

Fashion and family business entrepreneurs: Jaff and Company, 1931 – 1980

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Opsomming

Sam Jaff was deel van 'n merkwaardige geslag entrepreneurs wat die klerebedryf in Suid-Afrika gevestig het. In 1931 vestig hy die vroueklerefabriek, Jaff and Company, in Johannesburg, wat vinnig in 'n familiebesigheid ontwikkel het. Die fabriek was die eerste wat met die massaproduksie van modieuse damesklere begin het. Tot in die 1980s bly Jaff and Company een van die grootste vervaardigers van damesklere en verskaf werk aan 2,300 werkers. Die maatskappy bly voortbestaan as 'n familiebesigheid en in 1980 besit die Jaff-familie nog steeds 60 persent van die aandele van die maatskappy.

Eerstens skets hierdie artikel die politieke en ekonomiese agtergrond van die periode 1930 tot 1960, waartydens Jaff and Company geweldig gegroei het. Die agtergrond van die ontwikkeling van die damesklerebedryf gedurende die periode word ook geskets. Verder is die fokus op die groei van Jaff and Company gedurende die periode 1931 tot 1980 en op die maatskappy as 'n familiebesigheid, asook op Sam Jaff as entrepreneur en leier in die sakegemeenskap.

Keywords: Clothing industry; Fashion; Family business; Entrepreneurship; Economy; Politics; Decentralisation.

Introduction

Entrepreneurship as an 'enlightenment' concept became an inseparable part of the developments of the agricultural and industrial revolution in the eighteenth century. It created space for free-thinking individualism and fashioned an environment fertile for the development and rapid increase of entrepreneurship. Over time it has evolved to produce contemporary

multifaceted entrepreneurs.¹ There are a multitude of current definitions attempting to pinpoint entrepreneurship, but Walter Kuemmerle provides a comprehensive version, describing it as “opportunity-driven behaviour cognizant of the resources required to pursue the opportunity. The kernel of entrepreneurship is to identify a potential opportunity, match the opportunity and resources optimally, and keep adjusting that match as the opportunity materializes.”²

Fogel, Hawk and Morck explained that entrepreneurs need not be creators of products but often reinvent an existing product to be more economic or useful. At the centre of the entrepreneurial action lies the multifaceted nature of the entrepreneur. High on the list of traits is cautious risk-taking, accompanied by insight and the ability to forecast potential ventures. Other characteristics encompass the ability to raise funds and stay abreast of new technology, business practices and skills. Conversely, the authors show that entrepreneurial skills will be ineffective in the absence of a responsive political and economic climate, which can play a most important role in the creation and encouragement of an entrepreneurial environment.³

The difficulty experienced in pinning down personality traits is shared by topics on cultural development and its cognitive relation to entrepreneurialism. Some insight into the topic is proffered by Andrew Godley’s research on the upward movement of the Jewish immigrants who settled in Britain and America towards the end of the late nineteenth century. Godley’s study brings into view two notions of cultural influences on entrepreneurship. The first indicates that the culture within a society can stimulate entrepreneurship and prosperity. The economic performance of the New York entrepreneurs was remarkably higher than those in Britain. The Jewish immigrants in Britain adopted the sentimental attitude of the British workers to their craft culture, which impeded their performance. Conversely, the Jewish immigrants in New York assimilated the national culture, which promoted individualism, entrepreneurship and investment in machinery.

1 M Ricketts, “Theories of entrepreneurship: Historical development and critical assessment”, M Casson, B Yeung, A Basu, N Wadson et.al, *The Oxford handbook of entrepreneurship* (New York, Oxford University Press), 2006, pp. 34, 37, 38.

2 W Kuemmerle, “Innovation in large firms”, M Casson, B Yeung, A Basu, N Wadson et.al, *The Oxford handbook...*, p. 312.

3 K Fogel & A Hawk & R Morck, “Institutional obstacles to entrepreneurship”, M Casson, B Yeung, A Basu, N Wadson et.al, *The Oxford handbook...*, pp. 540-543, 557. Beneficial to such an environment would be regulations such as property rights, sound education and cultural freedom. Detrimental to entrepreneurship are societies that reject status earned by significant personal achievements, such as a dictatorial society.

