to change the policy of the paper. In this attempt they were unsuccessful. Both papers carried on until in 1904 the struggle became too great for "Die Patriot", while "Ons

"Klyntji" gave up the ghost in the following year. Further dissension had been caused among subscribers and supporters by the publication of the photographs of English army officers alongside those of the Boer leaders. The papers fell into disfavour and when they died there were few people who regarded their discontinuance as a loss. Other papers arose to fill the breach. "De Goede Hoop" appeared in July, 1903, under the editorship of Advocate J.H.H. de Waal and is still in existence at the present time.

"Ons Taal" was established in 1907 and continued until 1909. It appeared in 1914 as "Ons Moedertaal", the official organ of the Stellenbosch Afrikaanse Taal Vereeniging, and later recognized as being the organ of similar movements in the Western Province. It was under the editorship of Professor J.J. Smith, of Stellenbosch University, and others. It ceased in August 1915, and in May of the following year was incorporated in "Die Huisgenoot", of which Professor Smith assumed editorship. In November 1923 it became an illustrated weekly under the guidance of Dr. H.G. Viljoen, who resigned his position in 1932. It is a powerful cultural factor in the national life of the Afrikaans speaking people of the Union. On the first Union Day "Die Brandwag" appeared as a supplement to "Die Volkstem". It appeared bi-monthly under the joint editorship of Gustav Preller and Dr. W. M. R. Malherbe.

During the Great War "Die Brandwag" was reduced to a monthly. In 1920 the paper ceased publication, even the support of "Die Banier", forthcoming in 1920, the organ of the Afrikaanse Studentebond, being unable to keep it going. "Die Banier" appeared for a brief period from August 1922

until /

until the same month in the following year. Round about this time the "Tydskrif vir Wetenskap en Kuns", a scientific quarterly under the editorship of Dr. D. F. Malherbe, made its appearance, while in recent years "Die Brandwag" has been resurrected⁴⁶ under the style of "Die Nuwe Brandwag".

NATAL NEWSPAPERS

The first newspaper published in Natal, "De Natalier", was offered to the public on March 15th, 1844. It was edited by C. E. Boniface, who had previously been associated with "De Zuidafrikaan" in the Cape. It was a Hollands paper, published in Maritzburg by Cornelis Moll, Sr. formerly of the "Moderator and Meditator". It was a small four-page weekly in which fragments of English were included after it had been in existence for about a year. Its life was not long lived. In 1846 the proprietor unsuccessfully contested a libel action and the publication ceased. Graham Mackeurtan ("Cradle Days of Natal, page 291) wrote: "Major Smith, Commandant of Natal, was much incensed by the tone of a newspaper called "De Natalier". He sent one to the Governor to show "the seditious spirit in which it was written" and described the Editor as "an unprincipled Frenchman of the name of Boniface". Boniface, with Mr. Moll, may conceivably have deserved the strictures of the intransigent Major Smith, but he did prosperity a service by his weekly publication. The full title of the paper was "De Natalier en Pietermaritzburgsche Trouwe Aanteekenaar". It published advertisements on the front page, including that of a certain Mr. Winder who sold "Punjums and Baftas, sugar candy, gunpowder, and resin". Mr. Winder's advertisement

read /

46. For the information regarding the part played by the papers mentioned in the Kerste en Tweede Taalbeweging the writer has relied upon the introduction to Bot en Kritringer's "Letterkundige Leesboek".

read as follows :

"T O L I A R S"

G. Winder informs all L I A R S that he has returned to Maritzburg, 13th June, 1845".

Mr. Mackeurtan emphasises the fact -- as the writer has done in the following chapter-- of the great assistance newspapers are in giving an insight into the social life, habits and customs of a people at any time. Several instances are given in "Cradle Days of Natal". When a farewell dinner to Lieutenant Nourse of H.M.S. Fawn was suggested, "De Natalier" published the following message :

"Maritzburg expects that in spite of the preachers of temperance every one on that occasion will do his duty".

In spite of Major Smith's dislike of the paper, the following eulogy of his services was published in "De Natalier" on his departure :

"He was always ready to support our tottering administration and notwithstanding the relation in which he stood towards the immigrants, we believe he is their friend. We express the public feeling in wishing him a hearty farewell and that it may go well with him to the end of his life".

The place of "De Natalier" was taken by "The Natal Witness", which, established in 1846, was originally a bilingual paper but later published its news only in the English Language. It was a weekly newspaper edited and published by David Dale Buchanan. ^{47.} When the "Natal Witness Ltd.", was registered as a company it had a capital of £2,500. This has been built up until in September 1919 it was increased to £75,000. The present Editor of the "Witness" is Mr. S. F. POTTER. In November, 1846, "The Patriot"

47. Described by Professor du Plessis as "That stormy petrel of the Press", "Cape Times", May 13th, 1939.

"Patriot" was published by Mr. Vull with Arthur Walker as Editor. This was largely in English with fragments in Hollands. After it had been in existence for one year its name was changed to "The Natal Patriot".

The next few years were prolific in newspaper production in Natal. In January, 1850, "The Natal Independent" was issued under the editorship of James Archibell, the Wesleyan Missionary, on August 22nd, 1851; "The Durban Observer", August 29th, 1851; "The Natal Times", of which Mr. Frank ⁴⁸ Trott said:

"Not long ago I glanced through the first copy of the "Natal Times and Durban Mercantile and Agricultural Gazette", published on August 29th, 1851. It was a quaint production consisting of four small pages and to-day might provoke a smile";

"Natal Bode" , March 2, 1853; "The Natal Standard and Farmers Courant"; November 25th, 1853; "The Natal Mercury and Commercial Shipping Gazette" founded by Sir John Robinson the father of Responsible Government in Natal and the first Prime Minister thereafter, printed at Port Natal, as Durban was then called; "De Natal en Zuid-Oost-Afrikaan", May 6th, 1854; "The Natal Commercial Advertiser", November 3rd, 1854; "The Natal Advertiser", August 22nd, 1855; "The Natal Star", September 13th of the same year; "The Natal Chronicle", January 6th, 1856; "The Natal Guardian", November 20th of the same year; "De Ware Patriot", on January 9th, 1859 "The Natal Courier". Few of these papers caught the imagination of the people of Natal and most of them were defunct by the year 1860. For much of the foregoing information the writer is indebted to Dr. Gustav ^{49.} Preller.

From research undertaken in the Shepstone
papers /

48 Assistant Editor of the "Rand Daily Mail" and President of the South African Society of Journalists 1931, remarked: In his presidential address at the Journalists' Society Annual Congress, Johannesburg, January, 1933

49. "Die Volkstem", October 1st, 1924.

papers, the writer found that the authorities in Natal, though not actively antagonistic towards those papers which could not see eye to eye with them, were apprehensive of the result of this opposition. Extracts from these papers which follow will serve to show how Shepstone and his colleagues were anxious to win the press over to their point of view. "The Natal Commercial Advertiser" was first published on March 20th, 1860, and the "Times of Natal" was founded on August 19th 1865. Of the latter, Sir Theophilus Shepstone wrote to Mr. Henrique Shepstone from Maritzburg ten years later: "The 'Times' newspaper as you know has been at 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. Sir Henry thinks that the newspaper of the establishment which does the Government printing ought to support the Government and so do I, but will it because we think so? He is quite horrified that the 'Witness' newspaper should be that in which the Government printing is carried on, he says it is feeding the enemy at our expense.... What is wanted to be known as a fact promise

50

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.... It looked to me at first sight like a piece of bribery and corruption but when I came to look at it more closely it

resolved /

50. Mr. Richard Vause at one time joint proprietor of the "Mercury" with Sir John Robinson.

resolved itself into saying I will give you the advantages 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".⁵¹

Other newspapers which unsuccessfully sought a permanent place in the social and political life of Natal included "The Natal Herald", May 3rd, 1866; "The Natal Colonist", January 3rd 1871; "The Natal Mercantile Advertiser", January 5th, 1878; and "De Natal Afrikaner", 1886, which later changed its name to "Die Afrikaner", and only went under as recently as in 1932. It was a bi-weekly paper and a sup-⁵²porter of the National Party.

The Native and Indian newspapers of Natal will be considered in Chapter II . It is therefore not proposed to comment on them here. It remains only to summarise the country Press of Natal before passing over to a consideration of the Free State and the Transvaal. These are comparatively few in number and do not exhibit that characteristic of bilingualism which is so marked in the Cape and in the Transvaal. The "Greytown Gazette", which is described in the Newspaper Press Directory as "a well-conducted up-country newspaper ", is sold at 3d weekly; the "Ladysmith Gazette" is sold at 1d; as is also the "Dundee and District Courier"; Vryheid boasts two newspapers--- the "Vryheid Gazette" and the "Vryheid and District/

-
51. Shepstone papers, 1835-1891, University of Pretoria, page 374.
52. Copies of complete issues of the Natal papers for the period which they existed, as well as files of those which are still published are preserved in the Natal Archives at Maritzburg.

District Mail", the latter being a bilingual production. The "Zululand Times" is published at Eshowe every Thursday. The "Newcastle Advertiser" published every Saturday claims to be run on the lines of the principal English country papers with serial stories by foremost authors of the day.

Of the more important Natal papers, the "Natal Mercury" published in Durban, is a morning daily of considerable importance and influence. During the recent Devolution movement in Natal it supported the Devolutionaries, and the writer's comments in this connection appear later in this thesis. The "S.A. Women's Weekly" is published every Thursday as a free supplement. The other large Durban paper, "The Natal Advertiser", is the only afternoon paper published in Durban and two editions are brought out daily, as well as an enlarged week-end edition with feature and sporting articles. It is connected to the Argus group of newspapers. The "Natal Witness", the oldest established newspaper in Natal, publishes morning and evening editions. It has no rivals in Maritzburg. It claims that its views are "liberal without respect of persons or parties".

NEWSPAPERS IN THE FREE STATE.

"The Friend of the Sovereignty and Bloemfontein Gazette" was the first newspaper in the Free State. It was founded on June 10th, 1850. Four years later, when the Free State achieved independence it became known as "The Friend of the Free State". The first editor of the "Friend" was Thomas White, while the persons to whose inspiration the creation of the newspaper was due were White and Codrington, the association of the latter with the early Grahamstown papers
having /

having given the necessary experience for this pioneer work. The first issue of the paper was bilingual and the Dutch name under which it was published was "De Vriend van de Soevereiniteit en Bloem Fonteinse Courant".

The avowed object of the "Friend" was :

"Spreiding van nauwkeurige berigten, de handhaving van regtvaardige wetten en goede order het verbreiden van vriendelijke en edelmoedige gevoelens; de bevordering van opvoeding; het inprenten van Christelijke waarheid; de uitbreiding van landbouw en handel, en in een woord, het bevorderen van aller welvaart door alle regtvaardige "middels". Verder sou die belange van almal, afgesien van ras of kleur, behartig word"

("The publication of accurate reports, the maintenance of just laws and good order, the spread of friendly and noble sentiments; the furtherance of education; the emphasis of Christian truths; the development of agriculture and commerce; and in one word, the advancement of the national well-being by all justifiable means; further the interest of all, irrespective of race or colour, will be cherished".)

With the change of name came a change in ownership, White buying out Godlonton and continuing alone until 1871, when the paper was taken over by White, Barlow and Co. On the death of White shortly afterwards, the paper was managed by the firm of Messrs. Barlow Brothers.

The arrival of the British troops in Bloemfontein on March 15th, 1900, under Lord Roberts, led to a further change of hands. Lord Roberts purchased the right to produce the paper for a month for £20 and an American War correspondent, together with certain South African journalists, assumed responsibility for the publication of the "Friend". Rudyard Kipling occupied the editorial chair for a short while until the evacuation of the troops. This, the first newspaper in the centre Province of the Union, is to-day the most influential English newspaper in the Province known by the brief title/

53 The full history of the "Friend of the Sovereignty and Bloemfontein Gazette" was given in "Ruis en Haard", October 1936 and the details in this connection have been abstracted by the writer from this publication, as also those which follow later in regard to other Free State Newspapers.

title of "The Friend". It is a unit in the powerful Argus group and from its press is run off the "Outspan", the weekly counterpart of "Die Huisgenoot". Neither of these are confined to the Province in which they are published but enjoy Union-wide circulation.

The first "Gouvernements Courant" was published in 1857, while five years later, on October 29th, 1862, "De Tijd", the first Hollands newspaper in the Free State made its appearance as a weekly, and continued for 13 years. The first editors were Hendrik Hamelberg and Kees Heligers. The objects of this paper were in many respects similar to those of the "Friend", except that no mention was made of the "cherishing of the interests of all, irrespective of race or colour". In spite of the similarity in the declaration of policy, a researcher ⁵⁴ declares that "De Tijd" and "The Friend" were frequently at loggerheads.

Newspapers made tardy development in the Free state and it was not until March 11th, 1876, that the third newspaper made its appearance. In the meantime "De Tijd" had ceased to exist. This was "De Express en Oranje Vrijstaats Advertentieblad", whose motto was "Uwe onafhankelikeid hebt gij gekregen; houdt ze; en maak U harer waardig". (You have obtained your independence; maintain this, and make yourself worthy of it). It set itself out to determine "in what way our position may be improved, and to ensure a righteous influence for the Free State in the general affairs of South Africa". The "Express" thought it saw salvation in a closer co-operation between the two Northern Republics and continued to work for this ideal until it ceased publication in 1900 when it was suppressed by the military authorities for its

strong /

54. L.B. van der Walt, Archivist of the Free State, in "Huis en Haard", October 1928, page 24.

strong attitude against the English in connection with the South African War then raging.

"The Fully News" was brought into being in July 1882 by the "O.V.S. Nieuwsblad Maatskappij", which had founded the "Express". "We intend supplying our readers with the very latest telegraphic news available", it stated in its first issue. "News not views" was the key-note of this publication, which did not aspire to the inclusion of a leading article in its columns. It lasted for eight years. Other newspapers of less importance which grew up in the Free State prior to the South African War included "de Burger" and "The Independent" founded by F.H. Stutheim in Bloemfontein and "Fakkal". After the war, which carries the period under review into the twentieth century, there was greater activity in the field of journalism in the Free State, which has, nevertheless, remained the most backward of all the Provinces of the Union in this respect. This is only to be expected when the comparative circumstances of the four Provinces are taken into account.

Among the Free State newspapers of the Twentieth Century must be included "Vriend des Volks" a bi-weekly; the "Bloemfontein Post", now defunct, and the "Friend", a continuation of the old "Friend of the sovereignty", and later "Friend of the Free State". In addition to the "Outspan" which has already been mentioned, the "Friend" also has under its aegis "The Farmer's Weekly", perhaps the best authority in South Africa on agricultural matters pertaining to this country. It claims to be the only English weekly in the Union devoted to this all-important industry. It includes as a supplement, "The Homestead", a paper for the women on the farm. Established

in 1911, its circulation extends beyond the borders of the Union to the Belgian Congo, East Africa, South West Africa, and Kenya. It has a counterpart in "Die Landbou Weekblad" published in Bloemfontein under the auspices of "Die Volksblad", which latter is the most important addition to the Free State daily Press in the last twenty years. It will be considered later in connection with the chain of newspapers which sprang up in various parts of the country to support the National Party shortly after General Hertzog broke away from the South African Party in 1912.

Among its country newspapers, all of which are weeklies and bilingual, are "The Bethlehem Express"; "The Frontier Guardian", published at Ficksburg; "The Heilbron Herald"; "The Ladybrand Courant"; and "The Kroonstad Times". "The Harriemith Chronicle" is a weekly but is not bilingual. "Huis en Haard", the only Afrikaans literary periodical in the Free State, is the official organ of the Afrikaanse Studentebond.

NEWSPAPERS IN THE TRANSVAAL.

Twenty years after the historic Great Trek of the Voortrekkers from the Cape, a Government Gazette, published by Cornelis Moll, Jnr., was issued at Potchefstroom. That was on September 25th, 1857. Two years later the name was changed to "Gouvernements Courant der Z.A.R." The first newspaper, "De Oude Emigrant" was brought into being on October 15th, 1859, and was published at Potchefstroom in Hollands. Three years later "de Emigrant" was established. Its editor was A.F. Schubert and publisher J.P. Porrius. Its motto was "Concordia res minime crescunt".

The principles of "De Emigrant" as enunciated in its columns were: "The recognition of the freedom of the Press was granted by Article 19 of the Constitution, subject to certain restrictions. We shall not depart from the principles laid down in the Constitution, as the freedom of the Press must always be the medium of giving publicity to truth through the interpretation of feelings, though the columns of "De Oude Emigrant" were sometimes filled with insulting articles, which were not in accord with the noble calling of the Press, and which disregarded the Constitution. We therefore regard it as our bounden duty to strain every nerve towards the attainment of unity, because unity is essential if small states are to flourish. In this task we trust we shall enjoy the sympathy and support of every right-thinking citizen of the Republic".

"De Oude Emigrant" had ceased publication nine months previously. General Schoeman persuaded Borrius to transfer his paper and dispatched Fredrich Jeppe to the Cape for the purchase of plant for a new paper. This was in August, 1862, and in November of the same year "De Oude Emigrant" was resurrected. The establishment had not been conducted in a very businesslike manner, however, and a message from Potchefstroom in "Het Volksblad" in the Cape showed that the revival of "De Oude Emigrant" was only possible after two experts had spent two months sorting the type back
 55
 into their proper places.

In 1863 the "Staats Courant" was published in Pretoria for the first time, in an old building on Church

Square /

55. This information and much that follows has been based on Gustav Preller's valuable summary in the "Volksstem", October 1st, 1924, although the facts therein contained have been checked whenever possible and greatly supplemented.

Square, near where the Pretoria Club now stands. Its headquarters were moved from time to time, and, after being edited in the Office of Advocate Hollard, it was transferred to a building in Church Street East. It was printed on a second-hand printing press by Cornelis Moll, Jnr., and Daantjie Immelman. In the following year a paper called "De Republiksin" was issued in Pretoria but beyond that fact nothing further is known of it. In 1831 Pretoria gave birth to a monthly with a similar name but it was short lived.

The next move in the newspaper world came from Potchefstroom where the "Transvaal Argus" was set up in 1866. This was a bilingual weekly with Fredrich Jeppe as Editor and Borrius as publisher. After two years it was taken over by Roselt and assumed the name of the "Transvaal Advocate". The "Transvaal Argus" appeared in Pretoria ten years later and ceased publication in 1880, on the outbreak of the Boer War. Charles Decker who was later to own and edit the first daily newspaper on the Rand, was the printer and proprietor of the "Argus" which was entrusted with the printing of the "Government Gazette".

In a letter to Sir Bartle Frere, written from Pretoria on October 21st, 1878, Sir Theophilus Shepstone wrote:⁵⁶
 "There is another paper⁵⁷ published here, the "Transvaal Argus" and it is 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"... They ask the Government to assist them in some way or they will have to discontinue the paper.. I have told them that I should not from my point of view be justified in supporting /

56. Shepstone papers, University of Pretoria, page 948.

57. In addition to "De Volkstem", Sir Theophilus' comments on which are quoted later.

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".

The "Argus" press was used for the publication of the "News of the Camp", a small publication of no serious intent, published by the actor Charles Duval for the edification of the British soldiers in Pretoria. A bound file of this unique paper can be seen at the Pretoria Museum. It has already been shown how the advent of troops into Bloemfontein had affected the "Friend of the Sovereignty" and the "Express". It will be shown later how, during the second South African War, a comparatively large crop of small newspapers sprang up, mushroom-like, to fall away again within a short period.

The year 1873 is the earliest year of importance as far as the larger newspapers north of the Vaal are concerned, for on August 8th of that year "De Volkstem" was founded and still continues to-day. It is the oldest newspaper in the Transvaal and, as far as the Afrikaans newspapers are concerned, one of the most important. It has had a romantic history and, once again it is proposed to sacrifice strict chronological sequence, in order to sketch the history of this newspaper.

On February 21st, 1874, one year after it had been established, "De Volkstem" published the following unique

and /

and entertaining appeal "To Our Subscribers".⁵⁸ "Our ideal is to lead a God-fearing life and we foster the hope that thereby we may inherit the eternal Kingdom. We should like to meet all our subscribers there, which will not be possible unless-- as it is their duty to do-- they forward their subscriptions. Those who fail to do this may be struck by lightning in a thundering desert. He may have the life-blood sucked from him by thousands of fleas as he is now sapping us. May he, in putting on a tight shoe find therein a living porcupine. May he have a nagging wife and a smoking chimney-piece. Never yet-- and this is a striking fact-- has a man who regularly paid his newspaper subscription committed suicide. A long life-- with very few exceptions-- has usually been his lot. Failure to pay newspaper subscriptions is invariably the first step towards crime. Let that be a warning! We know a subscriber who regularly pays for his paper in advance. He has never been ill in his life. He has no corns; has never suffered from toothache, and his children never cry in the night. Well now, if that hasn't stirred you, nothing will!"⁵⁹ the father of Jan F.E. Celliers, whose name stands high among the Afrikaans poets and whose prose work has also won him well-merited distinction, was associated with the paper at its birth. Celliers declared himself vigorously against the annexation of the Transvaal in 1877 and incurred the displeasure of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who confiscated the Press. It nevertheless continued to publish in a small form.

Writing to Sir Bartle Frere from Pretoria in 1878 Sir Theophilus Shepstone dealt with "De Volkstem" as follows /

58. This passage has been translated from Hollands into Afrikaans and then into English. It has probably lost much of its spice in the process.

59. "Die Volkstem" reproduced this appeal on October 1st, 1924.

60
follows:

"Up to this moment there has been but one Dutch newspaper in Pretoria and it has uniformly devoted itself to creating disaffection and ill-feeling towards everything English. From being the oldest paper and being published in Dutch at the seat of Government it is universally read by the Boers who, being extremely ignorant, are correspondingly credulous and settle any doubtful point by saying: "Does it not stand so in the courant?". The Government has no means whatever of conveying any corrective to the sedition that is thus sown broadcast and weekly throughout the country. One Boer told me that his countrymen believed the "Volkstem" more implicitly than they do the Bible".

The arrest of the Editor of "De Volkstem" and W. E. Bok, sub-editor in 1879, has been dealt with in a subsequent chapter. With the outbreak of the Boer War in 1880 the "Volkstem's" offices were closed down, but, with the evacuation of the British troops in the following year a Press was presented to the Editor of the paper in order to enable him to continue. The "Volkstem" accordingly re-appeared in that year and was furthermore entrusted with the publication of the Staats-courant. In 1884 fragments of English were included in the columns of "De Volkstem". Four years later the "Volkstem" press and also the paper itself was sold to the Government and the Government Printing Works were established. With the change of hands came a change of Editorship. This was entrusted to W. Jonker whose period of office was terminated by his suicide in 1889. The third Editor was Dr. F.V. Engelenberg, who is still associated with the newspaper. His influence in building up the prestige of the "Volkstem" has been great and it is claimed for him by those who are best able to judge that he is one of the most fluent and capable writers in Holland in South Africa at the present time. One year after Dr. Engelenberg assumed control the

"Volkstem" /

"Volkstem" "Maatskappy" was formed.

It was not until 1895, however, that the "Volkstem" became a daily newspaper, while in the same year it issued a weekly supplement in French — "La Semaine" for a short while. Publication was interrupted by the second South African War in 1900 and, after the war, reverted to its former status as a weekly, continuing in this form until 1914 when it was once again able to appear as a daily. Round about 1911 it issued a supplement called "Die Boer", of which Marin Coet (now M.P.) was Editor. Mr. N. Levi, now retired, is one of the outstanding journalists who have been associated with the "Volkstem" at some time during the 59 years of its existence. Mr. C.S. Coetzee is the present Editor. The paper is a staunch supporter of General Smuts and owes allegiance to the South African Party. It is moderate in its views and conciliatory in its outlook.

Pilgrims Rest, that little mining area in the North Eastern Transvaal eight miles from the nearest Railway Station, was the next dorp in the Transvaal to have a paper of its own. In January, 1874, "The Gold News" was published at that centre. It was originally intended to call it the "Mac-Mac Weekly" but the name was changed. In the following month it was honoured with a second paper "The Goldfields Mercury" under the editorship of Phelan.

With the annexation of the Transvaal in 1877 the Transvaal Government Gazette took the place of the Staats Courant. In that year, Borrius, who had been continuing his journalistic activities at Potchefstroom, brought out "De

Transvaal". /

Transvaal". In 1882 the "Transvaal Advertiser" was established in Pretoria by John Keith and was later edited by Dr. Scobel. It continued until 1908. It was to this paper that Charles Deecker, that veteran pioneer journalist on the Rand during the early days of Johannesburg as a mining camp, was attached. He severed his connection in March, transferring to the "Cathcart Express", later running the "Krugersdorp Times" and "Roodepoort Mail" before coming to the Rand. The Barberton Goldfields had been opened in 1884 and on May 6th, 1886, Gordon Cameron founded the "Barberton Herald", while in February of the following year the "Representative" set up in the same mining camp. Thus both Pilgrims Rest and Barberton each had two newspapers before a single paper had been inaugurated on the Rand.

Less than a year after the foundation of Johannesburg in 1886 newspapers began springing up on the Rand like mushrooms after a shower. The first in the field is generally believed to be "The Diggers News", but Hedley Chilvers ⁶¹ states that Johannesburg's first newspaper was a Dutch journal published by a certain du Toit. It was non-political. Its life was brief and its name had been forgotten". Of the "Diggers' News and Witwatersrand Advertiser", Mr. Chilvers writes: "The first number was published at sixpence a copy by Will Crosby and Co., at their printing works in Market Street, on February 24th, 1887. The paper consisted of four clearly-set sheets, the greater portion of which was devoted to advertisements. The letter press section dealt with mining intelligence, local notes, and half a column of overseas telegrams". Only one day later, "The Mining Argus" was
 established /

61. "Out of the Crucible", Appendix E, page 249 et seq.

established in Johannesburg. This was published by the late Charles Deecker who had returned to the Rand from Oshana, whence he had gone four years previously to edit the "Farmers Chronicle" there. His late widow, Mrs. M. E. Deecker⁶² tells of the difficulties experienced in obtaining cash payment for advertisements:

"One day to pay for a birth notice a sturdy young Dutchman staggered into the office with a fat turkey under each arm... Another farmer could not pay in cash but offered to lend a cow which he guaranteed would give an ample supply of milk all the winter. I accepted and the cow nobly did her duty. In time we became educated to this payment in kind and would calmly see to the unloading of a crate of fowls or a few bags of potatoes".

The story of how he was beaten by a day by "The Diggers News" in the production of a newspaper for Johannesburg was told by the late Charles Deecker.⁶³ "In all good faith I went to Messrs. Will Crosby and Co. to have some dodgers printed announcing that the "Mining Argus" would appear on February 25th", Deecker wrote. "This gave the whole show away. The "Diggers News" came out the day before. But I could not do anything. My printing was being done at Pretoria and matters could not be speeded up. It was, to say the least of it, unsportsmanlike". It must have been a source of satisfaction to Deecker that he was the first to produce a daily newspaper in Johannesburg.

The first office of the "Argus" was nothing more than canvas stretched over a wooden frame which did nothing to alleviate the tremendous difficulties under which Deecker and his wife worked. His choice of name for his

paper

62. In an unpublished work "Ups and Downs - The Story of a Journalist" bequeathed to the South African Society of Journalists by whose courtesy the writer was enabled to consult the typescript.

63. In a memoir quoted by his widow, Mrs. M. E. Deecker, in "Ups and Downs".

paper was guided by his reverence for and memory of the old "Transvaal Argus" - "Why he wanted to perpetuate the memory of that ill-fated paper was rather a puzzle to me", wrote his wife. ⁶⁴ Copy had to be sent to Pretoria (where the "Argus" was printed) in all sorts of ways, by coach, or by special messenger on horseback. "It often happened that copy went astray, as well as advertisements, the latter including a loss of revenue" (1 bid). Before the end of the year, however, a plant was acquired from Port Elizabeth and set up in Johannesburg. The "Argus" thereupon became first a biweekly and later a daily paper, being ahead of all contemporaries in this respect. It is interesting to note that advertising rates were higher in those days than they are to-day; advertisements were not canvassed - they were brought to the office and readily paid for. In some respects those were the "Good old Days".

"The Standard and Transvaal Mining Chronicle" came into being on March, 1887. It was printed on a Columbia Press and there was just sufficient type to set out a four paged paper. The Press was housed in a tent until a wood and iron structure could be erected to accommodate it. "The Standard" later amalgamated with the "Diggers News" under the style of "The Standard and Diggers News" which continued until as recently as 1920. The amalgamation in 1890 followed, strangely enough, a period during which the papers were constantly at loggerheads over controversial matters affecting that period. Both the papers had become dailies before they joined forces and the combination led to the production of a Sunday newspaper. This was something entirely new in the field of South African journalism and it was a failure. The

first /

64. "Ups and Downs", an unpublished work.

first issue was also the last. Before the year 1887 was out "The Transvaal Observer" had also arrived on the scene, and this activity in journalism on the Witwatersrand caused the "Volkstem" to remark ⁶⁵ that there had been a general influx of newspaper proprietors to the Transvaal.

On November 29th, 1887, "The Transvaal" appeared at Lydenburg; while in the following year the following papers came into being: "The Bulletin", on February 21st, at Johannesburg; "Die Volksraad", a bilingual weekly at Pretoria, on May 10th; "The Goldfields News" at Barberton on June 22nd. "The Goldfields News is still in existence to-day as "The Goldfields' News, Barberton and Molepreuit Herald". "The Klerksdorp Pioneer" on July 23rd; "Land en Volk" on October 10th; and "The Eastern Star" on the Rand. The plant for the last-named paper, a morning, had been brought to Johannesburg by the brothers T. and G. Sheffield, who had conducted a paper of the same name in Grahamstown. After a short spell the "Eastern Star" set in favour of "The Star" which, as an evening paper, appeared on the horizon on April 3rd, 1889, under the editorship of the late Francis J. Dörner. ⁶⁶ It sailed rapidly across the heavens and the commotion which this ephemeral body caused among the constellations culminating in the birth of "The Comet" has been fully described in Chapter III. It has identified itself with the agricultural, commercial, and more especially the mining interests of the country and to-day plays an important part in the national life of the country, and is one of South Africa's best-known papers. It is one of the more important units of the Argus Printing and Publishing /

65. October 20th, 1887.

66. As an indication of the hectic times in which journalists plied their trade in the 1890's it may be mentioned that on January 14th, 1891, Dörner was assaulted for an article of a contentious nature which had appeared in the "Star".

Publishing Company and publishes two editions daily. The practice of publishing a noon edition, which persisted for some years, was discontinued about five years ago. It is sympathetic to a greater extent probably than any other European newspaper in the country to the welfare and interests of the native people of the Union. Politically it is sympathetic towards the South African Party. The present editor is Mr. C. D. Don.

It is of more than passing interest to recall that when Johannesburg celebrated its fortieth birthday on a grandiose scale in 1925 the "Star" had a float in the procession on which was the first printing Press of any magnitude ever used in Johannesburg, namely that brought by the Sheffield brothers from Grahamstown. On it were printed leaflets containing extracts from early issues of the "Star" by men who had actually assisted in the transference of the plant from the Eastern Province to the Transvaal.

Simultaneous with the birth of the "Star" came the inauguration of the "Argus Printing and Publishing Co. Ltd" with Headquarters at Johannesburg. It was registered at Pretoria on June 11th, 1889, with a capital of £70,000 for the purpose of "carrying on business at Johannesburg, Capetown, Kimberley, and London, and other such places as the directors may from time to time determine". The then editor of the "Star" -- Francis J. Dormer-- was managing director and held 14,495 of the shares. Others associated with the "Argus" were Sir J.B. Robinson, and the brothers G. and T. Sheffield, who had trekked up from Grahamstown. The "Argus" increased its capital to £100,000 on October 7th, 1895, by which time the late S.B. Joel had become associated with the concern.

This /

This followed upon an extraordinary general meeting on September 4th, 1895, when it was decided to rebuild the Company's works at Capetown, to equip it with new machinery, and to purchase the business of the Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Co.Ltd., at Salisbury, Bulawayo, and Umtali, and to enlarge the scope of the company's co-operation in Rhodesia. In 1917 this capital was increased by a further £100,000. Such satisfactory progress did the company make that in its 41st Annual Report in 1930 it was able to state that "notwithstanding the restriction of business and the consequent decline of advertising revenue caused by the prevailing depression, the trade results were satisfactory. The circumstances of the newspapers in which the company is interested continue to improve, and, in some cases, show a substantial increase over previous records". A perusal of the documents of the company filed in the Companies Office, Pretoria, reveals the close association which has always existed between the Argus Company and Corner House.

On November 13th, 1888, the "Zoutpanenberg Review" was created with headquarters at Pietersburg, to cater for the greater part of the Northern Transvaal. Until 1932 it was the only newspaper published throughout the Magisterial Districts of Waterberg, Potgietersrust, Letaba, Pietersburg, and Zoutpanenberg, an area of more than 50,000 square miles. The advent of the "Northern Transvaal News", a bilingual biweekly paper of equal merit under the editorship of Mr. O'Reilly Merry has brought it a rival and has undoubtedly done much to stimulate enterprise and initiative which are not characteristics of journalism in areas in which competition is lacking. In 1939 was set up the "Klerksdorp

Record and Western Transvaal News", a typical country newspaper, which is still in existence to-day.

The Burlesque" a paper similar in style and tone to the "Critic" with which it later became incorporated, the first issue of which was on sale in Johannesburg on March 1st, 1890. It described itself as "A weekly Family and Society Journal of the Times". It was sold for 1/-. Its first issue contained the cynical observation that "If some men were half as big as they think they are, Johannesburg would have to be enlarged". In a notice "To our Brethren of the Pen" it stated: "The Burlesque is but a child and as such child asks you, its elders, that should you find in its columns anything worthy of reproduction in your journals that due credit be given to us. We shall respect this ourselves and give credit for any matter that we may take over from any other journal".

The advent of this paper was favourably commented upon by numerous newspapers. Whereas the "Critic" one of the militant weekly papers of the 1890's, was outspoken and straightforward in its criticisms, the "Burlesque" was cynical, sarcastic, and bantering. It was an inveterate leg-puller and, by these methods, endeavoured to bring those with whom it was in disagreement into ridicule. An example of this is given in Chapter III. in connection with the "Burlesque's" pseudo-interview with President Kruger.

In addition to the inauguration of the "Burlesque", the opening of the last decade of the Nineteenth Century was heralded by the commencement in Pretoria of "The Press", the first Editor of which was Baron Gluckstein, ^{an English Jew} who abandoned a Johannesburg paper, "The Bulletin", for his new

love /

love. He was succeeded by Leo Weinthal who, in 1891, brought out "The Weekly Press", and, in 1893, "De Pers", of which Mr. P. S. W. Grobler (the present Minister of Lands) was for some time Editor. Leo Weinthal's journalistic contributions to South Africa are too well-known to need any detailed recapitulation here. His death in 1931, while editor and proprietor of the "African World" in London, removed an outstanding figure from among the giants of journalism. While in Pretoria in the 1890's he was responsible for a valuable annual complete with illustrative photographs.

In 1892 death removed J. P. Borrius from his labours of love at Potchefstroom. In an issue of "De Potchefstroomer", another of his creations, appeared a glowing obituary of this hardy pioneer of South African journalism. The following year saw the advent of the "Transvaal Critic", which, as current events go to show, meant/that the worries of President Paul Kruger in the internal management of the Republic were to be increased tenfold. It adopted as its motto: "For I'm nothing if not critical" and immediately began to turn the searchlight of publicity upon everything and everybody that did not meet with its approval. Barry Ronan states that "Henry Hess was the nominal editor, while Gustave Halle did the work. Hess, himself a lawyer, had a busy time defending libel actions. His paper hit out fearlessly and it was the most respected journal of the old days".

The numerous cause celebre between the "Critic" and the President have been fully set out in Chapter II and it is not proposed to discuss here the relationship existing between the "Critic" and officialdom. The "Critic" violently

and /

67. "Forty South African Years", published 1919, page 60, et seq. Ronan was an early South African journalist who worked on numerous papers. He was employed by the "Natal Advertiser", Durban, until his death, two or three years ago.

and frequently attacked the "Standard and Diggers' News", which by lending its support to the President, automatically forfeited any claim to the "Critic's" sympathy. "Why is Mr. Kruger's organ, the "standard and Diggers' News" so foolish as to continue disseminating deliberate falsehoods?" it asked ⁶⁸ "seeing that I am on the spot to contradict them immediately". The "Critic" which later resorted to changing its name to the "Transvaal Critic" to escape suspension ⁶⁹ was reinforced on September 7th, 1895, by "The African Critic", published in London, but widely circulated in South Africa. In its initial issue it stated: "In these days of gigantic newspaper enterprises when there are organs published for every class of people, the 'African Critic' will not be conducted in the interests of any person or clique of persons. It will not waste its space and the patience of its readers in welcoming every coming and speeding every parting South African nobody. .. It will not reproduce process blocks of South African millionaires, nor of their wives or daughters, sons, sisters, cousins, or aunts, nor of their handmaidens, their oxen, their asses, nor of anything that is theirs... It will not fill its columns with wool quotations or nauseous divorce proceedings. These features are being developed so ably that the "African Critic" has decided to avoid entering into competition with its contemporaries".

"The 'African Critic' will be an ideal Anglo-African journal, quantity being sacrificed to quality. The predominant feature will be criticism, not reporting. The 'African Critic' will strive to uphold and maintain the highest traditions of the journalistic profession". How this

London /

68. "Critic", February 23rd, 1895.

69. See Chapter III.

London child of the Johannesburg parent followed in its father's footsteps was soon to be shown. On October 13th, 1895, it published the following :

"At a monthly meeting of the Anglo-African Writers' Club, the Chairman stigmatised the "Standard and Diggers News" as a 'venal organ'. Those who know anything about that paper, which is now about to issue a London edition in imitation of the "Cape Times" are aware how utterly dishonest its policy and tactics are".

70

In a subsequent edition it stated that "With the exception of the 'Transvaal Advertiser', the "Zoutpansberg Review" and the 'Critic', every paper in the Transvaal had adopted the attitude that the Boer could do no wrong".

The appearance of the "Critic" in Johannesburg in 1893 was almost simultaneous with that of the "Moon", and was followed by "the Sentinel" on May 30th, in Johannesburg; the "Transvaal Times" in Pretoria; and "Die Vierkleur" at Krugersdorp by Ben Viljoen, who later became the Veg-Generaal. Other publications which appeared before the Century came to a close included: "Het Christelike Schoolblad" in Pretoria in 1895; "The Johannesburg Times" 1895; "Die Boerevriend" at Nylstroom on June 22nd, 1895; "Ons Volk" at Krugersdorp on September 27th, 1897, by Ben Viljoen who had previously established "Die Vierkleur"; and "The Pretoria News" in 1898, by Leo Weinthal. The last-named is the most important and is still in existence to-day. In recent years it has changed its colours from pink to bring itself into line with the other newspapers of this country and has enlarged the size of its pages. Its closer affiliation with the "Star" and the Argus Group in 1930 led to a general re-organisation and an all-round improvement in its style and make-up.

"The /

"The Johannesburg Times" owned by Sir John B. Robinson, was packed with advertisements of dentists and of doctors bringing to the attention of "anaemic, suffering, and afflicted women the fact that "I will treat all cases (except surgical) by letter".⁷¹ This was typical of numerous others. As symptomatic of the ill-feeling which existed in those days between the English and Afrikaans press -- an ill-feeling which persists to-day, though in an attenuated form, as will be shown later in this chapter-- the following extract⁷² is given : "The 'Volkstem' is one of those papers that no one reads in Johannesburg, but it nevertheless contrives to write more unmitigated, spiteful, twaddle and compass more mischief amongst the Dutch than can be readily imagined", while, as far as its political sympathies were concerned,⁷³ Barry Ronan wrote :

"No difficulty in choosing a subject for a leader. One could always revile the Pretoria Government and utilise the Uitlander to the extent of a thousand words or so".

The "Times" was born during an unsettled period and on January 3rd, 1896, it published an advertisement to the effect that "The French Consul in Pretoria reminds all French that it is their duty to respect the laws and authority of the country of their residence and that it will be at their own risk and that they must bear all the consequences if they depart from this rule". In the same issue the "Relief Committee for the Housing of Women and Children" announced that "arrangements have been made to house a considerable number of women and children, should any panic or rush take place in town", while the "Town Body Guard stated that "though there is absolutely

no /

71. August 7th, 1895.

72. August 8th, 1895.

73. "Forty South African Years, published 1918.

no necessity for the further enrolment of men, those who have enrolled must hold themselves in readiness should necessity arise".

The next paper of importance was the "Transvaal Leader" edited by F. J. Pakeman, who had formerly been associated with "The Star". It was registered on April 8th, 1899, with a capital of £15,000 and paid £10,000 for the plant of the now defunct "Johannesburg Times". The "Leader" was among the foremost of the militant newspapers on the Rand and in the words of J.A. Hobson ⁷⁴ "it was permitted day after day to use language which even in times of ordinary tranquility 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 arrest of Pakeman and the attempted arrest of Monypenny (referred to in Chapter III) were resented in England as a terrible outrage on the liberty of publication. The language of "The Leader" clearly brought it under the law of High Treason of 1877".

Hobson quotes some extracts from the "Leader" in order to justify his statements :

"Fundamental Savagery"

On August 10th, 1899. "The ratification by the Raad of Article 74 of the concept Gronwet is 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".

"Justice in the Transvaal"

On July 17th: "It will soon become possible to/

74. "The War in South Africa", 1900, page 266.

to get a Boer punished, no matter what his crime. We venture to think that there would have been precious little clemency had the offenders not been Burghers of the State" 75

"Over and over again", Hobson continues, "I have heard politicians in Johannesburg express their astonishment and indignation that their Press, having so good a cause, should damage it by gross exaggeration and positive falsehoods. The stories of Zarp atrocities and Boer assaults upon women did not even gain wide credence at the Cape, but, faithfully reproduced, and duly endorsed by the most reputable colonial papers, they passed by wire and mail to the great newspapers in London and there they were received with implicit confidence which must have brought a grim smile into the face of the colonial inventor. In speaking of this war as press-made it is right to mete out a fair share of reprobation to this Krugerite Press, though neither in circulation nor in real influence can it compare for one moment with the power of its antagonists.

76

The late Edgar Wallace gave examples of the part played by the Afrikaans Press in connection with the "Pressmade War" of which Hobson speaks. These instances are given below :

"The Dutch Organ at Worcester published on November 23rd 1900 details of 'atrocious murders committed on both women and some children near Boshoff'. On the 24th "Oms Land" published an account of how General French had, (with cursing), ordered women to be fired on with gun and cannon". 77

During the Boer War of 1899-1902 a number of
newspapers /

75. This comment was in connection with a case in which a Burgher named Krester had had his sentence reduced from six months to one month in a case in which a man named O'Neile was the complainant.

76. "Unofficial Dispatches", representing articles by the author which were published in the "Daily Mail" during 1900 dealing with the Boer War.

77. Ibid, page 294).

newspapers, similar to the "News of the Camp" of 1880, sprang up and died away in a short space of time. They emanated from the Prisoners' camps of the Boers. Some of them were printed; others were merely handwritten and passed round from prisoner to prisoner for consumption. Papers of this nature include: "Di Skoorsteenki", which appeared only once, "De Brandwacht", and "De Staatscourant" the last-named being printed by the Government Printer ensconced in a kloof on Snymanhoek farm near Fouriesburg, the last capital of the Republic of the Orange Free State. "Kampkruimels" was edited by the prisoners at St. Helena and was suppressed by the censors because the Transvaal emblem appeared on the frontispiece. It was succeeded by "De Kryggegevange"; "De Prikkeldraad"; "Diyotolawa"; "Camp Lyre"; and "De Strever". The last-mentioned was a Christian weekly and was printed. Most of the others were handwritten. "The Tick" was issued by the prisoners in the Oombilo Camp, Natal ⁷⁸.

A Company known as the "African Daily Mails, Ltd", was registered on September 1st, 1902, to take over the business then being carried on in Johannesburg by Messrs. Mendelsohn and Bruce in connection with the publication of the "Standard and Diggers' News". This company was finally liquidated in 1906. On March 2nd, 1905, the "Rand Daily Mails Ltd", was formed to take over the "African Daily Mails Ltd., and to publish a newspaper in Johannesburg or elsewhere. Its nominal capital was £50,000 and the subscribers to the memorandum included Sir Abe Bailey (39,479 shares of £1 each). The shares of the company have since changed hands a good deal and it is not proposed to trace this aspect of the newspaper's /

78. Article in "Die Burger", July 20th, 1933, by B.H.J. van Rensburg of the Bloemfontein War Museum, where the above-mentioned papers have been preserved.

newspaper's history beyond mentioning that in 1911 Mr. A.V. Lindbergh became associated with the concern, followed in 1918 by the late Sir Julius Jeppe.

On September 17th, 1915, an agreement was arrived at between the "Rand Daily Mail, Ltd.", and the "Cape Times", the proprietors of the "Transvaal Leader" whereby the "Leader" was to cease publication on May 13th, 1915. The "Leader" thereupon became incorporated in the "Rand Daily Mail", the first editor of which was Edgar Wallace, the well-known mystery writer whose death early in 1932 robbed thousands of lovers of detective stories of their most prolific source of literature. Ward Jackson was for a number of years editor of "The Rand Daily Mail", the present editor of which is Mr. Lewis Rose Macleod. Mr. Hedley Chilvers, Literary critic of that paper, describes it as

"Johannesburg's notable morning newspaper (which) has always sought to maintain an independent policy and to do justice to all sections of the community. Some of South Africa's most brilliant journalists have at one time or another contributed to its columns. Its influence to-day is very wide indeed".

SUNDAY NEWSPAPERS.

The "Sunday Times", South Africa's only Sunday newspaper, and the newspaper with the largest circulation in the Union, was founded on February 4th, 1906, at a time of great depression on the Goldfields, following upon the disastrous effects of the Boer War. Its first directors included Messrs. G.H. Kingwell, A.V. Lindbergh, R. Ward Jackson (one time editor of the "Rand Daily Mail") and Sir Abe Bailey.

In /

In 1915 Sir Lionel Phillips, Sir Julius Joppe, and others became associated with the paper. The "Sunday Times" is unique in that it started with a nominal capital of £200 in £1 shares. This was increased in 1915 (when an agreement was entered into with the "Sunday Post" whereby the latter undertook to cease publication) to £256.

In spite of rivals in the field at one time or another, the 'Sunday Times' has forged ahead under the able guidance and direction of Mr. J. Langley Levy, who still occupies the editorial chair to-day. It adopted a cheerful and lighthearted tone from the start and, by the introduction of such bright features as "A Letter for Home", "Sunday Sallies", a cartoon, and the inimitable Mr. Gettys B. Snook-nee-Haddock and family; and by its Literary, Comic, and Farmers' Supplement as well as its domestic and foreign news service it has caught the imagination of the South African public. A regular reader once remarked that the "Sunday Times" was less of a newspaper than a habit and there is an element of truth in that remark. Its first managing director was G.H. Kingwell. It was the first Johannesburg paper to feature a weekly cartoon. Among the artists who have from time to time been associated with it in this connection are W.A. Lloyd, (now of the staff of "Punch"), Denis Santry, J. H. Anshewitz, and W.A. Bradley. The present cartoonist is Fred Thomas who has been invited to send some of his work to an International Exhibition at Stockholm in which only eminent artists throughout the world have been invited to participate. Mr. Hedley Chilvers ("Out of the Crucible", Appendix E) says of it: "The 'Sunday Times' has always been strictly impartial

in /

in its attitude and is to-day almost a national institution".

Let us see who the rival Sunday papers to the "Sunday Times" were. The "Sunday News" came into being as the result of the formation in 1909 of the "Sunday News, Ltd" to print and publish a Sunday newspaper. By 1911 the company was defunct. The "Sunday Herald, Ltd", was registered on March 11th, 1907, and went into liquidation in June of the same year. Mr. I. W. Schlesinger was one of the directors of this company.

"The Observer", set up in 1910, lasted for only 34 issues. It was buried on April 27th, 1911, and the "Critic" sympathetically wrote the following epitaph :

"Very Sacred to the Memory
 of
 "The Observer".
 Passed Peacefully away, April 27th, 1911.
 Aged 34 issues.

Away to the great beyond--
 Another soul has passed;
 Life's battle proved too strenuous--
 The pace too fast.

Gone to that sweet rest--
 Deserved of those
 Whose efforts count for nought--
 in verse or prose.

Yet solace all will find--
 In the glad news
 Rejoice alike yet Gentiles,
 Turks and Jews.

For tho' the "Observer"
 Giveth up the ghost,
 Another trier comes-- the
 Tickey "Sunday Post". "

This Tickey "Sunday Post" came into being in 1911 and on March 25th, 1912, a Company the "Sunday Post, Ltd" was /

was registered to acquire and take over the business known as the "Sunday Post". The Company was finally liquidated in 1919, although the paper itself ceased publication in May 9th 1915, as the result of an arrangement arrived at with the "Sunday Times".

THE GROWTH OF THE NATIONALIST PRESS.

One of the features of newspaper development in South Africa was the group of Afrikaans newspapers that sprang up round the National Party soon after General Hertzog broke away from the South African Party in 1912. The first move in this direction in the Cape was made in Capetown towards the end of 1912 when "Die Voorloper" came into being. It was edited by Dr. van Zyl and was notable for its cartoons by Boonsasier. In the Transvaal Harm Cost, who was then engaged on the editorial staff of "Die Volkstem" found that current developments in Afrikaans nationalism necessitated him choosing to remain with "Die Volkstem" or to follow Hertzog into the unknown. He decided upon the latter course and founded "Die Week", the first Hertzog weekly newspaper in the Transvaal. This was succeeded in 1913 by "Het Volk" under Harm Cost's editorial guidance, which succumbed during the troublous times of the Rebellion in 1914.

These journals, torchbearers of the new cause, were inadequate for the purpose they were called upon to serve, and the birth of "Ons Vaderland" in 1914 was calculated to prove a more efficient and serviceable mouthpiece for the National Party. Other Transvaal papers which supported the new political party were "Het Western", at Potchefstroom, and still in existence as "Die Weste", and "Die Spektator". The Potchefstroom paper "Het Volksblad" also allied itself to the National Party and it was decided to transfer its headquarters from the Mooi River to Bloemfontein in order to
 provide /

provide an official organ for the movement in the Free State. This was considered by the Party organisers as essential in view of the almost universal hostility shown by the English Press. It was intended to set up "Het Volksblad" as a counterblast to the dissemination of news and views in connection with the National Party by the other papers in the Free State. At the National Party Congress in the Free State in 1915, the following resolution was unanimously adopted :

"Deze vergadering wenst deze gelegenheid te baat te nemen om 'Het Volksblad' haar innige dank toe te brengen voor zijn mannelijke optreden tijdens het gewapende protest en die moedlijke tijd waarin wij geleefd hebben en nog leven. De vergadering wenst hare waardering hierover uit te spreken".

("This Congress wishes to take this opportunity of expressing its deep gratitude to 'Het Volksblad' for its manly attitude during the armed protest and in the difficult times in which we lived and are still living. The Congress wishes to express its appreciation in this connection".)

In the following year it was reported to Congress that "the increase in the membership of our Party is largely a result of the power and influence which it has been able to exercise during the last twelve months through the medium of its Press.

At this time "Het Volksblad" was issued biweekly. It was taken over by the Nasionale Pers, Beperk, and, as "Die Volksblad" has been issued as a daily newspaper since 1924. The Nasionale Pers, Beperk was formed in 1915 and established "Die Burger" at Capetown as the official organ of the National Party in the Cape. The first editor was Dr D. F. Malan (now Minister for the Interior), leader of the Party in the Cape. He left the pulpit of the Dutch Reformed Church at Graaff-Reinet in order to assume his editorial duties, the first issue of his paper appearing on July 26th, 1915. announcing
 itself /

itself thus :

"We recognise the existence of an Afrikaans nationalism with which we are in accord, and of which we hope to be a representative and interpreter".

This represented the culmination of three years of endeavour to set up such an organ. The prime movers were Advocate H.A.Fagan, and others. J.H.H.de Waal, W.A.Hofmeyr, and W.B.de Villiers. Fortune smiled on this little band of pilgrims for just at this time the "Transvaal Leader" became incorporated with the "Rand Daily Mail" and it was made known that the plant of the former paper was obtainable at half price. The offer was immediately seized upon and the bargain clinched.

Dr. Malan was succeeded in the editorial chair of "Die Burger" by Mr. A.L.Geyer in 1924 on the assumption by the former of Cabinet rank. Dr. Malan is not the only member of the present Cabinet to have occupied the Editorial chair of a newspaper. This distinction can be claimed by two of his colleagues. Mr. P.G.W.Grobler (Minister of Lands) was at one time Editor of "Die Pers" in Pretoria; and Mr. E. G. Jansen (Minister of Native Affairs) was Editor of "Die Afrikaner" in Natal for some time;. These facts partly established the truth of the statement that :

83

"A number of brilliant South Africans confess to having started their career on one or another Afrikaans newspaper. They include Cabinet Ministers, Judges, and King's Counsel, to mention one or two of the most exalted positions"

D.C.Boongaier, the cartoonist, who had been associated with "Die Voorloper" has been attached to "Die Burger" /

83. By Mr. Guy Gardner, Assistant Editor of the "Sunday Times" in the "S.A.Railways and Harbours Magazine" October, 1930, page 1503.