Godley's second notion remained somewhat vague but his findings made some progress towards the assumption that a nation's intrinsic nature can stimulate entrepreneurship and economic development. He found that by 1905 over a third of Jewish immigrants in New York had become entrepreneurs. Another supportive argument was that in comparison to other individuals Jewish immigrants in both Britain and America were exceptionally "upwardly mobile" and their entrepreneurship enabled them to emerge from extreme poverty to middle-class status over a fifty-year period.⁴ Drawing on research conducted in the field of psychology, a recent study by Nigel Wadeson concludes that there appears to be a substantial relation between culture and entrepreneurial cognition, but that the matter requires thorough interdisciplinary investigation.⁵

A large portion of entrepreneurial businesses develop into family businesses. David Pistrui et al. describe family businesses as "the engine that drives socio-economic development and wealth creation around the world, and entrepreneurship is a key driver of family businesses."⁶ The scope of the family involvement can extend far beyond the boundaries of relatives to religious or business associates in the community, ensuring a source of skills, labour and finance. The objectives of a family firm are to bring about business security, trust and prosperity, and, once established, diversification often underpins security. In an unstable environment, the functioning of the family business within community culture is of mutual advantage, offering protection of business and family for the family business entrepreneur.⁷

Irrespective of the country in which it took place, the introduction of ready-made clothing provided the opportunity for a vast number of entrepreneurs to expand their practices into successful family businesses. A good example of this is Jaff and Company, first established in 1931 on the Witwatersrand, which developed into a family business during prosperous times for the clothing

4 A Godley, *Jewish immigrant entrepreneurship in New York and London, 1880-1914* (New York, Palgrave Publishers), 2001, pp. 3, 21, 22, 59, 61, 128.

5 N Wadeson, "Cognitive aspects of entrepreneurship: Decision-making and attitudes to risk", M Casson, B Yeung, A Basu, N Wadeson et.al, *The Oxford handbook...*, p. 109.

6 D Pistrui & WV Huang & HP Welsch & Z Jing, "Family and cultural forces: shaping entrepreneurship and SME development in China", PZ Poutziouris, KX Smyrniotis, SB Klein et.al, *Handbook of research on family business* (UK, Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, 2006), pp. 460-461; EJ Poza, *Family business* (United States, Thomson South-Western, 2007), pp. VI, 1. Poza substantiates this by noting that in the United States family business accounts for an estimated 90 percent of all listed businesses. Family businesses are faced with many challenges, but often enjoy considerable benefits due to the distinctive dynamics of the interaction of family and business.

7 C Howorth & M Rose & E Hamilton, "Definitions, diversity and development: Key debates in family business research", M Casson, B Yeung, A Basu, N Wadeson et.al, *The Oxford handbook...*, pp. 230-231.

industry of South Africa. Three aspects are addressed in the article. The first aspect offers a background to the environment, for the period 1930 to 1960, when Jaff and Company was established and started to grow rapidly. Focus is placed on the economic and political climate as well as the development of ladies' fashion production. The second aspect reflects on the company's development over the period 1931 to 1980 and specifically on the company's expansion, its capital growth as well as product range and supply market. The third aspect is a reflection on Jaff and Company as a family business and then on Sam Jaff the entrepreneur as well as the business community leader.

The research for this article includes a range of secondary sources, newspaper and journal articles, and primary sources in the National Archives, the Garment Workers' Union Records and the Dulcie Hartwell Collection housed at the William Cullen Library at the University of the Witwatersrand. Interviews were conducted with Stephen Jaff, son of Sam Jaff and CEO of the company, as well as with Albert Foster, retired factory manager, and Annie Wolkin, retired patternmaker and designer. In 1981 Jaff and Company celebrated its 50th birthday and the trade journal, *The Buyer*, published a supplement with a short history on the company.⁸ Then in 1986 Mendel Kaplan published his book *Jewish Roots in the South African Economy*, in which he investigated the contribution of the Jewish pioneers to the industrial development of South Africa from 1897.⁹ Both these sources were useful for information on Jaff and Company's early development.

Contextual background

Economic and political environment, 1930 to 1960

Before the First World War, the development of the secondary sector in South Africa was slow. Since skilled craftsmen and technical expertise were scarce, labour-intensive methods were used, and this raised the labour costs of manufacturing. Furthermore, the unrestricted openness of the economy made it easy to import a variety of goods. However, during the First World War, a shortage of imports resulted in the stimulation of local industries.¹⁰ During the war factory workers' skills developed and manufacturing establishments multiplied and expanded rapidly. The greatest development took place on

⁸ Supplement to *The Buyer*, August 1981.

⁹ M Kaplan, *Jewish roots in the South African economy* (Cape Town, C Struik Publishers), 1986.

¹⁰ S Jones & A Müller, *The South African economy, 1910-90* (London, Macmillan), 1995, pp. 13, 65, 68-69.

the Witwatersrand and especially in Johannesburg.¹¹ The development was stimulated by the prosperous gold mining industry, with resultant higher wages and consumer spending, which attracted entrepreneurs.¹²

Faced with increasing poverty amongst White citizens and labour unrest which peaked with the Rand Rebellion (1922), ways had to be found to expand and support manufacturing industries. The benefits of increased import tariffs were realised but tariffs were retained at a general 15 percent. Subsequently, from 1924 the newly formed Pact government introduced measures to accelerate the tempo of industrialisation. The main purpose was to provide employment for the estimated 300,000 'poor Whites', as well as to ensure long-term employment prospects for the rapidly growing population.¹³ The Board of Trade and Industry (BTI) found that White women in particular would benefit from industrialisation since it could provide ample 'civilised' work opportunities in an acceptable working environment. The BTI established that specific industries could expand under increased protection, as would customs revenue, which constituted the state's principal source of income. Therefore the general rate was increased to 20 percent but hardly ever exceeded 25 percent.¹⁴ In the case of clothing, the general 10 percent duty on men's outerwear was raised to 20 percent. On ladies' dresses the existing 15 percent remained unchanged but a specific duty was added.¹⁵

The Witwatersrand did not experience the effects of the Great Depression, from 1929 to 1932, to the same extent as the rest of the country. This was due to more secure and rapidly increasing consumer spending, mainly due to the stability of gold mining and the building of the Iscor steel plant.¹⁶ In general, the country experienced a relative decline in imports as well as in exports, and during this period it was realised that there was a need to develop export markets to African countries to the north of South Africa.¹⁷ The abolition of the gold standard in 1933, the devaluation of the South African pound and

11 HP Pollak, "Women in Witwatersrand industries: An economic and social study" (MA, UW, 1932), pp. 10-12. Reported on Sir Meiring Beck (Minister of Post and Telegraphs) address to the opening Congress of the S.A. Federated Chamber of the Industries held in Johannesburg, 1918.

12 S Jones & A Müller, *The South African...*, pp. 66-67.

13 S Jones & A Müller, *The South African...*, pp. 70.

14 S Jones & A Müller, *The South African...*, pp. 37, 63-64, 69-71.

15 University of Johannesburg (UJ): Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Textile and Clothing Industries: The Policy of Protection in Regard to Textiles and Clothing, 1981, pp. 62-63.

16 HP Pollak, "Women in Witwatersrand industries: An economic and social study" (MA, UW), 1932, pp. 10-12, 16-18; Jones & A Müller, *The South African...*, pp. 72-73.

17 HP Pollak, "Women in Witwatersrand industries: An economic and social study" (MA, UW), 1932, pp. 16-18.

an increase in the gold price created a boom for the gold mining industry and the economy in general.¹⁸

Labour was scarce at the clothing industry's inception and consisted mainly of male immigrants from Britain as well as Jews from Eastern Europe.¹⁹ However, by the 1930s, owing to economic problems in the rural areas, vast numbers of poor White Afrikaner women had flocked to the Witwatersrand in search of employment, and they became the principal workforce of the industry. In 1932, they accounted for 93 percent of the female industrial workforce on the Witwatersrand, and from the mid-1930s the rapid industrial development sparked an inflow of non-European workers from subsistence farming into the industrial sector.²⁰

The situation changed during the Second World War, when the clothing industry experienced an exodus of White machinists to better-paying jobs in other sectors. Consequently, competition for trained labour became a major dilemma on the Witwatersrand, particularly after the war. Even though there was a closed shop agreement, it was very difficult for manufacturers to avoid enticing labour away from each other. Another contributing factor to the shortage of labour was that it was particularly easy to become a clothing manufacturer and as a result many small factories sprang up. In addition, legislation such as job reservation made it difficult to increase the number of non-European workers and it was to take many years before the different racial groups could be placed in the same workroom.²¹

The war forced South Africa to become more dependent on its own resources. The driving force of the economy was import replacement, which resulted in manufacturing output growing at an average annual rate of 5.1 percent from 1936/37 to 1946/47. Import control and the needs of the Allied powers stimulated economic growth and sparked rapid development specifically in the clothing and explosives industries.²² During the war the Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission recommended support to industries

18 SJJ De Swardt, "Agricultural marketing problems in the nineteen thirties", *The South African Journal of Economics*, 51, 1983, p. 22; DH Houghton, *The South African economy* (Cape Town, Oxford University Press), 1976, p. 14.

19 L Callinicos, *People's history of South Africa, working life 1886-1940: Factories, townships and popular culture on the Rand*, vol. 2 (Johannesburg, Ravan Press), 1987, p. 146.

20 DH Houghton, *The South African economy*, p. 15; H Pollak, "Women workers in Witwatersrand industries", *The South African Journal of Economics*, 1(1), March 1933, p. 64.