"Burger" since its inception and his cartoons are admired for their ingenuity and naive even by those out of sympathy with the sentiments which they express. "Die Burger" has gone from strength to strength and there can be no doubt that it exercises a wide influence throughout the area in which it circulates. Its leaders are frequently quoted, usually with disapproval, by the English newspapers of it may be said in the words of an old English satire that it is "at once the mouthpiece of applause and spleen".

The National Party in the Cape was furthermore able to rely upon the support of "The South African Nation", which described itself as a virile national weekly. It contained constructive articles dealing with social, economic, and political topics, and included supplements in regard to the development of trade and industry, the International Council of Women, this latter supplement being the official organ of the South African Council of Women. In its issue of January 9th, 1926, "The Nation" wrote: "Herein, unceremoniously, quietly, and naturally is taking place every day. Of a new party there is no immediate need. The party of the future is General Hertzog's party, fortified by numbers of liberal and progressive supporters from all sides". Doonzaaijer, the "Burger" cartoonist, frequently brightened the pages of "The Nation" with his works. The "Nation" ceased to exist about three years ago.

In Natal, "Die Afrikaner" - whose editor for some time was Mr. E.S. Jansen (the present Minister of Native Affairs) - did its best to represent the interests of the Nationalists in that Province and to make propaganda on behalf of that Party, but Natal was for the most part out of

sympathy /

sympathy with the Nationalist ideals and in 1932 the paper gave up the unequal struggle. It is understood that efforts are now being made to establish a newspaper to take its place and to keep the flag of the National Party flying in that Province. The catchwords of "Die Afrikaner" were the Union motto of "Eendrag maak Mag" and "Erecoors". The "Eendrag" was conspicuously absent with the result that the realisation of the second ideal was not possible. It was a bi-weekly publication, with headquarters at Maritzburg.

An interesting experiment as far as the Transvaal is concerned, was tried in 1939. Mr. James G. McQuade, one of the doyens of South African journalists, relinquished a comfortable and profitable position as political correspondent of the "Rand Daily Mail" in order to found an English Nationalist newspaper. As a result of his endeavours the "Sun" rose, having its editorial offices in Johannesburg and making use of the printing Press of "Ons Vaderland" in Pretoria. Leaders of the National Party have complained long and bitterly that they were misunderstood by the English-speaking people of the Union and attributed this fact that they had no English Press of their own to interpret their ideals. This long-felt want had at length been supplied, but the support it received was disappointing and, after eighteen months, the "Sun" sank wearily to rest. At about this time, too, "Ons Vaderland" emerged from a bi-weekly paper to a daily. This was undoubtedly a great boon to Nationalism and brought the Transvaal's chief organ into line with the Nationalist newspapers of the other provinces. The strain was too great, however, and "Ons

Vaderland" /

"Vaderland" had to fall back to its two issues weekly.

In 1832 a further change was brought about.

"Ons Vaderland" became "Die Vaderland". It still remained a bi-weekly but was much enlarged and improved, by the inclusion of a literary supplement in addition to its news columns, running to 16 pages on Wednesdays and 20 pages on Saturdays. A new company was formed, known as the "Afrikaanse Pers, Depot", to take the place of "Die Hoordelike Drukkers", under whose auspices "Ons Vaderland" had been published. Prime movers in the formation of the new company include General J.B.M. Hertzog (Prime Minister), General J.C.G. Kemp (Minister of Agriculture) and Messrs. H.C. Havenga (Minister of Finance), H.G. Jansen (Minister of Native Affairs) and Oswald Pirow (Minister of Justice), together with the Prime Minister's son, Dr. Albert Hertzog. In a pamphlet issued for propaganda purposes, "Die Vaderland" stated that it was "a torchbearer in everything of importance to the Afrikaans social life. . . In addition to politics our people will also be provided with food for thought in regard to the religious and cultural side of their lives, and their domestic and economic well-being".⁸⁵

This concludes the review of the birth and development of the Nationalist Press. Some indication should be given in broad lines of the policy of these papers and their relation to the older established newspapers of the country. The papers claim to be not "anti-English" but "pro-Afrikaans", but there is very little suggestion of conciliation in their editorial columns. They are conservative and anti-imperialistic in outlook and look with horror upon any move made towards the advancement /

85. The groundwork for this review of the Nationalist Press was obtained from "Die Nasionale Woek" but the scope of information therein contained have been greatly supplemented.

advancement of the natives. In their eyes the "native problem" is the "black peril". There is little co-operation between the Nationalist and other newspapers although this "standoffish" tendency is showing signs of weakening.

Leonard Barnes himself a working journalist in this country gives an admirable, if outspoken, analysis of the part played by both the English newspapers in regard to the racial question in South Africa:

"The responsibility of the Press is heavier and its yielding to temptation more inexcusable (than that of political party managers). Reputable journalism would not need to rely upon the injurious elements of racialism. Unfortunately, the chief Nationalist newspapers are the tools of the party managers and their policy in racial matters is very bitter and reckless. Their persistent outrages on the sentiments of their political opponents are less successful than they might be, because being delivered in Afrikaans, they are little read by the British; but they are carried out extremely thoroughly and with a disregard of all literary and journalistic manners so savage that it has to be seen to be believed.

"The English papers, from their side, though their polemic methods as a rule are less uncouth, are hardly less provocative. Indeed, their effect is perhaps more mischievous still, because the Dutch pay more attention to them. There is not one of their number that can be trusted to handle the other side's case on any subject with even tolerable dispassionateness. I have often heard Dutchmen say that the English papers should bear the larger share of the blame, since their editorial staffs, having in general had wider experience and culture, ought to know better how to behave... The English papers may claim that they do behave better. And so they do. But not better enough! 86. Two things, at least, are certain. One that the incessant racial dog-fight which goes on in the columns of the Press is one of the most discreditable features of South African life; the other, that racialism in its more virulent forms would quite quickly become extinct, if politicians and the Press would /

86. Until recently no member of the staff of a Nationalist newspaper belonged to the South African Society of Journalists, a national body which claims to represent the interests of all bona-fide working journalists in this country. In 1931 two members of "Ons Vaderland" joined the Pretoria branch and were followed by others.

87. "Caliban in Africa", page 48.

88. The italics are the writer's.

would allow the people a chance to forget it. At present they torture the poor dog by never letting to go to sleep".

There are signs of hope for the future. The bilingual country newspapers, which are rapidly growing in number, cannot find room for racialism in their columns, as this would be in direct conflict with their policy of catering for both sections of the community. Furthermore, positions on the editorial staffs of the English newspapers are more and more being filled by South Africans (both English and Afrikaans-speaking) who have a better knowledge and understanding of local conditions and difficulties than the English journalists who in the past came from overseas in large numbers and "rushed in" where South African born journalists "would fear to tread".⁸⁹ Points of agreement, rather than of difference, are coming to be stressed. But it is a slow process.

As far as the Press of the South African Labour Party is concerned, there have from time to time been various organs claiming to represent and safeguard the interests of the Labour Party but a perusal of the files of these papers show that relations between the different organs were at no time harmonious. One of these papers was "The Worker", a weekly paper published in Johannesburg, which dates back to just before Union. It designated itself "the official organ of the South African Labour Party" and had its offices in Von Brandis Street. Another, which was probably in the field before "The Worker", was "The Voice of Labour", the "organ of the United Socialist /

89. "The Afrikaans journalist has, moreover, one great advantage over his colleagues: he is wholly bilingual in nearly every case and can transfer his activities to a newspaper in the other medium without much difficulty".
Guy Gardner, Assistant Editor of the "Sunday Times", "S.A. Railways and Harbours Magazine", October 1930, page 1503.

Socialist Party of South Africa", with offices in Fox Street, Johannesburg. It was "a weekly journal of Socialism, industrial unionism and Politics", and claimed the largest circulation of any Labour paper in South Africa. In its columns it referred disparagingly to the "Capitalist Press", printed the full text of "The Red Flag", and surveyed the life of Peter Kropotkin.

The weekly newspaper established in 1935 "Forward" "the paper that supports the Fact", whose guiding principles are "agitate, educate, and organise" was established later than either "The Worker", or "The Voice of Labour", and still exists to-day, while the other two publications are now defunct. It is the official organ of the South African Mine Workers' Union, The South African Boilermakers' Society, and the B.W.I.U. In addition to news items of general interest, it publishes material of a propagandist nature, and such articles as "Mussolini and the Trades Union", "In prison with the Jim Peiners", "How de Valera Escaped", and "The real lesson of the Coal War" are typical of its contents. A "Trades and Labour Journal" is published at Capetown.

In addition to the country newspapers, the Transvaal is notable for the chain of newspapers which circulate in the Reef towns from Randfontein to Springs. Although both the "Rand Daily Mail" and the "Star" have resident representatives in the larger of these Reef towns and a correspondent in the smaller ones and in spite of the fact that these newspapers are available to the residents of the Reef towns just as soon as they are available in Johannesburg itself,

local /

So. In the issue of December 15th, 1911.

local newspapers have sprung up in many of these Reef towns and the longevity of most of them indicate they are a paying proposition and that they have a very definite part to play in their own particular area. Among these Reef newspapers are: "The Springs Advertiser"; "The Brakpan Herald"; "The East Rand Express", with which is incorporated the "Boksburg Herald"; the "Geraiston News", and the "Benoni Advertiser"; "The Benoni City Times and Volksblad", edited by Mr. Williams Hill, which claims the largest local sale of any East Rand journal; "The Brakpan and Springs Advertiser and East Rand Review"; "The Geraiston Advocate and East Rand Record"; "The Latest" (Benoni); "The Standard and West Rand Review"; and "The Springs Commercial Review".

Some of the more notable of the country newspapers in the Transvaal (apart from those already dealt with in the historical review) are: "De Hoogavelder", a bilingual weekly published at Middelburg; "The Heidelberg News", a bilingual weekly; "The Lake Chrissie Chronicle"; "The Lydenburg News"; "The Middelburg Observer"; "The Susterburg Courant; the "Waarberg Advertiser", and "De Westelike Steen", a weekly Loyalist Afrikaans newspaper, Potchefstroom, all of these being weekly publications. The "Potchefstroom Herald and Western Gazette" deserves more than passing mention. It is the only English newspaper for the Potchefstroom district and claims to be "old established but up-to-date". It was established in 1861 and has incorporated "The Western Chronicle and Potchefstroom Budget".

THE JEWISH PRESS.

91

The association of a Jewish journalist with the early newspapers of this country has already been mentioned. Meurant⁹² described this pioneer journalist as "A Dutch lawyer (of Jewish birth), a clever man and a linguist (who) was always in trouble, never paid anybody, especially his house rent." Although de Liza made no attempt to cater journalistically for the Jewish Community of South Africa, whose numbers at that time probably did not warrant such a step, "De Versamelaar", which was under his charge, published an announcement on September 22nd, 1847, "Heartily congratulating members of the Jewish persuasion with their New Year on this day". This custom, has, of course, now become customary, and the advertisements which members of the Jewish community insert in the newspapers wishing their friends and relatives "A Happy New Year and well over the fast" is a profitable source of revenue for the newspapers.

The pioneer of Jewish journalism in this country was Schemia Dov Baer Zeev Wolf Hoffmann⁹³. Arriving in South Africa in 1890, Hoffmann imported the Jewish "lead alphabet". He may be regarded as the "father" of the Jewish Press. The first Jewish paper, "Der Afrikaner Israelit" was published in Johannesburg in 1890, an eight-page weekly. It continued for six months. It formed the foundation, however, upon which others have built until the Jewish Press has come to be recognised as a powerful factor for good among the people among whom it circulates. Unsuccessful with his Johannesburg venture, Hoffmann left in 1891 for Capetown where four years later

he/

91. Joseph Suasso de Liza, LL.D.
92. "Sixty Years Ago".

93. "The South African Jewish Year Book"— "The Jewish Press in South Africa", by J.S. Judelowitz, page 249, et seq., from which much of the following information has been extracted, though checked and supplemented, where possible, from other sources.

he started "Ma-Or", a Yiddish weekly which ran from April 1st 1895 until July 5th, 1897. In partnership with Isaac Stone, Hoffman thereafter established "Der Judischer Herald" which ran for a further two years, and was succeeded by "Der Afrikaner Telegraph", which also lasted two years, Hoffman's next venture was more successful. It lasted three years.

His experience brought Hoffmann to a realization that there was no demand to justify a Yiddish weekly. He thereupon launched out with a monthly, "Der Afrikaner", which was still in existence in 1914, but did not survive that year. Simultaneously with this publication, Hoffman brought out another, "Kinereth", a Hebrew bi-monthly. This was unable to stand alone and was later incorporated with "Der Afrikaner" as a supplement. The first daily paper in Yiddish was "Der Kriegsstaphet", which was brought out in Capetown during the Boer War by David Goldblatt, who, after the War, agitated for the recognition of Yiddish as a European language. In support of his cause he published a pamphlet in 1905, while in the previous year he brought into being a Yiddish weekly, "Der Judische Advocate", which appeared regularly until 1914.

Before the end of the century, Hoffmann had been joined in his pioneer work by others, notably Isaac Berman, who published "The African Jewish Gazette" in Johannesburg on 1898, and Solomon Vogelson, who established "Der Expresse". Johannesburg was the scene of an attempt to found an Anglo-Jewish paper "The South African Jewish Chronicle and Jewish News" but the attempt was unsuccessful. This is probably the paper referred to by Percy Cowen in the following terms:

The /

94. "South African Jewish Year Book" 1909, page 153.

95

The Board considered the matter of establishing a Jewish newspaper. The project was gone into but eventually nothing came of it. In 1902, however, "The South African Jewish Chronicle" was published in Capetown as a fortnightly and is the first of these early ventures which showed any signs of permanency. The "Chronicle" which became a weekly in 1905, is still published.

The success which attended the "Chronicle" encouraged others, and the following papers came into being: "The Jewish Star" (Hacachav), Johannesburg established 1903, defunct 1907; "The Jewish Free Press", a Yiddish weekly, Johannesburg, established 1904 and running for five months only; it was revived for a short while in 1907; "Der Strahl", Capetown, 1904, and "The South African Jewish Standard", Durban, in the same year; "Israel's Messenger", a children's paper, Johannesburg;. These efforts were eclipsed by the production, on November 15th, 1908, of "The Zionist Record", a monthly magazine of general Jewish interest, which was issued by the South African Zionist Federation. Its progress was rapid. In 1924 it became a fortnightly and in 1926 a weekly. Other Jewish papers of this period include: "The Jewish Standard" (Die Yiddische Fohn), first a fortnightly, later a weekly, ceased publication 1913; "The Jewish Voice", a Yiddish weekly, established 1910 and lasted about one year; "Di Naie Zeit", which lasted from August to October 1912; "The Johannesburg Daily", from December 12th, 1912, until January 31st, 1913; "Di Naie Heim", from January to March, 1912; and "The Jewish Tribune" from May to December, 1913.

From among these numerous publications, none of which as their period of duration shows, were of much substance, arose the more successful Yiddish weekly, "Der Afrikaner" /

"Afrikaner", which first appeared on November 10th, 1911, and is still in existence. It publishes a supplement in English. Approximately half a score of other Jewish publications of little account sprang into being during the ten years from 1913 to 1923. The latter part of this period was productive, however, of two more substantial publications. These were "Dorom Afrika" and "Ivri Onouchi". The former came into being in December 1922, and after running for a year, remained dormant until it was resurrected in 1928 and has since been issued monthly until the present day. The latter is the official organ of the Jewish Guilds of the principal centres of the Union, and South West Africa, and the general Jewish communal organ of South Africa. It claims that it circulates from the Congo to the Cape, and that its circulation on the Witwatersrand is the largest of any African Jewish publication. It has hitherto been issued monthly but the writer was informed that it was intended to convert it into a Yiddish weekly published in English.

Close on sixty Jewish journals, newspapers, and magazines have been traced by Mr. Judelowitz but it is not here proposed to trace the history of each and every of these. Sufficient has been said to indicate the nature of the growth and the present strength of the Jewish Press in South Africa. It will readily be realised that lack of co-ordination of forces in the earlier days was the cause of the rapid rise and fall of numerous papers of straw which proved unequal to the strenuous struggle and had to give up the ghost. It will further be seen that Jewish newspapers in this country are of fairly recent growth, any marked activity in this connection

dating /

dating back only 40 years. In view of this fact the chain of newspapers and magazines which have been built up can be regarded as entirely satisfactory. Lessons have been learnt from the mistakes of the past and the future of the Jewish Press, in its own sphere, is particularly bright.

Apart from the Affikaans, Jewish, Bantu, and Coloured people's Press, - which have been or are to be reviewed in this work-- provision is also made by interested persons for the supply of news in their mother tongue to the German and Greek and nationals resident in this country. The Greek organ, the "Hes Hellas" is published weekly in Johannesburg and is now in its nineteenth year. There are two German journals, "Der Deutsche Afrikaner", published in Pretoria, and "Deutsche Afrika Post", which has its headquarters in Johannesburg.

Mention should be made of the numerous publications which have from time to time sprung up to serve sectional interests. These are too numerous to mention in detail and a representative few must serve to indicate the wide field which these periodicals collectively cover. After the War "The Call", "The Soldier's Paper run by returned soldiers for returned soldiers" was inaugurated as an independent weekly newspaper of general interest dealing specially with patriotic matters and the welfare of returned soldiers. "The Clubman", now defunct, was the monthly journal of the Unionist Party, before amalgamation with the South African Party. During the War "The Searchlight", a monthly independent non-party review, was issued by E.J. Moynihan, whose caricature appeared

on both the front and back covers and whose pen seemed to fill most of the pages between the covers. "The searchlight" devoted itself to discussing various phases of the Great War. In 1918 it announced that it "no longer publishes advertisements of any kind" and it was not long after that its publication was discontinued.

Further examples of these periodicals include:

"The South African Fruitgrower and Smallholder" started in 1915 and still in existence; "The Spiritualist Union of South Africa" which ran from 1930 to 1932; "The Ward 10 Ratepayers' Gazette" (1928-32); "Backwash", the organ of the South African Incorporated Sea Anglers' Association; "The South African Bowling Monthly", ceased publication 1931; "The S.A. Truck and Bus Owners" "The Boudoir and Smoking Room, marked "Price 6d" but distributed free; "Too H Times", ceased 1931, the S.A. Hairdressers' Journal; "The Traders' Protection Bulletin", ceased 1930; "Pigeon Racing in South Africa"; ceased 1931; "The S.A. Telephone and Telegraph Review", which is still in existence under the name of "The Live Wire"; "The S.A. Philatelist", which, started in 1925, was dormant from 1929 to 1931, recommenced in that year and is still published at the present time.

These examples have been culled from the Newspaper Register of the General Post Office at Pretoria and further examples of current publications are to be found in the complete list of registered newspapers in existence in South Africa (as at September 1st, 1932) which forms an appendix to the present work.

Owing to the diversity of systems-- and lack of
 systems /

systems— of compilation of newspaper registration statistics in the four Colonies prior to Union, it is not possible to give a statistical comparison of the progress made in the newspaper world before 1910. The following figures ⁹⁶ serve, however, to give some indication of the advance that has been made in regard to newspapers during the last 21 years for which ⁹⁷ figures are available.

Number of Newspapers registered at 31st December, 1911 to 1930.

Year	Cape of Good Hope	Natal.	Transvaal.	Free State.	Union.
	European newspapers				
1911.	107	18	89	18	312
1912.	124.	24	82	20	330
1913.	140	23	85	24	374
1914.	143	22	83	19	367
1915.	138	22	79	15	342
1916.	123	19	83	17	342
1917.	130	23	89	17	359
1918.	130	24	88	18	360
1919.	134	25	97	20	376
1920.	146	33	101	24	304
1921.	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	308
1922.	⊙	⊙	⊙	⊙	325
1923.	136	33	101	24	392
1924.	137	29	95	25	386
1925.	141	29	120	27	317
1926.	144	28	121	30	321
1927.	150	30	122	27	329
1928.	152	30	136	32	350
1929.	156	30	147	34	369
1930.	159	27	135	38	340

⊙ Figures not available.

The value of these figures is impaired by the fact that the totals for the four Provinces do not, in all cases, correspond with the total for the Union. This is apparently the result of miscalculation on the part of the clerk responsible for this particular work and the writer has no option but to take over these figures, as there is no other authentic source from which more accurate figures may be

obtained /

96 Official Year Book, No.12.

97. Bantu newspaper development is similarly indicated in the following chapter).

obtained. The figures cannot be far wrong, however, and in spite of the deficiency referred to, provide a striking register of progress over the 31 years reviewed. It will be noticed that in spite of setbacks, notably in 1915, 1923-24, and 1930, the figures for the last available year represent an increase of approximately 50% in the total number of newspapers in each Province, as compared with 1911. When quality, as well as quantity is taken into consideration, it will be seen that the progress has indeed been striking.

This, then, is an historical survey of the birth and growth of the Press in South Africa, from the earliest beginnings until the present day. It is time now to call a halt and examine in broad lines the progress that has been made. Such an examination ⁹⁸ was made some time ago and what was then said remains equally true to-day. Little has occurred in the last few years to bring about any changes of importance in the South African Press. "What use have we made of the privileges obtained?", "Die Volkstem" asked. "How do we value them? and what lessons have we learnt from the example of those patriotic pioneer fighters for the freedom of the Press, and for the freedom of thought and expression? "It is almost three hundred years since Milton wrote his famous "Areopagitika" in which he defended the advantages both for the people and for the country of a free press and of the unrestricted expression by every citizen of his genuinely-held opinions, against an autocratic policy which sought to suppress differences of opinion. ..The foundations laid by Greig, Fairbairn, and Pringle are to-day as secure as those laid by the eloquence /

eloquence of a Milton or a Mallebranche elsewhere. The modern Press enjoys a freedom which is curbed, as all civilised freedom ought to be curbed, only by the law against contempt for opinions, rights, and freedom, of persons holding different opinions... It is undeniable that the sense of his responsibility held by every newspaperman, has, with very few exceptions, led to the South African newspapers-- irrespective of party allegiances-- imparting such a broad spirit of democracy as to enable them to lay claim to be interpreters of public opinion.. Even in time of acute national crisis, the S.A.Press has carried itself with a dignity and calm which compares very favourably with the newspapers of other countries".

On all sides those in a position to speak on the subject strike a confident and optimistic note in regard to the present and future position of the South African Press. Mr. Frank Trott ⁹⁹ has pointed out ¹⁰⁰ that the strides made in the newspaper Press in this country have been remarkable. "As journalists we are constantly recording the growth of commerce, industry, and the hundred and one activities which constitute the national life. .To-day the newspapers of the Union compare favourably with those of Great Britain and other Dominions. Because of this advancement, journalists generally have acquired greater responsibilities and so far as their craft is concerned they have not been found wanting. Mr. Guy Gardner (Assistant Editor of the "Sunday Times", in the "S.A.R. and N. Magazine", October, 1930, pages 1503 and 1504) wrote :

"The

99. Whose position and qualifications have already been stated.

100. In his presidential address to the South African Society of Journalists Congress at Johannesburg, in January, 1932.

"The outstanding feature of this quarter of a century of the Press is not, indeed, swift spectacular flights and sudden events, but an orderly, steady progress; the story is concerned with the growth of an establishment, but in no way with its foundation. In point of fact, a survey shows the apparent changes to have been small and not numerous, a condition by no means reflecting stagnation, but solidity. Alike in the old coastal towns, the veteran inland settlements of the Cape Province, and the newer centres in what was once the "interior", the changes in the newspaper press so far as "births" and "deaths" go, have been insignificant during five and twenty years.

"Backward or no, the South African newspapers have never descended to the ghastly preoccupation with futilities that distinguishes newspapers with which we are often compared and which should be models for oversea pioneers. With all deference to the brilliant contributors who discuss such topics as "Is the modern woman a flirt?", "Are modern girls selfish?", or "What is modern woman's charm?", at any rate there is a singular lack of their nauseous emanations in the South African Press.

"No reference to the South African Press would be complete without mentioning the creation of the group known as the Argus Press, with its representation in almost every big centre in South Africa. The building up of this great fabric has been done steadily, each newspaper in the group carrying on its own traditions and remaining, as it were, a separate unit within the organisation. It is reasonable to suggest that this system results in editorial independence and the maintenance of a high journalistic standard generally. ¹⁰¹

"Intimately connected with the growth of the Press is the simultaneous development of the Central News Agency, Ltd., the greatest publishing House in the Union and a monument to the industry and foresight of its joint managing directors, A. V. Lindbergh and Michael Davis, who retired in 1938. The foundations of its business were laid in 1892 and expansion/

101. "Out of the Crucible", by Hedley A. Chilvers, appendix E.

expansion continued to an ever-increasing extent as the partners took over the entire issues of newspapers for distribution".

102

Finally J. Saxon Mills stated :

"The standard throughout the Empire is amazingly high. News is presented brightly, fairly, and intelligently, frequently under difficult circumstances, and the leader writer in the Dominions need not be afraid to look his august London colleague in the face".

Numerous publications are printed outside the Union dealing exclusively or largely with the internal affairs of the Union. It is not proposed to examine these at any length. Perhaps the earliest of such publications was the "Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter", which was started in June 1825 and continued publication until May, 1827. It was issued under the aegis of the London Society for the Mitigation and Abolition of Slavery in the British Dominions. In the issue of January, 1827, it advanced the argument: "Should the comparative mildness of Cape slavery be admitted, what a powerful argument does not the admission make for the speedy annihilation of human bondage throughout their Colonies by the powers of Christian Europe". "The African World", founded in London by the late Mr. Leo Weintal is among the most important of current overseas journals dealing with the Union. "The African World" was first published as a supplement to the "Pretoria News", with the proviso that "The Editor of the 'Pretoria News' is not responsible for any matter or views in this supplement". So wide has the scope of the "African World" now become that it publishes monthly supplements for West Africa and North Africa.

In 1888 E.P. Mathers, who had been associated
with /

with the "Natal Mercury" and "Natal Advertiser" left for England to found the London weekly "South Africa". In the following year it had a Hollands counterpart in "Zuid-Afrika", a "maandblad voor de culturele en economische betrekkingen tusschen Nederland en Zuid-Afrika" which is published in Amsterdam by De Bussy and is now in its ninth year. All South African newspapers of any importance maintain resident correspondents in London and as well as in other parts of the world and the news supply of these correspondents is supplemented by Reuter, with the result that South Africa is kept in close touch with affairs in all parts of the world.

It should be pointed out that the absence of a segregated study of the early "giants of journalism" is of set design . The writer's endeavour has been rather to allow each of the pioneers to play his part in his own particular period, thereby bringing to light the great value of the foundations laid by those hardy forerunners for future generations to build upon.

CHAPTER II.

THE BANTU PRESS.

There is cause for satisfaction in the fact that, in spite of the succession of oppressive legislation which has been directed against the natives in the last few years, no attempt has been made to hinder the natives in the use of their most effective weapon, the massing of native public opinion by means of the Bantu Press. In this field of native activity progress has been more rapid than in any other. The native leaders realised at an early stage that without mouthpieces of their own they would remain largely inarticulate. Speeches at public meetings were heard only by those few who chose to attend. Some means had to be devised to reach the hundreds and thousands of literate natives in order to secure their co-operation in the stern struggle for justice. Some attempt had also to be made to combat the widespread illiteracy among the native population. The Bantu Press answered both these needs and it has gone from strength to strength in its efforts on behalf of its own people. So far no daily Bantu newspaper exists and present indications are that this ideal is not likely to be attained for some considerable time.

European newspapers are not all antagonistic towards native interests. Many of them devote much valuable space to a consideration of native injustice; and much good has no doubt been done by the searchlight which the European Press has thrown on native affairs. What was being done, however, was not enough. Comparatively few natives read

the /

the European newspapers, and only a small body of Europeans show any interest in the welfare of the natives, while the overwhelming majority of the European population, though not actively hostile, were frankly uninterested. The Bantu Press therefore set itself the task of rousing its own people from its national lethargy and inertia and of providing food for thought for those Europeans who might chance to read its newspapers.

The sources of research available in respect of the European Press do not extend to the Bantu Press and the writer must express his indebtedness to native leaders of thought throughout the country for their willing assistance and co-operation in the difficult task of collecting and collating information regarding the Bantu Press, which has made possible some sort of estimate of the part played by the Bantu Press in the development of the child and backward races of South Africa. The native question is not a question apart. It is a South African question. The interests of the natives are bound up in the interests of the Europeans and it is merely for the sake of convenience that a chapter has been devoted to this subject as distinct from the European Press. There was no thought in the writer's mind of a literary segregation.

Native journalistic activity is not confined to South Africa. "In what was once known as darkest Africa the rays of knowledge are beginning to illumine the dusk of ignorance. East Africa now possesses several newspapers written, edited, and mainly produced by natives. Slowly the influence of the Press — that stupendous power for good, or evil— is penetrating to the furthestmost corners of the

globe... In the swamps and heats of Africa, the land of age-long mystery, of dark deeds and darker superstitions, a native Press wisely guided and fostered by a native Government, may easily become the greatest of missionary forces for these dusky children of the sun. There the shadows of the old evil gods still linger in the forest glades and haunt the sacrificial alters until the authority of the printed word shall help to cleanse the foul places of the earth, replacing the ancient cult of cruelty by a more merciful creed".¹⁰⁴

It is noteworthy that missionary enterprise has been one of the most powerful forces in the building up of a Bantu Press. Many of the more notable native publications are subsidised by missionary societies and are in part controlled by them. Owing, however, to the necessity which this implies of being strictly non-political, native politicians have, after receiving a journalistic training at the mission schools, broken apart and established independent and outspoken newspapers of their own. It was this consideration that caused John Tengo Jabavu, the "Father of Bantu journalism", to resign his position in 1884 as editor of "Isigidimi Samaxosa", which was under the aegis of the Lovedale Missionary Institution, and to found "Imvo Zabantsundu" (Native Opinion), which is still a flourishing concern at Kingwilliamstown.

Statistics do not reveal any remarkable increase in the number of native newspapers since Union. As compared with the increase in the European newspapers they have lagged behind in this respect. It is in regard to quality rather than quantity that the Bantu press has forged ahead. The

Bantu /

104. "The Trend of the Modern Press", Newspaper Press Directory, 1925, page 20.

Bantu newspapers now in existence have attained a satisfactorily high standard and have consolidated their position. Where finances have permitted, innovations have been introduced and modern printing appliances installed, so that the equipment now in general use is far in advance of that with which the early Bantu newspaper had to rest content.

105

The Official Year Book shows the following Native newspaper registrations from 1911 to the present time:

	Cape	Natal	Transvaal	Free State.	Total.
1911.	4	3	1	--	8
1912.	4	4	2	--	10
1913.	4	4	4	--	12
1914.	4	5	4	--	13
1915.	5	3	5	--	13
1916.	6	6	2	--	14
1917.	7	7	4	--	18
1918.	6	7	5	--	18
1919.	6	7	5	--	18
1920.	4	7	4	3	18
1921.	5	7	3	3	18
1922.	6	6	6	6	24
1923.	7	6	3	--	16
1924.	7	6	4	1	18
1925.	4	4	3	3	14
1926.	5	4	4	3	16
1927.	4	6	6	3	19
1928.	5	6	5	2	18
1929.	6	6	5	2	19
1930.	2	7	7	3	19

© Figures not available.

The most striking fact revealed in the above figures is the remarkable stability in the total number of Bantu newspapers. In spite of fluctuations in the four Provinces the total for the Union during the last ten years was at no time less than 16 or greater than 19. Free State natives were slow in coming into the field of journalism and their ultimate entry was prompted by missionary enterprise. For the most part the tone and policy adopted by the Bantu Press is a moderate one. There is no suggestion of

insurrection /

insurrection or of attempting to force the hands of the authorities. Their endeavour is to guide the natives by constitutional means to the goal which they consider to be their ultimate destiny. There are exceptions to this rule, such as the Communistic organs, "Uasebensa" and the "Hammer" which are written in the most inflammatory language in an endeavour to stir up the natives against the whites. Their influence is fortunately negligible. Further consideration will be given to these organs after an historical survey has been made

The first Bantu newspaper published in South Africa was the "Indaba" which was printed at Lovedale. Its date of publication is unknown but it is believed to be about 1824. It continued publication until 1846, and was edited for two years by the Rev. Richard Ross who died in 1902. Tiyo Soga was one of the native leaders of thought attached to the staff and of him the Rev. Cousins wrote :

"Tiyo Soga employed his leisure in collecting Kaffir fables, legends, and proverbs, fragments of Kaffir history, rugged utterances of certain native bards, the ancient habits and customs of his countrymen and the genealogy of Kaffir chiefs, with striking incidents in their lives. These fragments were published in a few articles in the "Indaba" and showed their intimate knowledge of the past events of his country".

"In the Forties the "Ikwezi" was printed at the Gwali Mission Press, but the Kaffir Wars of those periods allowed the venture only a meteoric existence-- a passing brilliant flash, described in a line of Ntsikana's hymn: "Yabinza inkwenkwezi iaixelela! ("the star darted forth; it was telling us"). A decade later the Mount Coke Wesleyan Mission sent out its "Isitunya se Myanga" Messenger. That noble venture also collapsed. In the Sixties the Lovedale Mission/

106. Quoted by I. End M'Belle in the "Kaffir Scholar's Companion", page 11.

Mission Press brought out "Indaba" (News). It was popularly welcomed and was for a time the pride and pleasure of its promoters--the Rev. William Govan, the then Principal of Lovedale, editing the English pages, while Dr. Bryce Ross, of Pirie Mission, a perfect Sixosa scholar, was taking charge of the vernacular. Alas! even under such favourable auspices, the Indaba ceased publication after two or three years. ¹⁰⁷

In 1859 the London Missionary Society established "Mahoko a Bechuana" (Bechuana News) at Kuruman in the Chwana language. It catered for the Kuruman Missionary districts and was distributed throughout Bechuanaland, including the Protectorates. It ceased publication in 1895.

The year 1870, however, was a landmark in Bantu journalism, for in that year the Lovedale Missionary Press issued the "Christian Express" which survives to-day as "The South African Outlook". The "Express" was at first published only in English but was devoted almost entirely to native interests and welfare, styling itself "A Journal of Missionary News and Christian Work". Within a short while the Express became a bilingual paper with the English name of "Kaffir Express", translated into the vernacular as "Isigidimi Samaxosa". Dr James Stewart, principal of the Lovedale Missionary Institution, was the first editor. ¹⁰⁸

The Sixosa columns were entrusted to native students who included the Revs. Mzimba, Elija Makwane, the late William Gqoba, and the late Tenge Jabavu, whose duties were to translate any English portion of the "Express" which they judged would interest their countrymen.

Six /

107. Knox Bokwe in the "Christian Express, November 1 1920
 NOTE: This must have been the rebirth of the first Bantu newspaper "Indaba" which ceased publication in 1848.

108. Article by the Rev: John Knox Bokwe, in the "Christian Express", November 1st, 1920.

Six years later the English portion was re-named the "Christian Express" and was published separately from the vernacular pages which retained the same title as an independent newspaper. In the eighties the success of the "Isigidimi" had justified the engagement of a responsible native editor and Dr. Stewart offered the position to John Tengo Jabavu, a teacher in the Wesleyan Mission School at Somerset East and a regular correspondent to the "Cape Argus", which published his contributions under the caption "From our Native Correspondent". Jabavu accepted the appointment and continued as Editor for four years, meanwhile continuing his studies at the South African College.

The period is best dealt with in the words of Knox Bokwe himself :

"The 'Isigidimi' gained fresh life and vigour under his charge, while Jabavu himself benefited as a result of his closer association with Lovedale. On passing the matriculation certificate at the Cape University, Jabavu resigned. Probably a monthly publication was a tardy concern for his rising energy; not to mention the restriction on, or even exclusion of, party politics. Because the periodical was a missionary organ published in an educational establishment partially depending on the support of Government subsidy, any dealing with political questions had to be approached only by timid references. Naturally this was an irksome handicap on one whose ambition was to be a politician. On relinquishing the "Isigidimi Samaxosa," he started a weekly bilingual newspaper of his own in Kingwilliamstown, where a few European sympathisers encouraged his venture".

Jabavu was succeeded in the editorial chair of "Isigidimi" by William Wellington Gqoba, "an orator and poet of no mean ability" on whose death, in 1888, the paper ceased publication.

The name of Tengo Jabavu's new paper was Imvo
 109
 Zabantsundu or "Imvo Zontsansune Liso Lomzu" (Native
 Opinion /

109. According to Bud M'Belle's "Kaffir Scholar's Companion

Opinion and Guardian). The paper still exists at the present time under the first mentioned name and is edited by the late Tongo Jabavu's son, Professor D.D. Tongo Jabavu, and his brother Alexander. The Year of its establishment was 1884. In 1897, it is interesting to note, a copy of the journal was presented to, and graciously accepted by, Queen Victoria. In the following year Tongo Jabavu was joined by Knox Bokwe, who, after only two years retired from the concern. For more than a year during the Boer War 1899-1902, "Imvo" was suppressed by the military authorities for having published an "objectionable article". The paper reappeared on October 4th, 1902, under the style of "Imvo Zabantsundu Bom Zantsi Afrika" (South African Native Opinion). Of it Mr. Charles

110

L. Stewart wrote :

"Some of the plant and type which brings the "Imvo" out every week was second-hand when the late Mr. Tenga Jabavu bought it over half a century ago. The circulations are too small and the advertising revenue of native papers too meagre to enable the proprietors to appropriate any substantial amount for the purchase of new plant. So the old press in the "Imvo" building at Kingwilliamstown has to do the best it can. The 2,420th number of "Imvo" has just been published!

The paper is in safe hands. In common with the other Bantu papers of South Africa, it urges the necessity for realising the inevitable unity of native and European interests. There is no eloquent cry for absolute equality, but there is an earnest appeal for the incorporation of the native into the economic life of South Africa in the role of a junior partner. To illustrate this point the following extract from "Imvo" will serve:

"In /

110. "Black Dabblers in the Black Art", "Cape Argus", April 9, 1932.

"In this country I cannot remember a single enterprise—not even the overthrow of Dingana—accomplished by white men without the aid of natives .

"The main line through Springfontein to Bloemfontein was constructed in 1890 by black labour from the Cape, while Free State burghers across the river were busy holding meetings and calling on President Reits to prohibit the building of the line on Boer territory To-day, if they could help it, white men alone would travel by rail and the sons and daughters of burghers alone across the river would find employment in railway service. These are not opinions, ladies and gentlemen, but South African history.

"As the train passes the wheat farms of the Orange Free State, white people are invisible because they are resting in the shade. Native women and children may be seen toiling in the broiling sun garnering wheat grown by natives on lands they never own; and when the granaries are filled the native labourer is cleared out of the way and called a menace to white civilisation; for no sooner is the honey made than the master would come and drive the bees away".

A Kaffir Sesuto journal called in Kaffir "Uahlobo waba Ntsundu" and in Sesuto "Mohabo oa ba Batso" came into being in October, 1881, at Queenstown. It was edited by the late Rev. Isaac Motaung but was short-lived, ceasing publication in 1892.

A more permanent publication was started at Eshowe in Natal in 1895, "Ikwezi le Afrika". This was a trilingual concern, English, Zulu, and Sesuto. It ran until 1913 when publication was suspended. The paper lay dormant until 1928 when it was restarted, and now continues to exercise its influence among the Natives of Natal. It is under European supervision and caters for a wide area.

The "Inkanyiso" was run by Solomon Kumalo for a few years and ceased publication early in the nineties. The "Ipepa lo Hlangatis" was suspended by the military authorities during the Anglo Boer War and resumed publication in 1902. Little further is known in connection with either of these two papers, or of "U-Baqal", a Zulu journal, the

only reference to which is to the effect that it was established at Pietermaritzburg in 1878

The last Bantu newspaper to enter the field before the close of the Nineteenth Century was "Izwi Labantu" (The Voice of the People), a weekly paper published in English, Kaffir, and Sesuto. It was partly subsidized and had its headquarters at East London where it published its last issue in 1910. Its early history, which has been supplied by Allan K. Soga, is of interest. The founders were the late William Dilizintaba Soga and the late Paul Xiniwe and the first editor was Chief Nathaniel Cyril Umballa, a scion of the House of Ntiambi (Ama Ndlambe), who, together with the sons of other chiefs of the Gaikas was sent to England under the auspices of the Bishop of the Church of England to study at Canterbury. "Izwi" was run by a syndicate of native shareholders who set up a Board of Management in Kingwilliamstown. The paper was transferred to East London under the style of the Eagle Printing Press Co. Ltd.,. Its raison d'etre was the capture of "Imvo Zabantsundu" (previously mentioned) which had the support of the Afrikaner Bond through the Hofmeyr-Sauer alliance.

"That organisation", Allan Soga informed the writer, "concealed a subtle element which aimed at diminishing the authority of Great Britain in South Africa and in 1895 a strong body of Afrikaner feeling in the Northern States sought to co-operate with its allies in the south in presenting a united South African front to the Imperial Government on questions relating to the ultimate destiny of South Africa and their claim to absolute control of the native question. A body of the more intelligent natives felt it their bounden duty to counteract the propaganda which would destroy the constitutional

constitutional rights which they had enjoyed under Queen Victoria.

"The first editor, Umhalla, was succeeded by A. K. Soga, a graduate of the Native Affairs Department of the Cape Government in the Transkei, who, at the pressing invitation of the Native Board of "Izwi", resigned the service to assume the editorship of that paper. The financial position of the paper was always precarious owing to the backwardness and illiteracy of the mass of the native population. An attempt was accordingly made, through a deputation to Cecil John Rhodes, to negotiate for funds in view of the impending political conflict of 1898. The deputation was successful and the editor of "Izwi" was given a free hand in so far as liberty of expression was concerned. Rhodes' Progressive Party continued to "father" the paper for some years after the Jameson Ministry came into power in 1904. During the Boer War the Editor served in Brabant's Regiment in order to vindicate the paper's sincerity in the paper's allegiance to the British factor. In 1904 the campaign organised by the Board of "Izwi Labantu" in co-operation with the South African Native Congress, swept the Board in the Native Territories leaving not a native seat to the redoubtable "Imvo", whose erstwhile sway had been weakened. These two papers, together with "Koranta ea Bechuana" under the editorship of the late Sol. T. Plaatje represent the pioneers of native Press experiment at the Cape and should not be allowed to perish", concluded the writer's informant.

The dawn of the new century was heralded by a number of Bantu publications. The "Koranta ea Bechuana", or Bechuana Gazette, published at Mafeking by the late Sol.

T. Plaastje, was commenced in 1901. It was bilingual, English and Sesotho, while Plaastje also founded the "Tsala ea Batho" (The People's Friend) at Kimberley two years later. It ceased publication after the Great War of 1914-18. In 1903 the "Lesilinyana la Basotho", printed at Maseru and published by the French Missionary Society, was established, being at that time the only Sesuto newspaper in Basutoland. The "Christian Express" referred to this paper as "giving practically its whole space to articles and news", meaning apparently that it did not accept advertisements. At about this time the "Mosupa-Tsela" (1900), and the "Leihlo la Babatho" (Native Eye, 1903) came into being. The former was published at Moorleigh, in Natal, and was published in Setswana. It ceased publication in 1914 and remained dormant until 1929 when it completed its period of hibernation. "Mosupa-Tsela" is still in existence to-day, being the organ of the Hermannsburg Mission and being run entirely by natives. "Leihlo la Babatho" was started at Pietersburg in 1903 and lasted for only two years. It was run by natives without European supervision and catered for English, Sesotho, and Shangaan readers. It was subsidized by the Zoutpansberg Native Vigilance Association of which it is the official organ.

As a climax to the exciting game of "newspaper-making" which characterised the opening year of the new century "Lasebense", a Communist fortnightly, made its appearance in Capetown in 1905-6. It is now on the point of reaching its 700th edition, and is still "hammering away assiduously at the hypocritical gestures of the bloody British and Afrikaner Imperialism /

111. October 2nd, 1911.

112. "Star", September 9th, 1932.

Imperialism at the Robber League of Nations', and demanding a Federation of Independent Native Republics based on Soviets." It recently issued a pamphlet urging workers to join the Communist Party "which strives to unite the peoples of South Africa and destroy the English Government and the blood-suckers" The "Star", in revealing these facts comments that:

"The decision of the Communist International Headquarters to suspend propaganda among the coloured races must have put the Communist leaders on the Witwatersrand in an awkward position for they have been striving for years for the conversion of natives--especially mine natives--to the true faith".

Further facts about "Umsebensa" are given by Mr. Charles L. Stewart (article already quoted) as follows:

"About two years ago the authorities were scouring Cape Town to discover where a Communist paper, "Umsebenzi", was printed. It was produced for distribution among the natives and contained articles and extremist views which were intended to cause serious trouble among the natives of South Africa. It was edited by a South African university man who had turned "Bolshy". After a spell it appeared again, this time evidently with its headquarters in Johannesburg. One copy I saw was extremely libellous and calculated to incite natives to reckless disregard for law and order.

On the front page was a lino-cut cartoon of a huge native holding Mr. Pirow (recognisable by the huge label attached to his neck) by one foot, ready to drop him into a stew-pot inscribed "Anti-Pass Law Soup". I forget the wording beneath it, but it certainly was not in praise of the Minister of Justice. Inside was an article about the native rising in the Belgian Congo and a description of the killing of Europeans by the natives. Their action was lauded and then came a stirring appeal to South African natives to follow the example set by their Belgian Congo brothers and kill the white folk of the Union. But evidently the natives are sufficiently well balanced to ignore these senseless efforts of agitators to stir up unrest.

When one goes fully into the policy expressed by the leading native newspapers of the Union one re-aliases the fervent hope the native cherishes for a better understanding between white and black. Appeals for the co-operation of the races occupy a large section of the papers; pleas for tolerance on both sides are seldom absent".

The /

The writer is well acquainted with "Umsebensa" for, while he was attending the annual Student's Parliament at Stellenbosch in 1931, a student supporter of the Communist cause distributed copies of the paper among the Parliamentary representatives in an endeavour to do propagandist work. One of the cartoons depicted the Minister of Justice (Mr. C. Pirow) standing over a native with a Bible in one hand and a rifle in the other, the caption was "Pray, damn you, Nigger, Pray!" Another cartoon showed a breakfast table over which "Mother God" was presiding. On one side sat native children and on the other side European children. The latter had their plates well-filled, while the portions on the native children's plates were negligible. The comparison was intended to show the Government's distribution of the annual education vote as between black and white races.

Another Communist organ, comparable only to "Umsebensa" is "The Hammer", published in Johannesburg. In its issue of September, 1932, the "Hammer" addressed a special message to the farm natives of the Union. "Organise for the fight!" it declared. "Black and coloured workers on the white man's farm, build up an organisation of Agricultural Workers. Be prepared to strike against starvation and slavery. Day after day, for 13 or 14 hours, we work for 5/- or 6/- a month. Sometimes we don't even get the money because, for every little thing that happens, we forfeit a portion of our wages". The farmers were referred to as "blood-suckers" who had the right to drive the natives off their farm without any warning, in spite of the fact that the native could not leave the farm without the permission of the farmers. "The best time for

a/

a strike" the paper declared, "is the harvest time; just when the farmers are most in need of your services. Committees of Action must be formed to prepare for the strike."

As already stated, the influence of such papers is negligible. The days of the prophetess Nkoma are past. The natives will no longer resort to revolutionary means to obtain their rights, realising that any such efforts are foredoomed to failure and that their subsequent position would only be aggravated, whereas, by adhering to constitutional methods, their advance along the path of progress is infinitely more sure, however much slower it may be.

One of the most interesting and influential papers which came into existence at this period is the national paper of the Zulus, "Ilanga Lase Natal". Established in 1905, the editor-proprietor, the Rev: T. Dube, can justly claim to own and edit the largest native paper in South Africa. It has twelve pages of the size of the European daily newspaper, which, in addition to a vast volume of news of particular interest to the Zulus, includes a number of columns in English giving its readers an insight into occurrences and developments in the international sphere.

No further papers entered the field of Bantu journalism until 1910 when "Izindaba Zabantu" made its re-appearance as "Um-Afrika" under the aegis of the Marionhill Mission in Natal. It is trilingual, English, Zulu, and Xosa, and has the benefit of European assistance. It is the official organ of the Catholic African Union, a social and economic native organisation, and is subsidized by that body. Among the leaders of native thought connected with it are the Rev. J.B.Sauter, editor, and the Rev.B.Huss.

Another /

114. Mr.Charles L.Stewart, "Black Dabblers in the Black Arts", "Cape Argus", April 9th, 1932.

Another landmark in the forward march of the Bantu Press was the establishment in 1911 of "Kochochonono", (The Comet) the leading paper of Basutoland. It has its headquarters at Maseru and uses the media of English and Sesuto. It is completely free from European control and exists as an independent organ which is out for the betterment of native conditions of life, for the self-improvement of the natives, and for a rise in the literacy among the Bantu people. It is a paying concern which is not confined in its influence to Basutoland but is circulated throughout the Provinces of the Union. Among its moving forces is A.J. Tlale, a member of the Basutoland Council. As is the case with most Bantu newspapers, it is a weekly production.

A further native newspaper was born in 1912, and existed until quite recently, having to throw up the sponge in August, 1931. It was "Abantu-Batho", which had four language media,--English, Zulu, Xosa, and Sesuto. It owed allegiance to the African National Congress and included in its staff such natives as R.W. Msimang, an Attorney, who provided the contributions in English, G.S. Mabaso (Secretary), T.D.M. Skota, author of the "African Yearly Register" (a Native "Who's Who"), and L.T. Mvabaza, managing director and Xosa editor.

Mr. Charles L. Stewart (in the article already quoted) did not form a high opinion of the internal organisation of "Abantu-Batho". He wrote :

"Evidently in its last few months it had fallen into the hands of veritable amateurs. Type lay scattered all over the shop: ever case was pried, the press was hopelessly out of adjustment, the paper guillotine had evidently been used for cutting wood for the heater. The entire plant, excepting the press, was sold for £5. I came away with a copy of the last issue of "Abantu-Batho". The main story of the week was an

insignificant /

insignificant wedding, of which I will attempt to give an exact copy of a few lines:

'Amonk the pzerents was a per of varses
(Mr.Sigone) 6 Tea spones (Mrs.Tenge)
4 cups and sources (Mrs.M'Bane), one
sugger basine and milj-jub (Mrs.Nctani)'....

The only other editorial feature was a letter from a correspondent who was evidently a great partisan of the I.C.U. and who hurled insults at the heads of the African National Congress leaders. It was a mass of typographical errors—a certain sign that the production of the paper had fallen into the hands of men who were running it with no real appreciation of the importance of the printed word. At the foot of a column on the front page was a notice :

NOTICE TO ADVERTISERS AND FRIENDS

We beg to apologise for the two last issues the 2nd and 16th of July 1931 which we failed to publish. Owing Machine troubles.

ABANTU BATHO.

The "Christian Express" ¹¹⁵ contained detailed information regarding a new Zulu paper, "Izwe la Kiti", (Our Country) which was to be established in 1911, as "a United Christian Newspaper for the Zulu People". It published the prospectus of "Izwe la Kiti" ¹¹⁶ from which the following points have been culled :

"The motto of the paper was to be : "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, goodwill toward men", (Luke 2, 14.). The paper would take its stand on "The Rock of Ages", the living word of God. It would always be loyal to King and country, and a most staunch supporter of good and just Government. It would be the constant endeavour of the paper to create and foster mutual forbearance and goodwill between the white and native races of South Africa. It would spare no pains and leave no stone unturned in its work for the production and spread of good literature in the vernacular as well as to assist natives to become familiar with the best of English

literature /

115. October 2nd, 1911.

116. Page 53.

literature. It further set out its view on the promotion of health, education, agriculture, land tenure and improved dwellings, Zulu literature and tract societies, native locations, Church and Missions. A special feature of the paper would be to give legal and domestic advice. New laws affecting the natives would be clearly stated and explained. Parts of the paper would be open for articles and correspondence in English.

"We heartily welcome the paper both on account of its inherent possibilities and the promise of great usefulness and because it is an evidence of united missionary effort:" "The Express" stated. "Newspapers under purely native auspices are becoming numerous and serve a useful purpose. Several of them are ably conducted. Of one or two it might perhaps be said that what they do is more than counteracted by the character of many of their advertisements. We are glad to note that the new paper intends to accept advertisements only from "firms of good repute selling reliable goods". Some native papers, too, have a tendency to run to seed in politics, and a paper such as "Iswe la Kiti" promises to be, devoting attention to the combating of superstitious ideas such as the belief in witchcraft and aiming at social progress, has before it a wide field of usefulness".

In 1914 "Nyeleti ya-Miso" (Morning Star), and "The South African Health Magazine" came into being at Dundee and Lovedale respectively. The former later transferred its offices to Johannesburg. It still flourishes, its media being Ronza and Thonga. It caters primarily for the Northern Transvaal and for Portuguese East Africa, being the official organ of the Swiss Mission under the guidance of the Rev. C. Bourquin, of Pretoria. Daniel Maribati is the most outstanding native connected with the venture. The Health Magazine is published in English, Xosa, and Sesuto, the Editor-in-Chief being /

being a European with two native assistant editors. Its importance in matters concerning native health and hygiene is recognised by the Union Government and it receives a small subsidy from the Union Department of Public Health. It is the mouthpiece of the South African (Native and Coloured) Health Society, and has a circulation of more than 3,000, most of the subscribers being teachers in the Transkeian territories and in Basutoland. It is a quarterly. Writing in the "Bantu World" ¹¹⁷ Professor Edgar H. Brookes, of the University of Pretoria, President of the South African Institute of Race Relations, and Chairman of the Pretoria Joint Council of Europeans and Natives, said :

"Native leaders and workers should among other things study 'Health' the useful magazine published at Lovedale on medical and hygienic matters. Health is not a very wonderful subject for a political address, but it is fundamentally important to the native people".

The period 1914-1917 was unproductive of any further publications in Bantu journalism. It is unlikely that the raging of the Great War throughout this period should have affected the native writers and leaders of thought in South Africa, and the absence of any new publications during these years is all the more surprising in view of the fact that this was the period immediately succeeding the iniquitous Natives Land Act of 1913, a period in which native opinion should have been massed as effectively as possible in order to do everything possible to bring about an amelioration of the position into which the Act of 1913 thrust the native people of the Union. So serious was the situation that a deputation of native leaders actually travelled to
 England /

England to make representations to the Imperial Government on behalf of their unfortunate fellow-countrymen, and while there Sol. T. Plaatje wrote a book in which concrete instances of hardship and privation caused by the operation of the Act were revealed.

In spite of this all-important factor, however, there was no numerical progress in Bantu journalism. The total number of native newspapers in existence (13) in 1914 remained at that figure in the following year, and increased by one only in 1916. It was not until 1917 that the figure jumped to 18, and by this time most of the insistent clamour against the Natives Land Act had subsided.

The next native newspaper which the writer has been able to trace was "Indaba Zovuyo" (Joyful News) in 1918 which has its headquarters at the Palmerton Mission Printing Press, is published in Isi-Xosa at the request of the Methodist Conference, which does not, however, contribute towards its overhead or running expenses. It circulates not only in South Africa but also in Rhodesia. It is now in its 14th year of publication. Building upon Wesley's words that religion would die out in a single generation if the Methodists were not a reading people, the Palmerton Press has issued numerous other publications, notably, "Ikaya", dealing with the responsibilities and blessings of home life; "Incwadi yo-Mkooseli", a pamphlet for Class Leaders and "Opportunity", a quarterly which set itself out to provide those interested with an opportunity of expressing their views on current problems affecting religion.

In November, 1919, "The Messenger" was established at Bloemfontein, making use of the English, Sesutho, and /

and Zulu languages. It lasted only two years, the last issue appearing in May, 1921. It was a purely native enterprise which circulated throughout the Free State and Griqualand West. It owed allegiance to no native organisation or body and stood as an independent effort on behalf of the native races. "The newspaper was started without any capital" stated H. Selby Mismang to the writer. "Chief Z. Fenyang was its guarantor".

The following year saw the establishment of "The Black Man" at Capetown. It was bilingual--English and Bantu-- and owed its formation to the inspiration of S.M. Bennett Mewana and Clements Kadalie. It was not a success and ceased publication in 1921.

Clements Kadalie, Allison W.G. Champion and other officials of the I.C.U. (International Coloured Workers' Union) combined to set up "The Workers' Herald" at Capetown in 1920. It remained at the coast for six years, transferring in 1926 to Johannesburg where it continued for a further four years, before ceasing publication in 1930. Natives provided both the mental and manual labour for this enterprise for the larger part of the paper's existence but in its closing stages it was assisted by Mr. W.G. Ballinger, a European adviser to the I.C.U. The "Herald" professed to cater for a wide area, which, besides including the Union, and the Protectorates, extended as far as South West Africa, Rhodesia, and Nyasaland. In connection with Champion it is interesting to note that in 1930 he was exiled from Natal in 1931 by the Minister of Justice (Mr. O. Pirow) for a period of three years. He is now employed by the Colonial Banking and Trust Company, Johannesburg.

There was a further lull in Bantu newspaper enterprise from 1920 to 1924. In fact, the total number of

Bantu /

Bantu newspapers, after remaining steady for those five years actually dropped from 18 to 14 in 1935, but recovered and reached its highwater-mark of 19 in 1937. The total stands at this figure to-day.

The lull was broken by the appearance at Port Elizabeth in June, 1924, of the "Bantu Leader", a paper which continued for exactly one month, discontinuing publication in July of the same year. As far as can be ascertained this is the shortest period of duration of any Bantu newspaper, although the record in South Africa is held by a Sunday paper on the Rand during the days of the "gold rush". It appeared only once! S.M.Bennett Mowana was connected with the "Bantu Leader" as he has been with other Bantu newspapers, all of which have proved unsuccessful after a very short run. His other journalistic ventures include the "Bantu Nation", started in November, 1928, at Aliwal North and continuing until March, 1929; "The Franchise Guardian", set up at Queenstown in April 1930 and ceasing publication after only a month; and "Izui Lania Afrika", published at East London in May 1931, and becoming defunct in February, 1932. None of these papers were subsidized, all attempting to rough the storm of competition as independent organs.

"The Blythwood Review", which came into being in January, 1924, as one of the activities of the Blythwood Press, Butterworth, met with greater success and is still in existence. Contributions are accepted from both Europeans and natives but the printing is done by native printers alone. The language media are English and Xosa. It caters primarily for the Transkei but is sent regularly to subscribers overseas, notably in Great Britain and in the United States. It is

"a South African Journal of Religious, Social and Educational Work", which is sold at 6d a copy.

The Blythwood Institution, under whose aegis the "Review" is produced, is under the direction of the United Free Church of Scotland, which has as its object the furnishing of young native men and women with fitting opportunities for acquiring literary, moral, educational, and industrial training suitable for the needs of the country, and for the work of the Christian Church and Schools. It has its own printing department, Manager and Editor, the Rev. D. D. Stormont, who died in November 1930 and was succeeded by the Rev. Robert Godfrey. The nature of its contents may be gauged by its issue of December, 1926, which comprised Bantu constitutional law, information regarding medical missions in the territories, Fingoland notes, and a summary of the four Bills containing General Hertzog's native policy. It carries no advertisements, except those dealing with the Blythwood Institution itself.

In the same year the Roman Catholic Mission in Basutoland instituted "Molisanna" in English and Sesutho which continued until the latter half of 1932 when it was discontinued to give place to a weekly newspaper, in preparation for which an up-to-date plant has been purchased. The weekly, in Sesutho, appeared in December, 1932, with a staff consisting of Europeans and native missionaries who will have as their object the spreading of the principles of Christianity and civilisation. "Molisanna" was in many respects similar to the "Blythwood Review". Neither could strictly claim the title "newspaper". "Molisanna" was a monthly review specially managed to guide teachers in
school /

school management, hygiene, and general social matters. In the words of the principal of the Mission, the Rev. Lawrence Carey, "it was simply pedagogical". It was circulated both in Basutoland and in the Free State as the official organ of the Roman Catholic Teachers.

The same group of I.C.U. officials that set up the "Workers Herald" at Capetown in 1920, established "Udibi lwe Afrika" in Durban in 1927. This ran for barely a year when it was involved in a libel action and had to throw over the traces. During its brief existence it served as the official organ of the Durban African Workers' Club.

"Umteteli wa Bantu", which is regarded by Mr. Charles L. Stewart (previously quoted) as the foremost native newspaper in the Country, was founded in 1920. It is a weekly paper of 14 pages which is printed in Johannesburg by natives under European supervision, to further the activities of the Native Recruiting Corporation of the Chamber of Mines in ensuring a regular and adequate supply of native labour for the mines :

"as will be realised from its purpose, its circulation is mainly in the areas where the young natives suitable for mine work are to be found. But although Umteteli is issued for propaganda purposes the fact is well hidden and the information regarding rates of pay and working conditions on the gold mines is cleverly dished up under different guises.

Every line of the native papers is set up by hand. Laborious work it is—setting solid matter for a newspaper is only a degree preferable to picking oakum. Owing to the number of language fields which Umteteli wa Bantu has to cover, its staff consists of natives whose language ranges from Sesuto, Sechuana and Xosa to Zulu, while they all have to be able to set in English as well" 119.

The /

119. "Black Dabblers in the Black Art", "Cape Argus", April 9th, 1932.

The most recent additions to Bantu newspapers are the "African Leader", and the "Bantu World", both having their headquarters in Johannesburg. The former was started in January, 1932, and is published in English, Zulu, Xosa and Sesutho. It is an independent paper run as a paying concern by Messrs. Geo. Haske, Peter Gwele, and T. D. M. Skota. It has ten pages the size of the English "Daily Mirror" and claims to be "the only National paper in the Transvaal". Judged by Bantu standards, it is of a fairly high order. It has a satisfactory lay-out and is moderate in tone. In the issue of August 13th, 1932, however, it published under the headline "Good News" a paragraph regarding a European who was fined £5. for addressing a native woman in an insulting manner.

The "Bantu World" which is published by the Bantu Press (Pty) Ltd., came into being on April 9th, 1932, and is published in six languages, this being the record as far as any newspaper in South Africa is concerned. The languages are English, Afrikaans, Xosa, Sesuto, Sechuana, and Zulu. It has European financial control but is otherwise run entirely by natives prominent among whom is R. V. Selope Thema. It circulates throughout the Union and is endeavouring to still further widen its area of distribution. In the issue of August 27th, it announced it had been suggested that it should establish connections with Nigeria, Gold Coast, Liberia, and Sierra Leone. Briefly stated, the policy of the "Bantu World" is to "foster harmonious race relationships". In a manifesto, which it publishes weekly, however, the paper sets its aims out more fully as follows :

"To print without prejudice or bias all the news that will be interesting and instructive to the Bantu people, in order that its reading public may be fully and truly informed as an aid to clear thinking and logical action.

"To /

"To be independent of party politics, supporting men and measures only in the interests of what it conceives to be the public welfare, and unhesitatingly attacking evils and combating evil-doers with frankness and vigour, regardless of race, party or power.

"To render helpful public service by instilling racial self-help and self-respect, thereby promoting harmonious race relationships and the maintenance of inter-racial goodwill and co-operation.

"To seek to give every man a chance, and as far as law and honest wage and recognition of human brotherhood can make it so- an equal chance.

"To strive for the economic development of South Africa along lines that will be beneficial to all its inhabitants.

"To encourage the development of the Bantu as an agricultural people and to foster the growth of Bantu arts and crafts, literature and music.

"To combat illiteracy and to stimulate education among the Bantu, by catering to the needs of semi-illiterates as well as to the most highly advanced."

In amplification of these points, the "Bantu World" devoted a leader in its first issue pointing out that the owners and publishers of the journal believed it to be a public trust and that they were "to the full measure of their responsibility", trustees for the public. "The Bantu World" will champion the cause of the individual...It does not advocate equality of opportunity in the sense of the same opportunity for all... The State should place no barrier in the way of individual human progress... It will combat illiteracy by the inclusion of a supplement for those who are just beginning to spell and read. By this means an opportunity for self-education will be provided, enabling many to bridge the gap that separates the literate from the illiterate".

This "Creed" has been reproduced fairly fully because, in the opinion of the writer, based upon his observations in the course of his research, what the "Bantu World" has said of itself applies almost wholly to most other Bantu newspapers./

newspapers. The Bantu Press has stimulated thought not only among its own people but among its European readers. "The Bantu World" received the qualified blessing of the Prime Minister (General J.B.M.Hertzog) who wrote stating that he had perused the objects of the paper as set out in its preliminary announcement and had no suggestions or criticisms to make. "It seems", he added, "that the publication will be in the interest of the Bantu races and in this regard I wish it every success". The Minister of Native Affairs (Mr.E.G.Jansen) stated similarly, that the paper would be doing a great service to the native population of the Union. "The Press plays an important part in modern social life", he added. "It is an instrument for good or evil depending upon the qualities of those at the helm. Their responsibility is great". The paper also received the unqualified blessing of Senator G.J.V.R.Smit, Mr. Patrick Duncan, M.P., Dr. Edgar R. Brookes, Professor W. M. Macmillan, Dr. C. D. Doke, and Mr. J. R. Cooper, Manager of the Native Administration Department at Bloemfontein. The last-named stated that "The attainment of any one of the purposes mentioned (in the manifesto) would undoubtedly have the effect of dispelling the dark clouds of suspicion at present hovering between black and white".

The last journalistic venture on which the late Mr. Sol. T. Plaatje embarked was the establishment of "Our Heritage" (Boshoa joa Rona), "the official organ of the Independent Order of True Templars", having joint editorial control from Capetown and Kimberley and being distributed simultaneously at Capetown, Kimberley, Bloemfontein, and Johannesburg. Its third issue apologised for the non-appearance of the previous issue:

"We /

"We cannot fully go into the difficulties that arose accounting for this break but we can assure readers that we were up against, what were for the time being, insuperable obstacles. We trust we have now successfully overcome these and that the future publication of "Our Heritage" will be regular. Some of our difficulties we may indicate. A section of our readers wants their Native language. Another wants Afrikaans. (We are trying partially to meet this). Another wants one language, only, English. Amongst all these conflicting demands it will be seen that a grave problem of policy is at stake. In the issue, we have got only thus far. For the future we will endeavour to arrange regular Afrikaans contributions. (This, however, will largely depend on Afrikaans contributors themselves). We cannot agree to have more than one Native language used. And since most of our Native readers understand English as a reading medium we will endeavour to have more English used in future numbers. We trust this compromise will meet with general approval".

Having made its apology, "Our Heritage" went on to re-iterate its objects as follows :

"Growingly our Coloured and Native people languish under grave disabilities: to state these fairly; to ventilate grievances frankly; to keep burning the flame of hope and divine discontent will be the privileged function of the pages of "Our Heritage". So that as the days go by the Coloured races will more and more look to us, more and more trust in us, more and more "hope" because of us is the ambition and aspiration of this humbly-started organ in the Press".

It is fitting at this stage to say something of the part played by the late Mr. Sol. T. Plaatje in helping to build up a Bantu Press in South Africa. Next to the late Mr. John Tengo Jabavu, the "Father of Bantu Journalism in South Africa", and the founder of "Imvo Zabantsundu", Mr. Plaatje has probably made the greatest contribution to his fellow-countrymen in this connection. His activities in connection with "Kurenta ea Becoana", "Tsala ea Batho", "Our Heritage" and "Native Life in South Africa" have already been mentioned. He was a veritable linguist, being proficient

in English, German, French, and Dutch, as well as all the Bantu languages. He was an authority on Sechuana and had written several native novels. He fostered the hope of extending the influence of the South African Bantu Newspapers beyond the borders of the Union, the Protectorates and Rhodesia,¹²¹ to Nigeria, the Gold Coast, Liberia, and Sierra Leone. No more fitting epitaph could be written than that which appeared¹²² in the "Bantu World" :

"Here then, we bury a man whose patriotism was not fiction, but a fact, who did everything in his power to promote the welfare of his Native people, upon whom for many years past-- all eyes were fixed with great attention-- and ever mourn the irreparable lost. And apart from all the prerogatives of genius as such, he worked hard and died a poor man. "Let his enemies and detractors assert folly if they will on this immortal name, but I will laugh them to scorn, and I will tell them in reply, then whatever he was, or was not, Death has robbed the Bantu race of its ablest pen, linguist, journalist, novelist, public speaker, student and politician. This strange mixture of natural profession that was Solomon now mute in cold grave".

Professor D.D. Tengo Jabavu, of the South African Native College at Fort Hare, and editor of "Imvo Zabantsundu", has at various times and in various places made some interesting comments in connection with the position of the Press in relation to native opinion. "The influence of the press in South Africa, where there is little independent thought he¹²³ has stated is greater both for good or for bad than, say, in Europe. .Crime is often the only form of advertisement for the native.. The Native Press, lacking in educated native contributors /

121. "Bantu World", August 27th, 1932.

122. "Bantu World", July 2nd, 1932.

123. "The Segregation Fallacy and other Papers", page 78.

contributors, is either too docile, or, on the other hand, too inflammatory. By these varied circumstances, native opinion has been influenced and developed for many years". In his evidence before the Native Economic Commission (Quoted "Pretoria News", May 14th, 1932) he stated further :

"The Press does a great deal of mischief. To-day the natives are reading more than they used to, and when they see statements in the Press which are unfavourable to them it makes a bad impression on them. I would attribute it rather to the Press than to individuals. Natives know how to excuse an individual but when they see in the Press an article or a speech of a public speaker, which speaks badly of the people, they take it far more seriously".

124

J.G.Coka asked whether any thinking man could be blind to the value of the Bantu Press. He showed how the native had always been interested in news; how news had been communicated from one village to another and how the menfolk sat round the cattle kraals discussing burning question of the day. In his own characteristic way he traced the development of the Bantu Press:

"When the late Tengo Jabavu, started the first Bantu Newspaper--"Imvo Za Bantsundu" (125) he ushered in a new era. Instead of hearing news vocally, the Bantu read them. This was in accordance with the spread of literacy.

"The old order gave way to the new, as more and more Bantu learnt to read and write their mother languages. News, which hitherto had been more or less gossip, became a reality. The ball was set rolling.

"Newspapers began to spread among the Bantu. Some were still-born, other flourished. The history of the Bantu Press has had its ups and downs. Many an important business house helped the Bantu Press by advertising through it.

"Political agitator and agitations for rights gave new spirit to the Bantu Press. But this very advantage was equivocal. It entangled the Bantu Press in the clutches of politics, which since those days, up to the present, characterises

the /

124. "Bantu World", July 23rd, 1932.

125. "first" in that it was the first Bantu Newspaper free of European control.

"the majority of Bantu newspapers. Political views, opinions and predictions filled the columns of the newspapers. Consequently those not interested in politics found the papers boresome".

"The Press has still a long way before it becomes, what it should be, the mightiest force in the state, except the Government. It can and must be. The Negro Press has developed from such small beginnings to these stupendous heights it has reached. All oppressed people find their solace in their press. To make our newspapers effective, we must rally to their support. We shall soon find they will reach the standard we require. The press is in our hands. Shall we not use it?

How the Bantu press has grown, from the days of the Imvo in 1884 to the National Journal "The Bantu World" in 1932! Forward ye Bantu and make Your Press powerful".

Mr. Coka's words are important. They show that thinking natives realise the usefulness of the native Press and that the Bantu nation should assist, by their interest, contributions, and subscriptions, in building it up to become a still more powerful factor in the development of the backward races of South Africa. Nor has this realisation been of recent growth. More than a decade ago a native writer who signed himself "M.H." pointed out that it was then high time that the natives of South Africa had a periodical of a better nature than the current native newspapers. "Our native newspapers are apparently a money-making concern", he stated. They leave behind them that wonderful and effective weapon of civilisation, education. That is why they are today inadequate. They are found wanting in matters of agriculture, domestic science, legal and medical matters".

"Dr. C.T.Loram, in his report on Native Education, stated : "Even before the publication of the Native Teachers' Journal, missionaries, teachers, and others interested in natives have deplored the lack of a suitable newspaper or periodical /

126. "Christian Express", January 1st, 1931, page 14.

periodical for the educated natives of South Africa. There must be now well over half a million natives in South Africa who can read and for these there exists no source of information except the periodicals designed for Europeans and a few native newspapers. These latter are inadequate for the home of the educated native, partly because of the restricted nature of their contents and partly for the objectionable nature of the patent medicine advertisements, which constitute the great part of their advertising matter.

Dr. Loram suggested that a widely circulated weekly periodical, such as the "Farmers' Weekly" with its supplement, the "Homestead" would have a great influence on the minds of the natives and would do much to raise them in the standard of civilisation and loyalty to the Government. It would be best if this paper could be run by a mission or private enterprise but the work is so important and the need so great that the active co-operation of the Government could be sought*.

Further reference was made in the "Christian
127 Express" to this subject which will serve in part as a reply to the objections made by Professor D.D. Tengo Jabavu (already quoted) against the Press.

"It should not be possible that only the bad side of native life should be shown up in the Press, and we who know the other side should keep it before the public eye. Thanks are due to the newspaper Editors of this Country for their willingness to insert articles (dealing with natives), and it is only right that full advantage should be taken of their courtesy. The "Christian Express" has done much in
the /

the direction of guiding public opinion along lines that are sane and right".

The Bantu Press of the native tribes of South Africa has now passed in review. Newspapers may have been overlooked and errors made and it has not been possible to give consideration to many aspects of the Bantu Press, as for example, the questions of advertisements and of methods of distribution. Suffice it to say in regard to the former that whereas in former days the newspapers obtained a goodly proportion of their advertising revenue from patent medicine agents, goods, the announcement of "Iswe la Kiti" in its prospectus that it intended to accept advertisements only from "firms of good repute having reliable goods to sell" may be regarded as a turning point in this connection and a happy augury for the future. The Bantu Press has not yet obtained its full freedom. It is afforded the facilities of cheaper postal rates through registration at the General Post Office as a newspaper, but no provision is made for Native Parliamentary reporters in the Houses of Parliament. This cannot yet be regarded as a hardship as no native newspaper has so far attained the dignified status of a daily newspaper. When that auspicious day dawns, however, there will be a need for a consideration of this matter, for, in the words of the Rev. Ray Phillips, "The Bantu are Coming" and the Bantu Press will ever be in the vanguard of this forward march.

As compared with the Bantu Press, the harvest of other non-European newspapers in South Africa is almost negligible./

negligible. No survey of the Press of South Africa would, however, be complete without some reference to the Press organs of the Indians and the coloured people. Sources of information have not proved fruitful in this connection and it is possible that some newspapers in this category may have been overlooked. All the ascertained facts are contained in the following summary.

"Indian Opinion" was founded at Phoenix, Natal, in order to provide a mouthpiece for the thousands of Indians in that Province. It is the official organ of the Indian Congress and circulates not only throughout the Union but also overseas. It continues to exercise its influence through the media of English and Gujurati. A number of Indian newspapers were started in 1914 or thereabouts, but none was very long-lived.

These include "Indian Views" established at Durban in 1914 and still in existence; "Dharma Vir", set up at Durban in 1915 and continuing until 1922; "Viveka Bhanoo", founded on September 5th, 1914, at Durban, and defunct in 1926; while in 1917 "Annit Sindhu" was started at Durban and ran until 1919; the "Gujurati Samachar" at Johannesburg in 1916 and defunct in 1918. In June 1918 "Swaraj" was established but did not last longer than May 1920; the "Moslem Outlook", established at Cape-town on February 2nd, 1925, continued until February 1928. "Maikunda Mitran" was established in Pretoria in 1924 as a Tamil weekly, and ceased publication in 1929. The "Cape Indian", now also defunct, was founded in about 1922 and claimed to be "The only mouthpiece dealing with matters of interest to the Indian and non-European community in South Africa". It had its headquarters in

Cape-town /

Cape Town and was published in English, Urdu, and Gujarati.

138

Typical headlines give some indication of the tone of the paper : "Further Oppression"; "Indians again victimised"; "Iniquitous law received royal sanction". In July 1924, the "Cape Indian" announced : "In our next issue we will be in a position to give a supplement in Gujarati. We have had some difficulty in acquiring the services of a compositor but that has now been overcome and we are prepared to supply the need". It was a monthly publication, which became defunct in 1925.

As far as the coloured people of the Union are concerned, their first mouthpiece was probably "The South African Spectator", set up at Cape Town in 1900 and edited by Mr. F. Z. S. Peregrino. It was issued fortnightly and occasionally contained articles dealing with natives. It was exclusively the organ of the coloured people of the Union interpreting the term "coloured" to mean "non-European". In 1920 the "Crika and Coloured People's Chronicle" was founded at Cape Town. It continued until 1928. The "A.P.O." (African People's Organisation) was started at about the same time but ceased publication in 1925.

A Native agricultural journal, "Umceb' isi wo-
Mlini no Mfuyi", which circulates in the Transkei, has now reached a circulation of approximately 3,000. There can be no doubt that this journal, together with the native agricultural demonstrators, is doing much towards raising the level of native agriculture and towards bringing natives into touch with more modern methods than those to which they have been accustomed to rely upon in the past.

CHAPTER III.

LEGISLATION AFFECTING THE PRESS
IN SOUTH AFRICA.

Compared with some Continental countries, South Africa is in an enviable position so far as legislative restrictions on the freedom of the Press are concerned. Since Union nothing of a fundamental nature has been placed on the Statute Book to hamper the Press in its endeavours to guide and interpret public opinion and to place facts and figures before the reading public. There have been a few "pin pricks" which will be examined in the succeeding pages, but, for the most part, Parliament has adopted and pursued a sane and sober course in so far as its deliberations and decisions have had to do with the Press of South Africa.

The story of pre-Union Press legislation is less happy. The herculean struggles against officialdom of a handful of pioneer pressmen at the Cape during the first quarter of the Nineteenth Century has already been referred to, (Chapter I). The counterpart of that struggle for the freedom of the Press in the Transvaal in the 1890's has also been mentioned in general terms. An attempt will now be made to examine in detail the nature of the legislative enactments bearing on the Press in the Cape, in the Transvaal, in Natal, and in the Free State, as well as to continue the study through the twenty-two years of Union until the present day.

It seems appropriate to mention that, just as the most acute political struggles in the history have taken
place /

place in the Cape and in the Transvaal, so that the battleground for the fight for a Free Press is to be found in those same areas. It is also worthy of mention that the most irksome Press legislation since Union is still under consideration and awaits the problematic fate that befalls all contentious measures on which the House finds itself divided. This Measure is the Newspaper Libel Bill, which, introduced by the Minister of Justice (Mr. O. Pirow) as a means of safeguarding the Press against "catchpenny" libel actions, was mutilated out of all recognition by the Select Committee whose report is entirely contrary to the spirit in which the Bill was originally introduced. The Bill will be discussed in detail towards the close of this chapter, before, for purposes of comparison, some indication will be given of the position of the Press in other countries, as determined by the restrictions and limitations imposed upon it by the Statute Book.

While the fight for the freedom of the Press was still in progress at the Cape, an Ordinance, No. 26 of 1828, was passed with a view to levying a stamp duty on printed newspapers and certain other periodical works. A similar measure had been imposed on British newspapers in 1713 but was repealed in 1855 as being a burdensome tax on knowledge. ¹²⁹ The Cape stamp duties were repealed by Ordinance No. 2, of 1848, which reads as follows:

"Whereas by the Ordinance No. 26 bearing the date 23rd of October, 1828, certain duties were imposed upon newspapers and other periodical works printed and published in this Colony; and whereas it is expedient that all such duties should be abolished; Be it enacted with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and the House of Assembly thereof that the said Ordinance No. 26 and every matter therein or in the schedules thereto contained shall be repealed and the same are hereby repealed accordingly.

"This /

"This Ordinance shall commence and take effect as law from the date of promulgation thereof".

The Magna Charta of the early Press in South Africa bears the uncomplimentary title of "Ordinance for Preventing the Mischiefs arising from Printing and publishing Newspapers and papers of a like nature by persons unknown". This was the work of Governor Bourke and was Ordinance 60 of 1829. It was repealed by Act No.8, of 1859, which states

"Whereas great benefits have been derived from the art of printing and publishing of newspapers and papers of a like nature in this Colony; and whereas all recognised remedies against abuses of the liberty of the Press are provided for by the law of Libel on proof of publication of any libellous matter or thing; Be it enacted by the Governor of the Cape of Good Hope, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council and House of Assembly thereof as follows :

- (1). The Ordinance No.60, 1829, is hereby repealed, except the 23rd section thereof, which repeals proclamation of July 21st, 1800.
- (2). In some part of every book, pamphlet, newspaper, or other printed work, printed or published in this Colony, there shall be printed the true and real name or names, addition(s), and place(s) of abode or business of the printer(s), thereof and also a true description of the place where the same is printed.
- (3). Any person(s) who shall knowingly and wilfully print and publish or cause to be published any such book, pamphlet, newspaper, or other work of that nature as aforesaid not containing the particulars aforesaid shall forfeit a sum of not exceeding £100.
- (4). This Act shall take effect from and after promulgation thereof. (130).

Subsequent Press legislation in the Cape is not of major importance. A period of legislative re-action set in and the Press did not figure conspicuously in legislative enactments /

130. This Act was extended by proclamation No.212 of 1890 to the Transkei, Tembuland, and Griqualand East.

"Statutes of the Cape of Good Hope, 1652-1871, page 721.

enactments in the following years. The only measure of importance prior to Union was Act No.29 of 1884 providing for the Registration of Newspapers. This was then done through the Civil Commissioner, and is now affected through the Magistrate of the District concerned. There was no centralisation of these registrations and this defect has not up to the present time been remedied.

Ordinance No.14 of 1915 of the Cape Provincial Council exempted newsvendors and Railway bookstalls from the provisions in regard to shop hours.

The earliest enactments in Natal dealing with the Press was Law No.26 of 1846 which extended to the District of Natal certain provisions of the Cape Ordinance No.60 of 1829, the Ordinance for "Preventing the mischiefs arising from the printing and publishing of newspapers, and papers of a like nature, by persons not known, and for regulating the printing and publication of such papers in other respects; and also for restraining the abuses arising from the publication of blasphemous and seditious libels". This was repealed by Law No.9 of 1858 on the grounds that it was unnecessarily restrictive and cumbrous and was not adapted to the present circumstances of the Colony. This new law (1) repealed the old law; (2) made it necessary for a declaration to be made in writing setting forth the correct title of the newspaper and other details as to the printer, publisher, and proprietor; (3) required that one copy of the declaration should be filed in the office of the Resident Magistrate and the originals with the Colonial Secretary, these declarations to be deemed as conclusive evidence of the facts declared in any civil or criminal action; (5) made failure to comply with these requirements involve a penalty of £20; (6) required the name of the printer and publisher to appear in each issue, with a penalty

of £20 for non-compliance; (7) required that declarations should be made at least one week before the paper appears and that persons establishing a newspaper should conform to the law; (8) provided that no newspaper should be brought into being before the founders had entered into a recognisance with a Judge of the Supreme Court or executed a bond in the presence of and delivered to a Resident Magistrate in the sum of £100; together with two sufficient sureties.

A section of this Law was repealed by Law No.11 of 1907 which also made further provision for the transmission of newspapers through the post. This was later repealed by the Post Office Law No.22 of 1894, "to repeal the existing laws relating to postal conveyance and to make other and better arrangements for, and to regulate the conveyance and postage of letters, postcards, packets, parcels, and newspapers." Section 9 provided that : "For the purposes of this Law any publication coming within the following description shall be deemed a newspaper (that is to say): Any publication consisting wholly or in part of political or other news or articles relating thereto or to other current topics with or without advertisements and with or without engravings, prints, or lithographs, illustrative of articles in such newspaper, subject to these conditions :

1. That it be published in numbers or parts at intervals of not more than seven days.
2. That it be printed on a sheet or sheets unstitched.
3. That it have the full title and date of publication printed at the top of the first page and the whole or part of the title and the date of publication printed at the top of every subsequent page.

131

There /

131. This provision is partially repealed by Law 26, 1908.

There are further provisions defining and supplementing how newspapers are to be addressed and posted. Schedule A shows how far Natal was removed from the Cape notion of 1836 of taxing newspapers, and at what advantageous rates newspapers were transmitted through the post compared with other postal matter.

The newspaper rates were as follows :-

- Inland: On each newspaper for every four ounces or fraction of four ounces..... $\frac{1}{2}$ d. (This was the same as the postal rate).
- Ship: On each newspaper for every four ounces or fraction of four ounces..... 1d. (Compared with 6d for every letter of $\frac{1}{2}$ or fraction of $\frac{1}{2}$ ounce).

This Act was repealed by the Union Act 10, of 1911, which co-ordinated postal rates for the whole of the Union

Section 6 of Law 10 of 1887 provided that no postage should be charged on the first issue of newspapers printed and published within the Colony and posted by the publishers within two days of publication, provided that the newspapers were enclosed in printed wrappers approved by the Postmaster General. This privilege was withdrawn by Act 28 of 1908 and authority was given to publishers to add the cost of the postage to the price of any contract for the supply of newspapers to be delivered through the post. It also provided for a uniform postage of $\frac{1}{2}$ d on every single newspaper. The Union Act 10 of 1911 discontinued this concession. Item 23 of Schedule 2 of Act 43 of 1898 provided for the licensing of newspaper publishers. This provision was repealed by the Union Act 32 of 1925. The licence clauses of Act 43 of 1898 read as follows :

- (A) For every daily newspaper published in the Colony in conformity with Law No.9, of 1858 £10.0.0.

(B). /

- (B) For all other newspapers under the same law issued at intervals not exceeding seven days...£5.0.0.

Section 4 of Act 37 of 1889 for the Better Protection of women and Children made it illegal to publish in print the evidence of proceedings in a Court of Law in cases coming under that Law and provided for a fine not exceeding £50. for any contravention of this provision. The Section reads:

"It shall not be lawful for any person to publish in writing or in print or the like any of the evidence of proceedings in a Court of Law whether at the trial or preparatory examination in any case of rape, incest, seduction, stuporation or indecent assault or indecency, or to so publish any precis or other account of any such proceedings or evidence in any such case, except by leave in writing of the Judge or Magistrate, signified by the Registrar of Clerk--provided that this section shall not be deemed to prevent a publication of the fact of the trial and issue thereof".

It is instructive to note that an old system prevailed in Natal whereby a newspaper reporter who had attended a specified number of sittings of the higher Courts became qualified to practise as an Attorney.

As far as the Free state is concerned, the field of legislation affecting the Press is indeed a barren one. A search through the Statutes has yielded only one solitary piece of legislation of any import. This is the

Lottery and Sweepstake Law. Section 5 of this Law reads :

"It shall not be lawful for any publisher, owner, or other person charged with the control and management of any newspaper... to print or issue by way of advertisement or otherwise and whether in such newspaper or other printed matter /

-
132. Barry Ronan "Forty South African Years".
133. "Laws of the Orange River Colony 1900-1906 edited by Messrs. P.L.Lefebvre and Bedver B.L.Jackson, page 198 et seq.

matter...any notice of any lottery to be held in this State or elsewhere, or to publish any information as to the result of any lottery which has been drawn and any person convicted of a contravention of this article shall be liable to a fine not exceeding £50. or in default of payment to imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding three months, unless the said fine be paid before the expiration of such period".

This disposes of all pre-Union legislation excepting that in the Transvaal Republic. As the foregoing Ordinances, Laws, and Statutes have shown, the press has been helped rather than hindered in its forward march. In the South African Republic, however, under the iron rule of President Paul Kruger, the picture to be painted is a very different one. Two years before his election for the first time as President of the Transvaal, a Press Law, No.3 of 1881 was passed. This was repealed by Volksraad resolution, article 723 of 1886, and was superseded by Law No.11 of 1893.

Section 3 of Act 7 of 1890 of the Transvaal Republic, which prohibits the holding of lotteries, says :

"No publisher or proprietor or director of a newspaper or printing press shall accept as an advertisement or in any other manner any information in connection with any lottery whether held in the Republic or elsewhere. Offenders will be liable on conviction to a fine not exceeding £50. or, in default, a term of imprisonment, with or without hard labour, not exceeding one month".

The same provisions occur in Act No.9, the Prohibition of Lotteries Act, of 1889, in the Cape.

134

Law 11 of 1893 was as follows :

"Whereas it is deemed desirable, in connection with Article 19 of the Grondwet, to make further regulations, it is hereby determined as follows :

(1) /

- (1). No newspaper may be published until the name of the responsible editor, printer, and publisher have been furnished in a Sworn Affidavit to the State Secretary.

The Penalty for disobedience shall be not more than £35. or, in default of payment, one month's imprisonment.

- (2). "These names must appear in each edition and a copy of each issue must be sent "Zoo spoedig mogelijk" to the office of the State Secretary.

A similar penalty for non-compliance is provided.

- (3). "The Printer and publisher of any newspaper, book, brochure, or other printed matter, including matter calculated to lead to disturbances, sedition, or mutiny, or insulting or attacking anyone's character will be punished by imprisonment with or without hard labour of not more than twelve months.

- (4). "Any person attacking the good name of any other person, either in a newspaper or in writing with intent to injure that person will be fined not more than £150. or, in default of payment; be sentenced to imprisonment of not more than six months.

Imprisonment for one year as provided for insulting cartoonists, although the maximum amount of the fine remains the same.

This Law followed an emergency application to the Volksraad on May 27th, 1893, to suspend Article 61 of the Standing Orders and Article 12 of the Constitution to enable the Volksraad to deal immediately with the Executive Committee's draft legislation to limit the Rights of the Press in certain respects. The Volksraad agreed to consider the legislation although the regulation three month's notice had not been given.

The Law was passed and on June 19th, notice

was given that the State Attorney had been authorized to ¹³⁵
 prosecute the owner, editor, and publisher of "The Critic".
 The ground for this prosecution was that the contents of "The
 Critic" were "Dangerous to peace and order in this Republic".
¹³⁶
 This was done and Henry Hess was duly convicted. Appeal was
 noted and judgment was given by the full bench of the Transvaal
 High Court on May 2nd, 1895, and that judgment spelt the death
 knell of Law 11 of 1893, for, in the words of Hess himself,
 "the only clause therein which sought to fix responsibility
 upon the printers, publishers, or editors, of any newspaper,
 was, after my argument, expunged therefrom and the whole
¹³⁷
 object of the Law was thereby defeated.

Frustrated in his attempt to put the quietus
 to his Press opponents by means of existing legislation, Kruger
 immediately set to work on a draft Press Law which was to be
 submitted to the Volkeraad in May, 1896. The full text of
¹³⁸
 this Draft was as follows:

"Whereas it is considered expedient to make
 regulations for the carrying out of Article
 19 of the Grondwet (138) therefore, it is

decided /

135. "De Locale Wetten der Z.A.R.", 1890-1893, page 876.

136. The "San Francisco Examiner" of January 7th wrote of Henry
 Hess, as "the mysterious man at present in London who appears
 to be the only one who receives news from South Africa, and
 who said he was in possession of information from Johannes-
 burg so startling, he dare not divulge it, is in reality one
 of the best-known men in South Africa. He is the editor
 and proprietor of a weekly Johannesburg paper called the
 "Critic". His paper resembles the London "Truth" and Hess him-
 self is Labouchere, in that he is the terror of evildoers and
 exposes more wrongdoings in South Africa than all the rest of
 the local newspapers put together. Hess has been charged with
 libel more than any other man in the last five years and yet
 he has always come off with flying colours and popular applause

137. The "Critic", Vol. II, No. 27.

138. Published in "The Critic", Vol. II, No. 27.

139. the Constitution of the Republic.

decided as follows:

Article 1. explains what is meant by the term printed matter.

Article 2. provides that on every publication must be given the name of the printer and whether it is intended for distribution by the bookseller or otherwise; The name and address of the publisher or where the copy is issued for the writer's own account;

Article 3. Periodical publications, such as newspapers and reviews, must, in addition, contain in each number or issue the name and address of the responsible editor, whilst all articles (or pieces) of a political or personal nature which appear therein must be signed by the writer with his true and full name.

Article 4. Within a period of one month after this Law becomes into force, the publisher of any periodical publication already in existence in the Republic must send in to the State Attorney a written declaration under oath containing the name and address of the responsible editor, the publisher or owner. After this Law becomes of force, no newly appearing periodical publication can be issued without a similar declaration to the State Attorney.

Article 5. The State President has at all times the right (with the advice and consent of the Executive Council) to prohibit entirely or temporarily the dissemination of publications printed or published outside the Republic, the contents of which are, in his opinion, contrary to good morals or dangerous to peace and order in this Republic.

Article 6. Whosoever makes himself guilty, through the medium of the Press, of libel, slander, public violation of decency, or instigation to a punishable offence, shall be punished with a fine not exceeding £250, or with imprisonment of not more than one year.

Article 7. Whenever a punishable offence is committed by means of a periodical publication, the responsible editor-- whether or not he is the writer of the incriminating piece or article-- shall be punished as perpetrator, unless from exceptional circumstances it be estimated that he cannot be considered as such.

Article 8. Whenever a punishable offence is committed through the medium of the Press:

- (A). The responsible editor,
- (B). The publisher,
- (C). The printer, and

(D) /

140. Article 19: "The Liberty of the Press is conceded, provided the printer and publisher remain responsible for all publications of a libellous character"

(D) Whoever has, in the exercise of his calling, disseminated the publication.

shall-- in so far as they are not culpable as perpetrators or accomplices-- be punished for negligence with a fine not exceeding £200, or with imprisonment for not more than one year, if they are unable to show that they have exercised all care reasonably demanded of them, or that there were circumstances which made such impossible for them. The said persons-- having fully complied with all the formalities of the law-- shall, however, be unpunished in the event of their pointing out (On the first demand of the State Attorney on his behalf) someone as the writer or presenter (of the incriminating article) or as occupying one of the position--superior to their own--named in the above list, and provided that such a one (so pointed out) is actually within the jurisdiction of the Court, or is deceased within the period during which dissemination has taken place.

Article 9. (A). The Printer and Publisher transgressing Art: 3 hereof;

(B). The responsible Editor and Publisher transgressing Art: 3 hereof;

(C). The Publisher transgressing Art: 4 hereof;

shall be punished with a fine not exceeding £100, or with imprisonment for not more than six months, Whoever, contrary to any prohibition of the State President, as specified in Article 6. shall disseminate any publication printed or published outside the Republic, shall be punished with a fine not exceeding £200 or with imprisonment for not longer than one year. On a second or further offence of a responsible editor, publisher or printer, or any periodical publication (through which they transgress this Law) the publication of such periodical can be prohibited by a judgment of the Court not exceeding two years .

Article 10. This Law does not apply to publications made on behalf of, or by order of, or with the consent of, the Government.

Hess, jubilant at his judicial success, immediately criticised the proposed legislation which sought to make good the defects of the old Law of 1893, Kruger, he declared, intended to concede the liberty of the Press, vouchsafed by the constitution over which he was suffered to rule,

by /

by :

- (1). Making himself the sole Judge of what is contrary to good morals or dangerous to the peace and order, as contained in foreign publications;
- (2). Running in if he think fit, every little street urchin who may, "In the exercise of his calling" be selling one of these publications.
- (3). Compelling every newspaper published in the Transvaal to become a Government organ.

"Why, it may be asked, are the Criminal Libel Laws of the Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, and Natal not considered stringent enough for Mr. Kruger, not to speak of those obtaining in England, France, and other civilised countries. Why must Mr. Kruger go to Russia and Turkey for his model?", Hess asked, adding that he intended to fight this Law in the Court where the Judges had previously said that they would never countenance the gagging of the Press in the Transvaal. He was soon to be given an opportunity.

The entire staff of the "Critic" was arrested in November, 1896, for contravention of Article IV. The case was held in the First Criminal Court at Johannesburg before Mr. N. P. van den Berg, criminal landdrost. When the case for the prosecution was before the Court, it was found that the State was unable to prove that any one of the accused was responsible for the alleged contravention, and without any witnesses being called for the defence, the case was dismissed.

Refusal by Hess in Court to give the name of the responsible editor or proprietor led to the suspension in December, 1896, of the "Critic" for a period of six months. Representative Press comments on the action of the Executive Committee were as follows :

The /

'The 'Cape Times' December 23rd, 1896 : The snuffing out of papers inimical to the Transvaal Government has now begun with some boldness. The Critic, the new victim is probably the most widely read, and it is the most audacious of all the Government's Press opponents in the Transvaal, and now, by a mere stroke of Dr. Leyds's magic pen, it will cease to exist, or rather will remain in a state of suspended animation for the space of six months... The suppression of the Critic will be resented by the entire free Press of South Africa ".

'The S.A. Review', December 25th, 1896 : "Having revelled in violent repressive legislation during the year, the Transvaal Government is now proceeding to administer the enactments passed, having for their object the more complete suppression of the Uitlander. The arbitrary shutting down of the 'Critic' constitutes a triumph for the vindictive Hollander set headed by Dr. Leyds, but it can only be a temporary triumph. As the 'Times' says, in commenting upon the relations between the Government and the Uitlander population, it would be wiser to defer to local opinion... The safety valves of free speech and a free Press are now shut down tight in the Transvaal, but tho' the steam generated may not be large in quantity at the present moment, no reasonable doubt can be entertained that sooner or later the huge machinery must burst".

'The 'Natal Advertiser', December 24th, 1896: "It was proclaimed, not long ago, on the authority of the President himself that the new Laws would not be too strictly enforced and would be amended if found oppressive. But here we find one of the most oppressive and autocratic enactments rigidly carried out on the mere ipse dixit of the President, by means of an arbitrary proclamation, without giving the parties concerned the right of trial or appeal. . The whole proceeding is a flagrant violation of the elementary principles of republicanism and freedom, and is a direct assault on the liberty of the Press, which, at the present juncture, is of the most sinister significance".

'The Star', December 22nd, 1896 : "The position may be stated with clearness as follows : The authorities are understood to offer no objection to the immediate publication from the same offices of a weekly newspaper to be styled the 'Transvaal Critic', provided the requirements of the Law as to a declared editor, publisher, 141 and proprietor are complied with. Mr. Leopold Hess has in consequence sworn an Affidavit in which he describes himself as the sole proprietor and publisher of the 'Transvaal Critic', and Mr. R.H. Heffer is declared to be the responsible Editor. On this understanding, the new paper (signifying

no /

no real break of continuity with the old one) will make its appearance this week. (142) On public grounds, and notwithstanding the apparently fair arrangement which has been come to with the Public Prosecutor, the danger to liberty of thought which resides in the plenary power confided to Government under Article V of the Press Law, is sufficiently exemplified by these proceedings. Under Article V the President has at all times the power to prohibit the circulation of any newspaper, with no right of trial accorded to the parties responsible for its publication, and no possibility of appeal".

"The Standard and Diggers' News", December 23rd, 1896: "By decree of the Executive Council the weekly newspaper, the 'Critic' has been suspended for a period of six months. This act has been practically forced upon the Government by the refusal of the journal in question to conform with the Press Law; while it declined in open Court to furnish the names of either the proprietor or responsible editor. Although very properly upholding the dignity of the Law, the Government has been well advised in permitting the publication of the old journal under a new title, and in complete conformity with the easy provisions of the Press Law".

Writing to the "Cape Argus" on the 12th February 1896, "Delta" said: "I have been endeavouring to find some parallel to Kruger's Press Law. It is necessary to go a very long way back in order to find anything nearly so drastic as the measure proposed in Pretoria. About the middle of the Seventeenth Century there were four attempts at Press censorship, and no one who calls to mind the nature of the sheets then issued will deny that there was need for some restrictive measures, but it does not follow that the same necessity exists in the Transvaal to-day. "It is generally admitted that there is safety in a Free Press. Germany has muzzled its newspaper Press and now finds itself face to face with sedition"

Just as the "Critic" had fallen foul of the President in 1893 and in 1896, so the "Star" in 1897 incurred

the /

142. It will thus be seen that the "Critic" got round the Law in much the same way as the "Star" in the "Star-Comet" episode hereinafter described.

the wrath of the authorities in Pretoria. The story is best told in the words of that newspaper itself. Thus, in the "Star", of March 24th, 1897, under the Headline, "The Star to be suppressed", there was published the following message from the Pretoria representative .

Pretoria
1.25 p.m.

Wednesday
Special.

"An order was issued this morning suppressing the "Star" for three months, the order saying that the paper is dangerous to law and order".

Thereafter appeared this follow-up :
"Some days ago an official of the State Secretary's Department was in Johannesburg making enquiries as to the position of the "Star" in Johannesburg and its influence and as to how its suppression would be taken by the populace. He received the only possible assurance that any attempt to assail the independence of the "Star" would be indignantly resented".

"What reason have you for trying to shut up the paper?", the Pretoria Representative of the "Star" asked Mr. Coster, State Attorney.

"That I cannot inform you", was Mr. Coster's reply.

The representative thereupon called on Mr. W.J.Leyds, State Secretary.

"I cannot tell you just now If you wait on me at 10 to-morrow morning I will give you a definite statement", the Reporter was told.

But the "Star" died that night (March 24th, 1897) and on March 25th the "Comet" appeared. Similar to the "Star" in every respect but the name. Even the pink paper had not changed colour.

The leader was :

"Vanished into Space".

"That is the way with heavenly bodies....
For 90 days to come the 'Star' will be
seen no more in the canopy of Heaven.
The disappearance of the 'Star' is
synchronous with the bursting in upon
the gaze of mortal men of a very fine
and fully developed "Comet". ..
It is not for us, - not at least at this
present time - to dwell at any great
length upon this latest exercise by Mr.
Kruger of the arbitrary power conferred
upon him by the representatives of those
whom it is high treason to speak of as
anything but the Sovereign people. No
offence had been alleged; no opportunity
had been afforded of putting forward any
defence; but let no man say that this is
not a great and glorious Republic in which
the freedom of the Press is recognised and
serves as one of the keystones of the
people's liberties".

The official order suppressing the "Star"
read as follows:

"I, Stephanus Johannes Paulus Kruger, State
President of the South African Republic,
acting in this matter with the advice and
consent of the Executive Council as appears
from the Executive Committee's resolution
dated March 23rd, 1907, and in accordance
with Article 5 of the Law No. 26, 1896,
hereby prohibit the circulation of the
newspaper the "Star", published in Johan-
neshurg, and that for the period of three (3)
months from this date for the reason that
the contents of the said newspaper, in my
opinion, are dangerous to peace and order in
this Republic.
Given under my hand at Pretoria, this the
24th day of March, 1907.

(Signed) S.J.P. Kruger,
State President.
Dr. W.J. Leyds,
State Sekretaria.
F.E.T. Krause,
First Public Prosecutor,
Public Prosecutor's
Office, Johannesburg.

True copy.
24th March, 1907.

The following telegram was immediately dis-
patched to the British Residence in Pretoria by the Managing
Director of the Argus Company, of which the "Star" formed

an /

an integral part:

"Transvaal Executive received this morning suppress the Star three months on ground dangerous to law and order. My company comprising British subjects claim protection from loss under Convention (143) which secures access to Courts Press Law deprives us of and invoke intervention High Commissioner. Copy official intimation will be supplied you by post your advice earnestly solicited as to proper course to adopt meantime".

The reply was as follows :

"In accordance with desire expressed in your telegram of to-day, I have referred your message to the High Commissioner. In the meantime recommend you submit under protest to action of Government".

The "Standard and Diggers News" published the following comment on the suppression of the "Star" :

"While we consider that the vindictive hostility to the Government and wilful blindness to the cause of the burghers and the prosperity of the Uitlanders have fully deserved this checkmate, we regret that it has been thought necessary to bring the Government Article of State to bear on what was, after all, a case of misguided and impure journalism. A reprimand would surely have served the purpose of checking the dangers which might ensue from a poisoned and disastrous policy whose aim was to retard the progress of the State by the pedulous inoculation into the body politic of the virus of distrust and discontent".

The suspension order was cancelled by Judgment given by Judges Ameshoff and Morice whereby it was held that Law No.26 of 1896 was contrary to Article 19 of the Grondwet and also to the terms of the London Convention of 1864, which assured the right of all at any time to appear before a Judge and defend themselves against any charge that may be brought against them. Mr. Justice Ameshoff said :

"The Volkeraad, which passed the Grondwet of 1868 also passed Law 26 of the same year and the Raad should be presumed to have known that the restrictions in the latter ought

not /

not to be in conflict with the former, as otherwise they would be making a Law one day and the next day they would be passing something contradictory to the former, which would not be commonsense..."

Article V could only be capable of one interpretation, and by that I mean that the President is only empowered to suppress matter already printed and published, and that the Article gives them no power to prevent matter being printed in the future; that being so, the President was not entitled to issue the order quoted and the applicants are entitled to redress; the order of the President must therefore be set aside and applicant is entitled to the costs of the application".

In a lengthy leader the "Star" commented as follows :

"STAR vs STATE".

"The 'Star' will resume its place in the firmament with a word of sincere and respectful advice to the Head of the State: "No Government ever yet rendered its people happier or justified itself in the eyes of posterity by trying to still the voice of its critics. The Star is once more free to shine in the heavens it adorned for so many years...."

These two instances of the "Critic" and the "Star", though the most notorious, are by no means the only instances of persecution of the Press by the State. A certain McCombie, Editor of "The Cape Lantern" and "Transvaal Truth", and well-known as "The Champion of Truth" was arrested for sedition and high treason. In an interview with a representative of "The Burlesque" he said: "I simply tried to do my best for the State and I still adhere to everything I have said. As to the language of the letter, it is no stronger than any of the hundred of open letters I have written. This is the 248th. I can't make out why the "Star" is not prosecuted. They have said the same things as I have said." Similarly

144

W.F. Monypenny while South African correspondent of the London Times and Editor of the "Star" had to fly across the border

in /

144. Renowned as the biographer of Benjamin Disraeli, Earl of Beaconsfield.

145

in order to avoid arrest on a charge of high treason, while F.J. Pakeman was arrested and estreated bail by non-appearance at the trial. This incident was unconnected with that of the suppression of the "Star" in March, 1897, the editor of that paper at that time being Mr. Francis J. Dornier.