21 M Kaplan, *Jewish roots...*, pp. 274, 283.

22 G Marais, "Structural changes in manufacturing industry, 1916 to 1975", *The South African Journal of Economics*, 49, 1981, pp. 35-36.

that manufactured products from South African raw materials. Precedence was given to those industries that could contribute to import replacement, as well as those that could become exporters of manufactured goods. The textile industry was identified as an industry with such potential.²³

Unfortunately, the only fabrics produced before the Second World War were blankets, unbleached sheeting and canvas.²⁴ The spinning and weaving of piece goods suitable for clothing began only during 1946.²⁵ Despite the disadvantage to the clothing industry, which at that stage required substantial quantities of imported fabric, the BTI proceeded to implement import control on textiles in 1948.²⁶ Technical difficulties and the restricted market experienced by the infant textile industry limited its ability to produce the quantity and variety of textiles required by the clothing manufacturers, forcing them to import fabric at very high tariffs.²⁷ The textile industry was just not ready to cope with the country's requirements and the import control on some of the fabrics required by the clothing industry had to be relaxed during early 1950.²⁸ From 1952 protection was continuously raised and widened in accordance with the growth and increase in variety of the textile industry. By the 1960s, textile duties ranged from 20 to 30 percent and on calicos and drills approximately 37 percent.²⁹

As regards the local requirements for cotton fabric during 1950, 15 percent was South African-made. By 1952, the local textile production had the capacity to produce close to 60 percent of the required drill, twill and sateen and 40 percent of calico (plain weave). However, the use of local fabrics had only increased to 20 percent since the variety had not increased and the qualities available were coarse and most were not suitable for clothing.³⁰ Of the local requirements of woven cotton and man-made fabric, the use of local textiles

23 DH Houghton, *The South African economy*, p. 16.

24 SP Viljoen, "The industrial achievement of South Africa", *The South African Journal of Economics*, 51, 1983, pp. 30, 40.

25 G Marais, "The relation between economic development and the location of the secondary industries in the Republic of South Africa", *Finance and Trade Review*, June 1963, p. 311.

26 HAF Barker, *The economics of the wholesale clothing industry of South Africa, 1907-1957* (London, Routledge & Kegan Paul), 1962, pp. 439-440.

27 HAF Barker, "The clothing industry in SA", *The South African Journal of Economics*, 29, 1961, p. 254.

28 HAF Barker, *The economics of the wholesale...*, p. 438.

29 HAF Barker, *The economics of the wholesale...*, pp. 561, 565.

30 Johannesburg Public Library (JPL), Board of Trade and Industries, "Protection of the cotton textile industry", Report no. 334, 28 July 1952, p. 14; Board of trade and industries, "Review of the local textile industry and revision of the related duty structure", Report no. 1294, September 1969, pp. 16-17; UJ, "Report of the committee of inquiry into the textile and clothing industries: The policy of protection in regards to textiles and clothing", 1981, p. 9.

had increased to 36 percent by 1958/59 and to some 47 percent by 1961.³¹

The development of ladies' fashion production, 1930–1960

Like the development of the clothing industry in New York and London, it was Eastern European Jews or their descendants who became the entrepreneurs in the clothing trades of the Witwatersrand. Access to the clothing industry was relatively simple and little start-up capital was required. Kaplan explains that the popular phrase of the time was that, 'all you needed were a few sewing machines'.³² Many of these immigrants were tailors in "the old country" and came with tailoring experience, but many "greenhorn" tailors, sensing possible prosperity, were also drawn to these trades. Waldinger argues that the reason why the clothing trades became predominantly Jewish trades in Britain and America seems to lie in their entrepreneurial nature, essential for survival when entering foreign countries. Their well-rooted cultural background encouraged characteristics such as, "discipline, hard work and risk taking" and the clothing trades also lent themselves to the establishment of small businesses.³³

Internationally, ready-made men's clothing production developed much earlier than ladies' clothing. The local production of ready-made men's clothing almost completely replaced imported garments by 1934, although the bulk of quality garments were still imported.³⁴ Large-scale production of ladies' fashion garments commenced in America and Britain before the First World War. Further stimulation came in 1926 with the development of rayon, a low-cost fabric which was regarded as 'artificial silk'. America was at the forefront of the development and the world followed suit. The more cost-effective fabric, simpler styling and improved production techniques made fashionable dresses affordable for all and contributed to the spread of mass production.³⁵

31 UJ, Syfret's Trust Co. Ltd.: South African Textiles, Clothing and Related Industries, pp. 48-49; JPL: Board of Trade and Industries: Review of the Local Textile Industry and Revision of the Related Duty Structure, Report No. 1294, September 1969, p. 18; Interview, S Jaff (CEO, Jaff & Co, Johannesburg Head Office)/H dos Santos (Researcher, UJ, Department of Fashion Design), 4 October 2006. In the 1980s, 80 percent of fabric requirements were met by the local textile industry. Presently, the situation has reversed itself, and 90 percent of Jaff and Company's fabrics are imported.

32 A Godley, *Jewish immigrant entrepreneurship...*, pp. 95-96; M Kaplan, *Jewish roots...*, pp. 227-228.

33 RD Waldinger, *Through the eye of the needle: Immigrants and enterprise in New York's garment trades* (New York, New York City Press), 1986, pp. 3-7, 51.

34 University of the Witwatersrand (UW), William Cullen Library (WCL), Dulcie Hartwell Collection (DHC): Reference DHC: AD1454: Wage Board Report: The Clothing Industry, 1 May 1956, pp. 12, 60.

35 E Ewing, *History of twentieth century fashion* (London, BT Batsford Ltd), 1986, pp. 49-51, 88, 119.

The local production of ladies' fashion was held back firstly by the low level of protection against the importation of end-of-season clothing.³⁶ Secondly, the difference between the South African and the northern hemisphere seasons created opportunities for the latter to dump garments that were not sold during their season. The importer's profit on these end-of-season leftovers and jobbing-off lots was also much higher than the profits made by local manufacturers.³⁷

The mass production of ladies' fashion started in 1929 on the Witwatersrand, with the small-scale production of coats by the factory *Jardine des Modes*.³⁸ Previously, dressmaking on the Witwatersrand was performed by several hundred females.³⁹ Annie Wolkin recalls that these women were of different nationalities and not simply poor White Afrikaner women. She was trained by another Jewish dressmaker in 1934 and she remembered that many Portuguese women also earned a living this way.⁴⁰ By 1934, mass production of ladies outerwear was still insignificant and comprised only 13 percent of the country's requirements. The local production of such clothing became significant only during the period of the Second World War and from 1934 to 1946 had increased from 13 percent to 51 percent. At that stage, Jaff and Company was the principal producer of ladies' dresses and remained so for many years.⁴¹

By the end of the war, Johannesburg had become the fashion centre of South Africa since most of the ladies' clothing producers and fashion outlets were located on the Witwatersrand.⁴² During the war the clothing outlets became dependent on the local clothing industry, much to the benefit of

36 UW/WCL, Reference, DHC, AD1454, "Wage Board Report: The Clothing Industry", 1 May 1956, pp. 12, 60.

37 National Archiving (NA), Pretoria, Raad van Handel en Nywerheid (RHN) Reference 1615 600/303: Memorandum to the Board of Trade and Industries from the Clothing Industry of the Union of South Africa: for Purposes of the Investigation of the Industry by the Board, 9 August 1945, pp. 34-38. To make matters worse, these garments were available at the beginning of the South African season and therefore had an immediate effect on newly released locally produced items. In 1945 it was estimated that these items accounted for roughly 80 percent of ladies' imported outerwear and consequently, only approximately 20 percent of imports were at monetary values that could be deemed as fair competition to the local industry.

38 M Kaplan, *Jewish roots...*, p. 252.

39 UW/WCL, 'Garment Workers' Union (GWU), Reference Bcf. 1-2: "The Garment Worker", *Quarterly Bulletin of the Garment Workers Union (Transvaal)*, December 1929, p. 2.

40 Interview, A Wolkin (Retired Patternmaker and Designer, worked for Jaff and Company for 35 years)/H dos Santos (Researcher, UJ, Department of Fashion Design), 14 June 2006.

41 NA/RHN, Reference 1615 600/303, "Memorandum to the Board of Trade and Industries from the clothing industry of the Union of South Africa: For purposes of the investigation of the industry by the board, 9 August 1945, p. 1.

42 UW/WCL, Reference, DHC, AD1454, "Wage Board Report: The Clothing Industry", 1 May 1956, p. 12.

ladies' fashion production on the Witwatersrand. Retailers came to realise that imported clothing also had its problems: as most was bought as end-of-season lots, colours, sizes and quality could not be guaranteed or returned. Local manufacturers, on the other hand, could guarantee their quality, styles and sizes. Clothing producers and the fashion chain stores, as well as the larger independent speciality shops, started to work closely together by meeting prior to a season to discuss fabric, colours and styling. The increased import duties on imported ladies clothing secured a market for the local manufacturers. In addition, most retailers and manufacturers were Jewish, and the Jewish community generally formed close business relationships and supported each other.⁴³ The rapid development of the industry resulted in the significant reduction of general clothing imports by 1955, to less than seven percent that year.⁴⁴