This persecution of the Press did not come from one side only. Just as the "Uitlander" papers were harassed by the Republican Government, so was the only Dutch paper in Pretoria kept under strict surveillance during the annexation period 1877-1881. Thus on April 2nd, 1878, Sir Theophilus Shepstone wrote to Sir Bartle Frere :

"I am afraid I shall have to prosecute the "Volkstem" for sedition; it has been and still is most persevering in its efforts to stir up the Boers to do mischief, it publishes every falsehood that can damage the Government that it hears or reads or can invent". (146)

In 1880 the Editor of "De Volkstem" was arrested for "oproerig swaadschrift" against the British Government. In the same year Mr. W.E. Bok, a member of the Volkskomitee and then sub-editor of "De Volkstem" was also arrested for "hoogverraad (high treason)".¹⁴⁷ When Martial Law was declared throughout almost the whole of South Africa, Advocate F.S. Malan, (now Senator), editor of "Ons Land" was brought before the Courts on account of a libellous and seditious article which had appeared in the paper, - a letter from Heidelberg, Transvaal, in which was told of the atrocious activities of the English troops. Together with Gertwright of the "African News",¹⁴⁸ Advocate Malan was sentenced to imprisonment.

Kruger /

-
- 145 "Forty South African Years", by Barry Ronan, published 1919.
 - 146 "Shepstone Papers", page 798.
 - 147 "Die Volkstem", October 4th, 1924.
 - 148 "Die Burger", April 8th, 1932.

Kruger had for the most part a hostile Press, and had to put up with incessant uncomplimentary caricatures and adverse criticism. With his experience as an example, one could almost sympathise with General Smuts (See Chapter V) when he says that the Press can make it difficult, even impossible, for a Statesman to carry on. The writer has in his possession a supplement to the "African Critic" styled "An Easter Offering" and representing a "Suggested design for a window for the Transvaal Volksraad". The caricature, in stained glass colours, depicts a fantastic figure standing on top of the world (with his heel on the Transvaal), with a halo round his head, while Kruger's smiling face radiates above him. A lectern on one side supports a page on which is printed "To Kruger I had a message to send thee". The "Burlesque" continually bantered with the President. In its second issue it published a grotesque photograph of Kruger with one foot on "Transvaal Truth" and the other on "Concessions". In his right hand dangled the S.A.R.--O.F.S. trains, while in his inverted top-hat was stuck a copy of the "Burlesque", "Police Reform", "Freehold titles", and "Gold". A faked interview (with 12 headlines) in which, to the Greeting "Good morning" of the Burlesque's reporter, President Kruger replied, "Ja, ik het Pear's seep gebruik", and the "Burlesque" reporter muttered; "I hope so".

The offending sections : 3 (requiring the publication in each issue of the full name and address of the responsible editor, and that all political articles should be signed-- as is still required to-day by the Electoral Law of 1926--), 4 (demanding a written declaration as to the name and address of the responsible editor being sent to the State

Attorney /

Attorney), and 9 (providing for punishment for persons disseminating publications contrary to the express prohibition of the President) were repealed by Law No.14, of 1898, and the disabilities under which the Press had so long been retarded were removed.

The fight had been fast and fierce. The incidents of the hectic years from 1893-1898 were numerous and full of interest for the historian as well as for the man in the street. Their detailed examination is, however, beyond the scope of the present investigation, and the romantic story of that period must be left for others to tell. As was the case in the Cape half a century previously, the Press had triumphed over the obstinacy and determination of officialdom and the pioneer efforts in this connection of the "Critic", the "Star", the "Burlesque" and other newspapers, some now defunct, others still in existence must not pass unrecorded.

During the period that the Transvaal was a Crown Colony -- 1902-1906, two Ordinances were passed. These were the Telegraph Messages Protection Ordinance No.48 of 1902 and the Newspaper Registration Ordinance No.49 of the same year. No further legislation was passed from that date until the time of Union. The provisions of these two Ordinances respectively are as follows :

**Telegraph Messages Protection Ordinance
No.48 of 1902 :**

"To protect the rights of property in telegraphic messages intended for publication" provided that whenever any message submitted by telephone from outside the Colony to within the Colony for newspaper publication purposes, no person shall, without the consent in writing of the person to whom the message was sent, print or publish such telephone message or extract therefrom, until 72 hours after the publication of the message by the person for whom it was originally intended.

The penalties provided were £20. for a first offence and £40 for a second, with an alternative of three (3) months imprisonment.

Newspaper Registration Ordinance,
No. 49 of 1903.

to amend the Law relating to the Registration of newspapers :

BE it enacted by the Lieut. Governor of the Transvaal with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council as follows :

- (1). From and after the taking effect of this Ordinance it shall not be lawful for any person to publish or cause to be published any newspaper in this Colony until there shall have been registered at the office of the Colonial Secretary :
 - (a) the full and correct title thereof;
 - (b) the full and correct address at which the same is to be published;
 - (c) the full and correct names and places of abode of the proprietor, printer, publisher, manager, and responsible editor of such newspaper.
 - (2). In some part of every newspaper published in this Colony after the taking effect of this Ordinance there shall be printed the full and correct address at which the same is published, and the full and correct name of the proprietor;
 - (3). The responsible editor of every such newspaper must be a person resident within this Colony.
2. When any newspaper is the property of or is printed by a limited liability company or other joint stock company there shall be registered the full and correct name and place of abode of :
- (a) the Manager or other chief officer of such company resident within this Colony,
 - (b) Every Director of such company resident within this Colony.

3. (1). It shall be the duty of the Colonial Secretary to keep a register in the form prescribed in the Schedule annexed hereto in which shall be entered the particulars in the two preceding sections mentioned;
- (2). It shall be the duty of the Colonial Secretary to furnish an extract from the said register duly signed by him to any person on application being made therefor, and on payment of a fee of 2/6 for every such extract.....
- (3). The production of such extracts as in the last preceding section mentioned signed as aforesaid shall in any proceedings, civil or criminal, be sufficient proof of the fact stated therein;
4. Existing newspapers must register within a month without being required to pay the registration fee.
5. Whenever a change occurs in regard to any of the particulars entered in the register such change shall be notified within 7 days.
6. Penalties for non-compliance with the foregoing requirements entail penalties of £100. or six months.
7. Whenever a libel is published in any newspaper printed or published in this colony criminal proceedings may be taken against all or any of the persons mentioned in Sections I and II, provided that it shall be a defence to such proceedings on behalf of any such person as aforesaid to prove that the libel complained of was published in such newspaper without his knowledge, consent or connivance and without negligence on his part.
8. A Registration fee of £1. per annum is fixed and a fee of 2/6 for notification of a change of any of the particulars mentioned.
9. Law No.26 of 1896 and Law No.14 of 1898 are HEREBY REPEALED.

TRANSVAAL /

TRANSVAAL ORDINANCE 1902.

150

SCHEDULE

REGISTER OF NEWSPAPERS

Title of Newspaper & address of office of publi- cation.	Name and address of Pro- prietor (a)	Name and address of Printer. (a)	Name and address of Pub- lisher. (a)	Name and address of Manager.	Name and address of responsible Editor.
---	--	--	--	---------------------------------------	--

(a). Where there are more printers, proprietors, and publishers than one, the name and address of each must be given. Where the printer, proprietor or publisher is a company then in addition to the name of the company, the name and address of the manager and of each of the directors resident in this Colony must be entered in these columns.

The /

The Second Schedule of the Financial Relations Act No.10 of 1913 reserves to the Union Government the right to legislate on the Press while section 13 of the same Act says :

"Nothing in this Act shall be deemed to confer upon the Provincial Councils the right to receive revenue or the power to make Ordinances in respect of licences.....

(d) for newspapers ". It is therefore to the Statute Book of the Union that one must turn for legislation affecting the Press. It is nevertheless not without interest to notice that in a few instances newspapers are dealt with in certain Provincial Ordinances notably in connection with Horse Racing and Betting, The Shop Hours' Ordinance (Exempting newspapers from its provisions) and in connection with the publication of Provincial advertisements in newspapers.

Thus in the Transvaal by Ordinance 6 of 1922 the restriction on the publication of odds in a newspaper was removed, the Horse and Racing and Betting Restriction Amendment Ordinance, 1922. The restriction had been in force since Act 37 of 09. (Transvaal).

Similarly in Natal, Section 14 of Ordinance 17 of 1922, the Racing and Betting Ordinance, provided that:

"No person shall publish, except on a race course or in a Clubroom licenced under this Ordinance any advertisement (1) inviting the public or any person to make or take any bet, or giving or offering information regarding the terms on which bets are likely to be made or accepted by any person, whereby it is made to appear that any person, either in Natal or elsewhere, on payment or for any other consideration will give advice regarding the making of any bet or will act as intermediary between other persons in any matter relating to the making of a bet".

This was slightly amended in the following year by section 3 of Ordinance 6 of 1923 as follows :

"The word advertisement used in Section 14 of the principal Act shall not include the issue of a circular or price list by a bookmaker through the Post only".

The /

The position in this regard in the Cape was regulated by Act No.8 of 1914, section 7 of which reads as follows:

"Every person shall be guilty of an offence against this Ordinance who. (e) prints any newspaper in the Province or publishes in the Province any newspaper printed therein, or prints or reproduces any pamphlet or sheet containing information as to betting upon the result of a horse race, foot race, cycle race, motor race, boat race, whippet race, or shooting, coursing, running, or boxing contest, before such result has been determined and whether the race, contest, or prize fight be run or held or carried on within or outside the Province. (f) likewise the person who "sells or offers for sale" such newspaper is guilty of an offence."

The first post-Union legislation which bears on the Press is Act No.19 of 1911, the Powers and Privileges of Parliament Act, the relevant sections being as follows :

10. "Parliament may summarily punish for contempt by fine or fees or both, whether committed by a member or any other person in respect of the offences hereinafter mentioned:

The publication of any false or scandalous libel on any member touching his conduct as a member. Any contempt from time to time set forth and declared to be such in any Standing Order of Parliament.

24. No member or Officer of Parliament and no shorthand writer employed to take minutes of evidence before Parliament or any Committee shall give evidence elsewhere in respect of the contents of such evidence or of the contents of any documents or manuscript laid before Parliament or any Committee or in respect of any proceedings or examination at the Bar or before any Committee of Parliament without the special leave of the House.

30. In any civil or criminal proceedings instituted for publishing any extract from or abstract of any such report, paper, minutes, votes, or proceedings, if the Court or Jury (as the case may be) be satisfied that such extract or abstract, was published bona fide and without malice, judgment or verdict (as the case may be) shall be entered for the defendant or accused.

This /

This immediately raises the question, by what Statutory measures or regulations is the position of the Press in Parliament defined? The answer is that "in all cases not provided for by Standing Orders of the House, recourse shall be had to the usages and practice of the Parliament of the United Kingdom as laid down in this publication." ¹⁵⁰ Senate Standing Order No.134 lays down that:

"Any Senator complaining to the House of a statement in a newspaper as a breach of privilege, shall produce a copy of the newspaper containing the statement in question, and be prepared to give the name of the printer or publisher, and also submit a substantive motion declaring the person in question to have been guilty of contempt"

¹⁵¹ Parliamentary practice of the United Kingdom makes the following provisions in regard to the Press, which apply mutatis mutandis to the Press in South Africa in its relations to Parliament :

"The publication of the debates of either House has been repeatedly declared a breach of privilege, and especially false and perverted reports of them; and no doubt can exist that if either House desired to withhold their proceedings from the public, it is within the strictest limits of their jurisdiction to do so; and to punish any violation of their orders; (152) and under the Lands Standing Order No.80. it is a breach of privilege for any person, without the leave of the House, to print or publish in print, anything relating to its proceedings". (153).

¹⁵⁴ Repeated orders have been made by the House forbidding the publication of the debates and proceedings of the House, or of any Committee thereof and of comments thereon, or on the conduct of members in the House by newspapers, newsletters, or otherwise, and directing the punishment of offenders against /

150. Senate Standing Order, No.219

151. Embodied in Sir T. Erskine's May's "Parliamentary Practice".

152. In 1801 Allan Macleod and John Higginbottom were fined respectively 100/- and 5/8 and were committed to Newgate for six months for publishing and sending certain paragraphs purporting to be a proceeding of the House, which had been ordered to be expunged from the journal and the debate thereupon

153. Ibid, page 70.

154. See following page.

155

against such Rules.

"These orders have long since fallen into disuse, though the Speaker has ruled that a member cannot be required to state whether expressions alleged to have been made by him in the House were correctly repeated in a newspaper. Debates are daily cited in Parliament from printed reports; galleries are constructed for the accommodation of reporters; committees have been appointed to provide increased facilities for reporting; a place is reserved for a reporter near the table of the House of Lords, and grants are annually voted to further the publication of the debates....

The principle by which both Houses are governed is now sufficiently acknowledged. So long as the debates are correctly and faithfully reported, the privilege which prohibits their publication is waived; but when they are reported mala fide, the publishers of the newspaper are liable to censure.

"It is declared to be a breach of privilege for a member, or any other person to publish the evidence taken before a select committee until it has been reported to the House.

"Indignities offered to the character and proceedings of Parliament, by libellous reflections, have been punished as breaches of privilege.

When /

-
154. From previous page - The orders were issued on December, 22nd 1694; February 11th, 1695, January 18th, 1697; January 3rd, 1703, January 23rd 1722
155. Ibid, page 70.
156. Mr. Arthur Barlow, ex-H.P. and now political correspondent of the "Rand Daily Mail" was accused of such a breach of privilege in the Union House of Assembly. He duly apologised, but in the meantime his paper had been first with the news.
157. In 1834 Thomas Bittleston, editor of the "Morning Post" was committed to the custody of the usher of the Black Rod for a paragraph in the newspaper reflecting upon the conduct of Lord Chancellor Brougham, in the discharge of his judicial duties in the House of Lords.

When a complaint is made of a newspaper, the newspaper itself must be produced in order that the paragraphs complained of may be read.
158

The entire newspaper must be produced. It is insufficient to produce a page or a cutting containing the article complained of.
159

A member may not read any portion of a speech made in the same session from a newspaper or printed book. This rule indeed applies strictly to all debates whatsoever, the publication of them being a breach of privilege; but of late years it has been relaxed by general acquiescence in favour of speeches delivered in former sessions. Until 1840 the reading of any extracts from a newspaper whether referring to debates or not had been restrained as irregular. In that year Sir Robert Peel said it was drawing the rule too tightly if members were restrained from reading relevant extracts from newspapers and, with the acquiescence of the House, he proceeded to read the passage from a newspaper.
160

Members are not to read books, newspapers, or letters in their places for amusement or for business unconnected with the debate.
161

Strangers /

- 158. The "Times" of May 2nd, 1867, was by the Speaker's direction, circulated with the notice paper on the following day after a complaint had been made regarding an article appearing in that issue of the 'Times'.
- 159. Mr. Parnell, on April 4th, 1878, having complained of three newspapers handed up to the table certain extracts pasted upon paper, and upon the Clerk calling Mr. Speaker's attention to the irregularity, further proceedings were at once arrested.
- 160. Ibid, page 309.
- 161. Ibid, page 336.

Strangers in the House included reporters from 1849-1870, when the House cleared to avoid the public on the Contagious Diseases Acts. This led to a discussion but the status quo was maintained. In 1875, May 31st, this position was modified by Standing Order No.83 which provided that if notice was taken that strangers were present the Speaker or Chairman should forthwith put the question that strangers be ordered to withdraw, reserving to the Speaker or the Chairman the right whenever he thought fit, to order the withdrawal of strangers from any part of the House.

The Post Office Administration and Shipping Combination Discouragement Act No.10 of 1911 bears very directly on the Press. It supersedes all pre-Union legislation dealing with postal rates as far as newspapers are concerned, defines a newspaper, and lays down a uniform and standard postal rate for newspapers circulating within the Union and those leaving the Union. Its relevant sections are as follows :

- Section 17: (1) For the purpose of this Act any publication consisting wholly or in great part of political or other news or of articles relating thereto or to other current topics, with or without advertisements, and with or without engravings, prints, or lithographs, or any other sort of picture illustrative of articles in such publication shall be deemed a newspaper subject to the following conditions :
- (a) That it be wholly printed and published within the Union;
 - (b) That it be published at intervals of not more than one month;
 - (c) That the full title and date of publication be printed at the top of the first page thereof, and the whole or part of the title and date of publication at the top of every subsequent page;
 - (d) That it be registered with the Postmaster-General as a newspaper.

Section 17 (2) provides a definition for supplements to newspapers.

Section 18 /

- Section 13** (1) The Postmaster-General shall cause a register to be kept of publications coming within the requirements of the last preceding section and the proprietor, printer, or publisher of any such publication may, upon payment of the prescribed fee, register the same as a newspaper at such time in each year and in such manner, and with such particulars, as the Postmaster-General may direct.
- (2) The Postmaster-General may from time to time revise the register and remove therefrom any publication which in his opinion is not a newspaper as defined by this Act, or a posted copy of which contains indecent or obscene matter, and the Postmaster-General may refuse to transmit or deliver and may destroy any such copy which contains indecent or obscene matter, notwithstanding that such publication may be registered as a newspaper.
- (3) The decision of the Postmaster-General in regard to the admission to or removal from the register of any publication shall be final save that the Governor-General may, on the application of any person, reverse or modify that decision.

Section 13: Newspapers published outside the Union may be regarded as newspapers for the purposes of this Act provided they are published at intervals of not more than seven days and conform in other respects to the requirements of section 17.

Section 14: Makes provision for rates of postage, with a proviso (e) that, subject to regulation, a single copy of any issue of any registered newspaper printed and published within the Union may be accepted for transmission from the editor of any such newspaper to the editor of any other such newspaper without payment of postage.

The Police Act No.14 of 1912 provides in section 13 for the calling of witnesses in proceedings of alleged misconduct of officers, and, in section 14, for the imposition of a penalty upon persons failing to attend, or, having attended, failing to answer questions. This may not seem to affect the Press, but its relevance was brought home in Pretoria during 1931 when newspaper representatives were twice called

upon /

upon to give evidence at Police enquiries. The instances referred to are (I) "The Louw case", and (II) the "Carolina Murder case", both of which have been closely analysed in a subsequent chapter dealing with the Press and the Police.

Section 90 of the South African Defence Act 1912 provides that :

(1). In time of war no information with respect to the movements or dispositions of the Union Defence Force or other of His Majesty's forces or of His Majesty's ships shall be published in any newspaper, magazine, book, pamphlet, or by any other means, nor shall there be published any statement, comment, or suggestion calculated directly or indirectly to convey any such information, except when the information is furnished by the Minister or under his authority,

(2). No information, strategic plans for the defence of the Union or any works proposed or undertaken for or connected with the fortification or defence of the Union shall be so published at any time, except when furnished under authority as aforesaid,

(3). The breach of these sections renders the person responsible guilty of an offence,

(4). As is also any member of the Defence Force or any person employed in the Public Service who discloses the information.

In the Children's Protection Act 1913, Section 30 provides that :

"The publisher of any newspaper published in the Union shall on the request of the Magistrate of the District of publication disclose to the Magistrate the name and address of any person in the Union who has advertised in such newspaper that he is willing to adopt or to undertake the care of any infant. Any person failing to comply with this section shall be guilty of an offence under this Chapter, and Section 31 is liable to a fine not exceeding £100. (or six months).

Section 57 of the Children's Protection Act No.25 of 1913

"Empowers a Magistrate to order the Court to be cleared during the taking of a child's evidence, but sub-section 3 states : "Nothing in this section shall authorise the exclusion of bona fide representatives of a newspaper or news agency from any sitting of a Court". (163)

This /

163. It is interesting to note that a similar position obtains in England. "The question was raised last January in regard to the Children's Court. A request was mad at one of these

(continued at foot of next pg

This Act was amended by Act 26 of 1931 but this Clause remains unaltered.

Provision is also made in The Magistrates Court Act (No.32 of 1917) for the hearing of a child's evidence in camera, sub-section two of section five reading as follows :

"The trial of any child which is, in the opinion of the Court, less than 16 years old, may be held in camera, and in some other place than the ordinary Court room; provided that in such case the parents or guardian of such child shall have the right to be present thereat".

Sub-section (3) reads : "The Court may in any case, in the interest of good order or public morality direct that the trial shall be held behind closed doors....."

In neither case is mention specifically made of the Press but in practice the Press is not excluded from the Court when the above sub-sections are put into operation. The position in this regard in this country is therefore identical with that obtaining in England, as set out in the foregoing footnote. Section 6 of the Magistrates Court Act provided that "records and proceedings of the Court shall in all cases be accessible to the public under the supervision of the Clerk of the Court.....". There is therefore no attempt at "secret justice". The Magistrates Court Act No.32 of 1917 was amended by Act No.17 of 1932 but the above-quoted clauses remained intact.

By the Telegraph Messages Protection Act, 26 of 1917. Section I :

"Whenever /

163 contd. these

Courts that a case should not be reported, and in support the Bench was handed the report of the Juvenile Organisations Committee set up by the Board of Education in which a recommendation is made against publicity being given to the proceedings of Juvenile Courts. The Magistrate's Clerk, however, pointed out that the Magistrate had no power to exclude the representatives of the Press from the Court or to control the Press in regard to reports. If the Bench thought it desirable that any portion of the evidence in a case should not be reported they could ask the Press to omit it; but compliance with such a request would be purely voluntary". - Newspaper Press Directory, 1925, "The Legal Year in Relation to the Press", by P. Faschini.

"Whenever any message transmitted by telegraph from any place within or outside the Union for the purpose of publication in the Union has been received at any office of the Telegraph Department or at any other Telegraph Office authorised to receive such a message, no person shall, without the written consent of the person to whom the message is addressed, or his agent thereto lawfully authorised, print or publish the message, or the substance thereof or any extract therefrom, until a period of 72 days has elapsed from the time when the message was first published by some person entitled so to publish it; provided that such period shall not extend beyond 84 hours from the time when the message was received at a Telegraph Office aforesaid. Provided further that bona fide comment on such message by a weekly or monthly periodical shall not be considered an infringement of this section so long as the said comment does not appear within 12 hours after publication of the said message.

(2) During the period in which a message is protected under section one from publication, no person shall, without the written consent of the person whose written consent is necessary under that section, transmit for purposes of publication the intelligence contained in that message or the substance thereof or any extract therefrom".

Act No.13 of 1918, in regard to Title Deeds, provides for:

- (1) Notice of Application for Amended Title to be inserted in a newspaper, and,
- (2) for a Notice re Lost Title Deeds to be inserted in a newspaper.

In the Public Health Act 1919, Section 65 provides that :

- (1). "No person shall publish any advertisement or statement intended to promote the sale of any medicine appliance or article for the alleviation or cure of any venereal disease or disease affecting the generative organs or functions, or of sexual impotence, or of any complaint or infirmity arising from or relating to sexual intercourse.
- (2). "Any person who publishes any such advertisement or statement by printing it in any newspaper or exhibiting it to public view in any place or delivering or offering or exhibiting it to any person in the street....

shall /

shall be guilty of an offence".

Section 6 of the Children's Protection Act, Amendment Act No.26 of 1921, states :

"It shall be unlawful for any newspaper published in the Union to insert in such newspaper an advertisement or other intimation that any person desires an infant to be adopted or given into the care and custody of another person or that any person is willing to adopt or undertake the care of any infant, unless such publisher has first received the written permission of the Magistrate of the District to insert such advertisement or intimation".

Act No.11 of 1936 (Electoral Act,1918, Amendment Act), Section 40, requires that :

- (1). "The proprietor and publisher of a newspaper published in the Union shall in accordance with this section make or cause to be made a return of electoral matter in connection with any election inserted in his newspaper in respect of which payment was or is to be made to him, the space occupied by such electoral matter, the amount of money paid or owing to him in respect of such electoral matter and the names and addresses of the companies, associations, societies, trades unions, organisations, leagues, bodies of persons, or persons authorising the insertion thereof, or contributing such matter.
- (2). "In this section "electoral matter" includes advertisements, articles, and other matter which on the face of it are intended or calculated to affect the result of the election.
- (4). "The return made and filed in pursuance of this section shall, subject to such regulations as may be prescribed, be open to public inspection during a period of two years next after it is so made and filed, on payment of a fee of one shilling and the Administrator or the Minister concerned, as the case may be, shall during the same period, supply copies of or extracts from such return to any person demanding the same on payment of such fees and subject to such regulations as may be prescribed.

Section 5 provides a penalty not exceeding £500, with the addendum that, if after conviction, the proprietor or publisher

continues /

continues to fail to comply with Section 1 he shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to imprisonment for a period not exceeding six months.

45. "The proprietor and publisher of every newspaper shall cause the word 'advertisement' to be printed as a headline to each article or paragraph in his newspaper containing electoral matter, the insertion of which is or is to be paid for or for which any reward or compensation or promise of compensation is or is to be made. The words 'electoral matter' used in this connection include all matters which on the face of it are intended or calculated to affect the result of an election and any report of the speech of a candidate if the insertion of the report is or is to be paid for. If any proprietor or publisher fails to comply with this section he shall be guilty of an offence and liable on conviction to a penalty not exceeding £50.

3. Every report, letter, article, bill, placard, poster, pamphlet, circular, cartoon, or other printed matter (hereinafter in this sub-section called a newspaper article) which on the face of it is intended or calculated to affect the result of an election and which is inserted in any newspaper or otherwise produced and which is published in the Union on or after the date for the commencement of such election, shall bear at the foot thereof the full name and address of the person by whom such newspaper article was written or produced, provided that, (a) any such newspaper article which is inserted in any newspaper as aforesaid and which has been altered materially by the editor of such newspaper, may also be signed by such editor. (b) in the case of a report of a public meeting which is written jointly by two or more persons it shall be sufficient for the purposes of this sub-section if the report as a whole bears upon the face of it the full names and addresses of the persons by whom it was written, and (c) in the case of headlines to any newspaper article which is inserted in any newspaper as aforesaid, and bills, placards, or posters, having reference thereto, and which are issued in the ordinary practice of a newspaper, it shall be sufficient for the purposes of this section if the full names and addresses of the persons by whom such headlines, bills, placards, or posters were written, and a statement that such were written by such persons is published in the issue in which such newspaper article is inserted.

In order to test Section 40 of the above

Act/

Act, the writer made application to the Chief Electoral Officer at Pretoria for permission to inspect the newspaper returns made by "The Rand Daily Mail" and "Ons Vaderland" in respect of the Von Brandis by-election which had just been contested.¹⁶⁴ The reply received was: "I have the honour to inform you that no returns of electoral matter published in newspapers in connection with the recent by-election in the Electoral Division of Von Brandis have been received in this office from the proprietors or publishers of the papers mentioned by you". Nor, it is safe to add, have they been received in respect of any other election at any other time. The Section is so much waste of paper. Newspapers do not rely, even in however small a measure, for their income upon the payment of politicians for electoral matter published in connection with any political contest.

Subsection 7 of Section 1 of the Riotous Assemblies (Amendment) Act 1930 provides that :

"Wherever the Governor-General is of opinion that the publication or other dissemination of any documentary information (as defined in sub-section 11) is calculated to engender feelings of hostility between the European inhabitants of the Union on the one hand and any other section of the inhabitants of the Union on the other hand, he may, by a notice published in the Gazette and in any newspaper circulating in the area where the said documentary information is made available to the public, prohibit any publication or other dissemination thereof.

Sub-sections (8) and (9) provide respectively that a copy of such notice shall be sent to the Editor or other responsible person by registered post, and that any person affected by a prohibition under Section (7), has the right of appeal to the Provincial or Local Division of the Supreme Court to have the prohibition set aside. Section(10) makes contravention of a notice published in terms of
sub-section /

164. Application was made on July 1st, 1932.

sub-section (7) an offence, while sub-section (11) defines "documentary information" as, "any book, foreign magazine, pamphlet, manifesto, foreign newspaper, handbill, or poster, or any article or advertisement, cartoon, picture or drawing in any periodical publication or newspaper.

While this Sword of Damocles has, as far as the writer has been able to ascertain not yet been applied to any newspaper, there can be no doubt that it has done much to tone down some of the more daring and out-spoken mouthpieces of the native races of the Union. It is a piece of repressive legislation comparable to the Kruger Press Laws which have already been discussed in this chapter and as such it must be condemned.

Section 19 of Act 25 of 1932 makes provision that certain information which should by law be published in a newspaper may be published in the Government Gazette instead. This measure was passed largely to reduce the substantial advertising expenses falling upon the Government. If rumour is to be believed, the Transvaal Provincial Council will be asked at its Sitting in 1933 to pass an Ordinance embodying a similar principle.

The final measure which now remains to be examined is Mr. Pirow's Newspaper Libel Bill. This Bill, which was introduced into the House of Assembly in 1931, was intended to provide a measure of protection for newspapers against unscrupulous persons anxious to mulct newspapers of damages for unintentional libel. In spite of subsequent correction. Its provisions were briefly as follows :

"When a libellous allegation in connection with any person is published in a newspaper, the person will not be entitled to any

damages /

damages if the person or body, from whom damages are demanded, can prove :

(a) That the allegation concerned has been published without intention to damage the person libelled; and

(b) that the allegation concerned has been published erroneously and that the error is not due to the gross negligence of the person who was responsible for the publication, or who helped in the publication; and

(c) that within a reasonable time after the publication concerned the newspaper publishes an adequate apology in a manner calculated to draw no less attention to it than that to the allegation."

Before its Second Reading the Bill was referred to a Select Committee which brought out a fresh Draft but the measure was taken no further. The summary of the work of the Select Committee, consisting of the Minister of Justice, (Mr. O. Pirow), Mr. R.W. Close, the Rev. C.W.M. du Toit, Col. C. F. Stallard, and Mr. Visser, can best be given in the form in which it appeared in the "Pretoria News".

"What Mr. Pirow intended to give the newspapers in the way of increased protection against libel risks with one hand, the Select Committee of the House of Assembly, to which his Newspaper Libel Bill was referred has taken away with the other. In the amended measure, which is to be brought up for second reading on Monday, all the legal intelligence of Parliament seems to have combined in making the last state of the Press worse than the first, and to ensure for the Lawyers a further prolific harvest.

There was a general criticism against the original draft that, brief and simple as it was, it still exposed the newspapers to vexatious litigation at the hands of men of straw. The new Bill is much worse.

It lays down that in any newspaper report the proceedings of Parliament, Provincial Councils, Law Courts, any ecclesiastical body or local government authority, or any public meeting "any statement which solely by reason of an inaccuracy in such report is defamatory, no person shall be entitled to recover damages for such defamation from any person concerned with the publication of such newspaper, if the person from whom the damages are claimed proves :-

- (1). That the inaccuracy was published bona fide in error and that such error was not due to want of reasonable care on his part, or on the part of any person who effected or assisted in effecting such publication, whether by reporting or otherwise; and
(2) that within a reasonable period after the date on which the inaccuracy became known to him an adequate apology was published in three successive issues of such newspaper at the foot of the leading article.

Notwithstanding such apology, any person so affected shall still have the right to recover damages to the extent of his actual loss in respect of such defamatory statement. (165).

The most amazing feature of the Select Committee's deliberations was the fact that the Minister on each and every occasion voted in favour of the provisions of the new Draft Bill. Before the report of the Select Committee was published, the "Sunday Times" highly commended the Minister of Justice for his friendly gesture. "Every newspaper in South Africa", it declared, "will be grateful to Mr. Pirow for the protection likely to be afforded by the measure. but Mr. Pirow's measure does not go far enough". If the same paper were to have commented on the new Draft Bill as it appeared in its disguised, unrecognisable, and mutilated form from the Select Committee, its comment would probably have been that it did not go anywhere at all! It is to be hoped that the Bill, now lying dormant in a pigeon-hole, will not be resurrected.

The writer has obtained a number of interesting cases in which South African newspapers have been brought before both the criminal and civil Courts of this country but space forbids even a brief summary of these cases here. Nor

do/

165. The writer, in his capacity as President of the Pretoria Branch of the South African Society of Journalists, in his annual report for 1931, wrote of this measure as follows : Mr. Pirow's Newspaper Libel Bill, which emerged from the Select Committee in an almost unrecognisable form, has fortunately not been translated into law and it is to be hoped that it will not be placed on the Statute Book in its present form. This is a matter to which the attention of the incoming Council (of the Journalists' Society) should be devoted without delay."

166. Proceedings of the Select Committee, April, 1931.

do they, in any event, come within the strict compass of this investigation which is in the nature rather of a historical survey of legislation affecting the Press than of a consideration of these laws in actual practice. The inclusion of the latter term of reference would necessitate the devotion of an entire volume to this aspect. Nor is it intended to deal with the law regarding copyright, or the position of the Press in times of Martial Law. Both these matters are of first-rate importance and justice could not be done to them in any scanty survey. They are recommended as a fruitful field of research for other investigators in this field.

Having attempted to give a thoroughly comprehensive, but not entirely exhaustive, survey of the position of the South African Press as determined by the Statute Book, the writer will conclude this chapter with a few references to the position of the Press in other countries in order to show, in spite of practical grievances, that South Africa has little to complain of as far as the liberty of its Press is concerned.

Before leaving this chapter, the writer would like to comment upon the provision made by the State for the proper recording of both old and current newspapers and of their attitude towards research workers. The Cape Archives is virtually the only storehouse in South Africa of any considerable quantity of early South African newspapers, although the Natal Archives have a complete record of all the early newspapers in Natal, most of which are now sleeping the sleep of the just. As far as current newspaper records are concerned, it is not compulsory for a newspaper to register itself, but, in order to obtain the benefit of the lower postal rate, newspapers invariably do register themselves

at the Post Office. Not all applications are approved of, however, as there are a number of publications in the Union which do not come within the definition of a newspaper as laid down in the Post Office Act. The Post Office, doing no more than its duty, keeps only a current register of newspapers. The registration system of the Department of the Interior is hardly more effective.

Investigations made by the writer revealed the fact that newspaper registers kept in the Department of the Interior are in respect of newspapers published in the Transvaal and Natal only, there being no law in the Free State providing for registration, while, under the relative act in force in the Cape Province registration was effected with the Civil Commissioner, now the Magistrate, so that in that Province the records are not centralised. The records of the Department of the Interior represent therefore only a portion, and probably not the greater, of the newspapers published in
167
the Union.

This seems a grave mistake. Newspapers are the best sources of information for persons engaged upon problems affecting current history and reflect in a manner not otherwise possible the changing modes and manners of passing generations. Failure to remedy this defect will mean the irrecoverable loss of valuable information regarding South Africa's national life, customs, and problems.

The writer wishes further to place on record the fact that a source of information-- the value of which is not known because it could not be tested-- was denied him because "it is not the custom of the Department of the Interior

to /

167. The Secretary for the Interior in a communique to the writer.

to permit the inspection of its records before they become part of the state Archives"!

In a subsequent chapter ("Press and Politics") mention will be made of suggestions made in Great Britain to clip the wings of newspapers which repeatedly and unremittingly attacked the Government.

While the idea remains in the realm of theory in Great Britain, a very similar scheme has already become effective in Germany, where, by decree, newspapers are compelled to publish all Government manifestos and proclamations gratis and any newspaper attacking the Government is forbidden to comment on the Government's reply to it in the same issue in which the Government's reply appears. ¹⁶⁸ Comment in subsequent issues on the Government's reply is not prohibited.

The position in Germany in regard to the Press is determined by Article 45 of the constitution. Under this Article a position now prevails in that country similar to that in the Transvaal in the days of President Paul Kruger. ¹⁶⁹ That G.P. Gooch has every justification for his statement that the freedom of the Press was not unqualified was demonstrated in July 1932, when the Supreme Court of Leipzig upheld the Government's ruling suppressing the newspaper "Volks Zeitung" for three days. The Supreme Court similarly upheld the Government on July 1st, 1932, regarding the suppression of the ¹⁷⁰ "Vorwaerts".

Drastic action was taken by Mr. Mcullin's ¹⁷¹ Government in Australia in the previous year. An Australian /

- 168. "Natal Witness", 1931.
- 169. "Germany", page 106.
- 170. "Star", July 6th, 1932.
- 171. "Star" — 1932.

Since Hitler's advent these examples could be multiplied tenfold.

Australian journalist who secured the text of the cables between Mr. Scullin when in England and his colleagues in Australia was interrogated by the Attorney General who demanded to know how the contents of the cables had been secured. The journalist refused to tell on the ground that he would be violating the ethics of his profession. The Australian Cabinet thereupon retaliated by banning him from all Government Offices and asking the Speaker to refuse him admittance to the precincts of Parliament. The Speaker complied with the request and the Pressman was expelled from the Federal House of Representatives. Under what statutory authority this was done is not known.

172

A message to the "Star" from Tokio shows how discriminatory and invidious is the legislation affecting the Press in China. Some of the relevant facts in the message are as follows :

"The Chinese attitude towards Japanese newspaper correspondents is regarded here almost as a challenge to the freedom of the Press. So oppressive have been the recent measures against Japanese and other foreign Press correspondents in China that it is felt they had not been able to do their duty properly.

Leading Japanese newspapers, constituting the Shimbun Renco, or associated press of Japan, therefore called an urgent conference of their representatives yesterday. This meeting decided to request Baron Shidehara, the Foreign Minister, to demand immediate cancellation of the Chinese Government's orders prohibiting Renco correspondents from telephone and telegraph facilities in China.

The attitude of the Chinese Government dated from the resignation of the Minister Hu Han-min, state councillor, and President of the Legislative Yuan. They reported the full facts of Hu Han-Min's detention, although they also gave full publicity to the views of President Chiang Kai-shek, and statements from other official sources.

The /

The Chinese authorities, it is said, urged the Japanese representatives to "correct" their reports, and to state that the Minister had resigned of his own accord, and not as a result of his detention by Chiang Kai-shek.

The Japanese correspondents said they were prepared to publish the facts of the case if they could have an interview with Hu Han-min, but the Chinese authorities refused to agree, and deprived Japanese journalists in Nanking of all facilities for sending and receiving messages.

As the result of a protest to the Japanese consul in Nanking, the ban was lifted after five days for Japanese journalists other than the Renco correspondents.

The Chinese authorities have unofficially suggested that the Renco correspondents in Nanking should be replaced, but the Renco has refused to agree, and the Chinese authorities have prohibited the association's correspondents throughout China from the use of telephones and telegraphs, giving no reason for their decision".

Since the "March on Rome" in 1922 the position of the Italian Press has undergone far-reaching modifications. Those newspapers which are not Fascist are hardly newspapers at all and their number is rapidly becoming more and more negligible. Mussolini, himself at one time a journalist and Editor of "Il Popolo d'Italia", cannot be congratulated on the suppressive measures to which he has subjected the Italian Press. If the axiom that the greatest countries have the freest Press can be accepted, then Italy has indeed been reduced in status. A Regime which depends for its permanency upon such oppressive measures cannot be said to be built upon firm foundations. "The Fascist Experiment" by Luigi Villari demonstrates strikingly how the Italian Press has been muzzled. Enforcement of the Government decree of July 15th, 1923, together with further provisions contained in a decree of July 10th, 1924, placed an effective restraint upon the Press, which was prevented from publishing seditious articles. "Opposition and even

173

Fascist /

Fascist papers were frequently confiscated for publishing seditious comments, although they were not prevented from publishing facts or news" ("The Fascist Experiment" page 212).

The decrees, being temporary measures, were supplanted by an Act of Parliament in December 1934, which largely embodied their oppressive provisions of the decrees. The Act further created an Order of Journalists in every town where there is a Court of Appeal and the journalistic profession can only be exercised by persons registered in the said Order, while the Prefect is empowered to issue a warning to any newspaper which publishes false statements calculated to injure the credit of the country, to hamper its diplomatic action, to provoke breaches of the peace, or if it instigates others to commit seditious acts, insults the King, the Royal family, the Pope, religion, and the heads of friendly States ("The Fascist Experiment", page 211).

Villari's view is that, apart from the advent of Fascism, this was a natural reaction to the unlimited liberty which the Press enjoyed under the Edict of Carlo Alberto of 1848. The Press apparently abused these privileges and "the most unlimited licence prevailed".

175

A Bill is at present under consideration by the Chamber of Deputies at Athens whereby penalties will be exacted for the deliberate publication of false news, insulting foreign rulers and States, and making derogatory references to public functionaries. The Bill provides for the banning of obscene matter and details of crimes and

criminal /

174. This clause rings strangely when one recalls the methods by which Mussolini and his "Black Shirts" sky-rocketed their way to power.

175. 1932.

criminal trials. Directors of Corporations will be entitled to reply to criticisms no less prominently printed, and if a penalty is inflicted, the Courts may be empowered to seize the printing machinery until the fines are paid. The provisions of the Bill appear to be more drastic than they actually are, as it is obvious that the better class newspapers will not be affected. The Bill obviously aims at putting a stop to the more sensational and less discreet type of newspapers, whose aim is directed at circulation even if prestige has to be sacrificed in the process. More responsible Press organs realise that the latter is of even more importance than the former.

The new Turkish Press law, which passed the Angora Government last year, contains some drastic provisions, as a result of which the Press has to a large extent been muzzled. The avowed object of the legislation was to eliminate anti-Kemalists from the profession of journalism and to produce a more dignified and responsible Press. One of the means adopted to secure this end was the provision that all facts relating to the Police must not be "written up" but must be published in the exact form in which the facts are supplied by the Police.

177
The "Star": -

* This was inserted in the law chiefly to stop the sensationalism due to highly-coloured presentations of murders and suicides. The latter have recently become so frequent, especially among the young and among Turkish women and students, that suicide is almost epidemic. There is no doubt that Press publicity, especially interviews with those who have attempted suicide, which have become a "feature" in certain Turkish newspapers, has contributed to it. But while it is considered reasonable to stop such publicity,
and /

176. "Natal Witness" 1931.

177. March 3rd, 1931.

and also to prevent the detailed reporting of divorce proceedings - another provision of the new law- it is doubted whether murders should be included under the ban on reporting. Turkish journalists are inclined to criticise the law on this ground, saying that too much power is being given into the hands of the police and that, if occasion arises, they may hush up political or other murders of which it would be to the advantage of the public to have full details. But the dread of Press sensationalism and Press influence on the morals of the public overweighed this danger in the eyes of the framers of the law.

"No newspaper articles may be published advocating the restriction of births or bearing unfavourably upon the institution of monogamous marriage. Anti-birth and anti-marriage propoganda was already doing harm in the country, whereas the chief need of Turkey was a development of population. What was the good, of prizes for large families if the cynical views of the family prevalent now in Western Europe were allowed ventilation?".

"Meanwhile, to apply the law, which has some 50 provisions, vast commissions have to be set up at Angora and Stamboul to "watch the Press". It is interesting that the stamboul Commission will probably be headed by a Turkish woman. This will not militate in favour of leniency. To meet the new conditions, several newspapers owners whose past is equivocal, are "retiring from the profession" and are transferring their papers to their wives".

These references have been included to show that the freedom of the Press is still an ideal for which the Eastern countries will have to fight, persistently and hard, if they are to fulfil the public trust which it is the duty of every newspaper to fulfil. Suppression of facts is an invidious and futile method of endeavouring to maintain an artificial state of affairs in any community. If Turkish citizens have a tendency to restrict families, they will do so, whether or not goaded on by the Press. On the other hand the Turkish Press, in order to obtain the repeal of the restrictions which at present shackle them must set their own house in order and show by the expression of moderate and sane views, and by a fair presentation of facts that its desire is by no means to be extremist but to give a fair reflection of the state of the country as it finds it. The best Press censorship is public opinion.

CHAPTER III.THE PRESS AND THE PULPIT.

The Church has nothing to fear from the Press. This has not always been the case for the traditional resentment by the Church of criticism was incompatible with the relentless searchlight of enquiry and publicity which the Press flashes in all directions, respecting neither class nor rank, profession nor position. With the altered spirit with which the Twentieth Century has found the Church imbued, however, the antagonism of the past has become mellowed with age and the leaders of ecclesiastical thought have begun to realise that, just as they themselves are not wholly good, so the Press is not wholly bad. Progress is made by the subjection of existing practices and traditions to a careful analysis, the rejection of what is found to be unwholesome, and the preservation of those qualities which still meet with approval. This is an age of enlightened religion.

As far as the Church is concerned, it has few functionaries within its own walls capable of performing this extremely delicate task of self-criticism impartially and without prejudice. Any such attempted analysis would be accomplished "through Church-coloured glasses". This being so, it is necessary, if the Church is to march with the times and keep itself acquainted with the people's reasonable requirements in the spiritual world, for it has not only to be alive to its defects but to put its house in order. The part which the Press has played in drawing attention to the

attitude /

attitude of the Church towards the community as a whole is not inconsiderable. In countries where the Roman Catholic Church is strongly organised and is able to support its own Press, adverse criticism from a non-Catholic Press is not tolerated. In a free and progressive country like South Africa, however, freedom to criticise fairly is not denied.

That no unfriendly feeling towards the Church animates the Press is evident from the fact that most Editors throw open their columns, free of charge, to all notices of forthcoming services of Church meetings, special columns being set aside each Friday afternoon or Saturday morning for this purpose. The Ministers of Religion are not slow to realise the value of this free publicity and these columns are invariably filled. Sermons, too, are frequently reported, provided the reporter is able to find some topical reference on to which to base the sermon, for it is common cause that the man-in-the-street does not wish to have a dull reproduction in print of a sermon which was not sufficiently attractive when advertised to draw him to the Church to hear it from the pulpit. The "Sunday Times", and the "Rand Daily Mail", and other newspapers publish weekly sermons which are specially written by selected writers, and the appreciative letters which have been received by the Editors of the papers concerned are proof positive of the fact that those sermons get to the hearts of persons who are untouched by the sermons preached from the Pulpit because they do not go to Church to hear them. This practice of publishing sermons is also followed by the Afrikaans Press.

The London "Daily Express" published a series of articles during 1931 dealing with the experiences of a
youth /

youth in one of the English penal institutions. His opening sentence in his article on "Religion in Prison" read as follows :

"During the past few weeks the 'Daily Express' has filled the Chapel of the Prison every Sunday afternoon.

The article continued in such an illuminating manner that it seems advisable to quote it fairly fully. It clearly demonstrated that the Press is one of the most powerful allies the Pulpit can hope to have. It gets its message across to tens of millions, while the Church caters for the spiritual needs of millions. The article continued :

"Some months ago the Church Army official at the prison, and one of the best-loved Christian workers in the British prison service, conducted an experiment one Sunday of reading one of the famous "My Religion" articles from the "Daily Express" instead of delivering a stereotyped sermon.

During the following week hundreds of men sent for him and appealed to him to read more of these articles.

He consulted the prison chaplain, who agreed that these articles, judging from the intense interest which had been aroused among the prisoners by the first, supplied a long-felt want.

Thus it came about that the articles by famous people on "My Religion" and "How I Look at Life" have been the means of filling the prison's chapel to the doors every Sunday afternoon for months.

If no one else in the whole of England read those articles, the writers can be assured that they have brought joy and new hope to hundreds of men who thought they had been forgotten in the world.

An indication of the broadmindedness of this official is provided by the fact that on recent Sundays he has read the conflicting articles on "Why I Became a Catholic" by Eveyln Waugh, and its sequel on "Why I Am a Protestant" by E. Rosslyn Mitchell."

"The Churchman", a well-known organ of Anglican opinion in this country published in January, 1931, an article dealing with the question of the teaching of the truths of religion in other ways than the conventional method of

preaching /

178
preaching from the pulpit. This article suggested that journalism had shown a re-awakened interest in religion, and pointed to works of a definitely religious nature by Dean Inge, the late Studdart Kennedy, and the Dean of Canterbury, which had been listed among the best sellers of the season. The attitude of "The Churchman" towards the Press is best summed up in its own words :

"Although from time to time The Churchman has had tilts at one or other of the daily newspapers (from which, however, they seem to recover with disconcerting rapidity) it is glad of an opportunity, of paying its humble tribute not only of admiration for the extraordinarily efficient organisation, but to the general qualities of honesty and fairness with which the journalism of our day is conducted".

"The Churchman" drew attention to the fact that has already been mentioned, that newspapers willingly devote a full column of their precious space each week to a sermon, and added :

"Some think it is vulgarising the Faith. So it is. And so it should be, if you recall the exact meaning of the term "vulgar". It is actually enjoined upon the clergy that the faith shall be taught in the "vulgar" tongue. One of the greatest mistakes made by Church papers is that they will persist in publishing articles which, while they may interest the parson, leave the layman stone cold. The great majority of the church papers are merely trade journals for the clergy".

The article further suggested that what was wanted was an "Ecclesiastical John Bull", and remarked that the "Christian Science Monitor" was often held up as the best example of religious propaganda through newspaper

avenues /

-
178. Reproduced in full in the "Natal Witness", January 23rd, 1931 under the headlines, "Teaching Religion in Newspapers", "The Churchman praises modern Journalism".
179. Speaking at a Missionary meeting at Chiltorne Domer, Dorset, the Rev. C.T. Warren outlined the value of what is called "Newspaper Evangelism" and the phenomenal success which had attended this way of spreading the Word of God" - "Western Gazette", August 26th, 1932.

avenues. But that paper, it added was heavily subsidized, and the Church of Christ Scientist was a corporation well able to bear the expense. The natural result of the publication of this paper was that people who would ordinarily have had no interest in Christian Science were becoming acquainted with its teachings. The article continued with the further observation: "Religion to-day is in the news, and well it deserves to be, for it is the very essence of Christianity that it should supply the leaven which leavens the whole lump of our domestic, civil, and political life".

The article has been quoted in extenso because it is one of the most instructive that has been traced by the writer, so far as the relations between the Press and the Pulpit are concerned. A claim made earlier in this work that the Press is the most powerful force in the world to-day was partly borne out by the Rev. Glyndwr Davies, of Pretoria, ¹⁸⁰ who declared from the pulpit that "There are five powerful factors that play upon the mind of modern life; the Press, fiction, wireless, the drama, and the films". The fact of the Press having been placed first in this category leads the writer to infer that the speaker regarded it as the most powerful of the five factors mentioned. Mr. Davies did not enlarge upon ecclesiastical--Press relations on that occasion because his topic was the subject of "good and bad films". The underlying sympathy which the Church has for the Press and a tacit acknowledgment by the former of the power of the latter is also borne out in the following sentence occurring in a pamphlet issued in the Diocese of Leicester during a Week of Prayer held during February, 1932. The prayer reads/

180. "Pretoria News", March 22nd, 1931.

reads: "That the Press may realise its grave responsibilities towards these and other national evils", the evil referred to being a State lottery.

Church Leaders are naturally devout observers of the rule of Sunday observance, and a piquant position arose in Pretoria two years ago when the "Pretoria News" asked "If newspaper men insist on having their day of rest as well as other people, who is going to report the sermons in favour of Sunday observance?". Similarly in Johannesburg four years ago, the Dean, the Very Rev. W.A. Palmer, rang up the "Rand Daily Mail" asking for a reporter to attend the Good Friday service as he intended making some outspoken comment on the hard-heartedness of the Municipality in making road-workers continue their labours on that sacred holiday!

Some indication has thus far been given of the relationship existing between the Press and the Churches in general. The point which the writer has endeavoured to make is that the relationship is a friendly one, that a spirit of co-operation exists, and that the Press is a powerful ally of the Church in spreading the Gospel. This is not a primary object, however. The Press is out to get the news, in whatever form it may take. Thus, when Mr. T. Gordon Ellis, a well-known Pretoria Architect resigned his position as Churchwarden of Christ Church, Arcadia, and his membership from that Church, the Press made this a hinge on which to hang a long story of dissatisfaction with and dissent from the High Church tendencies practiced in the Church of the Province of South Africa as instanced in the wearing of vestments and the insistence upon the importance of the confessional. When, two years later, a branch of the Church of England, as opposed to the

Church /

Church of the Province, was established in the Capital, this was made the occasion for the recapitulation for the whole of the inner story of the resignation. This rankled certain Church dignitaries in Pretoria but they were powerless to prevent events taking their course, as the source of information of the Pressman concerned was the Church Magazine itself:

publicity in regard to the controversy between the Church of the Province of South Africa and the Church of England is also not desired by the stronger body, although the smaller body went to the length of paying for a half-page advertisement in the "Cape Times" under the heading of "Why Two Churches?" This was stopped by injunction of Court pending litigation on the matter. Explanations "for the private consumption of parishioners and not for general information" were written by the Dean of Pretoria in connection with the dispute, but the outspoken remarks of the Dean proved irresistible and these duly appeared in the daily Press.

Although "Lapses from Grace" are sufficiently numerous to demand a chapter to themselves, the following incident will not be out of place here. It must be remembered, however, that there are always two sides to a question, and that a Bishop must not, merely because he is a Bishop, be given prior sympathy over a journalist. Both may be honourable men, and differences of opinion are legitimate. The Bishop of the Falkland Island made some severe comments on London newspaper methods when he returned to South America.

"He refused interviews to English newspapermen in Buenos Aires on account of his treatment at the hands of a London interviewer, who dismissed in a few lines carefully prepared information on

conditions /

181. The Very Rev. Julius Gordon.

182. See Chapter ix .

183. "World's Press News," 1931.

conditions in the Falklands, but dressed with elaborate headlines statements which he never made on the subject of the importance of Falkland wool products to the Bradford industry.

"In future I shall be very chary of what I say to newspaper representatives", said His Lordship.

"My experience in England has shown that one's statements are liable to suffer extraordinary transmutation into nonsense before they get into print".