It was estimated that by 1956 the clothing industry was the fourth-largest manufacturing industry in South Africa after the iron and steel, metal products and building construction industries. At that stage, the clothing industry employed 45,279 workers and contributed £22,562,000 to the total production of £430,086,000 by the secondary industry.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, towards the end of the 1950s, the levelling-off of the clothing industry was already noticeable when the total number of factories declined from 598 to 563 during the period 1953/54 to 1958/1959.⁴⁶

Development of Jaff and Company

Company expansion

Sam Jaff established Jaff and Company with one assistant on July 1, 1931, at 154 Market Street (corner of Von Wielligh Street) in Johannesburg. The company expanded rapidly and six months later the factory moved a few blocks down Von Wielligh Street to new premises at 104 President Street. This was a new building which had been built by Sam Jaff's father-in-law, Nathan Katzenellenbogen, which Jaff and Company ultimately purchased.⁴⁷

⁴³ Interview, S Jaff/H dos Santos, 4 October 2006. E-mail: S Jaff/H dos Santos, 30 November 2007.

⁴⁴ NA/RHN, Reference 1615 600/303: Raad van Handel en Nywerheid, Verslag No. 303: Die Klerenwyerheid, 9 December 1947, Annexure to Report: "Klerenwyerheid: Vergelyking tussen Ingevoerde en Plaaslike vervaardigde Goedere."

⁴⁵ UW/WCL, Reference, DHC: AD1454: Wage Board Report: The Clothing Industry, 1 May 1956, pp. 10, 60.

⁴⁶ HAF Barker, "The clothing industry...", *The South African Journal of Economics*, 29, 1961, pp. 248-249.

⁴⁷ Interview, S Jaff /H dos Santos, 4 October 2006; E-mail: S Jaff/H dos Santos, 30 November 2007; *News Check*,

Initially, the entire company fitted into the top floor of the building, which comprised an area of about 15 by 30 metres, but later expanded to the whole building. The building became a familiar landmark in Johannesburg because of its unique Mediterranean pink colour.⁴⁸

The company continued to grow and, mostly due to the labour shortage in Johannesburg as well as legislation such as job reservation, started to investigate the possibility of expanding to decentralised areas.⁴⁹ In 1946 small premises were rented in Kimberley and a few machinists were employed. The cutting of the garments was still done in Johannesburg, sent to Kimberley for assembly and then back to Johannesburg for finishing.⁵⁰ The small factory was successful but an offer to purchase land to build a larger factory was rejected by the Kimberley municipality, on the grounds that Kimberley was a mining town and land was reserved for mining purposes. The company was permitted to continue to operate but the municipality was not interested in developing a clothing manufacturing industry.⁵¹



Figure 1: Jaff and Company's Johannesburg factory in the 1930s⁵²

25 August 1967.

48 Supplement to *The Buyer*, August 1981.

49 Interviews, (1 & 3), A Foster (Retired Jaff & Co Factory Manager, Umhlanga)/H dos Santos (Researcher, UJ, Department of Fashion Design), 25 October 2006. Statutory job reservation made it difficult to increase the number of non-European workers. One White worker had to be employed for every four non-White workers.

50 Interview, S Jaff/H dos Santos, 4 October 2006; Interview (1), A Foster/H dos Santos, 25 October 2006. Albert Foster, who worked for Jaff and Company from 1947, explained that the factory was in a building that belonged to the Salvation Army. During the week ten machines occupied the floor and on Sundays the machines were pushed aside for the church service.

51 Interview, S Jaff/H dos Santos, 4 October 2006.

52 Delswa Limited Website: <http://www.delswa.co.za>.

Since the company could not expand in Kimberley, Sam Jaff investigated other areas and made an application to the Kroonstad municipality to buy land to build a factory there, which was accepted. The Kroonstad factory, with a floor area of approximately 30 square meters, was opened during 1947.⁵³ However, about a year later the Kimberley municipality then agreed to sell land to the company and a new factory was built and occupation was taken up in 1950.⁵⁴



Figure 2: Jaff and Company's Kimberley factory⁵⁵

In the first few years the Kroonstad factory was not successful, mostly due to labour problems and the appointment of ineffectual management.⁵⁶ The situation started to improve in 1955 when the Johannesburg factory was closed and Albert Foster, who had become Sam Jaff's technical right-hand at the Johannesburg factory, was appointed as manager of the Kroonstad factory. The problem was a shortage of labour since White women no longer wanted to work as machinists and the only factory work they were prepared to do was supervision. Foster went ahead and trained Black machinists, ignoring the job reservation restrictions. Furthermore, production was then concentrated on

53 Interview, S Jaff/H dos Santos, 4 October 2006.

54 Interview, S Jaff/H dos Santos, 4 October 2006; *Femina*, 17 September 1970; Supplement to *Diamond field Advertiser*, 25 August 1964.