"In an editorial comment, the Buenos Aires Herald stated :

"A reporter not infrequently finds it necessary to feign polite interest in a mass of non-essentials to obtain one paragraph that will appeal to a hard headed sub-editor.

Information about the Falkland Islands, for instance, is not news. But an indication of the value of Falklands' wool to Bradford might be turned into a bright news story".

On this incident hangs the whole question of "what is news?". The Reporter and the Bishop failed to agree on this point, but, after all, the reporter knows his job and as long as the Bishop was not misreported he seems to have no legitimate grouse.

A further clash between Pressmen and a Church dignitary may be mentioned. The Bishop of Pretoria, the Right Rev. N.S. Talbot, asked to express an opinion in connection with the resignation of Mr, Gordon Ellis, replied "I will not be baited. You are trying to stir up a hornet's nest", and rang off. These words were attributed to him the following day and the Bishop immediately disclaimed having used them. The reporter maintained that His Lordship had thus addressed him and added, logically, that he was unlikely to put fictitious words into His Lordship's mouth, knowing full well that the report involved would in all probability be read by the Bishop.

Publicity of a form more welcome to the Church
185
was given in the "Sunday Times", where it was stated that :

"There/

184. Referred to above.

185. April 3rd, 1931.

"There were definite signs of a revival in church-going, and the opinion of those best qualified to judge was that this new interest in religion was one result of the difficult times through which we are passing.

"Last Easter Sunday" said the Dean of Johannesburg, the Very Rev. W.A. Palmer, to a "Sunday Times" representative, "we had the largest congregation in St. Mary's Cathedral since the consecration. In the evening people were taking their places an hour and a quarter before the service began. At 7 o'clock-half an hour before-every decent place was occupied. The nave and the galleries were crowded to capacity, and even the chapels had to be used. We had 1,200 service papers printed. These were nothing like enough".

"The Southern Cross", the organ of Roman Catholic Opinion in South Africa, has assigned the words of Cardinal Newman, spoken to the Catholic Union of Great Britain, for the ideal of the Catholic Press. "The words might have been addressed to Catholic journalists of the world", the paper stated, and proceeded to quote them as follows :

"They would pray.... for a removal from the public mind of prejudice and ignorance about us; for a better understanding in all quarters of what we hold and what we do not hold; for a feeling of goodwill and respectful bearing in the population towards our bishops and priests; for a growing capacity in the educated classes of entering into a just appreciation of our principles".

The same paper in the course of a series of articles on "Civilisation and Culture" by the Rev. Ernest Hull, S.J. devoted two of these articles to "The Power of
186
the Press". In his opening article, Mr. Hull remarked that "The responsibility of the journalist is in one sense far greater than that of a priest. For the priest has his message cut out for him, and has merely to deliver it as received; while the journalist has a free field to choose his own message from, and must choose it, whether for well or ill". Mr Hull stated further that, when approached by

a/

186. "Southern Cross" November 5th, 1930, and following week.

a preacher for a scheme for a sermon to be preached to a congregation of newspapermen on "The Ethics of Journalism", he replied: "A journalist can legitimately have no other object in life than to spread as much truth and as much goodness as possible to the largest possible number of minds - and to save them from as much untruth and badness as he can. To this all other objects must be subordinated. Amusement, sensationalism, popularity, controversy, party propaganda, circulation, financial success - all these things have a legitimate place in journalism just so far as they are promotive of truth and goodness, or are at least innocent and indifferent, and contain nothing contrary thereto".

"What pathos of impracticability! Mr. Hull exclaimed. "The proposal, I fancy, would strike the average run of secular journalists - the choice and noble-minded few excepted - as almost bizarre in its naiveté. Probably the aim and object which they would recognise as the right one instead would run more or less like this: 'the pursuit of popularity, or influence on public opinion, no matter in what direction it might be'. There are individual exceptions, and a good sprinkling of them; but they do not constitute the rule".

It is added that pages upon pages have been written expatiating the world-wide power of journalism, claiming that the Press is the Gospel, and that journalists are its priesthood.

As already stated, Afrikaans newspapers have thrown open their columns to weekly sermons in order to assist Leaders of the Dutch Reformed Churches in this country to disseminate the Gospel more widely. It is sections of this Church, however, which view the Press with less tolerance and open-mindedness than the other Churches which have been

under /

under consideration. Accordingly, when the Synod of the Nederduitse Hervormde Kerk met in Pretoria in 1931 an effort was made to exclude Press representatives from its deliberations. The Rev. J. J. Prinsloo wanted to know whether "that necessary evil", the Press, should be admitted. They had been allowed at previous Synods, he said, but did not always look at matters from the same angle as the Church. He moved that they should not be admitted but that a copy of the minutes should be handed to them at the end of each Session. The Rev. T. Breyer, of Standerton, championed the Press, however, saying that, through their medium, the teachings, aims, and objects of the Church would be made clear to the world. This view was taken by the majority of the elders and "Predikante" present and the Press representatives were allowed to attend the sittings.

Only a month previously, there was a further "incident" in which the Press and the Dutch Reformed Church (the Herv. of Geref. Kerk) were involved. This arose out of the publication before consideration by Synod of a Synodal Commission's report dealing with Mission work among Jews. The report, which contained some startlingly outspoken statements, was handed to the Press at the commencement of the Synod, together with all the other Commissions' reports and other matters which would come before Synod. No request was made that they should not be published in any way before consideration had been given to them and no objection was taken to other reports similarly treated. The nature of this report was so sensational, however, that publication was calculated to do harm, and a vote of censure was passed

on /

187. According to the "Rand Daily Mail".

on the Pressman concerned.

The whole question of whether or not the Press should be permitted to continue attending the Sessions of Synod was automatically raised, and the debate which followed was illuminating. The Rev. W. Nicol, of Johannesburg, argued that it was surely not the intention of the Synod to sit behind closed doors. The Press reports of the proceedings had generally been favourable, and it would be more appropriate if a vote of appreciation were passed to the Press he stated. The Rev. G. B. A. Cerdener, of Wakkerstroom, also championed the Press, saying that there could be no question of a return to the days of the Inquisition. It was undesirable, he declared, to encroach in any way upon the liberty of the Press. The reports which had been published would stand the test of publicity. ¹⁸⁸ Ultimately the Press was allowed to remain, but was requested not to give too much publicity to the Professor du Plessis case, which came up later for discussion.

There is no intention of analysing in detail the attitude of the multiple denominations in this country in regard to the Press, but it is worthy of note that the Wesleyan Church does not permit the Press to attend its annual Conferences, but appoints a Minister as Press representative to ensure that the local newspapers are given all the "copy" which that Church would desire to see published, and none of that which it does not desire to have published. The Anglican Church, on the other hand, welcomes the Press, not only to its Diocesan Synods, but also to the Bishops' Synod, which was last held in Johannesburg four years ago and which the writer personally attended.

That /

188. "Rand Daily Mail", April 18th, 1931.

That the power of the printed page in making known the truths of the Written Word is freely acknowledged by the Church is apparent from what precedes, but it becomes still more obvious when it is pointed out that each Parish has its own Magazine to supplement the journal produced by the Diocese each month. This pamphlet— it rarely amounts to more than a pamphlet in this country— contains fixtures of forthcoming services, and meetings, a letter from the Vicar, financial statement of the Church, a list of Births, Deaths, and Marriages, and other items of Church news. It is an effective instrument for the stimulation of interest in matters spiritual and exercises a powerful and beneficial co-ordinating influence over its subscribers. For these reasons, in spite of the cost of production, and the time and trouble involved, the Parish Magazine continues to be an integral part of the duties of the parish priest. In England the magazines are on a rather more ambitious scale, and invariably include a story which serves to "point a moral or adorn a tale". But, whatever the size or nature of the Magazine, its object is the same, and its effectiveness in achieving that object is the justification for its continuance in spite of the counter-acting considerations already outlined.

In order to make this survey of Press and Pulpit relationships as complete as possible, the writer endeavoured to obtain the views on this subject of the Leaders of three different denominational Churches in Johannesburg. Each clergyman was approached independently of the others but all appeared to be unanimous in their views - whatever they may have been - for none of them so much as regretfully

declined /

declined the invitation to enunciate their views, a conspiracy of silence prevailed. This is strange, in view of the fact that the Press, far from being hostile or antagonistic towards the Church, can - and does - assist that body most effectively in its efforts to reach the multitudes and masses with their simple message of Truth.

CHAPTER V.

THE PRESS AND POLITICS.

In no other sphere of journalistic activity has the element with which the Press has had to deal shown such a complete volte face as the political element. In most other activities the present position represents merely a development of the position previously existing or is the result of the gradual growth of an innovation which has been made and which has met with approval. In the political world, however, the Press has, in a comparatively short space of time, altered its position from being regarded as the politician's deadliest enemy to that of being a valuable asset. After having been hounded out of the English House of Commons and debarred from reporting the proceedings, the Press has now become an institution the personal representatives of which are treated with the utmost care and consideration, and no Legislative body is considered complete unless it has adequate Press accommodation.

The change which has come about in this connection is described by Mr. John Pendleton. Mr. Pendleton states :

"The legislators were furious against the writers for the Press who dared to enter the House to give the public outside some idea of the wine-flavoured oratory that sparkled within, and the reporters who clung to their hazardous employment in the Eighteenth Century were hunted from Parliament, persecuted, fined, and treated with

ignominy/

189. Author of "Newspaper Reporting", etc., in "How to Succeed as a Journalist."

190. Page 84.

ignominy. Resolute effort and resource, longhand and shorthand dexterity, backed by public opinion, ultimately overcame the prejudice and opposition of honourable members....Parliament is nevertheless jealous of its prerogative and reserves to itself the power to expel journalists at any moment. 'Dod's Parliamentary Companion' sets forth: 'It is contrary to the standing orders of both Houses that strangers should be present and an individual member can demand that the order be enforced'.

Although the position on paper of the Press is still insecure, in practice it is firmly entrenched in the reporting of Parliamentary proceedings and it would require the courage of a very brave man to propose that this privilege should be withdrawn or suspended. A body of men, popularly elected, coming together periodically to discuss in secret the affairs of the country and to guide the ship of State, under cover of doors closed to the Press, would not be tolerated in the more advanced and civilised States. The Press has become to be regarded as essential as "Mr. Speaker" himself. It is the watch-dog of the nation, ever on the alert to find fault, to give honour where honour is due, and to report fairly and to the best of its ability the proceedings of the Legislature.

This national watch-dog is unfortunately of different breeds, and the fault-finding and bestowal of praise depends largely upon which political party the watch-dog has extended its patronage. This partisanship of the Press is one of its defects. Political prejudices-- or should the word "convictions" out of charity be used? -- tend not only to the "colouring" of Press reports, but also to biased criticism on the part of Parliamentary writers. Matters of national importance are looked at by each lobbyist from the particular angle of the paper whose interests he serves, and

an impartial survey of the proceedings is thus impossible to obtain, unless the lengthy and wearisome verbatim reports of Hansard are relied upon. Few persons-- if any-- have either the inclination or the time to wade through the numerous pages of Hansard and have to depend for their information upon the columns of the daily and the weekly newspapers, and their impressions are moulded accordingly.

As far as the actual reporting of Parliamentary debates is concerned, putting aside for later consideration the question of notes written from the Press Gallery, "From our Parliamentary Correspondent", the allegation --not infrequently made-- that speeches are deliberately misreported cannot be substantiated in fact. ¹⁹¹ Mistakes sometimes occur through reporters failing to catch certain words used by speakers and substituting in their place some other words which they thought had been used, through an incorrect transcription of shorthand notes, through a "free" translation being given, or through an error in telegraphic transmission, but professional honour and etiquette are both sufficient guarantees that a speech is not deliberately misreported or maliciously distorted. There are, however, other considerations with which politicians have to contend. A striking sentence may be taken out of its context and assume an altogether different meaning when it appears in print without the explanatory sentences which went before or the qualifying phrases which followed. Similarly, a summary of a speech may not convey to the thousands of readers of a newspaper exactly the same meaning as it conveyed to the few score members /

191. "I have never once in the whole course of my life complained of the accuracy of any newspaper report of any speech I have made. There is nothing connected with the Press that has ever got me into such great trouble as the accuracy of their reports of what I have said" - The Earl of Derby.

"When I was in Peking, about eight years ago, Dr. W. W. Yen told me that the word "Reuter" had passed into Chinese as a synonym for 'the true word', or Truth. - Sir Roderick Jones Chairman of Reuters for Cardiff Business Club, April, 1932"

members of the House to whom the words were uttered. In the same way a brilliant speech by a member whose political views do not co-incide with those of the paper in whose columns his speech is reported may be dismissed in a few lines, while a mediocre speaker propounding political opinions similar to those held by a certain newspaper may have a column or more devoted to his utterances in that paper. These are all defects which, owing to the urgent necessity for condensation of Parliamentary news, appear to be irremediable, but the damage done by these factors is lessened by the fact that more than one can play at the same game and it is a weak political party that does not have the support of some section of the Press. The defects of one newspaper are thus partly counter-balanced by the defects on the other side of the others

The reports of the "Parliamentary correspondents are even still more bewildering. While one paper may describe a Cabinet Minister's defence of his policy as "brilliant, masterly, and statesmanlike", another paper may describe the same speech as "a priceless example of beating about the bush, avoiding the vital issues, and a feeble attempt to save the situation in spite of its transparent hopelessness! The facts stated above are known and tacitly admitted by those who have given the subject any thought but the question of suggesting a solution to the difficulty is not an easy one to answer. The prohibition of such criticisms--confining Press activities to straightforward reporting-- might be one way out but this would not be desirable, as criticism is perhaps more necessary in the political field than elsewhere. Persons so criticised have always the power to reply to such criticism either in the House or on political platforms

during /

during election campaigns. This power is used as often as is thought fit.

Leading articles dealing with politics may conveniently be placed in the same category as Lobbyist's notes. These are written to the tune called by the political influence exercised over the paper. In fact leading articles are liable to be still more damaging to a cause than the Lobbyist's notes or the Parliamentary reports as they are invariably based on such notes or reports, subject, as has been shown, to colouration for the reasons stated above.

A way out of the difficulties described would be the creation of an independent newspaper, unhampered by political influence and prejudice, and criticising freely and justly. Moves have indeed been made in this direction. Theoretically such an independent newspaper would be an excellent institution but in practice it simply would not work. Sooner or later, probably sooner than later, the bias would be on one side or the other and the independence would have disappeared.

The views of some authorities in this connection should prove illuminating. Mr. Waldron Smithers, M.P. for
193
Chiselhurst said: "A newspaper should be absolutely independent and not dominated by one person or one party. It is becoming the custom among some big newspapers to allow the policy of that paper to be dictated by one person". In the course of a series of interesting articles on "The Press and
193
the Public" the following relevant paragraph appears:

If/

192. Speaking at the opening of the new offices of the "Kentish Times", reported in "World's Press News" June 4th, 1931.

193. Published in the "Natal Witness" during 1930.

"If politics is in such a discreditable condition, the fault lies to a great extent at the doors of the Press. I do not think that a newspaper should be a political instrument. It will be many years before politics, even in the most civilised country, becomes a dispassionate science and ceases to be a jumble of vested interests and unintelligent prejudices. Until then a newspaper taking part in political controversy on a partisan basis, cannot fail to sink to the same level. But it is not the newspapers that debase the standard of politics. The advent of the newspaper has exercised a temperate influence. Even the most reckless and embittered of newspapers dare not publish, unaltered, half the letters it receives from correspondents who seek to air their political views with a violence quite disproportionate to the issues in question. South Africa devotes far too much attention to politics at the expense of industry and culture. Newspapers are often accused of suppression, but a newspaper that ventured largely to close its columns to political controversy in South Africa would be deserving of widespread gratitude. Yet it is very doubtful if it would receive that gratitude, and even more doubtful if it would retain its circulation".

A strong advocate for an independent Press is
194

Mr. Michael Louw, who declared that: "The farmer is merely a tool in the hands of the politicians and the remedy for this state of affairs lies, not in forming a Farmers' Party, but in establishing a strong independent Press to serve exclusively as a farmer's mouthpiece and to promote their interests".

Specific instances of alleged misrepresentations by newspapers will serve to elaborate the remarks made earlier in this chapter, and, incidentally, to strengthen the hands of those who desire an independent Press, although, in the writer's opinion such an organ is not as yet within the range of possibility. The Minister of Lands (Mr. P.G.W. Grobler) ¹⁹⁵ deplored the fact that the National Party had no English newspaper, no mouthpiece with which it could make its ideas known to the English-speaking population. "It /

194. Addressing a meeting of farmers at Frieska, during 1931, reported in the "Pretoria News".

195. Addressing the Junior National Party, Johannesburg, reported in the "Rand Daily Mail", April 9th, 1931.

"It is impossible for the English-speaking people to understand us or our ideals as long as they are fed by an English press that is hostile to us", he declared. When one listened to the debates in Parliament and then read the English newspaper accounts, one was amazed at the misleading manner in which everything was reported. "How can the English-speaking people know that we are not the racials that the others try to paint us if they read only the English newspapers?"

"The Government had been criticised and called racials in Parliament, because of the appointments and promotions of Afrikaans-speaking men in the civil service, he proceeded. Nothing was said of the fact that the promotions of each section were equal. The facts were not given in the English Press, which accused the Government of making the civil service a close preserve for Dutch Afrikaners. The English-speaking people were not to blame. The facts were hidden from them.

"As long as the Nationalists had no English newspaper of their own, it was the duty of the Junior Nationalists to impress upon them that the truth was not told in the English Press".

Mr. F.J. Roberts, M.P. also has a grudge against the Press, and, following upon an outburst by the Jewish community against certain remarks attributed to him derogatory to the Jewish people, he declared ¹⁹⁶ that the newspapers always sent their worst reporters to his meetings. In a letter to ¹⁹⁷ "Ons Vaderland" Mr. Roberts wrote: "Enclosed is a copy of my address concerning the Jews which has caused such a stir and which the English newspapers have so distorted as to indicate that I am opposed to the Jewish nation and would favour their being driven from this country. I am prepared to stand criticism of what I said, but to be incorrectly reported and denied the opportunity of explaining my attitude, as I was by the English Press, is certainly unworthy of journalistic standards".

In /

196. "Star", January 31st, 1931.

197. January 19th, 1931.

In a footnote to the letter the Editor of "Ons Vaderland" wrote: "This paper also published a report of Mr. Roberts's speech which largely coincides with that published by other papers. Our Johannesburg correspondent is one of the most capable journalists I know and he attended Mr. Roberts' meeting. We showed him Mr. Roberts' version of his address and our correspondent asked us to say in reply that he adheres to every word of his own report".

Among the numerous letters which appeared in the Press in connection with the matter was the following: ¹⁹⁸

"Sir, - Mr. Roberts has, I see, made the usual excuse of the politician for his ridiculous remarks about the Jews. He blames the Press, and in no gallant way berates the efficiency of the reporter responsible. To any thinking man it is sufficiently illuminating to note that thousands of highly technical speeches, and long reports of company meetings, are reported year in and year out by The Star and other papers, with no corrections necessary.

It would appear that only the politicians suffer from misrepresentation. In most cases it would be better wisdom not to report them at all, and spare a long-suffering public".

Similarly Dr. N. J. van der Merwe, M.P., accused the "Natal Witness" of "gross misrepresentation", when, in the House of Assembly, he was charged with having stated that he was in favour of the arming of Native troops in the event of an invasion of South Africa. ¹⁹⁹ Dr. van der Merwe stated that the misrepresentation had taken place in spite of the fact that he had supplied the newspaper concerned with a copy of his address. When he read the report of his speech in the paper he hardly recognised a word of it and within half an hour had repudiated it in toto, although the newspaper had not published his denial until four days later.

Without /

198. "Star", January, 1931.

199. Reported in "Bloemfontein Friend", March 19th, 1931.

Without reflecting in any way upon the politicians mentioned in the foregoing examples of alleged misrepresentation, the writer would emphasise the fact that the blame does not always lie on one side. It is not always the Press that is in the wrong. In the heat of the moment a politician may say something which he ought not to have said, or which would have been better left unsaid, but the Pressmen have recorded his words "which may be used in evidence against him," to coin a legal phrase. How then is he to save his face

The following incident in the journalistic career of Mr. W. T. Cranfield indicates one manner of escape.

"I once had to interview a prominent politician on a topic then agitating the industrial world. I took a shorthand note. A proof was submitted by me personally and was declared "all right".

The article duly appeared, unsigned. Instantly there was an outcry. The man's private sympathies had led him to express an opinion that cut athwart the policy of his Party and delivered him bound into the hands of his enemies. What did he do? Declare that he had been misreported?. Nothing so ordinary. He repudiated the entire interview.

The Editor asked what I proposed to do about it. My answer was the carbon-copy of a lawyer's letter. I had preserved my shorthand notes.

At the Editor's earnest request, I consented to stay action, to "save" the politician's "face", on condition that the genuineness and accuracy of the interview were categorically admitted. This was done in writing. Moreover, a comparison, which I contrived to bring about, between my notes and the notes taken by the politician's secretary, showed me to have been meticulously just".

In illustration of the remarks made regarding Parliamentary Lobby correspondents extracts from the "Daily Sketch" follow. The article, headed "Mr. Snowden should know better", was in reply to an "outburst made by Mr. Snowden against the Lobby correspondent of the 'Daily Sketch' in the House of Commons".

"What /

200. Quoted in the "World's Press News".

201. February 14th, 1931.

"What the Daily Sketch correspondent wrote about Mr. Snowden was not what he said in the House" it was stated; "that was the business of the gallery journalists. His business was to state what others inferred to be the inner unexpressed meaning of what he said, its implications and its likely sequel. I confess that I had independently come to much the same conclusion as this Lobby representative. For Mr. Snowden, to complain that this correspondent had attributed to him intentions as to his policy that he did not express is quite beside the point. The business of a Lobby correspondent is to begin where the sentence ends, and to see as far round the corner as, or, if possible, farther than, anyone else, and Mr. Snowden, as a journalist himself, ought to have known better than make this mistake".

The St. George's (Westminster) by-election campaign provides a striking instance of how Press and politician may fight with the gloves off and how a due sense of proportion may be lost in the maze of personalities, irrelevant issues, and red herrings, which spring up to obscure the true purpose of an election, namely to ensure the success in a constituency of a candidate who can best serve the interests of his country. The by-election assumed an importance far beyond its due, sank to a low level of mud-slinging and abuse, and filled many columns of the newspapers--both overseas and in South Africa--for several weeks. From the many references to the campaign the writer has selected the following as being typical of the nature of the fight.

"Exchanges of abuse, reminiscent of the Eatanswill election, are figuring in the St. George's (Westminster) campaign. (302) One of the anti-Baldwin papers resenting the Conservative leader's references to an "insolent irresponsible plutocracy" retorted that Mr. Baldwin was the last man in the world who should reproach others for being rich. He had inherited great riches which had largely disappeared, and if it proved that he was an incompetent custodian of his own fortunes, he was not likely to be an efficient guardian of the nation's.

The /

"The paper described Mr. Duff Cooper as a political softy, and made great play of the fact that he lectured to the Kultur Society of Berlin on "an apology for the British Empire." The paper attached the everyday meaning to the word "apology" which Mr. Duff Cooper used in the special sense of "apologia".

"Mr. Duff Cooper last night hit back. He said that Lord Rothermere had not got the "guts of a louse." He apologised for such gutter language, but said it was necessary when fighting the gutter press.

He recalled the fact that Mr. Baldwin had given one-fifth of his fortune (£140,000) as a free anonymous gift on the day after the outbreak of the war as an example to others. "Not a penny came from Rothermere, not a farthing from Beaverbrook".

203

In a speech in support of Mr. Duff Cooper, Mr. Stanley Baldwin said that the British Press was the admiration of the world for fairness, ability and high principles, but the Rothermere and Beaverbrook newspapers were engines of propaganda for the constantly changing policies, desires, personal wishes, and the likes and dislikes of two men whose methods were direct falsehood, misrepresentation, half-truths and suppression.

"The statement in the Daily Mail with reference to his fortune could only have been written by a cad. He had been legally advised that he could sue for libel in that connection, but he would not move in the matter, because the apology would be valueless, and he would not touch the damages with a barge pole.

"The proprietorship of these papers is aiming at power without responsibility - the prerogative of the harlot throughout the ages. In fighting for Mr. Duff Cooper they were striking a blow that would resound in London for the decencies of public life and honest British journalism".

Despite the opposition of the Rothermere and Beaverbrook Press, Mr. Duff Cooper was elected and the "Rand Daily Mail", commenting on the result of the election said :

"Even at this distance there has been a thrill in the St. George's (Westminster) by-election, which has been most handsomely won for the

Conservative /

"Conservative Party by Mr. Duff Cooper against the Press Lords, who combined forces to bring about the defeat of Mr. Baldwin's candidate. The outstanding lesson of the campaign, which has been one of the most vituperatively contested in recent years, is that any attempt to stampede public opinion by means of the printing press is foredoomed to failure".

Neither the "Daily Mail" nor the "Daily Express" (the papers of the Press Lords referred to) made any comment on the election result.

It seems fitting in this connection to quote
 204
 Professor L.T.Hobhouse :

"The Press constantly represents public opinion to be one thing while the cold arithmetic of the polls conclusively declares it to be another".

A gloomy picture has so far been painted, but there is, fortunately, a brighter side. "The British Press",
 205
 said Mr. Stanley Baldwin, "is the best, the fairest, and
 206
 the cleanest in the world". The same speaker also associat-
 ed himself with the remarks of the Prime Minister of England,
 Mr. Ramsay McDonald, who, on the occasion of the retirement
 207
 of Mr. R.G.Emery, said that he did not believe Mr. Emery had
 ever written for his paper a sentence which he did not wholly
 208
 believe, or a sentence which he regretted having written.
 Nearer home, the Minister of Finance, Mr.N.C.Havenga, on a
 similar occasion, paid the highest possible compliment to
 209
 the South African Press when he stated that the Press Gallery
 had /

- 204. Professor of Sociology, London University, "Liberalism" page 234.
- 205. Speaking at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on June 24th, 1930.
- 206. Quoted by Dr.G.J.Renier in "The English: Are they Human?".
- 207. Political correspondent of the "Morning Post" after 52 years association with Parliamentary life.
- 208. The "Star", April 8th, 1931.
- 209. At a farewell dinner to Mr. George Wilson, political correspondent of the "Cape Times", on May 30th, 1931, after an association with the Press Gallery lasting 30 years.

had so long and intimately been associated with the work of the legislature that the question arose whether the South African constitution should not be amended to define Parliament as comprising the King, the Senate, the Assembly-- and the Press. General J.O. Smuts, Leader of the Opposition, said that Mr. Wilson had set up a very high standard. "Whatever may be said about the degeneracy of Parliament may be said to improve the prestige of the Press Gallery. I have always thought that Mr. Wilson's work as a journalist has been of a high standard. He has had to take his part in the fight that goes on in politics but he has fought according to rules, and he leaves the Press Gallery without a blot on his escutcheon", General Smuts declared.

These appreciations of Pressmen by politicians are significant, for the men eulogised are by no means isolated in their virtues. There are numerous others in the field of journalism who have a high sense of their responsibility and who are prepared to give credit where credit is due--even in the arena of politics. Perhaps the most convincing statement that has ever been made by a statesman on behalf of the Press was that of Mr. Winston Churchill who, after stating that the growth of the power of the Press was one of the most remarkable features of modern life, hinted at some form of Government by the Press.

He thought the Press was the only flourishing institution in the British Empire at present. It seemed to him that the growth of the Press and the decay of Parliament had gone so far that at the present time, when so many people seemed dissatisfied with existing forms of Government, no matter which party discharged them, this new estate, the writing institution, should/

210. At the annual dinner of the London District of the Institute of Journalists, reported in the "Rand Daily Mail", December 12th, 1930.

should be invested not only with the power, but with the responsibility of government.

This was an after dinner speech which should not, therefore, be taken too seriously, but the sentiments expressed clearly show an admiration of and esteem for the Press, which would be quite inconsistent with a political career of Press misrepresentation, and unjustified criticism. The observations made by Mr. Churchill in connection with the more prominent part the Press was playing in Parliamentary and political life was also commented upon by General Smuts at the farewell dinner to Mr. Wilson already mentioned.

General Smuts said :

"There is no doubt that the Press is under the impression that it is the Rising Estate of the Realm and that Parliament is a waning institution, and that the Press is taking over more and more the duties formerly done by Parliament",

Whether this ascendancy on the part of the Press is for good or for bad may be a debatable point but the writer, fully aware of the defects to-day existing, is firmly convinced that an imperfect Press is better than no Press at all. The Press plays an intermediary role in politics. It restrains the legislators from hasty and ill-considered action and it allays the suspicions of the electorate by keeping them informed of the activities of their elected representatives. It provides the electorate with an effective mouthpiece and makes its wishes known in connection with proposed legislation. "Now that the average man can make his voice effectively heard by means of elections and newspapers, the danger of arbitrary and ignorant interference by the State is greatly reduced".

211

The Press is

classed /

211. "A History of Politics", by Edward Jenks.

classed (by Professor L.T.Hobhouse in "Liberalism", page 242) along with the civil service and the Bench as an unofficial brake against unwise or hasty legislation.

So efficient has the brake proved in the past that those whose progress is impeded by the application of this restraining influence have been trying in various countries to ease the pressure and to make the brakes less effective. One of the proposals that has been made with a view to curbing Press attacks was that by Mr. Henry Longstaff, M.P. for Chiswick,²¹² who urged that a Bill should be introduced into Parliament containing a clause to the effect that :

"Should any newspaper attack any Minister or ex-Minister the proprietor of such newspaper shall be compelled by law to publish, without comment, a full reply from such Minister, and should he fail to do so, the machinery of such newspaper shall be liable to be dismantled".

The suggestion was made by Mr. Longstaff in a letter to Mr. Neville Chamberlain, Chairman of the Conservative Party organisation, who, in reply, said that although the idea was not new it greatly attracted him. The practice of certain newspapers of distorting news and publishing only such items as happened to suit the particular propaganda they were carrying out had reached such a dangerous pitch that if it continued public opinion and the more responsible sections of the Press would, he thought, support the imposition of some such obligations.

While the idea of the dismantling of the plant of a newspaper is grotesque, there is nothing unjust in the proposal that the Minister's reply to an attack should be published. The catch lies, however, in the two words,

"without /

212. "Star", March 3rd, 1931.

"without comment" It is a newspaper's prerogative to comment, and if it were to have its teeth drawn in this manner, this would greatly strengthen the hands of the Government and it is doubtful whether the interests of the nation would be best served by the adoption of such a procedure.

In a survey of the Press in the field of political activity, more than in any other field, generalisation is impossible. It could not justifiably be stated that the influence of the Press is for good or for bad. This essentially depends upon each individual newspaper, but, taken all in all, it would perhaps not be unreasonable to suggest that the benefits derived from the incursion of the newspapers into politics outweigh the defects and that in this respect, as in others, the Press has a real and valuable contribution to make to the welfare of a country.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PRESS AND PUBLIC OPINION.

"In how far the Press represents public opinion, moulds it, or has any relation to it, is a matter for speculation"^{213.} It is now proposed to attempt this speculation. There is no doubt that public opinion cannot be stamped by any mechanical means, as the result of the St. George's, Westminster, by-election (discussed in the following chapter) clearly shows. On the other hand it cannot be said that newspapers have no important effect whatsoever in guiding the thoughts of its readers. Where, between these two extremes, can the line be drawn?. Early newspapers, being in the strictest sense newspapers and by no means "viewpapers", provided much food for thought but, except for the manner in which the news was presented gave no indication of its own attitude towards the speech, occurrence or whatever the matter reported may have been. The development of the newsletters into purveyors of both news²¹⁴ and views has served to complicate the issue which hitherto had been plain and straightforward.

If a newspaper does influence the line of thought of its readers, is this influence restricted in each case to the individual reader, quite unrelated to the world at large, or is there, through these readers, a general influence/

-
213. Dr.G.J.Renier in "The English: Are they Human?".
214. The introduction into most newspapers of cartoons dealing with current topics has served to complicate matters still further. Cartoons, invariably partial to some cause, exercise a subtle and almost unconscious influence on the mind of the newspaper reader.

influence exerted upon the whole community? William McDougall says: "Consider the influence of the American Sunday newspapers. These papers are read on a large scale all over the continent; and the bulk of those published at different places is identical, being prepared and printed in New York, and then sent to be blended with a little local matter in each centre of publication; thus each Sunday morning vast numbers are reading the same stuff". Although McDougall does not actually say so, he implies that, through reading the same matter, Americans are unconsciously thinking along similar lines.

It cannot be doubted that in very many instances the public, themselves undecided as to what standpoint to adopt, look to the Press for guidance, and, once given the lead, are prepared to follow. It is not so much a game of "Follow my Leader", as "Follow the Leader-writer". Many members of the public are either unable or are too lazy to think for themselves but once an opinion has been formed on a matter they are prepared either to agree or disagree with these views and to accept them as their own or to reject them.

The Mayor of Johannesburg, Mr. D. F. Corlett, said: "It is a fact that the general public would appear to be dependent upon the daily newspapers for their own opinions on matters of vital public interest. That being so, the responsibility of the Press is very great indeed. Our safety seems to lie in the fact that you do not hesitate to express, very often emphatically, divergent opinions. I must acknowledge the indebtedness we all owe to the responsible Press and the

tremendous /

215. "The Group Mind", page 125.

216. Minutes of the Opening of the annual Congress of the South African Society of Journalists, Johannesburg, January, 1932.

tremendous part it plays in the public life of this City and in the Union of South Africa".

There are some, however, who are not prepared to accept as final the opinions formed by newspapers but prefer to reason for themselves. Even these persons are in some cases dependent for their facts upon the daily Press, for where no information is available, no judgment can be formed, and the presentation in the Press of news, which is not otherwise easily obtainable very often forms the basis upon which conclusions are formed. ²¹⁷ Dr. Morris Ginsberg shows how the public rests, not so much on personal contact, but on means of communication by means of the Press. "One may", he states, "be a reader of several newspapers. Suggestions coming from different parts will tend to neutralise one another or to lead to a suspense of judgment and to further discussion".

The incentive which the Press provides for the "further discussion" is a most valuable one. Thought in the modern world, characterised as it is by a daily whirl of hustle and bustle is at a premium. ²¹⁸ Most people prefer to be busily engaged in some activity or other, whether it be work or recreation, rather than to apply themselves to meditation and to serious thinking. In fact it has been suggested ²¹⁹ that the popularity of the modern light novel is due to the fact that it obviates the burden of having to think. It is an undisputed fact that "stories", either short, or of novel /

-
217. "The Psychology of Society", page 137.
218. Stephen Leacock: "The Unsolved Riddle of Social Justice". Page 26: "Few men think for themselves. The thoughts of most of us are little more than imitations and adaptations of the ideas of stronger minds".
219. Mr. Hamilton Fife, addressing the Alpha Club in Belfast, made the following observation: "Most people buy books and newspapers to stop themselves from thinking. That is why books which contain information never sell well, and it is also the reason for the modern newspaper, as opposed to that of

novel length, are in much greater demand than books of an informative and instructive nature. The reason for this is that the latter require something more on the part of the reader than merely being read. The information contained in them has also to be "marked, learnt, and inwardly digested". The majority of members of public libraries and book clubs are apparently averse to mental indigestion and therefore choose the light reading matter which requires a minimum of effort on their part.

Mr. Justice McCardie, that eminent English Judge, whose words of wisdom from the Bench always command attention, recently stated that "Parliament might mould opinion to a certain extent, but the supreme moulding of opinion is achieved by the Press"²²⁰. This being so it is the duty of the Press to see that the moulding of opinion is upon right lines. What direction these lines take is, of course, an open matter, for while one newspaper considers that the standpoint which it has taken up is the correct one, another paper holding views diametrically opposite may consider itself to be in the right. It is for the reader of both papers calmly and dispassionately to consider the facts given on both sides and then to form his own opinion.

It is a commonplace that the readers of a newspaper are not necessarily its supporters. A person may subscribe to a newspaper for years in order to obtain an adequate news supply, without in any way considering himself bound by the views of the newspaper to which he subscribes. Opinions must be based upon facts and if the facts are not

true /

219. (continued from previous page:) 40 years ago . Nowadays a morning or an evening newspaper is a drug to prevent thought during the journey to and from work.

220. "Bloemfontein Friend", 1931.

true then the opinions formed on those facts must be faulty. It is the duty of newspapers to give the facts correctly and impartially in order to allow of reliable opinions being formed.

"Instead of a record of the day's happenings told in their proper proportion, there is a constant tendency to trim, to edit, to omit, or to embellish facts if they should happen to come into conflict directly or indirectly with the moneyed interests which lie behind the paper or the group of papers". (221).

Mr. H.J.Laski, one of England's foremost leaders of political
222
thought, says: "Students of public opinion like Mr. Walter
223
Lippmann are right in their emphasis upon the vital connection between truthful news and liberty; Truthful news is dangerous to a Society the actual contours of which its presentation might seriously change. It would have been a different war in 1914 without propaganda.... It only pays to print the truth when the interest responsible is not prejudiced thereby.

The policy of censorship during the war meant that everyone anxious for its prosecution to the end had ample opportunity to express his view; the pacifist found it extraordinarily difficult to speak. We are impressed when we hear that a Government is solid in its determination not to give way to the miners; we assume a careful weighing of the facts and a decision taken in the light of their total significance. But when we hear that the miners are solidly behind their leaders, we feel that this is a clear case of ignorant and misguided men being led to their destruction

by /

221. Article by "Critic", "Natal Witness", May 27th, 1931.

222. In "Freedom in the Modern State, page 316 .

223. Author of "Public Opinion".

by agitators enjoying the exercise of power. The whole machinery of news-making is directed to the confirmation of that impression;. The opinion represented by the miners is not objectively valued. It is the victim of a process of valuation the purpose of which is to prevent, so far as possible, an alteration in the status quo.

On the point of the distortion of values Mr. Laski writes: "Compare Macaulay's glorification of the Victorian progress with the picture in Carlyle's "Chartism", or Dicken's "Hard Times". Set the resounding complacency of Mr. Gladstone's perorations against the indignant insight of William Morris and Ruskin. Think of the America of President Coolidge's speeches, and the America as bitterly described by Mr. Sinclair Lewis. Remember that Treitsche's eulogy of blood and iron is a picture of the same Germany as that which Bebel and Liebknecht sought to overthrow".

The question of values, on which Mr. Laski insists, is a real one which presents many-sided difficulties. On the same set of facts more than one opinion can be formed, and each holder of these conflicting opinions can firmly believe himself to be in the right and all the others in the wrong without betraying his intellectual honesty. This is especially the case in international affairs. The truth of this statement is upheld by the following passages from a Series of Articles ²²⁴ by Mr. Kingsley Martin. ²²⁵ Dealing with "The Press and Foreign Affairs", Mr. Martin states:

"Everything /

-
224. On "The New Journalism", in "The Listener", January, 1932
225. Editor of "The New Statesman and the Nation" and for many years a member of the staff of the "Manchester Guardian".

"Everything to do with British interests is stressed in the news from China. The Japanese are reported to have dropped bombs on Shanghai, a large part of which has been burnt down and a great number of Chinese have been killed or injured. But the death of these Chinese is not emphasised in the reports. The top line of headings, and the most sensation-ally described events were the dropping of one or two bombs in the International Settlement. Two British soldiers were hurt and great emphasis is laid upon the position of European women working in this dangerous area. It is perfectly natural that we should be particularly interested in any threat to the security of British people, but many instances in the past of the results of the kind of excitement that follows a Press campaign about the danger of European nationals abroad, should have put us on our guard.

By stressing our own small part in the matter, and becoming tremendously excited by the sensational part of the news, we may be stampeded into doing things which we should never do if we really understood the situation, and which we should bitterly regret afterwards. But commercial newspapers, composed in a furious hurry, mainly with an eye to circulation, have little time for such considerations. The news is presented in the most inflammatory way, just at a time when the one thing that is necessary is an impartial and international point of view, and a cold presentation of the facts on which a sober and rational public opinion could be built".

The writer has in his possession newspapers issued in Great Britain during the General Strike in Great Britain. These documents-- which are in fact mere caricatures of newspapers as the term is generally understood-- admirably illustrate the point of the "process of valuation" of which Professor Laski speaks. By a comparison of the "News" of the strike presented from three different sides, it will be shown how attempts are made to direct public opinion along different channels. The three sides are those of the strikers themselves, of the British Government, and of those newspapers which were still able to continue publication in spite of all the obstacles placed in their

way by the strike.

The strikers' version of the progress of the strike was given in a four-page pamphlet known as "The British Worker" published by the General Council of the Trades Union Congress as the "Official Strike News Bulletin". The Government told its story through the medium of "The British Gazette", published by His Majesty's Stationery Office, and called into being temporarily as a counterblast to the news disseminated by the strikers. Of the third side of the triangle-- the newspapers -- the "Daily Mirror", and "The Northampton Echo" will serve as being typical. This side, which was undoubtedly the most impartial of the three concerned, presented news which was probably the nearest approach to an unbiased critical analysis of the situation.

Events moved at a lightning pace during the strike, and it will therefore be necessary to consider the "news" presented by the three organs at a certain stage in the developments. For this reason, the issues of May 10th and 11th will be considered. In order to facilitate the comparison, extracts from "The British Worker" and "The British Gazette" will be placed in parallel columns. Further comments will thereafter be made together with the treatment of the news presentation of the daily newspapers.

"The British Worker"
(Monday Evening, May 10th 1936,
Price One Penny

"The British Gazette"
(Tuesday, May 11th, 1936)
Price One Penny.

"We are entering upon the second week of the general stoppage in support of the mine workers against the attack upon their standard of life by the coalowners.

Official Communique,
Whitehall.

"The situation in all parts of the country is well maintained. The arrangements for the distribution of milk, food,

"The British Worker",
(continued)

"The British Gazette",
continued)

Nothing could be more wonder-
ful than the magnificent re-
sponse of millions of workers
to the call of their leaders.
From every town and city in
the country reports are pour-
ing into the General Council
Headquarters stating that all
ranks are solid, that the
working men and women are re-
solute in their determination
to resist the unjust attack
upon the mining community.

.....

"Behind King's Cross railway
station I found a crowd
watching the "movement" of
trains, for it had been an-
nounced that several would
leave this station. I saw
eight locomotives. They ap-
peared to have steam up. Now
and then one of the engines
would move up the track, preceded
by two or three civilians wav-
ing their arms. Then it would
move back again. In a two-
hours wait, no engine stirred
with carriages behind it, and
no train went out.
In the dock area not a man was
visible. Cranes, derricks and
gantries stood pointing heaven-
ward, still and silent. No
rattle of winch or hauling-geat
broke the silence.

.....

and petrol supplies have been
' more successful than on any
' other day of the strike, and
' there is every sign that they
' will improve continuously.

.....

"In many quarters the unload-
ing and transportation of
' commodities is approaching
' normality, and the emergency
' arrangements made by the Gov-
' ernment are working thoroughly.
' The situation at the London
' Docks and at other ports is
' well in hand.
' The position as regards the
' supply of light and power con-
' tinues to be remarkably satis-
' factory, while railway services
' show a progressive improvement.
' One-fifth of the regular staffs
' of the railway companies are
' at work, and there is an abun-
' dant supply of volunteers to
' take the places of those on
' strike. Nearly 4,000 trains
' will be run to-day.
' The situation, both in London
' and in the provinces, is gener-
' ally quiet. Disturbances are
' few, but where they have oc-
' curred they show signs of be-
' coming sharper. Nevertheless
' there is no cause for anxiety
' in this respect and the police
' are in complete control. Yes-
' terday was a record day for
' the recruitment of special
' constables in London.
' More than one million copies
' of 'The British Gazette' were
' printed last night and distri-
' buted in all parts of the
' country, and it is expected
' that this number will be
' largely increased to-night.
' While there are many indivi-
' dual cases of strikers in
' various trades and services

"The British Worker"
(continued)

"The British Gazette",
(continued)

returning to work, the General Strike continues unabated throughout the whole country. The success of the authorities in maintaining the feeding and vital services of the people must not obscure this grave fact, or its increasingly wasteful consequences to all classes.

.....

"The 'Gazette' wrote Macaulay in his 'History of England' about the official newspaper published by William III's Ministers in 1695, 'Contained nothing but what the Secretary of State wished the nation to know'. 'That description might well be applied to 'The British Gazette' which is being published by Mr. Baldwin's Cabinet. 'But in 1695 Ministers had not such a contempt for the public as Mr. Churchill and his colleagues have to-day. They did not put out utterly absurd statements and expect them to be believed, and they did not at the same time prove the statements to be absurd! 'Yesterday, on the front page of the 'Gazette' there was a prominent headline 'Chief Trades Almost Normal'. Yet this is what we find in the reports which follow that heading : 'Boot and hosiery trades working half-time; lace firms mainly closed; Hull industries completely closed down; Mansfield works on half-time; large works closed at Derby; paralysis at Sheffield. 'And remember these reports apply mainly to trades not called out by the General Council. 'The 'British Gazette' is unwittingly proving that the response in the trades that have been called out has been so splendid that the effect on other trades has been even greater than was expected".

.....

"Reports from Liverpool and Southampton indicate that the trade of these ports is practically normal. Ships are arriving and departing according to schedule and volunteer labour is discharging large quantities of cargo, principally foodstuffs..An ample supply of volunteer labour is available for all purposes...A much more frequent service of trains is now in operation from the various railway stations.... Everything is proceeding in a quiet and orderly manner... Work generally is proceeding normally.

.....

"The British Worker",
(continued)

"Despite statements to the contrary, not a municipal bus or tram is running in Nottingham.

.....

"A train from King's Cross to Edinburgh took 37½ hours for the journey on Friday. Peaceful picketing is being interfered with by the police at Edinburgh. In several cases agents-provocateur are at work representing themselves as speakers sent by the Central Strike Committee.

"The position in Scotland is that we have an almost complete standstill" is the analysis of the situation by the Scottish Trades Union Congress General Council.

Several cotton mills have shut down at Bolton owing to transport difficulties.

At Coventry, the position has been further consolidated by the engineers ceasing work.

.....

"Many men continue to join the strikers in North Wales. No trams, motor-buses, or taxi-cabs are running at Wrexham. Workmen are out at Ruabon Brickworks owing to the stoppage, and more than a thousand are idle at Brymbo Steel Works.

.....

"The British Gazette"
(continued)

"The reports from the country during the week-end are quite cheerful. They show that recruiting everywhere is more than enough to meet immediate requirements, and that railway services are not only being maintained, but extended every day.

.....

"Two hundred women have returned to work with the Shell Mex Company.

At the Army and Navy Stores all motor drivers have resumed work.

"We have hardly known that there is a strike here" said the Mayor of Portsmouth, Councillor Frank J. Privett.

.....

"The Mayor of Portsmouth telegraphs that the statement that 50 per cent of the tramway employees and forty cars were working on Friday is an under-statement, as actually 90 per cent of the workers were running seventy-six cars, making a full service, and fifty additional men had passed the doctor and been engaged.

The Mayor of Wigan telegraphs that the rumour that there was disorder in Wigan is entirely untrue.

All station attendants on strike at Stoke Newington electricity works have returned.

.....

"The British Worker",
(continued)

"Despite the fact that the Government's appeal for Extra Special constables was fairly explicit, there seems to be some doubt in what passes for the minds of certain stout fellows who are willing to perform a job of work in defence of the Baldwinstitution as to what they are letting themselves in for. The answer seems to be a pretty soft number compared with that of, say, the perspiring citizens who have enrolled in the O.M.S.

.....

"When the enrolment forms of Wallington and Carshalton O.M.S. volunteers were examined, it was found that most of them wanted to do some sort of "supervisory work"!

.....

"The British Gazette",
(continued)

"The false statement has been spread about that those who are helping so loyally in the mechanical production of The British Gazette have been persuaded to give their assistance by the payment of huge sums on the part of the Government. There is no truth in this statement. These men are working purely from a sense of patriotism and the realisation of their duty towards their country. They are receiving no more than the normal rate of pay, and ask for no more remuneration, nor do they demand any further protection than that guaranteed them by the Government proclamation.

.....

"On Wednesday night I broadcast an appeal for Special Constables. On Friday night I added to that appeal by asking for 50,000 Londoners during the week-end.

"I am delighted to say that they are coming in splendidly, but I am a few thousands short of my number. I want you to realise that protection is the one thing that will kill the strike and restore England to its normal life.
(Signed) W. Johnson-Hicks./

.....

"Many false rumours are current. Believe nothing until you see it in an authoritative journal like The British Gazette."

.....

"British Gazette"
Circulation.

May 5.. .. .	232,000
May 6	507,000
May 7	855,000
May 8	836,000".

In addition to the "news" items quoted above, both papers published appeals to the emotions of those into whose hands the news-sheets fell. "Levy Yourselves at Work" cried the "Worker". "Every man who does his duty by his country and remains at work, or returns to work during the development of the crisis will be protected by the Government" announced Mr. Stanley Baldwin in the "Gazette". The latter reproduced one of Rudyard Kipling's verses as follows:

"From panic, pride, and terror,
 Revenge that knows no rein,
 Light haste and lawless error,
 Protect us yet again".

In the same way as the news items appearing in these two news-sheets were worlds apart, so the headlines, which in newspaper practice should advertise the news and summarise it impartially, betray a partiality for the cause fostered and exert a psychological influence upon the reader. A few examples are given :

"The British Worker", "Churchill's Stunt" "Talk of 'Revolution' His Bright Idea". "Trick that failed" 	"The British Gazette", "Perils of General Strike". "Mr. Clynes' Repeated Warnings".
"Nation behind the T.U.C." "What a London Park Meet- ing Revealed". "£55 Collection". 	"Lame and Impotent Method".
"Brief-- and Bracing!" "Scotland at a Standstill; 	"Position Still Brighter" "Week-end of Loyal Achievement" "Sproadic Return to Work". "Disturbances Promptly Countered".

226. "Newspaper Make-up and Headlines", by Norman J. Radder, Associate Professor of Journalism, Indiana University, page 49.

"The British Worker",
(continued)

"Worse than 230 Years Ago".
"Government's Contempt for
the Public".
"Absurd Statements".

.....

"Those Extra Specials".
(Above an article dealing with
the Special Constabulary).

.....

"Great Enthusiasm for Leaders".
"Memorable Scenes in all parts
of the Metropolis".

...

.....

" ALL'S WELL! "
"Council's Message to Members".

.....

"NO Continental Coal".
"Transport International's
Decision".

.....

"City Temple View".
"No attack on the Con-
stitution".

.....

"The British Gazette",
(continued)

"Supplies Everywhere
Improving".
"Most successful day since
the strike began".
"Still more trains".

.....

"No Paralysis of the
Nation".

.....

"Record Recruiting of
Specials".
"Everything going wonder-
fully well".
"Train Services".

.....

"Marked Expansion in all
Directions".
"Long distance connections"
"Many Strikers Returning
to Work".

.....

"The Fiasco at Ostend".
"Story of Miner's Failure".
"Severe snub for Mr.Hodges".
"Partial Embargo".

.....

"The Truth of the Nego-
tiations".
"Where the Responsibility
Rests".
"Constitutional Government
Challenged".

.....

Both news-sheets were particularly anxious that their contents should be read by as wide a public as possible. The "Worker", at the bottom of its front page, urged its readers to "Pass it on or Post it up", while the "Gazette", in a more dignified manner, but at the top of the front page, exhorted readers to "Please pass on this copy or display it". It also published a paragraph to the effect /

effect that "Any article appearing in the 'Gazette' may be reprinted in pamphlet form and published on the understanding that due acknowledgment is made to 'The British Gazette' ".

Members of the public anxious to obtain information regarding the strike position and relying upon the "Workers" for their information would get a totally different impression from those members of the public equally anxious to obtain the latest news and looking for it in the "Gazette", while the readers of both papers would simply be bewildered. In order to obtain a more dispassionate view of the developments it was necessary to turn to the daily papers, although even in this field it must be pointed out that the sympathies of the papers were either on the one side or the other. None were so much in love with either cause, however, as to overlook the fact that the newspaper, in a time of crisis, should more than at any other time, be in the nature of, a national service. A critical analysis of the situation, without any undue bias, was more likely to be found in the daily press than in either of the one-sided organs already discussed.

The newspapers were not unaffected by the troubled waters of the strike. Indeed many of them had temporarily to cease publication. Some idea of the position in regard to the Press may be obtained from the following extract from the "British Gazette" of May 2nd :

"Additions to the number of newspapers publishing emergency or ordinary issues were recorded during the week-end.

"The 'Observer' came out with a two-paged type-written sheet. The 'Sunday' Pictorial published a small sheet with three photographs on the title page, and news on the back page. The 'Camberwell Borough Advertiser' had a news bulletin of a single sheet with news on the back and front pages.

"Probably /

"Probably the briefest strike in the newspaper world occurred on the Devon and Somerset Weekly News, Tiverton, the Somerset County Gazette, Taunton, and the Mercury, Bridgwater series. The men were on strike in the morning and part of the afternoon, but then returned to work, and the normal issues appeared.

"With one or two exceptions, the Isle of Right newspapers issued emergency editions".

"The Daily Mirror" of May 11, which during the strike times, claimed to be "the daily picture newspaper with the largest net sale" comprised four pages eleven inches by eight inches in size, one of which was taken up by two photographs explaining "Why the Railway Service is Improving" and showing "Student Volunteers Keeping the Signals in Trim", and "Varsity students getting ready the 'Flying Scotsman' at King's Cross, with pilot looking on".²²⁷ The second edition of the "Northampton Daily Echo" of May 8th comprised a single folded sheet, foolscap size. It was sold for one penny! On May 11th it was able to publish a single printed page of four columns width. Whereas bold statements were the order of the day in both the "Worker" and the "Gazette", "caution" was the watchword of the "Echo". In addition to publishing straightforward news of meetings, confining itself largely to resolutions passed, the "Echo" gave the "Local Strike News" of which the following paragraphs may be regarded as typical :

"Although no official statement has been made, the Press Association says there is reason to believe that peace moves are taking place beneath the surface.

"A miners' leader stated that nothing tangible or concrete had yet been placed before the Executive.

"A Government spokesman said it was generally believed the tide had turned.

"The situation all over the country is quiet" summarises the news to-day. There

is /

is no increase in disorder, trains and other transport services are improving daily, and there is no danger of a serious shortage of food. "Outwardly, there are no developments, but the outlook is brighter than it was on Saturday. The view is growing that, while the Government must remain firm and insist upon the general strike being called off, there must be no subsequent attempts to break Trade Unionism like a potter's vessel.

"Northampton tramwaymen met this morning to consider the inquiry of the committee as to whether they are prepared to work forthwith. At the close the secretary said he was instructed to make no statement to the Press. We understand that the men decided to remain out.

"It is believed that strong pressure is being brought upon the T.U.C. by the printing Trade Unions to lift the embargo on newspapers".

The caution exercised by the "Echo" is reflected in its headlines, two of which are in the form of questions, "Peace Moves?" and "Movement towards Peace?", while the other headlines are non-committal labels.

In the issue of May 8th, the "Echo" published a message from Lord Asquith urging that the strike weapon should be sheathed for negotiations. The paper stated further that "there was a great improvement in traffic conditions in London yesterday. A good many more trains and buses were running; nearly everybody found some bus or tube to takethem home. In some of the suburbs people were able to get on almost as in normal times". An interesting paragraph was to the effect that "Strike Committee in Alfreton district ordered newsagents not to sell papers during the strike, orders were ignored and sales are increasing daily".

The "Daily Mirror" of May 11 made the following observations in regard to the position of the Press in relation to the strike :

"The strikers' organ devoted a large proportion of its space "replying", as it said, to Sir John Simon's clear statement that the General

Strike/

Strike is undoubtedly illegal.

"We warn everybody that the strikers' declaration as to there being "no constitutional crisis" is a travesty of the facts and deliberately false.

"It is their intention to subvert all that the people have fought for centuries to obtain. If they win we can bid a farewell to liberty.

"The first attack, as is well known, was on the British newspaper press - to silence it preparatory to the mass attack on the rights and privileges of the whole community.

"That attack was splendidly repulsed. The newspaper press has not surrendered. It will not surrender. Whatever its faults the British Press stands for liberty and fair play. The Daily Mirror has not ceased publication. It has no intention of ceasing publication. On the first day of the strike there was circulated over 80,000 copies of an attenuated Daily Mirror. It followed with additional sheets and published the first strike pictures. And on Friday night it was able to circulate as far west as Bristol and as far north as Oxford over 150,000 copies of the Daily Mirror".

The dire necessity that the newspaper Press should not have surrendered has been laid bare by the comparison of the pseudo-Press of the British Government and of the strikers. Both organs were "one way" organs. Each could see its own point of view and no other. There was no question of laying all the facts before the public and allowing public opinion to be formed in accordance with its own valuation of the facts. Each organ had one aim in view and all its influence was concentrated on the attainment of its goal. Neither organ was able to view the situation objectively and impartially. In each case a sense of proportion was conspicuously absent and a process of valuation-- so essential in journalism-- was ignored. In the light of these observations, the comments of Mr. J.A. Spender are appropriate: "I can think of nothing more impressive, or in a way, more alarming than the sudden hush that fell upon Britain during the general strike, when the newspapers failed to appear", Mr. Spender said. "The Government was absolutely compelled /

228. A well-known Liberal Journalist, in opening an exhibition, arranged by the London Press Club, of the English newspaper through three centuries, - reported in the "Star", June 24th, 1932.

compelled to fill the gap (with the "British Gazette") and, while I do not wish to speak disparagingly of its effort, I feel grateful for the independent newspaper in private hands".

A member of the staff of the "Natal Witness" did not flinch at speaking disparagingly of The British Govern-
ment's effort and, in an article on "The Press and the Public"²²⁹ he referred to the "British Gazette" as being "frankly and perniciously partisan".

230

General Smuts has some pertinent remarks to make regarding the Press and public opinion. "Owing to the spread of education and the reading habit and to the persuasive influence of the Press, the massed force of public opinion is every day becoming greater and more incalculable and to the politician more terrifying". Further (on page 176) "There is a far greater mobilisation of public opinion through the Press, the cinema and the 1,000 and one other forms of publicity which to-day make the work of the statesman much more difficult than ever. Publicity is becoming an almost greater evil than secret diplomacy was formerly. It gives a power to the Press and to all forms of scaremongering which rivals that of Governments and becomes a grave menace to Government. The General is insistent on this point and emphasises his viewpoint (on page 169) with the following utterance: "The power of the press and of other forms of publicity is leading to such an inflammation of public opinion and popular and party passions that statesmen have little scope nowadays".

The writer feels that General Smuts is unduly pessimistic and not a little unkind in his attitude towards

the/

229. June 2nd, 1932.

230. "Africa and Some World Problems", page 159.

the Press. While it is not claimed that the Press is a model of perfection, it can at least be stated with every justification that at no time has the Press gone out of its way to attack a Statesman for the fun of the thing. If a newspaper has poured vials of scorn upon a statesman and criticised his policy as being the essence of futility, this has been done in all sincerity, prompted by the firm conviction that the policy criticised is not in the best interests of the country as a whole. It is natural that a statesman should find such criticism a hindrance but it is made in the hope that he may yet mend his ways and amend his policy. The writer is grateful to General Smuts for the saving words "an almost greater evil". Press publicity is less of an evil than the secret diplomacy of former days. Therefore it represents an advance. However great the annoyance caused by the Press may be, the present position is infinitely more tolerable than a form of Government which is unaided or unrestrained by the Press.

231

Mr. J.A. Spender stated that a newspaper is, at the present time, one of the prime necessities of modern life and government, while the check which the Press indirectly exerts upon the Government is explained by Dr. G.J.

232

Reiner who says: "The third check upon the activities of the Government is that exercised by public opinion, made known by petitions, by gatherings, and by the Press. It is significant that General Smuts, in spite of his forceful remarks regarding the Press, does not so much as hint at the desirability of muzzling it or of limiting its powers.

Indeed, as has already been shown, South

Africa/

231. See page 222

232 "The English--Are they Human?"

Africa has had a negligible amount of legislation dealing with the Press since the time of Union, in spite of the fact that General Smuts was at the head of the Party that held the majority in Parliament for a number of years, and could have muzzled the snarling watch-dog he dislikes so much. Clearly what General Smuts would like to see-- as would most South Africans-- would be a change of spirit on the part of newspapers which are so much enamoured of politics that they are unable to see good in anything or anybody that falls on the other side of the party line. Not less power, but more discretion is probably General Smuts' hope for the Press and if this surmise is correct, then the writer must humbly endorse this view.

CHAPTER VII.THE PRESS AND THE POLICE

The relationship existing between the Press and the Police is perhaps the most unstable of all the Press relationships which are being considered. There are occasions when a pseudo-harmony exists between the reporters and the policemen, detectives, and other representatives of the Law, and there are also occasions when a bitter conflict of interests arises and each party in the conflict is determined to force the issue to a conclusion favourable to itself. It is natural that there should be a conflict between Police and Press whose essential elements are secrecy and publicity respectively and any negotiations which tend towards a more harmonious co-operation between these two forces can only lead to a weakening of the strength of one of the two forces, and, from the very nature of things, that force would inevitably be the Press.

The attitude which members of the Police and detective Forces adopt in their dealings with the Press, acting under instructions from higher authorities, is largely consonant with that adopted by the Civil Service as a whole. A "hush-hush" policy is maintained as a general rule, being relaxed on occasions when the particular merits of a specific case seem to warrant it. The Press is not welcomed with open arms by responsible members of the Civil Service and news-gathering from Government Departments is one of the most difficult and thankless tasks that a journalist has to undertake. In many cases /

cases, no doubt, the decision to withhold news from the general public is based upon sound logic, as in the case of preliminary negotiations with some trade agreement, but more often a dogged attitude of silence is preserved in the face of all the laws of reason and commonsense.

Before returning to the question of the Police policy in regard to the Press, the writer would draw attention to one or two aspects of a general character in regard to the civil service, of which the Police forms an important part. Not only do officials in Government employ refuse to give information when it is within their discretion and power to do so, but they sometimes show active resentment when such news is obtained from other equally reliable and authentic sources, and published. Thus, following upon a "scoop" in the "Rand Daily Mail" ³³³ Mr. A.T. Roberts, a member of the Wage Board, ²³⁴ characterised the report "as a damned piece of impertinence" and refused either to confirm or deny it.

It is also significant that British journalists have less difficulty in obtaining official information from Governmental sources than have the newspapermen of this country. For instance, when it was rumoured from overseas that General J.B.M. Hertzog (Prime Minister) had cabled the President of the Irish Free State in connection with his attitude regarding the oath of allegiance, the Secretary for External Affairs, Mr. Bodenstein, told the Capetown correspondent of the "Star" that he could make no statement in regard to the report. Two days later the full text of General Hertzog's message was published in a cable from the "Star's" London correspondent.

These ,

333. February 24th, 1931.

334. In the "Pretoria News", February 24th.

These points serve to indicate briefly the unfavourable background against which journalists in this country have to work. That they themselves are partly to blame for building up the wall of secrecy with which they find themselves confronted will be argued subsequently.

The more discerning Police officials, whose clarity of thought and powers of commonsense have not been impaired as a result of rapid promotion or of years of "official thinking" have attempted a "give and take" policy whereby Pressmen coming for information are at liberty to use whatever these officials care to tell them regarding certain crimes and incidents, provided they agree not to publish developments in connection with other matters in regard to which information may have come into their possession. This is not a procedure of attenuated blackmail but a genuine attempt to enable both parties to the agreement to work on a "50--50" basis for the mutual benefit of both. ²³⁵ As a general rule the scheme works well, but unscrupulosity on the part of one or two journalists whose enthusiasm has overcome their discretion, is sufficient to throw the whole plan out of gear. Police confidence, once lost, is extremely difficult to regain.

If there were only two sides to the question the situation would be fairly simple, but the relationship between the Press and Police is complicated by the part which the Editors and leader writers play in the matter. Constant attacks upon the Police for incompetence, for indiscretion of members, or for unfair promotions, inevitably tend to

235. ^{make/} "The (English) Police are well aware that they cannot ignore the Press in their fight against crime, and I know of many instances in which detectives of national repute have asked the opinion of journalists covering a murder story. It is perhaps in the finding of important witnesses that the Press are able most frequently to help the Police. It was undoubtedly due to the "Daily Chronicle" (now the News-Chronicle) that Norman Thorne, who murdered and buried on his poultry farm, his fiancée, was brought to justice"---"When Fleet Street Calls", by J.C.Cannell, pages 177-178.

make the visits of the reporter to Police or C.I.D. Headquarters both unpleasant and unfruitful, in spite of the fact that the journalist concerned was in no way involved in the article which has caused umbrage and has no control over the free expression of opinions of the Editor or leader writer. Such articles make the difficult task of the "crime expert" still more difficult, and, by continually rapping the Police over the knuckles, the "powers that be" tend to render the task of this particular member of their staff almost impossible.

Arising out of the Swaziland Border Raid incident, which will be the subject of close scrutiny at a later stage in this chapter, the Commissioner of Police (Col.-I.P. de Villiers, M.C.) issued instructions warning members of the Force not to impart any information to newspapermen. "Even enquiries as to street accidents now meet with the bland reply, 'Please communicate with the Commissioner at Headquarters',
 236
 stated the "Rand Daily Mail". The position became so serious that a Sergeant even refused to say whether a certain victim in a street accident had been a pedestrian or a motor-cyclist. The Commissioner's orders were the subject of scathing comment in the "Sunday Times" which asked whether Col. de Villiers had consulted with the Minister of Justice (Mr. O. Pirow) in this matter before coming to his decision.

"Some time ago Mr. Pirow - evidently bent upon taking a leaf out of the book of New Scotland Yard - was of opinion that friendly relations between Police and Press might be extended to the advantage of both. Whatever developments Mr. Pirow may have had in his mind, it is certain that Col. de Villiers has banged the door upon them. "Probably the Commissioner of Police imagines that he is acting in a politic fashion in endeavouring to starve the columns of newspapers so far as the criminal activities of the Transvaal are concerned.
 Actually /

Actually he is placing a heavy handicap on the work of his own department. The methods advocated in the new order of the Commissioner were practised by New Scotland Yard a score of years ago, and, it was found, entirely to the disadvantage of rapid investigation. As a result of this experience, it was decided to take the Press into Police confidence and to rely on the wisdom and the honour of reputable representatives of the newspapers not to place difficulties in the way of investigation by a too premature publication of information".

The newspaper pointed out that, as a result of the arrangement whereby the criminal reporter became a liaison officer between Fleet Street and Scotland Yard, the newspapers, with their wide circulations, were able greatly to assist the Police by the publication of the portraits of wanted men, together with their descriptions, to assist in the identification of handwritings, and to help in other ways to bring a stop to certain criminal activities.

"The identification of Allaway with the Bournemouth murder was precipitated by the publication of his handwriting in the newspapers, and the arrest of the Brixton taxi-driver murderer, Mason, was due to the reproduction of a photograph of a walking-stick found near the spot where Dickey was murdered. Reputable officers are permitted to take equally reputable journalists into their confidence and invoke their assistance. In the days of official secrecy, before this arrangement was reached, the Press often refused—as it had every right to—to be catspawed by the police and, perhaps, was the more critical of police failure.

"Colonel De Villiers must realise—as probably the Minister of Justice has realised—that the police cannot have it all their own way. This order wilfully jettisons a valuable aid to police efficiency. The Minister of justice should insist, with as little delay as possible, on the police ostrich removing its head from the sand".

The plea proved unavailing. The Police Ostrich, instead of removing its head from the sand, stuck it still more deeply in and the next move was the issue by the

Commissioner /

Commissioner of Police of instructions to members of the Force that no information was to be given to anyone until a Press Pass had been produced. The system of Passes is in vogue on the Continent and admits Pressmen through cordons of Police, into the Press Gallery of the Chamber of Deputies in France, and to other places which are sacrosanct to members of the public, but it has never found favour in South Africa, and a proposal that such a system should be introduced was rejected at the annual Conference of the South African Society of Journalists in Durban in January, 1931. When the proposal came early in the following year from the Commissioner of Police it met with strong opposition.

The "Rand Daily Mail", in a leading article on March 2nd, 1932, stated :

"The relationship between officialdom and the Press has so little of cordiality in it in these days that any arrangement of the sort (a conspiracy between the two) would be quite impossible. For some time past there has been an ever-increasing tendency on the part of the authorities, particularly in the Police Department, to close all avenues of information to the Press. To-day, even the humblest officer in the Police Force cannot be approached by a representative of the Press in search of news unless he is able to produce a special Police Pass, the issue of which has been authorised by the Minister, who also claims the right to withdraw it at a moment's notice at his own sweet will. No such Pass is held by any member of the staff of the Rand Daily Mail, which does not approve of this system of official restraint upon the free publication of news and will never subscribe to it. The newspaper has been able to get along without Police Passes in the past. It will do so in the future. Its readers are entitled to the news, and they will continue to get it. If they prefer the official "dope" they must go elsewhere in search of it".

To trace the source of the trouble which brought to a climax the friction which has always existed,

in a small or large degree, between the Press and the Police in South Africa, the Swaziland Border Raid must be investigated. This affair originated out of reports appearing in the "Rand Daily Mail" and "Star" ²³⁷ in connection with alleged drug traffic from Mozambique, a shooting incident in which the Swaziland Police were said to be concerned, and the transmission from Lourenco Marques to the Transvaal of lottery tickets and prize money. The accuracy of these reports was publicly challenged by the Commissioner of Police who stated that "The highly-coloured reports appearing in the Johannesburg daily papers were entirely inaccurate". The "Rand Daily Mail" challenged the Police's denial of the original newspaper report and disclosed the source of his information as being "a senior Police officer". In a lengthy statement the journalist recapitulated in detail the facts of the case, and on the following day the Commissioner of Police, on having his attention drawn to certain of these facts admitted that they were correct. The "Star" devoted a leader to the subject, stating that "If the reports were highly-coloured, the responsibility does not rest with us. Our representative obtained most of his information from Colonel A.A. Celliers- Deputy Commissioner of Police- himself after he had returned from what he said was a raid against opium smugglers on the Swaziland border.... In view of the publicity given to the statement from Police Headquarters, we think it only fair to ourselves that the above facts should be placed on record".

A Police enquiry followed at which an Assistant Editor of the "Star" made a statement, extracts from which follow, exonerating both the Police Officer and the journalist concerned /

concerned, following upon a personal investigation into the situation as far as it could be constructed a few days' after the occurrences.

"As regards the responsibility for publication of the report, our reporter acted bona fide in believing he had received from Colonel Celliers confirmation of the essential features of information concerning the 'raid' which he had collected at Carolina. We are, however, satisfied, as a result of inquiries into all available facts, that this assumption by our reporter, though it appeared reasonable enough in the circumstances of the case, was incorrect and was due to a mutual misunderstanding.

"It would serve no useful purpose to discuss other aspects of this unusual episode or origin of fictitious accounts of the affair that were current in Carolina at the time and contributed to the misunderstandings that led to the publication of the report in question".

The South African Society of Journalists also had the matter under consideration and passed the following Resolution by a large majority, and ordered its insertion in this issue of The Journalist:-

"Doubt having been cast on certain Press reports of the raid by the Union police on the Swaziland border on February 22nd last written by two members of the South African Society of Journalists, the Council of the Society has made inquiry into the accuracy of these reports and the circumstances under which they were obtained. The Council wishes to place on record its conviction that the pressmen in question believed the information supplied to them by the police to be accurate, and that they duly forwarded it from Carolina in all good faith to their respective newspapers".

There were no dismissals either from the Police Force or from the Press but the incident is one which has shaken the foundations of Press and Police co-operation in this country and the wound created by the shattering blow to mutual trust dealt at Carolina in February, 1931, will take years to heal.

This conflict between Press and Police may

tend /

tend to the belief that the Press has not the welfare of the general good at heart, for, if the maxim is accepted that the Police are established for the maintenance of peace and order in the community, and the Press is in conflict with the Police, then the Press are opposed to peace and order. The supposition is, of course, absurd. Bentham's ominous forebodings in connection with sinister acts done in the dark have already been quoted. The publicity of the Press is one of the safeguards which minimises the "sinister acts" which Bentham so greatly feared.

The Press, for instance, has drawn attention to many a wrong done, to many a grievance requiring redress, and to many "things left undone which ought to have been done". By insistence and re-iteration, the Press is invariably able to have the desired reforms carried into effect. The American Press, in dealing with the kidnapping of the Lindbergh baby pointed out that no fewer than 382 kidnappings had taken place during the last three years. It demanded to know "What are we to do about a situation like this?" and advocated a dictatorship to curb crime in America. The Press also made some remarkable revelations in connection with the activities of Al Capone, the American "Crime King". It alleged that books had been found showing regular payments to Police Officers; to public officials; and to a member of Congress; while a modern ledger showed the overhead charges in disorderly houses. It also revealed the fact that 77 innocent young women were serving imprisonment in America on false charges of prostitution. The London Correspondent of the "Rand Daily Mail" commenting upon these facts, states:

"City /

239. April, 1931.

240. Quoted in the "Rand Daily Mail".

"City officials who tried desparately to prevent the investigation are now refusing to release these unfortunate victims, arguing that all that can be done for them is to have them re-tried". Whatever the measure of redress afforded was, this was gained through the agency of the Press, the publicity given to the matter focussing the searchlight of public opinion upon the plight of the unfortunate women.

It has been taken for granted that the reporting of crime is a natural function of a newspaper. No valid argument can be brought against that view, for, literature being as large as life and the Press being closely allied with literature, it follows that its ramifications must lead it into all the multitudinous phases of life. No single aspect may legitimately be ignored, if the Press is to fulfil its functions, to discharge its duty to the public, and to maintain its self-imposed position of public trust. The intimate bond which can be traced between crime and human nature is one of the principal reasons for the "display" which is given to crime and criminals. The Press must give the public what it wants. If it does not, the public will go elsewhere for its information and circulation will suffer. The view has been expressed that the reporting of crimes has the effect of nourishing an inherent faith in human nature by showing what the majority of people are not.

241

A writer in a London newspaper has written an illuminating treatise on the subject of "Why Newspapers report Crimes". After referring to a definition of a journalist as a man who has renounced everything except

"The/

"the world, the flesh, and the devil", the writer makes the point that it is possible for the journalist to be entirely detached from the subject matter of his work, whatever its nature may be:

"There is a saying that he who drives fat cattle should himself be fat, but it would be unfair if, we were to suspect a reporter of being an adulterer because he reported divorce cases, or lacking in moral earnestness because he chronicled the follies of the idle rich, or of being tarred with the vices of politicians because he was frequently to be seen in the Press Gallery of the House of Commons. The follies and wickedness of the world as he sees them leave no stain on the coat of the reporter. Let anyone try to offer him a bribe not to report a case in which he is concerned and he will soon find out that he has made an awful mistake in his man".

The writer ventures the opinion that the average newspaperman would take more delight in rescuing a noble deed from its obscurity into publication than in ferretting out the details of the latest crime. "Unfortunately, however, human excellence is not news", he proceeds.

"A police-court magistrate said that after 30 years on the Bench he was a convinced optimist, with an infinite belief in the goodness of human beings. Newspaper reporters, in my experience, are rather like him, for the more folly they see the wiser they become; the more wickedness, the more virtuous. The more folly and wrong-doing that is reported in the newspapers, the stronger the proof of the essential soundness of mankind. For it is the exceptional that gets reported, and the real attraction of the news columns of newspapers is not that they hold up the mirror to human nature, but that in showing what the few exceptional people are who qualify for the news columns they show what the vast majority of mankind are not,"

the writer concludes.

This survey of the relationship between Police and Press must lead to a consideration of the larger issue of Crime and Publicity. The relation-- as in the case of the Police and Press-- is a delicate one, for there

is no clear-cut issue. There enter into the analysis such considerations as publicity given to the criminal himself, to the witnesses both for the prosecution and for the defence, to the past record of the criminal, to his methods of operation, to the alleged habits of his victim; while the position is further complicated by the effect of this publicity upon the public in general. Persons devoid of criminal tendencies but craving publicity, and knowing no other way of getting "in the news" might be tempted, on reading the glorified exploits of Al Capone, to emulate his example. Persons ignorant of the methods of crime, of the means of disposal of goods through "fences" might be initiated into a life of crime through mere attendance at Court where evidence of this nature is being given, or by reading such evidence in the daily Press.

Evidence relating to sexual offences and to unnatural acts also tends to have a demoralising effect upon the general public who become acquainted with this kind of vice through the Press reports of Court cases. Although the outspoken language of the public prosecutor cannot be repeated in the newspaper, some euphemistic way of saying the same thing in different words is usually contrived and the reader can easily interpret the words to find their true meaning. It would be undesirable, in the writer's opinion, for any curtailment of court reporting to be enforced, but just sufficient publicity should be given by a trustworthy journalist, conscious of his grave responsibilities to the "indecent" cases to make the accused person realise that his acts have not been committed unknown to the world at large and that the sanctions not only of the Law but also of Society have been applied.

An attempt was made during the period of Office of Mr. (now Mr. Justice) Tielman Roos as Minister of Justice to introduce legislation prohibiting the reporting of divorce Court cases. This was not successful and the marital troubles of scores of couples are reported in the daily Press each month. While divorce is to be recommended as an instrument whereby an attempt may be made to reconstruct broken lives and to end unhappy marriages, it should be the exception rather than the rule and any attempt towards "cheapening" divorce which would tend to provide a state which would rival Nevada as the "Mecca of Divorce" is to be discouraged. It may be undesirable to report ad nauseam the trivialities of a couple's love affairs, but the restraining influence that the thought of publicity exercises should not be withdrawn, for it is common cause that persons seeking for divorce have been reconciled at the last minute. Where this is possible it is infinitely to be preferred to that unhappy expedient of incurring legal expense to "wash one's dirty linen in public" in order to obtain a restitution order.

242

Mr. Ferdinand Tucky expressed views which bear out those expressed above that "sometimes publicity is an inspiration of the criminal; frequently an inspiration of the crime". In taking a counter view to the writer of this thesis in connection with the publication of crime stories for the satisfaction of the public demand, Mr. Tucky writes :

"This debit side, a minor leavening of life, is distorted out of all proportion because of the public hungering for sensation. Must such craving be unfailingly pandered to?. Do not many of us hunger for things we may not come by?. I know a person who wades through every murder with the rarest morbid thrill. I do

not /

242. Writing in the "Sphere" on May 9th, 1931, on "Crime and Publicity".

not believe that is doing her any more good than a whisky and soda after hours would do others harm. Considering the things we are prohibited from doing, for the good of our own morals or for the protection of the community, it does seem little less than extraordinary that we should still be in a position to lap up crime-poison - I am not referring to England only - to saturate ourselves at a penny a time in such stuff as Blackheath murderers are made of".

Mr. Tuohy's example of Kuerten, the Dusseldorf murderer, further bears out the argument of the writer that some crimes are committed by persons for the express desire to gain publicity thereby. "The widespread publicity achieved by Kuerten was by his own showing, chiefly what he desired to encompass. Kuerten wanted to become the biggest, most talked-of murderer in the world.

"He wanted, particularly, to outdo Haarmann, of Hanover. One can see the fellow gloating over himself in the newspapers; that, probably, gave him his real thrill. Kuerten merely had a rabid publicity bug. He was unable to gratify it by riding round the town with giraffes or by giving an Eskimo bridal party, so he killed people. We have reached a stage where, for crime to act contagiously, it is not necessary that its call should operate only upon the criminal or mad. Like Leopold and Loeb, like that Southend youth hanged not long ago through wanting to see his picture in the papers, Kuerten carries forward the new-fangled publicity-criminal as forged by publicity in many lands. And Kuerten was lucky, having his craving gratified up to the last by a kindly bench which sentenced him nine separate times to death for as many different murders".

The matter of crime suggestion is an abhorrent one to Mr. Tuohy, who holds the opinion that the flare of publicity now being given to crime is the last full blast before the turn of events.

"An especially obnoxious feature of the present publicity given to crime concerns the manner in which, because there do not happen as yet to be any real gunmen in England, few opportunities are lost to slip the word "gunman" into crime reports. Presently we may expect the alchemy to work, with the result that we shall have gunmen".

Mr. Tuohy writes.

In drawing to a close his argument in favour of less crime publicity, which he hopes will be attended by less crime, Mr. Tuohy declares that it does no one any good to read in extenso about crime, while it does a whole lot of harm, and will continue to do so. He answers the time-honoured arguments in favour of publicity (1) that justice requires a maximum of publicity, and (2) newspapers can be of much assistance in tracking criminals, by affirming that the jury system and the access of the Press to the records would be sufficient guarantee that justice would be done, guilty parties stigmatized, and progress reported, while newspaper assistance to the Police would not in any way be affected.

The arguments raised by Mr. Tuohy are sound and call for careful and critical analysis. He has set out with the pre-determined object of establishing a fact or set of facts and has succeeded fairly well. In order to do this, however, he had fallen a victim to just one of those weaknesses which the Press must overcome before it can become a still greater force in the world than it is at the present time. He has quoted only those cases from the annals of crime which support his case. His survey is therefore not scientific, and the picture he has attempted to draw has become distorted in the process. While it is true that newspaper assistance in tracing down criminals would not be withheld from the Police in the event of Court reporting being curbed, the views of eminent English jurists are against him in his contention that publicity in regard to the trials of accused persons should be strictly limited, and that the efficient administration of justice would not suffer in the process.

The /

The leading members of the English Bench, however they may differ in their interpretation of legal phrases, appear to present a fairly united front in regard to the value of publicity in the administration of justice and of the necessity of the liberty of the Press. The Lord Chief Justice of England, Lord Hewart, of Bury, states:²⁴³

"The Liberty of the Press is a mere application of the principle that no one is liable to be punished or condemned in damages except for a breach of the Law. Under recent statute newspapers have certain privileges relating to the publication of fair and accurate reports, published contemporaneously, of proceedings in Courts of Justice and of public meetings, and the publication at the request of any Government Department, the Commissioner of Police, or Chief Constable of any notice or report issued for the information of the public... Persons responsible for publications in the Press are subject to precisely the same liabilities, civil and criminal, and the same jurisdiction, and course of procedure, for any libellous, seditious, or blasphemous matter in their publications as if it were published in any other way".

Dealing with the importance of judicial proceedings in Civil Service Departmental enquiries being held in public so that the public may know whether justice is being done, the Lord Chief Justice states further (page 47): "The Departmental policy of secrecy, which is inveterate is itself sufficient to condemn the system under which the public departments act as tribunals to decide disputes of a judicial nature. This secrecy naturally leads to the conclusion that the departments are afraid of their proceedings being made public /

243. "The New Despotism", page 31.

public, and tends to destroy confidence in the fairness of their decision... Save in one or two instances, none of the departments publishes any reports of its proceedings, or the reasons for its decisions, and as the proceedings themselves, if any, are invariably held in secret, even interested parties have no means of acquiring any knowledge of what has taken place... It is suggested that the department is afraid to disclose inconsistencies and a want of principle in its decisions. "However that may be, the policy is fatal to the placing of any reliance on the impartiality and good faith of the tribunal. It is a queer sort of justice that will not bear the light of publicity."

Point is given to the above remarks by the unusual procedure adopted at the commencement of the trial of Mallalieu and Tollput at Durban in March 1931 on a charge of the murder of a Maritzburg taxi-driver named Kimber. Application was made by Counsel for the defence of the first accused for a separate trial. Mr. Justice Mathews, in declaring that he would hear argument on this point, in view of the objection of the Attorney General to this course being pursued, cleared the Court not only of the public but also of the Press. No reason was given for this unusual procedure, and a journal-
244
ist who investigated the matter reported that there was no precedent for such action being taken. The application was ultimately granted and the Court furthermore laid down that the male accused should be tried first, in spite of the fact that this matter was one which lay entirely within the discretion of the Attorney General.

The /

The extent to which a Court may legitimately go in suppressing reports of proceedings and decisions of the Court was strikingly presented in the case of Scott vs. Scott. (Quoted in Lord Hewart's "The New Despotism"). In this case the Court went further than it was allowed to, and the charge subsequently brought against Scott for contempt of Court could not be sustained.

The question in issue was whether, in a wife's suit for nullity of marriage, the Court had jurisdiction to order a hearing in camera, and the House of Lords decided the question in the negative. "The judgments of the Law Lords are important" stated Lord Hewart, in that they emphasise the great importance of publicity in the administration of Justice. It is laid down that, in contests between parties, secrecy is permissible only in those exceptional cases, such as litigation in reference to a secret process, where publicity would necessarily prevent justice from being done. Mere expediency is not enough to displace the principle that the Courts are bound to administer justice in public. A departure from this principle is permitted only when to apply it would be a negation of justice".

The Chief Justice was strongly supported in this view by Lord Shaw who described publicity in the administration of Justice as one of the surest guarantees of liberty; His Lordship further characterised a violation of such publicity as an attack on the very foundations of public and private security. In this connection he aptly quoted Bentham as follows :

"In /

245. Scott vs. Scott. The petitioner, after a decree nisi had been pronounced, published to certain persons copies of the shorthand writer's notes of the proceedings. The publication having been held to be a contempt of Court it was decided, on an appeal to the House of Lords that the Court had no jurisdiction to make the order for a hearing in camera.

246. "The New Despotism.

"In the darkness of secrecy, sinister interest and evil in every shape have full swing. Only in proportion as publicity has place can any of the checks applicable to judicial injustice speak. Where there is no publicity there is no justice." "Publicity is the very soul of Justice. It is the keenest spur to exertion and the surest of all guards against improbity. It keeps the Judge himself while trying under trial." The security of securities is publicity."

While it can clearly be seen from the quotations given above that the Law Lords are among the champions of the liberty of the Press, it must be equally obvious that the liberty so deeply cherished and so jealously preserved is open to abuse and that such abuse, so far from making "publicity one of the surest safeguards of liberty" makes premature or unwise publicity a hindrance to the efficient administration of justice, and may even amount to contempt of Court. Attention was, in fact, drawn to this point by Lord Darling in the English House of Lords ²⁴⁷ when he inquired

"whether the Government was aware that certain newspapers published what they alleged were confessions made while in prison by that convict (248) and asked "whether they intended to take any action to prevent a recurrence of such conduct". He also called attention to the publication by newspapers of the evidence given before the justices in the case of Rouse, and suggested the advisability of restricting such publication in the case of charges of the commission of indictable offences."

The Lord Chancellor, in associating himself with Lord Darling's remarks said it was not for him to lay down or to formulate a code for contempt of Court. "I think," he continued, "it is due to the Press of the country to say that in the majority of cases their powers are well and wisely used. "In the event of such articles appearing on

a/

247. "Daily Express" report, 1931.

248. Rouse, the accused in the "Blazing Car Murder, who was sentenced to death and lodged an appeal against his conviction and sentence. The appeal was lost.

a future occasion they will be brought before the court so that the court may have an opportunity of considering whether a contempt has or has not been committed."

Other instances of injudicious publicity may here be briefly given. In regard to the trial of an ex-convict, Eddie Guerin, whose criminal career reads like a chapter from a drama of crime, the presiding Judge, Lord Hewart, commented on the conduct of a certain newspaper which he had previously fined £1,000 for contempt of Court for publishing details of Guerin's career before Guerin had been brought to trial. Lord Hewart said: "The fact that statements to the detriment of an accused person are true provides not the slightest palliation for the publication thereof with reference to an impending trial".

250

Similarly another newspaper was fined £500 with costs for publishing matter relating to a man charged with murder. This case also came before Lord Hewart who stated that the newspaper was entitled to report fairly and accurately the proceedings in Court but once it departed from that course, it not only took a great risk but imperilled the unfortunate man charged. "I add to the warning previously given" remarked Lord Hewart, "that if this kind of cynical indifference to the interests of accused persons continues, cases will not be met by the imposition of fines".

251

The views expressed by Lord Darling and quoted above to the effect that "it is due to the Press of the country to say that in the majority of cases their powers are well and wisely used" can be confirmed by incidents drawn from actual newspaper /

252

-
249. Quoted "Sunday Times".
250. The "Surrey Comet".
251. Quoted "Sunday Times", 1931.
252. See page 244

newspaper experience. Three such instances will be given. In the first case, when a young man was arrested in connection with the murder of Miss Irene Kanthack in Johannesburg in 1928, a request was made that his correct name should not be divulged in the Press. This request was acceded to and a non de plume decided upon by the Police for travelling purposes in bringing the man from the place of arrest to the seat of trial was used by the Press, until the man actually appeared in Court when the correct name was divulged. Similarly the Police were of the opinion that any photographs in the Press of either Mallalieu or Tollputt (referred to in page 242) would seriously interfere with certain identification parades which had to be held in connection with the preliminary examination and the Press once again refrained from doing anything which would hamper the Police in their already difficult task. The third instance is one which is typical of a request which is frequently made by a presiding Magistrate to the Press, namely that certain names mentioned in evidence should not be published, as this would be prejudicial to the person concerned and would cause unnecessary hardship. When a Johannesburg doctor was charged in Johannesburg in 1928 with assault with intent to commit rape, certain names were kept out of the newspapers, and certain statements made by a woman witness and by the defending Attorney were not reported. The matter was disposed of in the following sentences: "The Magistrate asked the Press not to report certain statements made by the witness concerning her domestic affairs", and "The Magistrate asked that this evidence (of the Attorney) should also not be published.

The /

 253. Dr. Robert Alfred Tothill.

254. Report of Court proceedings, "Rand Daily Mail".

The news value of crime has been succinctly
255
demonstrated by Mr. Kingsley Martin. He said :

"I do not mean to suggest that newspapers are behaving wrongly in giving very full reports"- publicity is one of the great safeguards of justice and, apart from public reasons, we must remember that newspapers are mainly commercial concerns, whose business it is to sell as many copies as possible and therefore to provide the kind of information which people most like. Now crime is always a best seller and papers with big circulations are willing to pay high prices for any details about the lives of murderers or alleged murderers or their relatives".

Mr. Martin disclosed the fact that a certain unnamed newspaper syndicate was prepared to pay the expenses
256
of Counsel for the defence on condition that the accused man gave his exclusive story to the newspaper syndicate making the offer, to such lengths will enterprising newspapers go in order to be "First with the News". "Murder cases" he proceeded "are fully reported at every stage from the inquest to the final acquittal or death of the accused person. Some people, among them speakers in the House of Lords, suggested that this had a bad effect on the healthy-mindedness of the public, and they urged that we might treat crime in the newspapers as we treat divorce, that is to say, restrict the report to the bare fact, the names of the persons involved, the nature of the charge and the result of the case. Once a trial has begun it is obviously of the greatest importance that the public should be able to know the nature of the evidence, and should be able to see for itself that the trial is fair. People would soon lose their confidence in justice if it was carried out in secret. There is the best of reasons, then, for allowing full publicity at the trial itself,
and /

255. In a broadcasting address in England subsequently reported in "The Listener", published by the British Broadcasting Company.

256. Sir Edward Marshall-Hall.

and if nothing has been published before the trial this publicity will not prejudice the jury whatever may be its effects on the general public".

Mr. Martin, who appears to have kept a more ²⁵⁷ open mind in regard to this problem than Mr. Ferdinand Tuohy proceeded to discuss the question whether there is any advantage in permitting the newspapers to give the details before the trial itself, and to consider the question of the publication of evidence led at preparatory examinations when all the Magistrate has to decide is whether there is a prima facie case against the accused man. He comes to the conclusion that the advantages, such as the coming forward of additional witnesses on reading the newspaper reports, are outweighed by the disadvantages among which the unconscious influencing of the jurymen is not the least considerable. "In his evidence before the Select Committee on Capital Punishment Lord Brentford, who has a very great experience in these matters, and whom we all knew as Joynson-Hicks when he was Home Secretary, gave it as his opinion that there was no reason for what he called 'full and morbid accounts' in the Press, that anybody who was likely to have information would be just as likely to see the report and to come forward with the information, if all the modern business of 'writing up' and featuring were abolished", Mr. Martin concluded.

The view held in South Africa does not differ greatly from that outlined above, and the Minister of Justice (Mr. O. Pirow) is understood to have prepared legislation

whereby reports of preparatory examinations will no longer be published. This will not inflict hardship on

the /

the Press as the case may still be fully reported when the accused man stands his trial in the Higher Court before a Judge. In fact, it will save a considerable amount of duplication as the proceedings in the Higher Court are often a mere recapitulation of what was said before the Magistrate.

In order to stress the fact that the relations between the Police and Press are not one perpetual antagonism, unbroken by any show of consideration on either side, the story of George Dilnot, a newspaper crime expert may briefly be given. "I happened to get on to a man suspected of murder", he stated. "It was a case which attracted a lot of attention but I'd no idea. . and, of course, I was officially thanked by Scotland Yard. I think I am the only man in Fleet Street who has ever marked down a man like that; and that is how I became labelled as a crime expert".

The fact that Mr. Dilnot happens to have been the only man to "have marked down a man like that" does not matter. It is the spirit which is of importance and it is a safe inference that others possessing the necessary ability and knowledge would have acted in a similar manner should an occasion arise. Reporters are often placed in a position to help the Police in some way or other and very frequently do. The necessity that they should investigate the same circumstances which officialdom is attempting to solve places them /

258. Quoted in Nongqai, April 1931.

259. An American publication, "True Detective Mysteries" publishes a monthly a feature called "The Line-Up" with an appeal to readers to "Watch for these fugitives!" Thereunder is published the photograph and description of men "wanted" for murder and other serious crimes. The paper offers a reward for their capture. It was stated in the May 1932 issue that "The Line-Up is a public service offered in co-operation with American Police Departments. Eight outstanding captures have been made through the pages of 'True Detective Mysteries' to date".

them in a favourable position to be of some use, although they are naturally working at a disadvantage from the fact that the Police want "no meddling" and the Press cannot obtain statements from unwilling persons in the same way as the Police can.

How the relations between Press and Police will develop in the future is a matter of speculation in which dogmatism would be out of place. The present tendency is for the Police to take advantage of all the facilities which the Press has to offer in the way of widespread publicity when required, and non-publication of certain items of news calculated to interfere with the course of justice, if published, and to give as little as possible in return. The Police being a permanent institution of organised Government, whereas the Press is an organ of capitalistic enterprise, the sympathies of the Legislature are naturally with the former, but the scales of justice are likely, however slowly, to revert to the equilibrium, provided the newspapers live up to high traditions of honesty and responsibility, and do nothing to forfeit any show of confidence in them.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE PRESS TOWARDS
PUBLIC WELFARE.

In order to counterbalance the multiple lapses from grace which will be recounted in the succeeding chapter, some indication of the addition to public welfare which the Press has made possible will now be given. Assistance rendered by the Press to the Pulpit and by Pressmen to the Police have already been dealt with in preceding chapters. It will have become increasingly apparent that the Press in assisting other public bodies, hopes in some way to derive some benefit, directly or indirectly, from its assistance. Thus it is the hope of the reporter who assists in the tracking down of a criminal that he will at some future date be rewarded by those thus placed under an obligation to him by obtaining the exclusive story of sensational news of some sort. It is likewise hoped that, in adopting an attitude which commends itself to community as a whole or to a section of a community, the particular paper concerned will gain added prestige among that community and that its position will be strengthened thereby.

260

"You ought", said William Randolph Hearst²⁶⁰ to have some fight or crusade for public welfare always in progress and you ought to fight hard for it". Hearst's social theories were briefly as follows:-

"I /

"I believe that of the 80,000,000 of people in this country (261), the most prosperous five or six million are ably represented in Congress, in the Law Courts and in the newspapers. It would be immodesty on my part to imagine that I could add much to the comfort or prosperity of the few who are so thoroughly well looked after. My ambition is to forward the interests of the 70,000,000 or more of typical Americans who are not so well looked after. Their needs seem to offer a wider field for useful effort. At the same time let me say I do not seek to divide the nation into classes or foster unreasoning dislike of one class by another".

Although Hearst is not to be regarded as an ideal worthy of imitation by newspapermen, the sentiments expressed in the foregoing passage are sound and worthy of support. Hearst was perpetually accused of being activated by motives. Even if the allegations were fully proved, Hearst would not stand alone in his condemnation, for the Press is not a philanthropic institution, and any measure which it may adopt for the advancement and general betterment of the public welfare must inevitably reflect credit upon itself, and it is that reflected credit which most newspapers ardently desire.

Contributions to public welfare on the part of the Press may conveniently be dealt with under three categories: (1) specific instances of public benefit or of benefit to deserving individuals or group of individuals through action taken by the Press, and (2) the permanent beneficial influence of enlightenment, co-ordination, and thought stimulation which characterises the modern Press, and (3) the trade facilities afforded by newspaper advertisements.

Examples of the contributions to public welfare made under the first heading are numerous. Frauds

have /

have been exposed ('e.g. the trance medium of whom it was written in the "Daily Express", 1931, that "her sub-conscious mind was crammed with spiritualistic jargon which she can trot out and hang on any peg".), enterprise encouraged (e.g. the offer of the Tokio newspaper, "Asahi" of £10,000 to any Japanese or £5,000 to any foreigner who before April 25th, 1932, did a non-stop flight across the Pacific in either direction), unemployment Bureau's formed, (e.g. by the "Star", April 28th, 1932), advertisement space allotted free of charge to genuine "out-of-works" (e.g. "Rand Daily Mail", April 27th, 1932), missing children found (e.g. Norah Lynch - After her mother had appealed through the Press for information, Nora Lynch, aged sixteen, of Mansfield Street, Kingsland Road, London, E., who disappeared from her home on December 19th, returned yesterday), and reforms have been carried out on the initiative of newspapers.

An illustration of one of the last-mentioned reforms is worthy of description. Miss Zung We Tung, the first woman reporter to take her place on the staff of any Chinese newspaper, has been engaged on a thorough and systematic investigation into the conditions of child labour and factory conditions generally in China. ²⁶¹ Her newspaper, the 'Shen Pao', of Shanghai, is one of China's oldest and most influential daily papers and has a circulation of more than 100,000 copies daily. Whatever she writes in that paper goes to all those readers.... She is turning the searchlight on to labour conditions and it is certain that, through what she is doing, in co-operation with others, hundreds and thousands of women and children who will never even hear her name will

live /

261. "A Chinese Social Reformer", by Basil Mathews.

live happier lives".

This is a striking example. It shows a benefit simultaneously conferred upon tremendously large number of people and it is a permanent benefit, for not even the most unscrupulous of employers would dare to continue to exploit their child and female labour in the face of the blinding light of publicity. A similar public benefit was obtained by Hearst for the citizens of America. The means by which the benefit was obtained was admittedly a "stunt" but the means were justified by the end. "One of his 'stunts' was for a woman reporter to faint in the street. She was taken to the City Receiving Hospital, and within 36 hours "The Examiner" printed a sensational expose of conditions in this emergency first-aid institution. The 'stunt' resulted in the establishment of a regular ambulance service. Hearst subsequently made the first of many hundreds of appeals for public funds for public projects. This resulted in the establishment of the "Little Jim" Hospital for cripple children' 262

The appeal for funds made by the "Rand Daily Mail", on behalf of "Ouma" van Zyl, a Centenarian Voortrekker who was found living in very necessitous circumstances on the Rand, is a typical case of benefit derived by individuals through the Press. Such solicitude is not extended to all persons in need, however, as there are so many genuine deserving cases in each City and town that the Press could not, within the limits of consistency, take up the cudgels on behalf of some persons and refuse to take any action when similar cases are brought to its notice. This attitude is a
commendable /

commendable one, because the public, however generous it may be, cannot be expected to tolerate an incessant appeal through the columns of a newspaper for funds on behalf of some unfortunate person, family, or other group of persons.

In abnormal circumstances, when families are rendered homeless by reason of hurricanes or floods, the Press has always through its columns invited contributions towards the relief of the unfortunate persons whose plight is the result of no fault of their own, and has usually headed the list with a generous contribution itself. The "Rand Daily Mail" and "Sunday Times" Christmas Fund, and the "Star Seaside Fund" may also be mentioned here as being typical of efforts made by the Press on behalf of the less fortunate members of the community.

The contribution which the Press makes towards public welfare through the mere fact of the daily sale of newspapers is considerable. In proportion to the circulation of each individual newspaper is the influence which it daily brings to bear upon each reader of that newspaper and upon the nation as a whole. The relation of the Press to the moulding of public opinion has already been considered (Chapter Six). The contribution which the Press makes in this connection is that it makes a public opinion possible. Without knowledge of the facts relating to a particular subject a person is unable to form any opinion in regard to the matter. Once these facts are supplied, an opinion can be formed.

The Press to-day is the strongest rival of the school as an educative factor in the life of a nation, for, whereas the schooling received by the majority of the citizens of any one country is elementary, the general knowledge

which /

which may be gleaned from a daily newspaper-- and still more from a weekly-- is almost unlimited in its scope and application. This fact is rapidly being realised and school-going children are being advised more and more to read the newspapers. Mr. John Duthie said that "a subject which would be of great value to them (school-going children) in after life, but which had so far as he knew been overlooked, was a proper study of the contemporary Press. The Press was the greatest single force influencing men's minds to-day. "For that reason I hold that a portion of every child's education should consist of a study of up-to-date newspapers. A study of the contemporary Press would undoubtedly keep the child in touch with the trend of modern thought".

363

The same view was taken by the "Rand Daily Mail" in a leading article when it referred to facts previously published in that paper relative to the dangers attendant upon children interfering with overhead power lines. "School-boys in particular should be warned", it was stated. "There are clearly times-- and this is one of them-- when the daily newspaper should be placed among the textbooks of the schools".

364

Hearst's biographer wrote of him: "Hearst stirred a healthy suspicion in the minds of the people of his times. He educated the mob. He bridged the gap between illiteracy and literacy for millions. He taught the submerged nine tenths to do at least some thinking for themselves! This might seem to be an ambitious claim, but the basic rock which the Press has provided for many in their struggle in the sea of life can be readily appreciated in the light of

the /

263. Addressing the Transvaal Old Selbornian Association at the Trocadero Restaurant, Johannesburg, 1931.

264. November 13th, 1931.

265

the following letter by Mr. Alfred J. Henochsberg. The letter is reproduced here exactly as it was published:-

To the Editor, "Rand Daily Mail",

Sir, - In the "Rand Daily Mail" of March 14 there appeared a most interesting paragraph headed "Editors the Greatest Preachers", and giving an extract from a speech delivered by Mr. Justice McCardie at the London Press Club. I think the words "and teachers" might well be added, as what little education I possess I owe to reading the leading articles in the daily Press.

I left school at the age of thirteen years, and was employed in my uncle's business. One of my duties was to read aloud in the evenings various leading articles from the newspapers. When I came to a "big" word and was unable to give the meaning of it correctly (which very frequently happened), I was made to refer to the dictionary. I am very pleased to admit that I learned very much more from reading the leading articles of editors than from the tuition I received at school.

(Signed) Alfred J. Henochsberg.

This letter substantiates the claim made by the writer of this thesis earlier in this chapter that the Press was the strongest rival of the school in education.

The speech of Mr. Justice McCardie referred to by Mr. Henochsberg may be briefly summarised as follows:

"I believe the Press is the greatest influence in the life of the English people. In England the Press absorbs the duties of priest, prophet, preacher, and Parliament. The great preachers of to-day are the editors of the daily newspapers. The Press of England, if it will join with the Press of other countries, may be-aye, it is, in large measure- a magnificent instrument of international unity. I believe that the future peace of the world is dependent upon the Press of the world".

The educative aspect of the Press deserves
close/

365. "Rand Daily Mail", March 17th, 1931.

366. Published in the "Rand Daily Mail", March 14th, 1931.

close consideration. It is not the desire, nor is it within the power of the Press to coerce its readers to support the views it holds, nor to agree to the justice of the causes it champions, but it endeavours to place readers in a position to judge for themselves by putting the facts before them. It does not dare to presume that its readers are its supporters. Indeed, it was said of Hearst that he had a thousand readers for every follower, the Press however, sometimes attempts to play the game of "Follow my Leader", and assumes the role of leader when (as in the case of the "Sunday Times") it produces a "People Say" column, or³⁶⁶ it publishes a list of questions under the heading of "Things We want to know". In the name of the "People", the "Sunday Times" declared³⁶⁷ "that the Government has failed signally in its efforts to solve the unemployment problem brought about by the depression said to be resultant upon its Gold Standard policy", "that the Municipality are great sinners as far as the spread of Mexican marigold and white ants are concerned", and so on.

That these paragraphs are not written in vain and can be the cause of much good was indicated in the "Sunday Times"³⁶⁸ when it was announced that, as a result of a "People Say" paragraph appearing the previous week to the effect that "They (the people) wonder how long the Frenchmen's record³⁶⁹ will stand, and that they would like to see a South African break it", a Rand pilot had taken up the challenge, conditionally upon financial assistance being forthcoming. He appealed through the columns of the paper for assistance to make his flight possible.

The /

- 366. As the "Pretoria News" used to, and as "The Cape" and other papers still do.
- 367. April 3rd, 1932.
- 368. May 1st, 1932.
- 369. For the fastest flying time from the Continent to the Cape.

The qualifications of the newspaper for the assumption of the role of "Leader" are substantial, for as was stated in the "Rand Daily Mail": "the journalist by the exigencies of his profession comes into contact with new people or new ideas or new books- "The result, is, as a rule, intense mental activity. It is true that some journalists are sometimes shallow, but the best of them are alive at every point".

This quotation stresses two points, the "intense mental activity" and the "contact of the journalist with new ideas". These words should be underlined for it is an undoubted fact that journalism brings its devotees into close touch with more sides of life than any other profession, including even the many-sided occupation of crime detection and punishment. The Press sends its men (and women) to Society, to the slums, to Courts, to Conferences, and to many other places, whether they are welcome or not. To the more competent journalists fall the alluring assignments of travelling in other countries and of giving graphic accounts of their experiences. War correspondents, midst shell and shrapnel, have written vividly of attacks of counter attacks, of the horror of war, and of the trail of desolation it has left in its wake. Only by these means can persons who have not themselves tasted of the bitter sweets of war through personal experience gain any idea of what it entails. With the prospect of further wars fading imperceptibly away into the distance, the Press sends its men to Geneva to attend the Assemblies of the League of Nations, of the Disarmament Conference, and of other International Bodies which are striving consciously to restore civilisation to the pedestal it had gained for itself/

itself prior to 1914. Through the Press the countries of the world are given an inkling of the efforts that are being made on their behalf to save the world from the cataclysm of further wars. It is not possible for the Press, for obvious reasons, to give more than an inkling of these international endeavours, but their reports are sufficient to assure the majority that progress, however slow and halting it may be, is being made, while for the more intelligent, educated, and interested minority it opens up avenues of personal investigation of the work being carried on by this international body.