55 Delswa Limited Website: <http://www.delswa.co.za>.

56 Interview, (2), A Foster/H dos Santos, 26 October 2006. Six managers and seven supervisors were employed over three years and the company had no choice but to employ White women with no appropriate skills, just for the sake of meeting the ratio. Machinists of different races were also not permitted to work on the same bench and the work areas had to be partitioned off. Similarly, separate tea and rest room facilities had to be provided, due to the apartheid policies then in operation.

producing skirts, shorts and slacks, as opposed to the wide variety of items previously produced.⁵⁷ At that stage the offices and design, sample and cutting departments all remained in Johannesburg and after the factory was enlarged the cutting was moved to the Kroonstad factory. A few years later, a more modern factory was built opposite the original factory.⁵⁸

By 1964 the Kimberley factory had been enlarged twice and employed approximately 500 workers.⁵⁹ But the 1960s developed into a very difficult period for the factory since the company's early relocation preceded government legislation on industrial decentralisation. Decentralisation benefits were introduced during the 1960s to create employment, principally in the homelands and in decentralised poor areas. The benefits were in the form of tax incentives and cash hand-outs. Kimberley was declared a decentralised area, where factories were compensated according to the number of Coloured employees. Jaff and Company's factory manager identified the opportunity, opened his own factory and enticed the company's Coloured workers.⁶⁰ The company bounced back by employing and training Black machinists. No sooner had the company managed to recover and new Black workers been trained than the government changed its policy. Decentralisation incentives were then offered for the employment of Black workers. The whole situation repeated itself, with the opposition luring away their newly trained Black workers.⁶¹

Besides the Kroonstad and Kimberley factories, Jaff and Company ventured into Rhodesia during the 1960s. The decision to build a factory in Salisbury, Rhodesia (now Harare, Zimbabwe), was an outcome of successful exports there, as well as to other sub-Saharan countries. Stephen Jaff explained that the factory was reasonably successful but eventually ran into financial difficulties because of exchange control and other factors. The Zimbabwe Development Corporation purchased a majority share, but this was not successful and

57 Interview, (2), A Foster/H dos Santos, 26 October 2006.

58 Interviews, (1 & 2), A Foster/H dos Santos, 25, 26 October 2006.

59 *Femina*, 17 September 1970; Supplement to *Diamond field Advertiser*, 25 August 1964.

60 Interview, S Jaff/H dos Santos, 4 October 2006. Jaff and Company had spent years training these workers but there was very little that could be done about the situation; R Tomlinson, "Industrial decentralisation and the relief of poverty in the homelands", *The South African Journal of Economics*, 51, 1983, pp. 545-546: During 1955, the Tomlinson Commission's investigation made the government aware that "Industrial decentralisation is necessary in order to increase the proportion of the Black population which can be resident in the homelands". This was due to the tempo of the population growth in the homelands. Because White individuals could not invest in the homelands, industrial development was encouraged in the border areas.

61 Interview, S Jaff/H dos Santos, 4 October 2006.

resulted in the closure of the company.⁶²

By the early 1970s, the Kroonstad factory workforce had increased from 36 to 600.⁶³ At that stage the Kimberley factory employed approximately 750 workers, who produced about 2,500 Delswa dresses per day, with an average production of between 12,000 and 14,000 dresses per week.⁶⁴ Two more factories were built in Kimberley: one manufactured school uniforms for boys and girls under the company's Markstan label and the other manufactured Delton knitwear.⁶⁵ The workforce continued to increase, and in 1981 the combined workforce of the Kimberley and Kroonstad factories stood at approximately 2,300.⁶⁶

Capital growth

Stephen Jaff believed that when his father started the business he might have borrowed a little money from his father-in-law, Nathan Katzenellenbogen, and a small amount from the bank.⁶⁷ Jaff and Company's first balance sheet already showed a profit. An article that appeared in the *Sunday Star* in 1991 reported that the company initially borrowed an amount of £500. Sam Jaff took a monthly salary of £35, paid wages to 100 employees and with a turnover of £1,100 managed a profit at the end of the first year of £235.⁶⁸

In 1948, Jaff and Company was listed on the JSE through the newly registered holding company Delswa Limited. In terms of the prospectus, Delswa Limited became registered as a company with a nominal share capital of £300,000 divided into 120,000 5½ percent Cumulative Preference Shares of 20s. each and 720,000 Ordinary Shares of 5s. each. Delswa Limited acquired the entire issued share capital of Jaff and Company (Pty) Limited, as well as Textile Handicrafts Limited, Stenets (Pty) Limited and C.R.S. Manufacturing Company Limited, all of which were engaged in the manufacture and distribution of women's clothing. The directors were Messrs. S. L. Jaff (Sam), P. Jaff (Peter), A. Immink, F. L. Hornabrook (from England) and H. Phillips. The issue of the Preference and Ordinary Shares to

⁶² *Diamond Fields Advertiser*, 27 September 1956; E-mail: S Jaff/H dos Santos, 30 November 2007.