Realising the value of publicity, the League has set its face against secrecy, and when the writer was in Geneva in January, 1932, he found that the Assembly Hall of the League of Nations was divided almost exactly into two, as much room being taken up by the Press representatives of the world as by the delegates to the League Assembly. No fewer than 400 journalists attend the deliberations of the League and the message of that body is conveyed to the countries of the world in numerous languages. Thus, from conveying to its readers impressions of war-time conditions, the Press has now focussed its attention upon the dissemination of news regarding the constructive measure being taken towards the elimination of future wars and the maintenance of a perpetual state of peace. The League's work will be made easier by the knowledge that it has the blessing and mandate of the people of the world in its arduous and difficult task, and this blessing can only be given after the people of the various countries have learnt of the steps that have already been taken and that are proposed.

For /

-
271. Through the published reports, Draft Conventions and other works of the League and its subordinate Committees.
272. According to my Guide on the occasion of my visit.

For this information they are dependent upon the Press, which, realising the scanty nature of its cabled reports, occasionally supplement such reports with mailed articles by its representatives setting out more fully the situation as it appears to them.²⁷³

The films do a great deal towards introducing the mass of people in any one country to conditions and peoples in other countries of the world. This is done by means of "Pathe's Gazette's", and feature films, and educational films. The Press, too, fulfils a similar role, more especially on the continent, but the habit is gradually growing in this country.²⁷⁴ The "Daily Express" has ever been an enthusiastic believer in giving the people of England an opportunity of knowing England better by giving it an insight into the customs and habits prevalent in other countries.

During April 1933 that paper ran a series of articles by Miss Margaret Lane on the "American Adventure". In announcing the inauguration of this feature, the "Daily Express" explained that Miss Lane, who was a graduate of Oxford, and a former member of its staff, had landed a spectacular job" on the International News Service in America. She travelled throughout America on special assignments and "covered" everything from Al Capone's trial to the Washington Congress. Her articles were illuminating and did much towards lifting the veil which at present obscures the domestic problems of the United States from the rest of the world. Similarly, the "Daily Express" published during the previous year a series of articles by Mr. Carl Ketchum on Russia.

While /

273. See articles by J. W. Sarvin in the "Observer".

274. e.g. The combination article on the cover page of the literary supplement of the "Sunday Times" each week.

While this distinguished writer was in Russia—
as the first English journalist who had been admitted to
275
Russia for more than a year— his reports were censored, but
on his return to England the words which flowed from his pen
were so outspoken that the Soviet Government resolved that
his revelations should not escape its drastic action. There-
upon followed one of the greatest farces in the judicial
history of any country.

In the words of the Berlin correspondent of
the "Daily Express", under the heading of "Too much Truth"
276
it was stated :

"Mr. C. J. Ketchum, the special correspondent
of the "Daily Express", has paid his last
visit to Russia, according to reports which
have been received here to-night from Moscow.
The Soviet authorities have decided that he
shall never be allowed to cross the Russian
frontier again.

The "Daily Express" also is to be exiled from
Russia so long as it continues to print those
articles in which Mr. Ketchum is telling the
uncensored truth about Russia as he saw it
during his recent visit.

All copies of the newspaper containing his
articles have been promptly confiscated.
Moreover, Mr. Ketchum is to be the central,
though absent, figure in a special trial
which is to be held shortly in Moscow. The
dock will be empty - unless it is furnished
with a life-size portrait of the criminal—
but in all other respects the trial will be
a very serious matter indeed.

A group of English Communists who have made
their homes in Moscow will appear as his
accusers, and will charge him with having
betrayed the Soviet by publishing libellous
reports.

It remains to be seen whether Mr. Ketchum
will be sentenced to eternal exile in Siberia
or a timber camp at Archangel, or whether a
dozen or so death sentences will be passed on him".

The newspaper's reply was brief and to the

point /

275. "Daily Express", January 26th, 1931.

276. February 2nd, 1931.

point. It was as follows : "Mr. Ketchum's eighth outspoken article on the present conditions in Russia is on Page Three". Mr. Ketchum's instructions on his return to England were "to tell everything that he saw, to tell the whole truth, no matter what prejudices it may offend, either in this country or in Russia, to tell the good and the bad, the hopes and fears, the strength and weakness of the greatest human experiment in history". His articles did a great deal to help solve the riddle that enshrouds Red Russia, and the drastic though farcial action taken by the Soviet Government indicates to a large extent how his articles were something more than revelations. They were exposures.

Mr. Ketchum has made a world cruise, covering (according to one of his own articles in the "Daily Express") half a million miles in ten years. He has faithfully recounted his experiences for the benefit of the readers of the "Daily Express" and those who, for financial reasons are unable to visit the countries of the world for themselves and study conditions at first-hand, must be grateful to this English newspaper for placing Mr. Ketchum in the position of being able to pass on, in his own vivid style, descriptions of his adventures in Dublin, Constantinople, Bagdad, Austria, Armenia, and other parts of the world.

Such articles not only stimulate thought but assist readers in keeping a sense of proportion. Some idea of the relative importance of England in world affairs and of the insignificance of the individual among the 1,800,000,000 people of the world must be gained, while the readers are encouraged to forget the monotony of their own existence and to live for a while in their imagination, speculating on the future of the lands and peoples of whom they have gained some

knowledge /

knowledge through the financial resources of the "Daily Express" and the able pen of Mr. Ketchum.

Not all papers are able to send special correspondents to distant countries in this way, but even within national boundaries descriptions of distant regions are of interest and assist in a small measure in breaking down the spirit of parochialism or provincialism which inevitably tends to spring up when a community is isolated for geographic reasons or through lack of transport and communication facilities. By the same token, the Press may also contribute largely towards keeping alive this undesirable spirit of sectionalism. ²⁷⁷ Whether the power of the Press is to be used for good or bad depends upon the counsel --wise or otherwise-- of those at the head of affairs.

Wise counsel predominantly prevails, however, and the consolidating effect of the Press upon national life is admirably summed up in the following words of ²⁷⁸ Mr. R. A. Scott Jones:

"The conscious life of the nation depends on the swift circulation of news, just as the life of the body depends on the circulation of blood. A nation is only fully a nation when all its citizens are all the time in touch with the news about all of it- and with the ideas which arise from the news. The Press, constantly making use of the latest inventions, is enabled by its mechanism to penetrate ever deeper into the life of the nation and to cast its net ever wider, bringing the life of one nation into closer contact with the lives of other nations".

As sport plays a large part in the lives of people who strive to be both physically-healthy and healthy-minded, it is natural that it should fulfil an important role in the make-up of any newspaper. The space allotted to

sport /

277. Witness the attitude of the "Natal Mercury", Durban, in regard to the Natal Devolution Movement, 1932.

278. "The Strand" Magazine, 1931.

sport is in proportion to the public's demand for such sporting articles. Thus whereas one or two pages are devoted to matters relative to out-door recreations in this country the newspapers in England - where soccer is worshipped and soccer adepts idolised - ungrudgingly give three or four pages to sport and maintain a staff of men thoroughly acquainted with each department of sport in order to cater for the wants of its readers in this connection. As the problem of what to do with leisure moments is likely to prove a thorny question in the future when the problem of unemployment is tackled in the light of providing more leisure for the working classes and as sport is bound to provide a partial answer to this question, it is in accordance with the uncommon law of common-sense that the Press should devote considerable space to sporting activities of whatever kind. Many men buy newspapers for their sporting news alone and in order to "catch" sales, sporting editions are brought out in South Africa on Saturday evenings with full descriptions of the more important events of the day and the bare results of the less important events.

Motoring, too, is playing an increasingly larger role in the life of the people and provision for motorists is made by every progressive newspaper through the medium of the Motor Editor who is responsible for the publication of all the most up-to-date news in regard to developments in the motor world, information regarding the shortest distance by road between certain places, the condition of roads, and all other matters appertaining to the motor trade and industry. Any newspaper of any importance and standing not having its motor supplement would be failing to make a not inconsiderable

contribution /

contribution towards the needs of the people and would in so far be failing in its duty towards the public.

It is possible-- but unnecessary--to continue at great length to describe the benefits conferred by readers of newspapers in this connection. Just as the sporting and motoring communities are catered for, so farmers, lovers of dogs, art enthusiasts, philatelists, lovers of the stage, students of law, gardeners, and other specialised groups, all find some corner of the paper specially set aside for them to cater for their peculiar needs and to keep them in touch with the latest developments in their own particular sphere.

The third contribution to public welfare made by the Press (in continuation of the classification made in the opening passages of this Chapter) is the trade facilities afforded by newspaper advertisements. Many devices are resorted to by business houses and commercial firms to advertise the goods they wish to sell or to make known the nature of the business they wish to transact, but there is no medium of publicity that can compare for effectiveness with the Press. Sky writing, placards, street processions, film slides, pamphlets and circulars all take their part in modern publicity efforts but none of these means succeeds in reaching the public in a manner comparable with the modern newspaper with their enormous circulations .

In this category, to a much greater extent than in the other contributions to public welfare already detailed, the self-seeking nature of the newspaper is apparent. This is only natural, however, as the newspaper is not a philanthropic institution and depends almost entirely for its income upon advertising revenue. The fact that advertisements continue to fill the columns of the daily Press clearly shows

that /

that advertisers realise that they are getting good value for their money. The great extent to which newspapers are made use of for advertising purposes is strikingly shown by Mr. G. Binney Dibblee, M.A. ²⁷⁹ Mr. Dibblee described newspaper publicity as "the most valuable commodity in the world". ²⁸⁰ "Advertising", he continued ²⁸¹ "is the newspaper's backbone. The world is only beginning to realise how vitally necessary it is to business. Probably from £40,000,000 to £50,000,000 a year is spent on advertising with various journals and periodicals in England alone. Perhaps as much is spent in Central Europe and at least four times as much in North America."

It is difficult to assess a figure for South Africa, as Mr. J. C. R. Loubser, Hon. Secretary of the Advertising Club of South Africa, ²⁸² stated "to the best of my knowledge the information you call for is not officially recorded in this country as is done overseas". Mr. W. Redford, Managing Director of the S. A. Advertising Contractors, ²⁸³ however, stated that Press advertisements accounted for no less than 92% of the total expenditure on advertising in the Union, the total amount involved being in the neighbourhood of £8,000,000. Mr. Redford gave the following detailed summary of the present position in regard to the support given to various advertising media:

Railways.....	2	per cent.
Bioscope Slides	2	" "
Wireless	3	" "
Posters	1.3	" "
Traams and Buses	1.4	" "
Miscellaneous	1	" "
Press	92	" "

He /

-
279. Late fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, whose work "The Newspaper" has been described as "the best account extant of the organisation of the newspaper press
280. Page 114.
281. Page 115
282. In a letter to the writer in reply to an enquiry
283. In his annual report for 1931.

He added that it was the very high opinion held by advertisers and advertising agents generally that made possible the "wonderful" proportion described above.

Frequent tributes are paid by prominent business men, the nature of whose work brings them into close touch with newspapers, to the efficacy of newspaper advertisements. These include Mr. W. Buchanan-Taylor who stated that "no advertising medium has been discovered so far that can seriously compete with the newspaper and no commodity can be solidly established without the aid of the daily or weekly journal", and further "If you ask me what kind of printing is the best salesman I would unhesitatingly say the newspaper. I believe that there is less wastage in an advertisement in a good-class newspaper than in any other form of print". In these views he is supported by Mr. Lionel G. Jackson: "Advertising is the tool and weapon that lies readiest to the hand of British manufacturers", he declared, adding that 40,000,000 people were in England concentrated in an area less than a single American State, and that it was served by a newspaper Press that, as an engine of publicity, was the finest in the world.

Facts speak even more eloquently than these compliments, however, and it is stated that when Atlanta, Georgia, in the United States advertised, no fewer than 46,217 inquiries /

-
284. Publicity and Advertising manager to Messrs. Lyons and Co. Ltd., England.
285. At the Edinburgh Publicity Club, reported in the "Sunday Times", April 13th, 1933.
286. In attacking the Empire Marketing Board's 'waste' by use of hoarding advertisements at the Industrial Welfare Society in Oxford, reported in the "Daily Express".
287. In his Presidential address to the Institute of Incorporated Practitioners in Advertising, England, reported in the "Sunday Times", May 9th, 1933.
288. In "South African Advertising", April, 1931.

inquiries were received within four years, while 446 business surveys were made, 163,820 pieces of literature were distributed, and 679 new concerns were secured, bringing £6,000,000 more wages. ²⁹⁰ Figures quoted by Lord Camrose are equally impressive. Lord Camrose told his hearers that :

"After the great slump which took place in America in 1921 an investigation was made of the results achieved by seventy-six public companies. Of these, thirty maintained or increased their advertising expenditure and forty-six decreased their expenditures. The profits of the thirty firms showed a slight fall in 1921, an increase in 1922 over their figures for 1919 and 1920, and a still further increase in 1923 and 1924. The firms which reduced their advertising expenditure made heavy deficits in 1921 and did not get back to their profits figure for 1919 until 1923".

²⁹¹
The following statement is equally significant:

"Much of the credit for the continuation of the Kellogg Company's unbroken record of a quarter century of steady advances is due to the judicious use of newspaper advertising, says Mr. Kellogg, chief of the well-known cereal company. We are taking full advantage of the flexibility permitted by this medium, which may be used generally or concentrated in certain sections or wherever the need seems to be the greatest. This method has proven profitable and will be continued even more aggressively in 1932".

Similarly when an advertisement appeared in a Johannesburg paper inviting applications for jobs on a mine to be opened in the North Eastern Transvaal, more than 5,000 replies were received. Applicants were advised to enclose £2. with their applications "to cover the cost of the journey and other expenses". Unfortunately the advertisement was a bogus one and the advertiser was sentenced to two years'

imprisonment /

290. At a meeting of the Allied Newspapers, May 28th, 1931, reported in the "Pretoria News".

291. From "The Western Gazette", Dorset, April 25th, 1932.

imprisonment with hard labour.

In commenting upon the case, the "Sunday Times" said :

"No reputable newspaper would knowingly accept a fraudulent advertisement, but, in spite of all precautions, such advertisements do occasionally find their way into print. It is even said that some of the mysterious "agony" messages in the "Times" are communications between crooks. The only adequate safeguard is to make it a criminal offence for anyone to hand to a newspaper for publication an advertisement the claims of which cannot be reasonably substantiated. We believe that most newspapers would welcome such a form of protection".

The need for some form of protection such as that indicated by the paper quoted is urgent. Its claim for such a reform was supported by an incident which occurred shortly after the publication of the leader quoted above.

392
It appeared that an advertisement from Holland offering collections of bulbs for sale had been received by that journal and published in good faith. Readers sent the requisite money orders for £1.1.0. to the address given in Holland but their letters remained unanswered and no bulbs were received. Immediately the facts became known, the "Sunday Times" placed the full position before its readers with the advice that in future Consuls of foreign countries should be consulted before money was sent in reply to any such advertisements. It added the assurance that it was:

"taking steps in the future to endeavour to check all Continental advertisers of a certain type by making application to the Consul of the country, and by endeavouring to refer to the commercial advices filed in the various Consulates."

No newspaper could do more than that. It
would /

392. From facts published in the "Sunday Times", May 1st, 1933.

would be to the advantage to the Press as a body, to the general Public, and to advertisers themselves if closer scrutiny were given to doubtful advertisements. Careful discrimination in this matter would obviate such incidents as those detailed above, would maintain public confidence in advertising, thus safeguarding advertisers from being indirectly penalised because of the sharp practices of a few rogue individuals who choose to take advantage of the Press to rob unsuspecting persons.

Misrepresentation in advertisements is another feature to which attention must be directed, especially when business is transacted by means of the mail-order process. Advertisers are coming to realise that a fair description of the goods it has for sale is ultimately likely to be more profitable than an unmerited "bolstering up" of the product, and complaints on this ground are extremely rare. Persons acting upon such advertisements should also take the necessary precautions to ensure that they are getting value for their

293

money. Mr. Dibblee dealt briefly with this question as follows:

"One of the difficulties about advertising is the element of misrepresentation which is likely to creep into it. The stereotyped precaution which has always been taken to prevent misrepresentation being such as to involve the newspaper proprietor in damages or to embroil him with other customers is to refuse to insert any reflection or disparagement on any recognisable rival goods".

It is not proposed to go into detail regarding the rates of advertising on various pages of a newspaper, differing as they do from town to town, Province to Province, and country to country, nor to enlarge upon the system of
classification /

classification of advertisements. Some general remarks regarding advertising facilities will, however, be made. The allocation of advertising space by both the Rand daily newspapers to unemployed persons has already been referred to. A novel feature which the "Rand Daily Mail" introduced during 1931 was a feature appropriately named "Trade and the Telephone". In this connection the newspaper concerned declared :

"The important part which the telephones can play in the promotion of trade, and the facilities it offers for a closer contact between seller and buyer, was recognised when the "Rand Daily Mail" initiated its special feature, "Trade and the Telephone".

It added that the innovation had excited overseas comment and that the example set by the Rand morning paper had been set up as an example for English newspapers to follow. All that the system entailed was the inclusion of the telephone number of those advertisers in the Classified Advertisements section who were prepared to take orders over the telephone.

In an interview with a representative of the
 294 295
 "Rand Daily Mail", Mr. H. H. Darbyshire said :

"The possibilities thus opened to stimulate trade should encourage all business firms to list their telephone numbers in all advertising matter. All blocks prepared for newspaper advertisements should feature the telephone number".

Cheaper advertising rates are quoted by newspapers for charitable, amateur dramatic, and sporting organisations in order to encourage such bodies to make their ramifications as widely known as possible at the cheapest possible cost. Without advertising, such bodies would be like the man

who /

294. July, 1931.

295. Manager of the Johannesburg Telephone Exchange.

who winked at the girl in the dark. They themselves would know what they were doing, but others would not, and much of their usefulness would thereby be lost.

The close relation existing between newspaper advertising and trade cannot be over-emphasised. "Press advertising is to-day an almost indispensable factor in large-scale distribution. Hundreds of thousands of pounds worth of goods are sold direct from and wholly by advertisements. There are certain sceptical persons who may believe that advertising is a luxury that may be indulged in while trade conditions are favourable, but that when adverse times come and a period of depression sets in the expenditure on advertising must be the first to be curtailed. Such a policy is almost suicidal. The fundamental fact that advertising is one of the most effective means of fighting depression is overlooked, and those who overlook this fact are the first to fall into the slough of despond. Lord Cassrose's figures in this connection have already been given. Strong supporting facts were adduced by Mr. R.J. Sykes. He stated that a careful analysis had revealed that, in spite of the general falling off of trade, the visible decline in productive or proprietary advertising had only fallen off by 5½ compared with 1929, which was a record year.

"Manufacturers knew that advertising was essential to the maintenance of their trade in bad times as well as good; they would not continue it if it had not paid them.

The worst depression of trade occurred in the biggest and wealthiest industries, which were "much too dignified to advertise".

Manufacturers who were advertisers maintained, and in many cases increased, their appropriations last year with marked success.

"It /

296. "South African Advertising", April, 1931

297. President of the Institute of Incorporated Practitioners in Advertising, 1931, at the annual dinner held at the Cafe Royal, London.

"It would not be fair to claim what they did claim for the wonderful benefits of advertising without a tribute to the Press of this country, as a worker in the cause of promoting and restoring British trade, not through its editorial columns alone, but by the opportunities which it afforded to well-conceived advertising".

CHAPTER IX.

LAPSES FROM GRACE.

398

James Agate, the well-known literary critic of the "Daily Express", tell the story of a young man who applied for a position on a newspaper and explained that his strong point was "invective". The Editor asked: "Invective about what?". "Nothing in particular", the youth replied, "just invective". There is probably no foundation in truth for the above story but at least it serves admirably to bring out one of the chief reasons for a chapter such as this being necessary in a survey of the Press relations with the world around it. It shows a lack of appreciation of the functions, duties, and responsibilities of the Press. To this lack of appreciation can be attributed most of the lapses from grace that occur almost daily in one paper or another. Another reason for ethical lapses is over-keenness and an ambitious desire to "shine" on the part of the more youthful members of a newspaper staff.

Specific instances of betrayal of public trust, of breach of journalistic etiquette, and of breach of confidence with public bodies will be pointed out in this chapter, while attention will also be drawn to certain degenerating influences which are creeping--slowly and almost imperceptibly--into the Press. The latter influences are perhaps of more importance than the specific instances, for, whereas the instances themselves, however serious they may be are

temporary /

398. "Daily Express", November 5th, 1931.

temporary and transient, while the insidious influences, unless perceived and actively checked, give promise of having come to stay, and of lowering the general level of journalism.

This is dangerous ground on which the writer is trespassing, for certain actions of newspapers which the writer feels justified in including under this chapter head might with equal justification be included by a colleague under the Chapter dealing with the contributions of the Press to public life. The problem is essentially a subjective one and each investigator must record the results of his investigations as the facts present themselves to him. The reality of the truism that truth is relative will be forcibly brought home by the possible double construction that can be placed on some of the matters which will come under discussion in the following pages.

For instance, opinion was sharply divided in England last year on the question of the free gift schemes by which certain daily newspapers in London and the Provinces were "buying" new readers in order to maintain present circulations and to increase them as far as possible. The "Leicester Evening Mail", to choose a paper at random, announced that, for a limited period, the seal appearing on the front page of the paper, would be worth money: Let the paper tell the story in its own words:

"This Week the familiar Red Seal of the "Leicester Evening Mail" has been changed to green.

"The Green Seal is worth money.

"Each Green Seal is good value for one penny, and will be accepted as cash in exchange for goods by traders in the city and district who are co-operating with us in this novel scheme to popularise the paper. (300)

You /

299. October 13th, 1931.

300. The underlining is that of the writer.

"You simply cut out or tear out the Green Seal from any edition, and hand it over the counter for a penny article. So simple!

"You can save up the Green Seals to any number, then exchange them for goods reckoning the value at one penny for each seal.

"The traders who accept our Green Seals will in turn convert them into cash at the office of the "Leicester Evening Mail".

"As long as the Green Seal appears in the paper it will be worth a penny, but our offer will not be open indefinitely. Due notice will be given of the date after which the Seals will not be accepted as cash".

On the face of it there seems little to which objection can be taken in such a scheme, but the cost of the newspaper to the public is one penny and that penny can be converted into goods of an equivalent value by the presentation of the Green Seal to traders, who in turn redeem the seals at the office of the newspaper making the offer. So that the paper is virtually being given away. An agitation was immediately started against this practice by other newspapers who believed that circulations should be obtained by an efficient news service and a dependable expression of opinion, not by enticing offers. The "Daily Express" accordingly denounced the "stunt" in the strongest possible terms, stating that it would have "nothing whatever to do with the free gift scheme which other newspapers have chosen to follow". In an interview published in the same edition of the "Daily Express", Mr. Thomas Bell, Chairman of the Incorporated Society of British Advertisers, stated :

"We feel that it is essential to fair and honest business that these free gift schemes to stimulate in many cases dwindling newspaper sales should cease. We as advertisers have been fighting a campaign against these circulation buying methods ever since our advertising convention in Birmingham in 1928. Now the latest free gift programme of certain daily newspapers has brought the question to boiling point.

- "Advertisers will no longer pay advertising charges on circulation bought by free gifts.
"We intend to pay only for legitimate circulation: what we call 'reader interest circulation'.
"Newspaper circulation which is secured by free gifts is of no value whatever to the advertiser, for the simple reason that we believe readers obtained by this means take no interest in the newspaper they buy. They buy the paper for the free gift; after that their interest ends.
"To charge advertisers for circulation which is purchased by these free gifts is frankly not good enough.
"We mean to kill these free gift and other schemes for securing what we regard as a fictitious and therefore valueless circulations".

Mr. W. Buchanan-Taylor, publicity and advertisement Manager of J. Lyons and Co.Ltd., in an address to
301
the Croydon Chamber of Commerce dealt in forcible language with what he described as the false economics of newspaper coupon competitions. He stated that if the entire population of England were to be steered into a life of coupon collecting, naming the first five in the Derby and the rest, there would be no need to go to Monte Carlo for a hollow-eyed community.

"To induce the whole of the population of this country to send in threepences on the prospect of bringing off a million-to-one chance does not seem to me to be good journalism",

he proceeded.

"A man who buys a dozen copies of one newspaper does not read each copy. He may not read even one copy if he is buying the paper for the coupon.

"The advertiser spends his money in newspapers in the hope that his advertisements will be read. If they are not read, he is throwing his money into the gutter.

"If a million and a half copies are sold and any considerable proportion of that number is bought for the purpose of filling in competition coupons, the advertising value

of /

of that paper's circulation is being misrepresented.

"I believe in newspaper advertising as a necessary adjunct to trading, but, as far as lies in my power, I shall agitate against the dubious methods of circulation-production and ambiguous advertisement costing".

Articulate public opinion was actively opposed to newspapers employing these "catch-penny methods" of stimulating their own particular line of business, and the agitation against the continuance of the free gift system was not confined to England alone. In Switzerland a special organisation was formed during 1930 for the elimination of this system,³⁰² and similar opposition to the system was raised in Germany, France, and Belgium, according to a report issued by the International Co-Operative Alliance.

Similar opposition is not, however, raised to the gigantic insurance schemes which have popularised some of the leading newspapers overseas, and it must therefore be surmised that reference to this topic must not fall under this Chapter but under "contributions of the Press to Public Welfare".

Mr. Burgess Johnson, Director of Public Relations at the Syracuse University stated that "If finding and verifying the news is a first duty, the reporter becomes the most important person in the whole human structure of the Press. If his standing breaks down, the Press breaks down". It will be the object of the writer to refer to a few instances where the reporter's "standing" has broken down. In many cases the details have come to the ear of the writer, and, as they form part of the unwritten literature of journalism, no authorities or references can be quoted. The

writer /

302. See "World's Press News", December 4th, 1930.

303. Quoted in the "Bloemfontein Friend", 1931.

writer can vouch for their authenticity and beyond his word no guarantee of good faith can be given.

The determination of a junior reporter "never again to mention a certain Advocate's name in cases conducted by him" followed upon a remonstrance by the latter of the former at a private picnic party. As members of the Bar may not advertise and are dependent upon the goodwill of the Press for publicity in Court proceedings, it will be seen that the reporter's decision wrought swift and certain vengeance. The perusal of letters lying open on the table in a Government Office during the absence of the Public servant occupying that office, the publication of information vouchsafed in private conversation and not intended to become public property, and the use of the cloak of anonymity to gain entrance to a Conference to which the Press were not admitted, are among lapses from grace which have resulted in first-class "scoops" being attained at the cost of the lowering of the ethics of journalism. For some journalists the price would have been too much to pay; for others no price is too high!

304

On this point the views of Mr. J. K. Winkler are illuminating :

"Journalists responsibly engaged in the production of newspapers have to make up their minds whether the validity of Mr. Hearst's first principle--'Get Circulation'--is absolute or relative".

Mr. Winkler wrote - The best of them think it is relative, that is to say, subject to an unwritten code of journalistic honour and to their own sense of stewardship for the moral health of the public. Some of the less good have thought

it/

304. Biographer of William Randolph Hearst, the American newspaper magnate.

it absolute, at least until they had got enough circulation for their purposes. The worst have applied it unconditionally. In method, getters of circulation as a means to power by way of wealth can hardly be distinguished from getters of circulation for mere profit. These are their joint commandments: "Be first with the news. Go out and get it. In case of need, make it".

The last commandment "Make It!" is an ominous one. The reporters involved in what became known as "The Louw" were accused by the Commissioner of Police at the subsequent inquiry of having "manufactured" their story. One of the journalists replied that stories were not manufactured but written. Instances of how stories have been "made" are fortunately rare but authentic cases have nevertheless been revealed. ³⁰⁶ Winkler tells the story of how one of Hearst's men, in search of sensational news, grappled with a grizzly bear, escaped with his life, and obtained the story of the day! A Johannesburg Bandmaster once told the writer how the Editor of a small district newspaper once telephoned to ask whether he had any news. "I'm desparately hard up for a good story", the Editor said. "Well, I haven't anything to tell you, but, if you like, I'll write a slashing attack on myself as a Bandmaster; - you publish the letter under a nom-de-plume, and see if you can't get public opinion aroused into a controversy". The plot was carried out as arranged, and the idea took on. For some days afterwards the harassed editor received letters both in defence of the Bandmaster and in support of the slashing attack on him. News had
been /

been made!

The attitude of the Press towards women and children cannot escape criticism under this chapter head. While there is much to be said in favour of the introduction of features appealing specially to women and children, the swing of the pendulum from the strictly impersonal news-sheets of the early days to the highly personal columns of the present day demonstrates once again the evils of extremes. It may be a fitting reward for years of social work for the Matron of a Hospital or other Institution to have her photograph, together with an appreciative article, on the "Woman's Page" of a daily paper, and it may be convenient for her friends to know that "Mrs. B. has left Pretoria for Durban and will not be back until the end of the month", and it is probably of interest to learn that an "interesting event is being expected" in a society family, but this sort of thing can be-- and frequently is-- overdone, with the result that, in the words of St. John Ervine, the Press has become "Womanised". His views were very lucidly expressed in an article in the "Spectator":

"Newspapers", he wrote, "were formerly published for men; they are now increasingly being published for women. The most casual observer of the "national" newspaper cannot fail to notice how womanised the popular press has become. It is not only that "women are news", and that everything they do is lavishly announced and advertised, even when the same thing, though better done by men, is ignored or briefly mentioned, but that the tone of the paper is being set by women. Whatever is interesting to them is "displayed": whatever is interesting to men is suppressed or put into an obscure corner..."

"Articles by, and about, women prevail in these papers, and editors, without any appearance of embarrassment, will print "Powerful articles" by young ladies not long emerged from school on the reform of

Marriage /

Marriage or the reorganization of Sex or the overhaul of Religion. There seem to be many young ladies who will rearrange the entire universe in eight hundred words for a fee of twenty guineas!

"Circulation has gone to the heads of these newspaper proprietors, who sincerely believe that their "stunts" are influencing the public mind.

Mr. St. John Irvine went on to state that the realisation that it was possible to have a two-million-a-day circulation and no authority had caused a temporary pause and a reaction. Advertisers no longer asked the size of the circulation but its nature, for they realised that the womanised papers not only repelled men readers but ended by repelling women as well.

"Already demands, not yet very loud, are being made for a man's popular newspaper, and there are many women who openly express contempt for the stuff that is sold to them as "women's interest" in the contemporary press".

Before leaving the question of the women to go over to the "Children's Corner", one further comment will be made, dealing with the unfavourable psychological effect of publicity on womankind who become addicts to a disease not found in any medical journal, namely that of "suffering from an exaggerated sense of their own importance".

That well-known writer, Mr. Philip O'Farrell, whose "London Letter" appears weekly on the front page of the
307
"Sunday Times" wrote that :

"The publicity that is now given to these young women (Debutantes) is something new and remarkable. To take but one example, Miss Margaret Whigham, who has just become engaged to the Earl of Warwick (The engagement has since been broken off, according to a recent news cable) has for some months past had a press that any film star might envy. You can hardly read a gossip column without coming upon her name at

least /

least once, and her portrait appears almost daily in one or other of the dailies, and with the utmost regularity in all the social or semi-social weeklies. Lady Pamela Smith, Miss Eileen Brougham, Lady Bridgett Poulett, Miss Penelope Dudley Ward, Miss Averil Streetfield, and perhaps half a dozen others are as well known to the London Public, in print, as any star of stage or screen. The young married woman is left out in the cold, and the matron, who in Victorian days was thought to be at the height of her beauty at any age from 35 to 70, has to remain permanently 25 to-day in order to get a look in at all. Whether so much publicity and adulation is at all good for young females whose role in life is to settle down as wives and mothers is open to doubt. (308) Some of them (I refer, of course, to none who have been mentioned by name) take the liveliest interest in their Press cuttings, and are most indignant if the number is not up to average or a rival seems to be getting a better show".

As far as children are concerned, the last few years has seen a remarkable improvement in the attitude of the Press towards its younger readers, upon whom it will have to rely for patronage and support in the future has taken place. From ignoring them entirely, the newspapers have gradually changed their policy to one of taking a kindly interest in the children, and, through the medium of "Aunt Margaret" or "Uncle Eric" invite correspondence and reply to letters through the special daily column or weekly page reserved for the children. At the outset the "Uncle" or "Aunt" who was merely a reporter in disguise, with other and more important duties to perform and who probably disliked his or her special feature work, thought that "any old thing" would do for the children, but, as a writer on

309

"The Free-Lance Journalist" has stated, it has come to be appreciated that "children are not only voracious readers but are also intelligent readers". More attention is consequently now being given to this feature and appropriate fiction and

suitable /

308. The underlining is that of the writer.

309. "World's Press News".

suitable facts are now being served up for the edification of the children of to-day and the men and women of to-morrow.

Whether the "Comic Cuts" or "coloured supplement" feature, which has been taken over from the American Sunday papers is a desirable feature is open to doubt, but it is a known fact that there are some parents who steadfastly refuse their children to have access to this portion of the newspaper. That it cannot be wholly bad, however, is clear from the fact that it must inevitably enliven the imagination of the younger readers and enable them not to lose touch altogether with the phantasy of their childhood days. In the words of that great and provocative writer, Mr. Aldous Huxley, "Nonsense is the nearest approach to a proof of that unprovable article of faith, whose truth we must all assume or perish miserably; that life is worth living".

For the Press to remain impartial to all parties to a dispute is well-nigh impossible, and, no matter what stand it takes up, it is sure to cause dissatisfaction somewhere. Thus "The Tribune" the official organ of the South African Temperance Alliance, last year wrote:

"Neither the Cape Times nor the Cape Argus can be congratulated on their reports of this year's proceedings. (310) Any impartial person present at the Board meetings and reading afterwards the accounts in these papers could not avoid coming to the conclusion that while the liquor side was emphasised, the Temperance case was slurred over or ignored altogether. To take but a single instance; the masterly general address of the Rev. Charles Garratt, which extorted the admiration of all who heard it, was not only not given a line, it was not even mentioned. This lop-sided method of reporting has been the subject of caustic comment by many citizens".

There are, of course, two sides to every question, and it is quite clear that the organ which accused

both /

both the Cape newspapers of partiality is not itself an impartial organ. While not defending the papers concerned (they are well able to do that for themselves) the writer would like to point out that, while the Rev. Charles Garratt's speech was subsequently published in the Temperance Alliance organ, no dispassionate report was given in that journal of the arguments advanced on behalf of the liquor trade.

The "Cape Argus" was similarly the subject of an attack by "The Cape", (an independent weekly journal published in Capetown). On March 13th, 1931, "The Cape" stated:

"Having some pride in the profession to which we belong, we cannot refrain from commenting on the glaring example of the recklessness of sensational journalism which was furnished by the Cape Argus this week. The paper published in a prominent position a sob-story about an 18-year-old girl who had for some nights been sleeping in the open at Claremont, keeping guard over her family's furniture while her parents tramped the streets by day to find a suitable house to shelter the furniture and themselves. In an interview the girl said :

"Our house across the road is empty. The landlord wants to sell the place, and he declined this month's rent when it was offered to him. We pleaded to be allowed to stay in the house until someone else wanted it".

That story was calculated to arouse in every decent reader of it feelings of the deepest indignation against this hardhearted landlord. But on Wednesday evening in a similar position there appeared the sequel to the sob-story. It was that for months the family had been in arrears with their rent, and had agreed to leave as long ago as last December, and it was not until Saturday, March 7, that he took legal steps to have them ejected. It was stated in this second report that the landlord, following complaints by the neighbours, had been warned by the Health Department that unless he ejected his tenants action might be taken against him.

After the publication of the second story there remained only one statement appearing in the first story which could be strictly described as fact. That was that the family had been ejected, and that the daughter was sleeping in the street beside the furniture. Yet the second story contained not one word of regret that the

readers/

readers of the 'Cape Argus' had been allowed to remain for 24 hours under the impression that this unfortunate family were the victims of a landlord's rapacity".

Considerable space was devoted in "The Cape" to this incident, because "we were taught in our apprenticeship that accuracy was the first essential in reputable and responsible journalism... This story appearing as it did in two instalments, can only be described as the poorest of poor journalism".

"We have dealt with the incident at some length because we are jealous of the honour and reputation of the journalistic profession, and secondly because the hearts of the public are readily touched by a story of human misfortune, and it has been our experience that they respond instantly and generously to such a recital. But if in an unthinking search for the sensational the heart-strings of the public are to be played upon wantonly, the public confidence will be shaken in all newspaper "sob stories", and its heart hardened even against deserving cases."

A few more specific instances of "Lapses from Grace" will be quoted before a survey is made of what has been termed "the decline of the fourth estate". Dr. Hans Merensky, famous as the geological discoverer of both the Lydenburg platinum and of the Namaqualand Diamond fields, was during 1931 the subject of a series of mis-statements, amusing to the public, but annoying to Dr. Merensky himself. A German Magazine, "Das Leben" (Life) published at Leipzig, dealt under the heading of "Lords of the World", with the romantic story of the wealthy geologist, publishing, incidentally, a photograph which the "Sunday Times" caustically referred to as "The Continental version of Dr. Merensky", while publishing an authentic photograph in the same column for purposes of comparison. In an exceedingly racy style, the "Sunday Times" tore down in the following words the "story" which "Das Leben" published for the edification of

its /

its readers :

"The finest instance of a very wealthy man who came to the fore with extreme speed is probably Dr. Merensky, a German. Dr. Merensky was a geologist. To-day he lives in Johannesburg quietly and in retirement". (The truth is that the worthy doctor, apart from being a universally-known figure in business circles, spends most of his time out of town and on his farm Westphalia, Northern Transvaal.)

The writer proceeds: "His bank balance, however amounts to 150,000,000 marks (£7,500,000) in cash". (This is rubbish).

Describing how Dr. Merensky discovered the Namaqualand diamonds, Mr. Zischka says he trekked along the coast for years! He didn't. At that time Dr. Merensky was one of the Rand's busiest geologists. After more of the same sort the writer proceeds:

"He suddenly reported his discoveries. A panic arose. (!) If Merensky's finds had been exploited the price would have sunk to nothing. So the Diamond Syndicate (sic) had only one course open: to acquire Merensky's fields for a fantastic sum, to settle with him, and to leave the fields unexploited". (This refers to Namaqualand).

With the vast fortune so acquired, Dr. Merensky, we are informed, sails through the world on his own yacht. At the head of the page in "Das Leben" is a "portrait" of Dr. Merensky, who is described as looking like a student or an artist.

Incidentally, the picture is of somebody else! Here follows a reference to a non-existent family of Dr. Merensky (who happens to be a bachelor). A rather vague photograph shows "his son John, in the light-coloured sweater", playing polo!

The third illustration is in honour of Merensky, junior, who also does not exist. "He has", "one great hobby; tennis. On his estate near Capetown he has the accompanying fairy-like tennis courts laid out".

So now we know! "

An outspoken criticism of modern journalism

was contributed by "A Working Journalist" to the "World's Press News", and the points which he emphasised are worthy of consideration. Some of his more challenging statements are contained in the following paragraphs:

"Many newspapers thrive on their insurance schemes, competitions, and gift schemes, and not on their merits as purveyors of news.

"The /

"The circulation managers of many dailies and weeklies send salesmen all over the country to canvas from house to house and go almost on their hands and knees to housewives to persuade them to become regular readers of their paper. And in other ways the meanest methods of the market-place are practised.

"Gone are the days when a newspaper won distinction and enhanced circulation by the exclusive character of its intelligence, by its accuracy and soundness, and its consistency and definiteness of principle.

"The engagement of smartly-dressed young men, fresh from the University or public school, who usually have a haughty disdain of short-hand, and cultivate the habit of writing cleverly at the expense of truth, accuracy, or perspective, is among the innovations of recent years.

"Under the existing system editors cease to be public men of high standing and influence. Multiplicity of control has taken the place of individual management and editorial supervision. In far too many papers the manager dominates the whole organisation, and the editor, except for an occasional public ceremony, sits in obscurity in his sanctum unknown to all the members of his own staff".

Some of the points raised by "Working Journalist", such as the free gift and insurance systems, have already been dealt with. Other statements, more particular those referring to circulation managers, smartly-dressed University men, and obscure editors, suffer from the fact that particular instances have been generalised. The facts probably have an element of truth as far as the English Press is concerned, but the defects complained of are not common in newspaper practice in South Africa. Circulation canvassers have been at work in this country but the statement that the Editor is sometimes unknown to all members of the staff would not apply. Many journalists would prefer to see such a practice introduced, for when they appear before the Editor it usually means that they are "carpeted".

Dealing /

Dealing more specifically with the South
313
African Press, Mr. W. S. Chadwick after having made the bold
statement that the Press body of the world was often pro-
stituted to the service of Gold, declared:

"The Press paints humanity in the colours
its masters order, and the dread truth is
that humanity is fast becoming what the Press
has made it. The world's thinkers believe
that only Thought is immortal. Yet we are
told that if six newspaper proprietors in
England decided that the Public Opinion of
England should be a week hence, their thought
would be expressed with the nation's voice!
Under Press domination of thought, nations are
becoming hazed, bewildered communities of slaves;
sacrificed in hideous development- with all
potential power and beauty eliminated- on the
altar of the Moloch...Gold Education (true func-
tion of the Press) has been sacrificed to expediency.

Once again it is necessary to sift the wheat
from the chaff and to admit that while Mr. Chadwick's flam-
boyant words contain elements of truth, they are largely
obscured by the words in which his thoughts are clothed.
It is difficult, even after careful analysis to discover
what Mr. Chadwick means by his pretty-sounding phrase "sac-
rificed in hideous development". The power of the Press in
swaying public opinion is well demonstrated by Mr. Chadwick
314
but this aspect has already been dealt with elsewhere. The
conclusion there arrived at was that the part played by the
Press in moulding public opinion was considerable but that,
in view of the fact that contrary opinions were not stifled
and could be expressed vocally and in "Letters to the Editor"
the power exercised in this direction was infinitely more
to the advantage of the community, province, or nation
rather than to its detriment.

A /

313. "Sjambok", February 20th, 1931, since defunct.

314. See Chapter vi.

A further factor tending to cause a decline of the fourth estate is the type of journalist at present being employed. Owing, no doubt, to the general unfavourable economic conditions which have prevailed in recent years, newspapers have been unable to pay good salaries for good men, juniors, without experience, a fully developed news sense, or knowledge of the most effective means of news-getting are being engaged to replace senior men who have resigned. Staffs are being kept to a bare minimum with the result that work has to be done in a hurry and there is little opportunity, owing to the scarcity of men, of always selecting the most suitable man for a particular job. The man on the spot must do it. This leads to a situation which was picturesquely expressed by Mr. Gordon Craig . Mr.

Craig stated :

"It is something rather modest and charming that he (G.B.S) still looks on himself as one of those 'unfortunate journalists' (you call yourselves unfortunate, don't you?), doomed, because of circumstances, to write on any given subject at a moment's notice-- never mind whether you know about it or not-- and to rattle things off and convince the readers of the penny paper or the shilling or five-guinea book into which you put them".

Thus it seems that the management is between the devil and the deep blue sea in regard to the choice of newspapermen. If "Working Journalist" is to be believed, University men are disdainful of shorthand-- a most useful acquisition for a journalist-- and write cleverly at the expense of truth and accuracy, while the dangers attendant upon the work of a man writing on a subject with which he is not fully acquainted are manifest. While this matter will be dealt with at greater length in the concluding chapter, it may be appropriate to point out here that one newspaper at least /

315. Author of "Ellen Terry and Her Secret Self, in an interview dealing with George Bernard Shaw's replies to the accusations made by Mr. Craig in his book.

316
least is attempting to enhance the educational qualifications of their reporters by means of extra-mural studies. This is an example which might advantageously be followed by other and more influential newspapers in this country.

Perhaps the early fruits borne of the policy of the "Friend" just outlined were reflected in an article published in that paper on January 10th, 1931, under the four following headlines:

- "Reporters who Guess Right",
- "Anticipating Council Decisions",
- "Mayor explains how "Friend gets the news",
- "Intelligent Journalism".

Extracts from the report read as follows:

"That 'The Friend' has a way of anticipating municipal developments and decisions before the members of the Town Council have the opportunity of considering them was the burden of a complaint voiced at yesterday's special meeting.

"The Mayor (Mr. E. M. de Beer) said in reply: "We must credit the modern journalist with a certain amount of ingenuity, whereby he can anticipate events with reasonable accuracy. In this case there could have been no leakage because the Council and the Finance Committee had not even considered the matter when the news appeared in the paper".

"Mr. D. Nathan: There is still what I may call an unfair leakage through this Council. The Mayor: If the Council had come together and discussed the matter there could have been some question of a leakage, but that is not the position. It was, the Mayor added, a case where the press had guessed correctly. If a journalist guessed wrong, he would, presumably, be required to give an account to his chief."

The "guessing at news" is another factor which is contributing towards the decline of the Press and directing a blow at that confidence and trust of the public which is essential if the newspaper is adequately and effectively

to /

to fulfil its function as a purveyor of news and views. In many cases the "guess" is clothed in such language as "it is alleged", "it is believed", or "it is learnt" from a source which is invariably not divulged, but there are equally numerous cases in which an inference from known facts is passed off as reliable and authentic news. An instance of this occurred in connection with the sentence of death passed upon Louis van Wyk for the murder of a farmer named Tucker in the Northern Transvaal. Knowing that the Governor-General in Council would sit at Capetown on a certain day, a representative of a certain newspaper announced on the following day that the death sentence passed on van Wyk had been confirmed, whereas in fact the confirmation or commutation of the sentence, owing to pressure of other urgent matters, had not been discussed on that occasion and was not dealt with until the following week.

An instance of incorrect inference or "drawing the long bow" may serve to emphasise the dangers which lie in the growing practice of not sticking strictly to facts. Mr. Arthur Barlow, political correspondent of the "Rand Daily Mail" wrote: "I understand that General Smuts will personally lead an attack on Mr. Pirow on account of that gentleman's handling of the Police force, and that Colonel Sir Theodore Truter, the late Commissioner of Police, is coming specially to Capetown, to supply the Leader of the Opposition with powder and shot". On the same afternoon, the "Pretoria News" published an interview with Sir Theodore Truter, who emphatically denied that he was going to Capetown specially "to provide powder and shot" to General Smuts for an attack on

Mr./

317. The "Rand Daily Mail".

318. January 19th, 1931.

Mr. Pirow's handling of the Police Force. "If I go to Capetown I shall certainly not go with the intention ascribed by Mr. Barlow, Sir Theodore Truter stated.

Mention was made earlier in this chapter (page 290.) of the use made in newspapers of private conversations. A specific instance of this occurred in connection with the return of the Springbok cricketers from a Tour of England in January, 1931. A wired report from Capetown, purporting to be an interview with the Springbok captain, Mr.

319
H.G. Deane, and published inland read as follows :

"Astonishingly frank statements were made by H.G. Deane when he gave to an interviewer his impressions of the second Test match.

"Oh for a Denys Morkel or an Owen Smith", said Deane when referring to the South African fielding. He talked of misfields and general slackness, and spoke rather pointedly of the pleasure of captaining a team willing to work hard for every advantage.

"When some of your men are working half-heartedly your responsibilities become tremendous", said Deane. "Slackness so easily spreads throughout a side and you must keep spurring them on all the time".

When Mr. Deane arrived in Johannesburg from the Cape he accounted for the "astonishingly frank statements" 320 in the following unequivocal terms:

"The interview from Capetown which appeared in your paper was a gross distortion of a personal conversation with the reporter, following an interview I had given him in connection with the English criticism of the M.C.C. side. At the time I was frankly disappointed with our fielding, which was far below the standard the team was capable of, and I distinctly recall mentioning that I myself was one of the worst culprits. As for sighing for Morkel or Owen Smith, to do so would be a reflection on the side. The reporter remarked that I could have done with Morkel and Owen-Smith, and I replied "they would have been useful in the field".

It is to the credit of the newspapers publishing the first message that they gave equal prominence to the/

319. "Pretoria News", January 1st, 1931.

320. "Pretoria News", January 8th, 1931.

the repudiation. That was the least that could have been done to make amends for this lapse from grace and breach of confidence.

Attention was drawn by a contributor signing himself "E.H." in the "Natal Witness" ³²¹ to a "crib" by a London newspaper of an article submitted by him for publication and returned "with the Editor's regrets". In his own words,

"I recently submitted to a London daily an article on the industrial menace coming from the Far East, quoting original figures and prices of competitive articles manufactured in Britain, America and Japan. Three weeks later I noticed a cabled report in our local press giving an account of a sensational news item appearing in the "Daily Mail" drawing attention to a new menace to British industry, and quoting verbatim the figures and facts I had given in my article".

"By this last English mail I received my MSS. back from the editor of the "Daily Mail" with a polite note: The editor's compliments, but he regretted his inability to use the article, and by the same mail, a copy of his newspaper in which the article he had been unable to use had been cribbed and worked up into a sensational news item filling valuable space.

"We all know the beauty secrets of our prominent actresses, and the opinions on every subject under the sun of Charlie Chaplin and many other celebrities and nonentities in the theatrical, political and sporting world. But their expertness in their respective professions does not necessarily give their opinions on matters outside these, any weight. Yet such people are paid fabulous prices for articles either dictated or written, while the struggling and unknown writer and plain John Citizen has his articles, ideas and correspondence ruthlessly cribbed."

The writer of this thesis has not heard, during his more than five years of newspaper experience, of any other incident of this nature and the reply of the Editor of the "Natal Witness" to "E.H." is a fair statement of the position.

The Editor wrote:

"Our /

"Our correspondent seems to have been very unfortunate. It is seldom that any save very small and obscure newspapers "crib" from contributors - when they do "crib" they crib from the other and better newspapers.

"The payment of substantial fees to celebrities and notorieties for press articles on subjects with which they are not familiar is, we agree, a bad practice. But it has only arisen in response to public demand. The public will devour some triviality by an actress when it will not look at the most earnest effort of plain John Smith".

The allegation made by "E.H." that such a system of "cribbing" exists made it imperative that it should be mentioned here but the practice is certainly not a common one, much less a universal one, unless the "cribs" are so skilfully disguised as to be unrecognisable from the original material from which the "crib" is alleged to have originated. It is certainly far more common for one newspaper to "take over" news items from other papers, sometimes with acknowledgment and sometimes without, and, although this form of privacy is depreciated, it is not particularly vicious in its nature in view of the fact that the newspaper from which the item was "cribbed" was "first with the news", which, after all, is one of the first objects of enterprising journalism.

A further defect of the Press is the inability entirely to recapture the atmosphere of a meeting or function, with the result that persons present interpret the facts reported in the true light, but misunderstandings are likely to arise in regard to readers who were not present but who have been dependent for their acquaintanceship with what happened upon Press reports. This defect is not intentional as each journalist interprets events and occasions as they

appeal /

appeal to him and constructions may be placed upon his words giving a meaning which he did not intend to convey. Thus the extracts which follow are from a letter appearing in the "Star", together with the Editor's terse and pointed comment.

Sir, - One could wish that the reporter responsible for condensing the account of Saturday night's dinner by the Catholic Men's Society to the Catholic members of the M.C.C. team had possessed a little of the "humorous vein" he rightly credited to Mr. Hendren, and which was equally due to the company present. Some extracts from the speeches are not verbally correct, others lose their true sense by divorcement from the context and the banter usual to a sporting occasion of that nature; the report as a whole, especially with its headline, has been read by many, to my personal knowledge, as a travesty of the sayings and doings of the evening.

Especially does one resent the way in which Mr. Turnbull's remarks have been presented. He certainly said, in effect, what is attributed to him about their losing, but he added the important qualifying clause that they, the M.C.C., were alone responsible for their defeat. Unfortunately, this same clause was omitted from the report in another local paper. The bald reference to "the three of them as 'the nucleus of a Catholic colony in the team'" is senseless as it stands. He was really repeating a joking remark, I did not catch whether to or by his late father when bidding him what is now known to have been his last farewell. There was an obvious note of emotion in his voice when repeating the joke. But the words as quoted, with their lack of setting, are merely trivial, to say the least.

"Mr. Patsy Hendren replied in humorous vein. He wished, he said, that the umpires had been R.C.'s for then there would have been no grumblings". I cannot vouch for the wording, but he said this in effect, in his usual whimsical way, and as "pulling the legs" of those present, who were all Catholics (except probably the reporter and the restaurant staff). The pity is that Mr. Hendren's jocular words were not punctuated in the report by the laughter which followed but were, instead, translated into the heavy type headline, "Wished the Umpires had been R.C.'s". That introduction, together with the other references lifted out of their context and surroundings, has left a very painful feeling with members who were present and heard all that was said.

(Signed) E. M. James

(A function of this kind is best held in private. It is almost impossible to do justice to "humorous speeches" in a brief report.)

The solution which the Editor suggests would

certainly/

certainly obviate the difficulties which are likely to arise in this connection, though it is doubtful whether the Catholic Men's Society would have been content to such an auspicious occasion to go unreported.

A deplorable corollary which the acute competition among newspapers, with its attendant beneficial results in speeding up news, brightening productions, and encouraging enterprise, has brought with it is the "slanging" of one newspaper by another, while the spirit prevailing among journalists of rival newspapers is, with very few exceptions a friendly one, those who sit in the seats of the mighty see fit to wash their dirty linen in public and to take their rivals to task whenever it is thought that a point can be scored in this way. Many of these attacks are politically-inspired, but there are also numerous instances where vials of vituperation have been poured by one newspaper upon another without politics entering into the matter in any way. This tendency is particularly marked in America and probably reached its peak during the Hearst—Bulitzer feud.

"In 1896 the journal (one of Hearst's papers) acquired a press capable of printing from four to sixteen pages all in colours, "something that had never before been attempted". The "Sunday Journal" added an eight page coloured supplement - "eight pages of iridescent polychromous effulgence that makes the rainbow look like a lead-pipe", and sneered at "The World" comic supplement as "black and tan"
 333
 "weak wishy-washy", four pages of a "desolate waste of black".

"When in 1897 Hearst bought the tottering

"Morning/

"Morning Advertiser" he accused the "World" of deliberately plotting to keep the Journal out of the Associated Press and denounced Pulitzer as "a journalist who made his money by pandering to the worst tastes of the prurient and horror-loving by dealing in bogus news, such as forged cablegrams from eminent personages, and by affecting a devotion to the interests of the people while never really hurting those of his enemies, and sedulously looking out for his own".

"The 'New York Tribune' in the spring of 1918 ran a series of militantly bitter attacks entitled "Coiled in the Flag, Hears-s-s-s-t". The Tribune cited Chapter and verse to prove Hearst cold in loyalty: "Since the United States entered the War the Hearst papers have published 74 attacks on our Allies, 17 instances of defence or praise of Germany, 63 pieces of anti-war propaganda, one deletion of a Presidential proclamation--total 155, or nearly three a week, while America has been engaged in a life and death struggle with civilisation's enemy".

"The Hearst counter-attack was swift. The "Tribune" was bitterly denounced as a corporation organ. A Pamphlet "Distorted Quotations from the Hearst paper, a campaign of falsehood" was issued, asserting: "The attack upon the Hearst papers was carried on by the circulation of pamphlets containing false, distorted, or disjointed quotations from the Hearst papers. Most of the papers about the course in the war are bald falsehoods.... A few sincere, earnest, well-meaning persons have been deceived by these counterfeit presentations of Hearst's editorials. The campaign of calumny and misrepresentation has not impressed or affected the great mass of newspaper readers".

"Governor Smith delivered an address that was

a masterpiece of invective. He denounced Hearst as a "pestilence that walks in the dark", and as "enemy of the people", and asked the organisation of a non-partisan committee "to protect public servants and citizens generally from his irresponsible methods of misrepresentation and slander".

"Applying a moral measuring rod to Hearst, Villard said: "He has done more to degrade the American Press than anyone else in its history. He has fought many a good battle, but in all, his efforts have been tarnished by self-interest, self-seeking and by arousing in the never failing and justified suspicion of his sincerity".

Although vilification has at no time gone to such extremes in South African Journalism, the now-defunct ³²⁴ "Ons Vaderland" referred to "Op die Hoogte", a weekly newspaper issued in Pretoria by the South African Party for propaganda purposes, as "overflowing with filth" (vuilnis-oerloop) ³²⁵ while the "Rand Daily Mail" made the statement that "Nobody reads and nobody heeds the Afrikaans Press". This statement led to a flutter in the dove-cote as it was felt that advertising in the Afrikaans Press would be affected by such a statement. The Pretoria Branch of the South African Society of Journalists passed a resolution to the effect that:

"This meeting of the Pretoria Branch of the S.A.S.J. deprecates the slur cast upon the Afrikaans Press in a leading article in the Rand Daily Mail on March 10, 1931, and requests the Council to dissociate itself publicly and without delay with the sentiments expressed in the article in question",

Council replied with the following evasive resolution :

"That the General Secretary be instructed to inform the Pretoria Branch of the S.A.S.J. (1) in reply to a question raised in regard to a reference in a leading article to the Afrikaans Press, that the Council is not and

never /

324. February 15th, 1931.

325. March 10, 1931.

never can be responsible for expressions of opinion in leading articles, and (2) that the Pretoria Branch is at liberty to publish in The Journalist the original resolution on the subject, together with the Council's ruling."

336

and it was not until the Annual Conference that the matter was finally disposed of.

These, then, are among some of the more noticeable and pronounced defects of the modern Press. In how far they are ingrained and ineradicable, whether means may be devised to effect an improvement in the general position, and to obviate the temporary lapses caused by ambition, enthusiasm, and the "desire to shine" through emphasis on the necessity for a high ethical tone in the newspaper world, will be considered in the concluding chapter when present indications of the possible future development of newspapers will be analysed.

CHAPTER X.A GLIMPSE INTO THE FUTURE.

What of the future? Few writers on newspaper organisation or on any other aspect of the Press have attempted to deal with this difficult question, and the writer, in including this final chapter, does so with diffidence and with a ripe realisation that he is treading on extremely dangerous ground. Developments in all directions of modern life make it imperative, however, that the Press should also develop rapidly in order to keep abreast of the times. Of all institutions, the Press is the least static. Its development in the past has been phenomenal and it is probable that its future development will be still more spectacular. The question naturally arises, what form will this growth and development take?

It is fairly obvious that one of the matters to which primary importance will be attached is that of speed in production. With more up-to-date plant, increased communication facilities, keener competition, and better organisation, the presentation of news is likely to become so rapid that information regarding sensational happenings overseas will probably be available to the public within an incredibly short time of the occurrence, while crowds in the vicinity of a local accident or murder are likely to be able to purchase papers giving full details of the incident before their own enquiries have fully satisfied their morbid curiosity

The great strides that have already been made in this connection can be judged from an extract of an article contributed by Mr. Guy Gardner to the S. A. Railways and Harbours Magazine on "Twenty Five Years of Newspapers", October, 1930.

"In how many minutes after the last Derby was run" he asked "did the Johannesburg evening newspaper place the result in the streets? I think it was twenty! They had hardly "weighed in" the horse seven thousand miles when people in Johannesburg were actually reading of its exploit. In the newspaper office itself the result was known two minutes after the judge had given his decision. That is a spectacular example of how the news can whiz around nowadays!

"Nor is the tale of news transmission by any means yet told. Even swifter and more remarkable means will soon be available. Some of these are still in the experimental stage, but it is certain that, so soon as they are available, the progressive directorates of the greater South African newspapers will consider making use of them".

The question of costs of production and distribution is closely bound up with this question. If these advantages of greater speed are to be obtained "at a price" and if that price is to be passed on to the readers, then the efforts of newspaper directorates will largely have been rendered nugatory. If newspapers are to cost more in the future they will be read less. The writer is, however, convinced that, instead of the purchase price of newspapers being increased, they will actually be decreased, until a uniform charge of one penny per paper--excluding the weekly papers--becomes almost universal. Most overseas newspapers are now sold for a penny but the two-penny or even threepenny newspaper is much more common in this country. The decreased price will be made possible by increased sales, for there are indications that the "newspaper habit" is growing. Not only/

only does the reader increase his general knowledge with a minimum of effort through this medium but his ability to carry on topical conversations is also enhanced. A realisation of this fact, combined with a more attractive newspaper, will do much to stimulate the sale of newspapers in the future.

328
The first volume of "New Survey of London Life and Labour" revealed the fact that there had been "a reduction of illiteracy in London from 50% to 5% of the total population during the last 40 years". This fact has done much to fan the flame of interest which the masses have taken in newspapers in recent years. The rise of literacy has meant a rise in the number of newspaper readers, and it is forecast that this process will continue until the percentage of illiterates has been reduced to rock-bottom. The Press has done much to combat illiteracy and this factor will stand it in good stead in the future. The intensification of its activities in many directions will give it a far more universal appeal than it has enjoyed in the past.

329
Developments in regard to the technical side of Press were lucidly surveyed by Mr. H. E. Godwin. His concluding remarks were as follows:

"Allow me to give a peep into the future by means of an example not of what may happen but of something that actually exists - a contrivance so remarkable that the wildest imagination of half a century ago could not have conceived it. There is at present in America an adaptation of the linotype called the Teletypesetter. The Teletypesetter, by the use of electric control, will operate no fewer than seven linotype machines in seven separate places. An operator at the keyboard of a Teletypesetter in Johannesburg would start similar machines at printing the same words in Capetown, Durban, Bulawayo, and other centres without the need of any operators in those places. By its means news of first-class importance in any of

the/

328. Extracts from which appeared in the "Christian Science Monitor", Boston, January, 1931.

329. Works Manager of the "Rand Daily Mail" and "Sunday Times" in a paper delivered before the members of the Scientific & Technical Club, Johannesburg, in 1929.

the centres would be set up in type simultaneously all over the country with great saving of time in transmission and with absolute precision.*

The revolutionary nature of this invention can well be imagined, and the Teletypesetter goes far to substantiate the claim made at the outset of this chapter in regard to the future speed of newspaper production. That the process of speeding up the Press is evolutionary was claimed by Mr.

330

R.A.Scott James, who stated :

"The pace is quickening year by year. Machinery must be periodically replaced to keep in line with the latest improvements. The speeding-up process, which begins in the Editorial Department, continues in the composing room, in the stereo room, and in the machine department, the colossal mechanism printing, cutting, and folding many hundreds of thousands of copies in a few hours. Important mechanical improvements are recorded every month. The evolution is ceaseless. It is shown, also, in ever improved devices for speeding up the packing, the loading of bundles of papers on cars, and entraining the bundles when the cars have completed their dash to the railway terminuses. Nor is delivery to the Continent neglected. Aeroplanes flying by night carry newspapers to Ostend, Brussels, Paris, and other French and Belgian towns." (331)

Not only do London newspapers rush copies across the Continent by means of aeroplanes, but they also annihilate space by publishing almost identically similar papers simultaneously at more than one centre. Thus the "Daily Mail", which "sky-rocketted" its way to the front rank in the newspaper world in 1896, is now published in London, Manchester,

and /

330. In an article, "Miracles that Speed the Press", "Strand Magazine", 1931.

331. It is noteworthy in this connection that until 1931 the "Daily Mail" actually brought out a Transatlantic edition on board the three big Cunarders, Berengaria, Aquitania, and Mauretania, keeping a journalist on board each of these ships for this purpose. The cost must have been tremendous and the experiment was abandoned in 1931. It serves, however, to show the lengths to which enterprising newspapers are prepared to go to capture the public imagination and to explore new fields. Full details of this venture are contained in J.C.Cannell's "When Fleet Street Calls", pages 119--131.

and Paris, while the "New York Herald" and the "Chicago Tribunes" both publish Paris editions for the edification of the more than half-a-million Americans now resident in France. Revolutionary Russia has not confined its upheavals to the social, economic, and political spheres, but has also introduced revolutionary ideas into newspaper production. Thus it came about that Mr. Carl Ketchum was able to tell his readers that a "travelling newspaper" had made its appearance on the Russian Railways. Under the picturesque name of "Struggle", it was produced by "editors, reporters, and printing presses travelling up and down the country and, remaining in each important centre for a week or a fortnight, publishing the first newspaper ever known to hundreds of thousands of the peasants".

In the same article Mr. Ketchum revealed further startling facts regarding the Russian Press. He stated, for example, that a woman who shot her husband in a fit of jealousy and was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, was the editor of the prison newspaper, was allowed to go home once a week, and to travel to town to see the newspaper publishers every day. She was an efficient woman who had had a University education.

Another feature of the Press of the future is likely to be the greater proportion of space taken up by photographs in comparison with printed news. "Every picture tells a story" is likely to become more than a mere catch-word in the journalistic world of the future and the advance of television will give impetus to this tendency. The "Daily Mirror" seems to give some indication of what form the newspaper of the next 50 years is likely to assume. "Pictures", said William Randolph Hearst "are of increasing importance.

Every /

-
332. Special representative of the "Daily Express".
 333. February 4th, 1931.
 334. "W. R. Hearst", by Winkler.

Every picture should be a bull's eye". That more attention will in the future be given to the dictum of this American newspaper magnate than has been the case in the past seems most probable. An innovation into journalism requiring every journalist to carry a pocket camera, in addition to a pencil and notebook, is not beyond the bounds of possibility.

"The tendency of the time is for people to look at pictures and headlines and to avoid as they would the plague, lengthy, closely reasoned articles," stated a writer in "The Journalist",³³⁵.

"The journalist of the very near future will have to qualify himself as a photographer if he wishes to get his stories before the public. Already in Johannesburg one of the big papers has given marked encouragement to its staff in the direction of publishing news pictures taken by reporters. Juniors in journalism, therefore, would be well advised to devote more than a passing thought to photography, and to cultivate it first as a hobby and then as a possible livelihood later on"

The inclination on the part of the present generation to do everything in a hurry-- an inclination which seems likely to intensify in the future-- will not be without its influence upon newspapers. Lengthy leading articles which are as dull as they are long will probably give way to short, brightly-written leaders. In place of one prosy leader, there will be two or three short ones, each dealing with vital topics and each pointing a moral. Prolixity, a common feature of early journalism, has survived in some quarters to the present day, in spite of the new school of journalism which has sprung up. This will no longer be tolerated. The public will want the facts, tersely and clearly stated, and shorn of imaginative colouring, vague speculation, and the other tricks of the journalistic profession. In the words of Mr. F.E. Gannett,
of /

335. The official organ of the South African Society of Journalists, June, 1931.

336
of the United States of America :

"An enlightened and better educated public will demand that to-morrow's paper shall be better in every way. It will be better and more succinctly written. Vivid and dramatic writing will be the practice. Important news will be made interesting. Gone will be the screaming headlines on crime and sensational news. These will have ceased to thrill as we have come to recognise the greater interest in news of accomplishment in the fields of science and invention, business and discovery. Already both in the United States and in England are there indications of a reaction against the sensational press. Just as the greatest plays and best motion pictures succeed without murder and crime, so will the newspaper of merit succeed, without emphasising what we find in the scandal sheets".

Mr. Gannett is supported by other authorities in the two main points he strove to make: (1) that prolixity will give way to succinct writing, and (2) that sensationalism will be relegated to a role of minor importance. In the first view he is upheld by Mr. W. R. Willis, who declared that the modern journalist had the capacity for succinct presentation highly developed, and that his efforts were far more readable than the prolix columns which filled newspapers 40-- or even 20-- years ago. In the second view Mr. Gannett has the support of Professor Frank Harris, of Elmira College, Elmira, New York, who stated that an exhaustive study of crime news in newspapers had led him to the conclusion that there was a decrease in the amount of crime news published in the Press.

Professor Harris deplored the wide-spread tendency of certain American newspapers to feature crime news to the detriment of constructive news. The time had come when the pendulum was beginning to swing away from that type of news, however, toward a more rational and a better-balanced selection and variety, coming from every part of the world.

He/

336. In a broadcast address, reproduced in part in "The Journalist", December, 1931.

337. Hon. Secretary of the Institute of Journalists, England, whose views, stated at York, were quoted in "The Journalist" December, 1931.

338 See next page.

He believed there had been a natural reaction of the newspapers to crime news, caused by the conviction of most of their editors that the time had come to call a halt.

Crime reports will not die out of the newspapers of the future, for if that were to happen the newspapers would have forfeited their right to the name they bear. Nor is it desirable that crime should be ignored. "There would be no less crime if all newspapers agreed to ignore its existence", said Mr. E. A. Evans. ³³⁹ "I believe there would be a tremendous lot more crime. But I think that good taste and intelligence demand that crime should not be given emphasis beyond its real importance". The signs of the present time seem to point to a growth of this "good taste and intelligence" and to the realisation that a proper perspective in all things is at all times highly desirable. If newspapers stress the seamy side of life to the detriment of the cultural and constructive elements, they will be doing their country a great ³⁴⁰ disservice. In the words of Mr. Hal O'Flaherty:

"The United States is known abroad by what is on the front page of its newspapers—consequently, it is known as a place of disasters, political corruption, financial depression, big business, gang wars. Only when newspapers select front-page news by some other standard than sensationalism, will the outside world have a better idea of American life".

There are already signs of a change of spirit, even in the American Press which is admittedly the most prone to sensationalism of any national Press, and the effective censorship of public opinion—more effective and

more/

-
- 338. In a paper to the American Sociological Association at Cleveland, reported in the "Christian Science Monitor", December 30, 1930.
 - 339. In the "Columbus Citizen", quoted in the "World's Press News", June 11th, 1931
 - 340. Foreign editor of the "Chicago Daily News", quoted in the "World's Press News", May 21st, 1931.

more satisfactory than any that could be created by statute-- is gradually adjusting the telescope of the Press until it obtains its true perspective and is focussed upon vital issues. "Newspapers", stated the "Springfield Leader" "survive or perish according to the judgment of the people. To establish any other censorship is to strike a fatal blow at American Government and American freedom". With a future which shows signs of producing sane constructive newspapers, there is every reason why the liberty of the Press should remain unfettered. Any attempt to muzzle the Press would be undesirable and, in the present age of enlightenment and in the future era of still greater enlightenment, it is unlikely that any proposal for the unreasonable limiting of the powers of the Press will be forthcoming.

Indeed, the Press is likely to become greatly more powerful, to possess wider privileges, and to command more respect in the social life of the people. In the past the Press has been treated by many requiring its assistance and co-operation as a mere convenience, and little thought has been given to the welfare or comfort of those Pressmen who have ungrudgingly tolerated inconvenience in order faithfully to serve their newspaper and to fulfil the assignments delegated to them. No longer will any semblance of neglect of or disregard for the comforts of the Press be endured. There is a feeling, which is fast gaining ground, that if the services of journalism are required at public functions, these services merit the taking of precautions to ensure that the journalists present are not unnecessarily inconvenienced.

The following paragraph appearing in the

columns /

341

columns of the "Yorkshire Evening News" serves to illustrate the point.

"Owing to the discourteous treatment of the Press photographers by officials of the pageant, following the mishap (342) the Pressmen decided to leave the function. Consequently no pictures of the event will appear in the Evening News, neither will any reference be made to the proceedings. The Evening News will not tolerate discourtesy to its representatives who are carrying out their duties, and until suitable redress is made by the officials of the club concerned, no further reference to its activities will appear in this journal".

A similar attitude was taken up by the "Sunday Express" at a ceremony of the Trooping of the Colours at which inadequate arrangements had been made for the Press. The paper referred to the ceremony in the following terms:

"The Sunday Express regrets that the arrangements made by the War Office for the Press at the Trooping of the Colour yesterday were so inefficient that it is obliged to deprive its readers of any description of the ceremony.

"Stands had been erected on the Horse Guards Parade with seats for thousands of spectators, but the representatives of the Press were excluded from these stands and from the seats on the ground. They were presented with tickets issued by the War Office for a "Press Enclosure" which did not exist.

"The War Office provided no officer to supervise the arrangements for the Press. The police warned them that the space allotted to them would be occupied by horses and horsemen, and they were constantly badgered by the police...

"The Sunday Express protests against the gross indignity inflicted on the Press by the War Office, and calls for an inquiry into the conduct of those responsible. It refuses to report a ceremony which the stupidity and incompetence of the War Office prevented its representatives from seeing".

These examples clearly demonstrate that the Press is rapidly beginning to take up a strong stand on its own behalf. In this country, too, the "Rand Daily Mail" has protested in the strongest possible language against the indignity of members of the Press being required by the
Police/

341. June 1st, 1932.

342. The "mishap" referred to was an autogyro accident at Sherburn, Yorkshire on May 31.

Police to carry Press passes. Its remarks in this connection have been reported elsewhere in this work. A greater dignity will be given to the Press when the ideal for which it is now striving is attained, and greater respect for the Press as an institution and for journalists as representatives of that institution seem to be one of the most promising features of the journalism of the future.

There is another reason why this respect will be commanded and obtained. A better type of man is being attracted to journalism. Higher wages are being paid for the better qualified men, and conditions of service, strenuous though they still are, are gradually being improved by means of pension schemes initiated by the newspaper proprietors, unemployment benefit funds built up by Journalist Societies, and a fixed programme of days off and hours of work. Editors are no longer prepared to take on any person applying for a situation on the off-chance that they will turn out to be a "find" and will succeed in the journalistic world. University graduates, who can write attractively and thoughtfully on the topics usually discussed in newspapers-- and these are legion-- are now being sought. When the writer applied for a situation as a senior reporter on the "Cape Argus" in March, 1932, he was told that "we take on as junior reporters men recently graduated from the Universities and train them ourselves. It is no use even placing your name on our waiting list".

This tendency will become more widely marked in the future in view of the gradually increasing number of Universities which are catering for instruction in Journalism. No such provision is made in this country, apart from the very elementary advice given by Correspondence Courses and by advertisers claiming to cater for "journalists, free-lances
 short-/"

short-story writers, and novelists". Overseas, however, the London University has attached to it a School of Journalism at which a two-year diploma course may be taken. The lecturers are highly-placed men in London dailies, and students are encouraged to obtain as much practical experience as possible by obtaining positions as representatives or correspondents of London newspapers. Mr. Morley Stuart declared that Cambridge was unsurpassed as a training ground for journalism, and supported his contention by furnishing a list of prominent journalists in Fleet Street who began their careers in the newspaper world at Cambridge.

Other countries in which Journalistic instruction is given include Belgium, Germany, Italy and Switzerland, but it is in America that the idea has developed most. Among the associations which may be found there are the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism, the American Association of Teachers of Journalism, while Departments of Journalism are in existence in 38 State Universities, 19 State Schools, and 50 Private Institutions the oldest being that at the University of Missouri, founded in 1908 and endowed with one million dollars by Joseph Pulitzer. The objective of the Associations mentioned above are to co-ordinate policy so far as this is compatible with the retention by each newspaper of its own individuality, and also, to use the terminology of the Americans themselves of "gearing theory to practice, thereby making maximum contributions to 'public service journalism'".

India /

-
344. Editor of the "Cambridge Daily News", in a contribution to the "World's Press News", December 4th, 1930.
345. & 346. International Labour Office Report, "Conditions of Work and Life of Journalists", 1928.
347. Founder of the "New York World".
348. Report of Conference proceedings of American Association of Teachers of Journalism, Boston, published in the "Christian Science Monitor", December 30th, 1930.

India followed the good example set in this respect by the Western countries and negotiations are at present in progress for the establishment of a Chair of Journalism at the Calcutta University. A School of Journalism had previously been opened at Madras in September, 1927.

349

It is intended that the Chair should be a memorial to the late Mr. K.C.Roy, Founder of the Associated Press in India.

"The proposal of the Hon. Raja Sir M.W. Ray Chaudhury of Santosh, President of the Bengal Legislative Council, that the memorial should take the form of a Chair of Journalism, met with the approval of the greatest gathering of editors and public men that Calcutta has ever seen, and energetic steps are being taken to make it an All-India tribute to one who is everywhere admitted to have been the Father of Indian journalism".

Charles Chaplin, the world-renowned comedian, also found that to rebuff the Press was not in the best interests of publicity, when, during his visit to Nice last year, he invited 30 journalists to his Hotel to interview him, and then failed to make an appearance. Details of the incident were published in the "Daily Express" (April 7th, 1931) as follows :

"Thirty cosmopolitan and local journalists walked out of Mr. Charles Chaplin's hotel at Nice yesterday as a protest against the manner in which they had been treated. The corps of correspondents also refused to attend the opening performance of "City Lights" at Monte Carlo to-night.

"The correspondents received an invitation to be at the Hotel Majestic, Nice, as Mr. Chaplin desired to be interviewed.

"When the correspondents arrived they were met by a Mr. Boris Evelinoff, who said he was the film star's representative, and that he was sorry Mr. Chaplin could not receive the correspondents at that time.

"The correspondents were then offered tickets to attend the performance to-night at Monte Carlo. They refused the tickets and walked out".

There /

There is abundant evidence, therefore, to support the claim that graduated men, possessed with a liberal degree of commonsense, knowledge, ability, and a profound sense of their public trust will form the personnel of newspaper staffs in the future. When such a brilliant coterie of men have replaced those who at present fulfil their journalistic functions, some well, others indifferently well, and others not at all well, the "talkie" thrillers such as "Scandal Sheet", and "The Front Page" that are produced in America and portray journalism in a sensational and unfavourable light will become still less appropriate and more ridiculous than they are at the present time. In this connection,

350

Percy Cutlipp wrote:

"I am much afraid that a succession of such films may tempt hordes of adventurous but otherwise unqualified young persons into the ranks of an already crowded calling. I seem to hear them asking the news editor, "Say, are you the guy that gives out the bullet-proof vests?".

This general levelling-up of the standard, quality and ethics of the newspapers of the future will not come about from outside as a result of the force of public opinion but will be a natural growth from within, springing from a realisation by the journalists of the future that there is need in some quarters for a change of heart, for a more zealous application towards attaining the high ideals for which every newspaper should stand, and for a clearer conception of their duties and functions as torch-bearers on behalf of the hundreds of thousands who, but for the printed word, would remain in the dark, mystified by, if not ignorant of, world conditions and recent developments.

One of the most significant developments in this connection during recent years took place last year

when/

351
when it was announced that a tribunal of honour for journalists, over which Dr. Loder, First President of the Permanent Court of International Justice would preside, was to be created at the Hague. "The tribunal, which will be inaugurated to-day week", Reuter's message continued "will try journalists who may have failed to conform with the ethical standards of the profession. A committee of honour is to be formed, and among those invited to become members are the Dutch Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, the president and ex-presidents of the Permanent Court of International Justice, the presidents of the First and Second Chambers of the States General, many deputies and representatives of the Dutch and foreign Press associations".

This is an admirable advance and it is hoped that the lead given by Holland will be followed without undue delay by other countries, although the likelihood of such tribunals of honour being called upon often to adjudicate in cases of suspected breach of trust, or inconformity with ethical standards, is remote if the future of journalism is at all along the lines predicted by the writer.

Most of the ideas which have been set out regarding the Press of the next 50 years have been fairly obvious developments of existing tendencies, and while due regard must necessarily be given to these developments, the possibility of new ideas being brought into the field of journalism should not be overlooked. The prediction which follows is not a wild speculation but rather the outcome of a thorough examination of possibilities lying latent in the newspaper world,— possibilities that are entrenched by existing features, although their relevance is not as clear and as obvious as have been those upon which the developments already predicted have been based.

There /

There will no doubt be many who disagree-- and they may possibly be right-- but it seems to the writer that the newspaper of the future will be essentially of the "institutional" kind. Amplification of the meaning of the word in this particular sense can best be given by reference to the only existing "institutional" newspaper in the world at the present time-- "La Prensa", one of the largest and most influential daily newspapers published in Buenos Aires.³⁵² "La Prensa" provides the services of doctors and dentists for its subscribers, who may be attended personally at the offices of the paper; staff lawyers may be consulted; books borrowed from the library; while a large hall is kept for public meetings. Other facilities for its subscribers include a commercial museum, chemical laboratory, a school in which Spanish is taught, a suite of rooms for distinguished visitors, a fencing school, and a restaurant".

The advantages to a family in poor circumstances, or to a family man who, until recently, had been earning good wages but had unexpectedly been put off his job are great. It is a commonplace that sickness is most prevalent where hygienic and sanitary conditions are least perfect. In other words, sickness is more common among the households of the poorer communities than among the wealthy elements of the population. Thus those least able to pay are ravished by sickness, and carefully saved earnings, put aside for holidays or to provide for the future, are swallowed up in meeting doctor's bills. Through the agency of the "institutional" newspaper, much of this misery can be avoided. By merely paying a newspaper subscription, subscribers will safeguard against the evils outlined above and obtain free

medical /

352. See "Journalism and the Journalist" by J.A.Hammerton, Volume 5, page 4,451 of the Universal Encyclopedia.

medical attention, while the advantages accruing from the other facilities are self-evident.

Reasons for saying that the idea of the "institutional" newspaper will grow are not hard to find. Newspaper proprietors have strained every nerve in their efforts to increase circulation. They have tried to make their own particular newspaper one which no home should be without, something which becomes part of the family and without which the family life would be incomplete. In order to do this they have inaugurated Women's Pages, Children's Corners, Notes for Gardeners, Lovers of Art and Drama, Legal Notes, crossword puzzles, competitions and insurance schemes. What could better achieve their objects than the creation of an "institutional" newspaper?

But, it may be argued, this free medical attention, provision of legal advice free of charge, and lending of books, is beyond the scope of newspapers. It is, at present, but newspapers are almost daily increasing their scope. There is no matter on which some newspaper or other does not have its say, and there are few in which they do not have a great deal to say. The evolutionary process will find the Press extending its ramifications until there is little left in which it has not some interest. This day is fast dawning, and when it breaks, the objection that the "institutional" newspaper goes beyond the scope of journalism will no longer be valid. These free services will be adjuncts to its main object, which, to use once again the American expression already quoted, is "public service journalism".

The /

The "institutional" newspaper will relieve the State of much of its duties and anxieties in connection with health matters, and the State, far from taking action to prevent this extension of the power of the Press, should exult, sette voce, "For this relief, much thanks".

So far consideration has only been given to the Press of various countries as isolated and unconnected organs. What are the possibilities of a World Press? The march in most spheres of life in the present age is towards world-wide co-operation. Nationalism has been largely superseded by internationalism, and Geneva at present boasts the headquarters of 74 International Organisations. Is it possible to issue an international newspaper? The need for such an organ is a crying one, but anyone who faces the facts must realise that, much as it is needed, it cannot, in the near future, be considered as a matter of practical journalism. Geographic factors militate against the success of "The World's News" or any such similar project, but one of the greatest obstacles to overcome is the language question. Bilingual countries like South Africa and Canada, and trilingual countries like South West Africa and Switzerland, could bring evidence to show that language rights are considerations not to be trifled with.

The Bible has now been translated into 674 languages, and although it is not claimed that all of these, nor even a large proportion of them, should be included in any international venture in journalism, the number of languages claiming urgent consideration if the hypothetical paper is to bear a truly international character is large. If every item were to be translated into every language decided upon as "official", the paper would become unwieldy while if certain items appeared in one language and others in
 another /

another, the amount of reading matter intelligible for any one reader who did not happen to be a linguist would be negligible. Only the bringing into being of an international-language-- such as has often been suggested-- will remove this cardinal difficulty, and make an international newspaper possible.

It is nevertheless interesting to find the International Labour Office taking an active interest in journalism in the 55 countries of the world which bear allegiance to that Office. In 1928 the Office issued a report on "The Conditions of Work and Life of Journalists".³⁵³ The report is a mine of information, some of which has been used earlier in this work; although the birth of an International Press does not at the moment seem feasible, it is hoped that both the International Labour Office and the League of Nations, through its Committee for Intellectual Co-operation will continue to take an active part in the welfare and progress of the various countries of the world. The fact that the League has set its face against secret diplomacy, and the further fact that it has provided as much accommodation in the League Assembly Chamber for Press representatives as it has for members of the League and their advisers both tend to demonstrate clearly that the League is alive to the value of the Press as a permanent institution in civilised countries, and is aware of its power and influence wherever it exists.

353. No.2 of Series L, dealing with Professional Workers.

APPENDIX "A".

CONFIDENTIAL REPORT BY LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR KEATE

on the

NATAL PRESS, (1871).

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, LONDON:

SERIES: C.O.179/101: Confidential, Lieutenant-Governor

R. Keate to the Earl of Kimberley, Feb. 21st, 1871.

S U M M A R Y.

The Press in Natal consisted of a GOVERNMENT GAZETTE and FOUR NEWSPAPERS, two of which were published in Pietermaritzburg (bi-weekly) and two in Durban (thrice a week).

The "WITNESS" (published in Pietermaritzburg) and the "MERCURY" (Durban) take the same side in the discussion of public questions. The other two journals were "The Times of Natal" (Pietermaritzburg) and "The Natal Colonist" (Durban), - they advocate the opposite views to the other two papers.

The "Witness" was edited by its founder, Mr. David B. Buchanan (1845). The paper generally supported the Government, although it agitated against the native policy of Lieutenant-Governor Sir Benjamin Pine; it also criticised the measures taken by Sir F. Woodhouse in Basutoland - Buchanan maintained the most exaggerated views on the native question. He was formerly an independent preacher, and now a leading advocate at the Natal Bar; he once acted as Attorney-General for Natal, but only for a short period; he thereafter went with Tshekelo, Meshesh's son, to England to protest against the annexation of Basutoland to the Cape, instead of to Natal; - he was a man with a very excitable temperament.

CONTRIBUTORS /

(The Natal Press in 1871)

CONTRIBUTORS TO THE WITNESS : (1) Mr. George Winter, "a man who has tried many careers, but succeeded in none; (2) The Rev. Gray, ex-Dean of Pietermaritzburg, and ex-Master of a High School at St. Helena; (3) Mr. R.E. Ridley, member of the Legislative Council for Maritzburg, and (4) Mr. J. Saunderson, member of the Legislative Council, Durban and Chairman of the "Durban Political Association .

The Witness accepted any article, "provided it contains abuse of the Government or individual Government Officers, sufficiently scurrilous and personal." Since Buchanan's return from England, the paper changed its views and vigorously attacked the Legislative Council for its obstructive acts. It was of "anti-revolutionary views of moderate men in the Colony" and became "the only honest paper in the Colony, which represented "honest convictions".

The "Mercury" was edited by John Robinson and R. Vause (1852). It was at first pro-Government, then it turned against the Government and became "exceptionally scurrilous and mendacious". Robinson was a member of the Legislative Council from 1853 to 1868, and was a man of doubtful character. (Sir George Barrow, assistant Under-Secretary, who knew Robinson personally, differed from Keate on Robinson's character - Marginal note by Barrow).

The "Times of Natal" (previously the "Courier", founded by a Frenchman early in the 'Forties): its editors were, at the time Messrs. Granville and Richards; the latter was a member of the Legislative Council. The journal was "always in opposition to the Government". Mr. Richard Vause was also part-Editor of the Times of Natal, as well as the Editor of the "Mercury" - "so that he has an opportunity of contradicting himself regularly twice a week, of which

he /

(The Natal Press in 1871)

he takes advantage". Mr. R. Ridley, the real editor, was a member of the Legislative Council, and a farmer, who, failed to make a living by farming. The paper had republican tendencies and "advocates assimilation to the Boer Republics." Ridley was "a shrewd hard-headed man"; in England he was a wholesale saddler (near Liverpool) and "an inflammatory stump orator". He wrote Dr. Mann's "Guide Book for Immigrants". In the Legislative Council he "is the political bully of the day".

The "Natal Colonist" (previously the "Herald") "which has been for long in a moribund condition". It belonged to Davis and Son and John Saunderson. The paper went bankrupt and could not pay 2/6 in the £. Saunderson was "of an extremely bilious temperament" and could always be found "in the ranks of the opposition and never agrees with anybody or anything".

(The Lieutenant-Governor was forthwith directed by the Secretary of State for Colonies to forward copies of the Witness, Mercury and Times of Natal for the information of the Colonial Office).

APPENDIX "B".

**COMPLETE LIST OF REGISTERED NEWSPAPERS
 IN THE UNION, AS AT SEPTEMBER 1st, 1933.**

TITLE	PUBLISHED AT
Adelaide Free Press & Farmers Friend, The	Adelaide.
African Chemist and Druggist, The	Johannesburg.
African Chronicle, The	Durban.
African Insurance Record, The	Capetown.
African Jewish Newspaper, The	Johannesburg.
African Jewish World, The	Johannesburg.
African Leader	Johannesburg.
African Orthodox Churchman, The	Beaconsfield.
African Radio Announcer	Johannesburg.
Afrikaner, Die	Pietermaritzburg.
Albert Doore Vriend, Die	Burgersdorp.
Alice Times	Alice.
Amalgamated Society of Woodworkers, The (Monthly report)	Johannesburg.
Architect, Builder & Engineer.	Capetown.
Automobile, The	Pretoria.
Aviation in Africa	Port Elizabeth.
Backwash	East London.
Barkly East Reporter & Afrikaner Vriend	Barkly East.
Bantu World, The	Johannesburg.
Basutoland News, The	Ladybrand.
Bedford Enterprise, The	Bedford.
Benoni City Times & Volksblad	Benoni.
Bethal Echo, The	Bethal.
Bethlehem Express & District News	Bethlehem.

TITLE	PUBLISHED AT
S. A. Railway & Harbours Magazine	Johannesburg.
S. A. Review	Cape town.
S.A. Stationery Trades Journal	Johannesburg.
S. A. Sugar Journal	Durban
S. A. Travel News	Johannesburg.
S.A.Truck & Bus Owner	"
S.A.Tender & Business Gazette	"
Saaswerk, Die	Pietermaritzburg.
St. John's Chronicle	Ngamatwe.
Salstaff Bulletin, The	Johannesburg.
Scarlet Runner, The	Pretoria.
Sentrum, Die	Senekal.
1820 Settlers, The	Capetown.
Signs of the Times (Africa's Prophetic Monthly)	"
Skeelblad, Die (The Teacher)	Bloemfontein.
Social & Industrial Review (Maanblad vir Sosiale en Bedryfsaangeleenthede)	Pretoria.
Somerset Budget & Pekaerton Advocate	Somerset East.
Southern African Division Outlook, The	Capetown.
Southern Cross, The	"
Southern Express, The	Johannesburg.
South Western Echo, The	Riversdale.
Springbok, The	Bloemfontein.
Springs Commercial News, The	Springs.
Standard & West Rand Review, The	Krugersdorp.
Standard Bank Monthly Review	Capetown.
Standerton & Vrede Advertiser, The	Standerton.
Star, The	Johannesburg.
Stellenbosch Weekblad	Wellington.
Die - The Steynshuiser	"
Sub Tropical Gardener	Durban.

TITLE	PUBLISHED AT
Sun of South Africa, The	Johannesburg.
Sunday Times, The	"
Swaziland Chronicle, The	Mbabane.
Tarka Herald,	Tarkastad.
Tekens van die Tye	Capetown.
Tembuland News, The	Elliot
Tender Journal, The	Capetown.
Territorial News, The	Umtata.
Times of Swaziland	Mbabane.
Trades & Labour Journal of S.A.	Capetown.
Transactions of S.A. Institute of Electrical Engineers.	Johannesburg.
Transvaal Educational News.	"
Tree of Mercy, The	"
Tribune, The	Capetown.
Trooster, The	Bethlehem.
Uitenhage Chronicle, The	Uitenhage.
Uitenhage Times, The	"
Um Afrika	Pinetown.
Umsebenzi	Johannesburg
Umteteli Wa Bantu	"
Unie, Die	Capetown
Valdezia Bulletin, The	Louis Trichardt.
Valley Gazette	Port Elizabeth
Vereeniging Call	Vereeniging.
Victoria West Messenger, The	Victoria West
Volksblad, Die	Bloemfontein.
Volksrust Recorder, The	Volksrust.
Volkstem, Die	Pretoria.
Voorslag, Die	Johannesburg.
Voortrekker, Die	Pietermaritzburg.
Vrede Express, The	Vrede.

TITLE	PUBLISHED AT
Vryheid & District Gazette, The	Vryheid.
Wagter, Die (Ned:HerwiGeneente)	Pretoria.
Wagter, Die	Queenstown.
Wanderers (Club Calendar) Magazine.	Johannesburg.
Watchman, The	"
War Cry, The	"
Waterberg Advertiser, The	Pietersburg.
Weekly Standard, The	East London.
Weekly Telegraph, The	Port Elizabeth.
Wellington Weekblad	Wellington.
West yan News, The	Durban.
Weste, Die	Potchefstroom.
Westelike Sten, Die	"
White Man, The	Johannesburg.
White Ribbon, The	Capetown
Winburger, Die	Winburg.
Winkel, Die	Johannesburg.
Wine & Spirit	Stellenbosch.
Witbank Advertiser & Middelburg News	Witbank.
Witbank News, The	"
Witness, The	East London.
Wodehouse News	Dordrecht.
Worcester Standard & Advertiser, The	Worcester.
Young Africa.	Port Elizabeth
Ziet My Komt	Capetown.
Zionist Record, The	Johannesburg.
Zoeklicht, Het	Capetown.
Zoutpansberg Review, The	Pietersburg.
Zululand Times, The	Eshowe.
Zwartlander, Die.	Malmesbury.

NOTE: This comprises the newspaper Register as kept by the General Post Office in Pretoria.

TITLE	PUBLISHED AT
Blythwood Review	Bengalkse.
Boereblad, Die - The Farmers Paper	Noorder Paarl.
Boere Saamwerk Bepark. Produce Bulletin	Port Elizabeth.
Boerevrou, Die	Pretoria.
Boere Wol Rapport - Farmers Information Wool Report & Bureau)	Port Elizabeth.
Borderer, The - Die Grensboer	Wepener.
Brakpan & Springs Advertiser & East Rand Review.	Springo.
Brakpan Herald, The	Brakpan.
Bredasdorp & Napier Nuis, Die	Bredasdorp.
British Staff Magazine	Johannesburg
British Trade in S. A.	Cape Town
Bulletin of the Underground Officials Association of S.A.	Johannesburg.
Burger, Die	Capetown.
Caledonian, The	Johannesburg.
Caledon Venster	Caledon.
Carolina Advertiser	Carolina.
Congo Herald, The	Oudtshoorn.
Cape, The	Capetown.
Cape Argus, The	"
Cape Mercury, The	Kingwilliamstown.
Cape Times, The	Capetown.
Catering Trades Journal, The	"
Catholic News, The	"
Chevrolet Owners News	Pretoria.
Chiao Sheng Pao	Johannesburg.
Child Welfare	Blossfontein.
Christelike Streeker, Die	Stellenbosch.
Church Chronicle, The	Capetown.

TITLE	PUBLISHED AT
Colesberg Advertiser, The Commercial Bulletin	Colesberg. Capetown.
Co-operation	Johannesburg.
Country District Advertiser	Port Elizabeth.
Courier, The	Beaufort West.
Daily Dispatch, The	East London.
Daily Representative & Free Press, The	Queenstown.
De Aar Echo	De Aar.
Deutsch Afrikaner, Der	Pretoria.
Deutsche Afrika Post	Johannesburg.
Diamond Fields Advertiser (Daily) The	Kimberley.
Dun's Gazette	Capetown.
Eastern Star, The (Oostelike Ster)	Erzelo.
Eastern Province Herald, The	Port Elizabeth.
East Rand Express	Boksburg
Educational News	Capetown.
Euterpe	Pretoria.
Farmer, The	Pietermaritzburg.
Farmers Chronicle & Stutterheim Times, The	Oat heart.
Farmers Friend, The	Paarl
Farmers Weekly, The	Bloemfontein.
Farming in S.A. (Boerdery in U.A.)	Pretoria.
Ficksburg News, The	Ficksburg.
Fort Beaufort Advocate, The	Fort Beaufort
Forward	Johannesburg.
Fram	Dundee.
Franchise Guardian, The	Queenstown.
Frankforter, The	Frankfort.
Friend, The	Bloemfontein.
Friesland Journal, The	"
Frontier Post & Times	Aliwal North.

TITLE	PUBLISHED AT
George & Knyana Herald, The	George.
George Diocesan Magazine	Graaff Reinet.
Germiston Advocate & East Rand Record	Germiston
Goldfields News, The	Barberton.
Gordonia News, The	Uppington.
Graaff Reinet Advertiser, The	Graaff Reinet
Greytown Gazette, The	Greytown, N
Groote's Daily Mail	Grahamstown.
Handhawer, Die	Johannesburg.
Harriemith Chronicle, The	Harriemith.
Hansholon	Durban.
Heidelberg News, The	Heidelberg, Tvl.
Heilbron Herald, The	Heilbron.
Herder, Die	Pretoria.
Heevelder, Die	Ernelo.
Home Front (Old Bill's Mag.), The	Johannesburg.
Hollands Weekblad Voor Zuid-Afrika	Pretoria.
Hottentots Holland Mail	Strand.
Huisgenoot, Die	Capetown
Huisvriend, De	Genadendal.
Huisvrou, Die	Capetown.
Humansdorp Advertiser, The	Humansdorp.
Ikweni	Eshove
Klange Lase (Phoenix)	Durban
Invo Zabantsandu	Kingwilliamstown.
Indaba Zovuya	Lucikiakiki.
Indian Opinion	Durban
Indian Views	"
Indicator, The	Johannesburg.
Industrial & Commercial South Africa	Capetown
Insurance, Banking and Finance	"
Isitunywa	Dundee

TITLE	PUBLISHED AT
Ivri, The	Johannesburg.
Jansenville Chronicle, The	Jansenville.
Jewish Guild Magazine	Pretoria.
Jewish Tribune, The	Johannesburg.
Journal of the Association of Certificated (S.A.) Mechanical & Electrical Engineers.	Johannesburg.
Johannesburg Weekly Pictorial Record, The	"
Journal of the Chemical Metallurgical and Mining Society of S.A.	"
Journal of the Institute of Bankers	Capetown.
Journal of Secondary Education	Pretoria.
Journal of the S.A. Institute of Engineers	Johannesburg.
Journal of the Underground Officials Association of S.A.	"
Junior, The	Johannesburg
Karoo News	Willowmore.
Kerkblad, Die	Bloemfontein.
Kerkbode, Die	Capetown
Kindervriend, Die	Bloemfontein.
Kingdom, The	Pretoria.
Klerksdorp Record & Western Transvaal News	Klerksdorp.
Knox' Business & Shipping Gazette	Durban.
Knox' Court Record.	"
Knyasa Advertiser, The	Nestel Bay.
Kokstad Advertiser, The	Kokstad.
Koningsbode, Die	Stellenbosch.
Kristelike Skoolblad, Die	Bloemfontein.
Kroonstad Times & Gazette	Kroonstad.
Ladybrand Courant, The	Ladybrand.
Ladysmith Gazette	Ladysmith, N
Landbou Weekblad, Die	Bloemfontein

TITLE	PUBLISHED AT
Landman, Die (with Supplement Buid Westelik Niews)	Robertson
Latest, The	Benoni.
Leselinyana	Morija.
Letsama	Harriarith.
Licensed Victuallers Gazette, The	Johannesburg.
Live Fire, The	"
Locomotive Engineers Journal, The	Capetown.
Lowveld Star	Nelspruit.
Lydenburg News	Lydenburg.
Maandelikse Handelsverslag(Barclay's Bank)	Pretoria
Mafeking Mail, The	Mafeking.
Masonic Journal of S.A. & S.A. Masonic World.	Johannesburg.
Matatiele Mail, The	Matatiele.
Methodist Churchmen, The	Capetown.
Middelburg Echo	Middelburg (C)
Middelburg Observer	" (Tvl.)
Middelburg Hoopveld en Belfast Nuis	" "
Middellander, De	" (C)
Middellandsche Afrikander, De	Craddock
Midland News & Karoo Farmer	"
Mining and Industrial Magazine of S.A.	Johannesburg.
Mine Surface Officials Assn of S.A.	"
Mochochonono (The Comet)	Maseru.
Mogowa oa Babaso	Middelburg (Tvl)
Moltene Advertiser	Moltene.
Monthly Bulletin (Chamber of Commerce)	Capetown.
Monthly Trade Report (Barclay's Bank)	Pretoria.
Morelig	Bloemfontain.
Mossel Bay Advertiser	Mossel Bay
Mosupa - Tsela	Eatecourt.

TITLE	PUBLISHED AT
Motor Economist	Capetown.
M. T. A. Bulletin	Johannesburg
Municipal Journal	Capetown.
Municipal Magazine	Johannesburg.
Natal Advertiser	Durban.
Natal Mercury (Daily)	"
Natal Motorist	"
Natal Sportsman & Licensed Victuallers Journal	"
Natal Witness	Pietermaritzburg.
Nea Hellas	Johannesburg.
Newcastle Advertiser & Northern Post	Newcastle.
News Letter, The	Grahamstown.
Northern Transvaal News	Pietersburg.
Nuze Tyd, Die	Aberdeen
Nongqai	Johannesburg.
Noorden, Het	Vryburg.
Noord Western, Het	Calvinia.
Noord Western Gazette	Carnarvon.
Northern Natal Courier, The	Dundee.
Northern News	Vryburg.
North Western Press	Prieska.
On and Off Duty	Pretoria.
Onlooker, The	Durban
Ons Kerkblad	Boahof.
Ons Vaderland	Pretoria.
On the Road	Capetown.
Ons Koerant	Graaff Reinet.
Oostelike Ster, Die	Ernslo.
Opsaal	Pretoria.
Oudshoorn Courant, The	Oudshoorn.

Outspan /

TITLE	PUBLISHED AT
Outspan, The	Bloemfontein.
Paarl Post, Die	Paarl.
Parys Post, The	Parys.
Patriot, The	Oudtshoorn.
Patriot, The	Bloemfontein.
People's Weekly, The	"
Picture News	Johannesburg.
Pilgrims & Sabie News, The	Pilgrims Rest
Pilot, The	Capetown.
Plattelandse Dokter, Die	Ladybrand.
Port Elisabeth Advertiser, The	Port Elisabeth.
Pos, Die	Steynsburg.
Postal Gazette, The	Pretoria.
Potchefstroom Herald & Western Gazette	Potchefstroom.
Pretoria Gardner, The	Pretoria.
Pretoria News, The	"
Prince Albert Friend, The	Prince Albert.
Public Opinion	Bloemfontein.
Public Servant, The	Pretoria.
Racing Calendar of the Jockey Club of S. A., The	Johannesburg.
Rand Daily Mail	"
Record, The	Bloemfontein.
Re-echo, The	Humanadorp.
Reef, The	Johannesburg.
Reitz Nuus, Die	Reitz.
Republikein, Die	Pretoria.
Revival News	Benoni.
Rhodesian Mining Journal, The	Johannesburg.
Rotary in South Africa	Durban.
Rustenburg Herald, The	Rustenburg.

TITLE	PUBLISHED AT
D. A. Banking Magazine	Johannesburg.
S. A. Baptist	"
S. A. Builder	"
S. A. Christian Recorder	Evaton, Tvl.
S. A. Covenant Message	Johannesburg.
S. A. Dental Journal	Port Elizabeth.
S. A. Engineer	Johannesburg.
S. A. Farmer	Pretoria.
S. A. Farmers Advocate	Kimberley.
S. A. Fruit Exporter Magazine	Capetown.
S. A. Fruitgrower & Smallholder	"
S. A. Gardening & Agricultural Journal	"
S. A. Golf	"
S. A. Grocer & General Dealer	Johannesburg
S. A. Hairdressers Journal	"
S. A. Jewish Chronicle	Capetown.
S. A. Lady's Pictorial & Home Journal	"
S. A. Law Times	Johannesburg
S. A. Menorah	Capetown.
S. A. Local Government Service Magazine	Durban.
S. A. Medical Journal	Capetown.
S. A. Mining & Engineering Journal	Johannesburg.
S. A. Mining Review	"
S. A. Motorist	"
S. A. Nursing Record	East London.
S. A. Outlook	Lovedale.
S. A. P. Bulletin (with: The Junior)	Johannesburg.
S. A. Philatelist, The	"
S. A. Post & Telegraph Herald	Capetown.
S. A. Poultry Magazine & Smallholder	Bloemfontein.
S. A. Printer & Stationer	Johannesburg.

APPENDIX ^{103.}
"C".

**FACTORS THAT HELPED TO SPEED UP THE PRESS
FROM 1800 UNTIL UNION (MAY 31st, 1910).**

-
- 1800. Arrival of the first printing Press at the Cape.
 - 1808. First regular inland postal service.
 - 1814. Mail packet service started between Britain and the Cape.
 - 1825. First steamship arrives in Table Bay.
 - 1828. Ordinance securing the freedom of the Press in the Cape.
 - 1846. Postal improvements include the institution of a bi-weekly postal service between the principal seats of Magistracy.
 - 1853. Union Steamship line founded.
 - 1857. First mail contract with Union Steamship Company for regular mail service between England and South Africa.
 - 1860. First telegraph line established—between Capetown and Simonstown. Initiation of a penny post in Capetown.
 - 1863. Railway opened to Wellington.
 - 1864. Completion of telegraph line between Capetown and East London.
 - 1870. First consideration of Railway construction in the Transvaal.
 - 1871. First mail from Capetown to the Diamond Fields.
 - 1873. Castle Steamship line founded.
 - 1872. Railway opened between Port Elizabeth and Uitenhage.
 - 1876. First Railway commenced in Natal.
 - 1878. Telegraph between Natal and Transvaal.
 - 1880. Opening of submarine cable to Capetown.
 - 1883. Postal conventions between South African States.
 - 1885. First Cape Railway opened to Kimberley.
 - 1886. Opening of goldfields on Rand. Telegraph convention, Cape, Natal, and Free State.
 - 1890. Railway from Capetown reaches Bloemfontein.
 - 1894. Railway opened between Johannesburg and Laurence Marquet

1895 /

1895. Railway opened between Johannesburg and Durban.

1897. Railway opened from Capetown to Bulawayo.

South African Postal Union -- Cape, Natal, Free
State and South African Republic

1910 CONSTITUTION OF THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA, MAY 31st.