⁶³ Interviews, (1 & 2), A Foster/H dos Santos, 25, 26 October 2006.

⁶⁴ *Femina*, 17 September 1970.

⁶⁵ Interview (1), A Foster/H dos Santos, 25 October 2006.

⁶⁶ Supplement to *The Buyer*, August 1981.

⁶⁷ Interview, S Jaff/H dos Santos, 4 October 2006.

⁶⁸ *Sunday Star*, Finance, 14 July 1991.

the public was underwritten by the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa, Limited.⁶⁹ Delswa Limited grew progressively from strength to strength and qualified on a number of occasions as one of the *Sunday Times - Business Times* Top 100 Industrial and Commercial Companies listed on the JSE.⁷⁰

However, in 1962, Delswa's profits dropped drastically to R42,000 from R133,000 in the previous year, due to additional duties levied on imported fabrics and to a lesser degree by slower sales and administrative issues. But the situation was quickly reversed, and profits for 1963 were R131,000.⁷¹ By 1967, profits had increased to R370,000 – more than double the profits of 1963.⁷² In 1968, Jaff-Delswa Investments Limited (Jade) listed on the JSE, through which the Jaff family had a 50 percent controlling interest in Delswa Limited. Delswa Limited generally maintained a conservative dividend policy in order to retain profits for further expansion, yet in 1984 Delswa Limited also qualified as one of the Top 100 Dividend Growth Companies.⁷³ By 1973, profits broke through the half-million mark to R508,000.⁷⁴

In 1981, the company celebrated its 50th year in business. At that stage Delswa Limited was the holding company for four divisional companies: Jaff and Company Limited (women's fashion); Markstan (Pty) Limited (school dresses); Delton Knitwear (Pty) Limited (women's fashion) and MSG Holdings (Pty) Limited (boyswear).⁷⁵

Product range and supply market

Whilst promoting his new business in 1931, Sam Jaff produced a small quantity of CMT dresses. After three months he received his first significant order for his own tennis dresses, made in Japanese silk, after which he phased out the CMT work.⁷⁶ The use of silk fabric gave birth to the company's well-known trade mark, Delswa, inspired by the French, *de la soie* (of silk). The Delswa tennis dress was followed by Delswa golf shirts and then dresses made

69 *Cape Times*, Monday, 23 February 1948.

70 Delswa Limited Website: <http://www.delswa.co.za>.

71 *Financial Mail*, 13 August 1965.

72 *News Check*, 25 August 1967.

73 Delswa Limited Website: <http://www.delswa.co.za>.

74 *Financial Mail*, 22 March 1974.

75 E-mail: S Jaff/H dos Santos, 22 October 2008; Supplement to *The Buyer*, August 1981.

76 M Kaplan, *Jewish roots...*, pp. 253, 255. CMT refers to Cut, Make and Trim. The manufacturer is supplied with fabric and pattern and then makes the garment.

in washable fashion fabrics.⁷⁷



Figure 3: Jaff and Company's tennis dresses in the 1930s⁷⁸

For the Christmas season dresses in larger sizes ranging from 40 inch to 48 inch hip measurement were offered.⁷⁹ These larger sizes became an outstanding feature of the Delswa range, as did the half-sizes that were offered in the Poplar range.⁸⁰ By June 1934, dresses were offered in 30 different fabrics. They were promoted as being designed in-house and afforded the customer an absolutely exclusive garment range. By then the company had already had ten selling seasons.⁸¹ During 1934 the Delswa shirt blouse was created and became a fashion item all South African women desired. It was constantly updated according to fashion changes and remained an essential item in the Delswa range for many decades.⁸² By 1939, Jaff and Company's registered ladies' wear trade labels were Delswa, Poplar, Hickory, Carolina and Delton, Calypso.⁸³

Jaff and Company was the largest producer of ladies' fashion for many years and continued to produce sportswear for ladies, but dresses were by far the most popular garment during the 1950s into the 1960s, followed by skirts

⁷⁷ Jaff & Company's Private Collection (J & Co): Letter to customers, 28 July 1932.

⁷⁸ Jaff and Company's private collection.

⁷⁹ (J & Co): Letter to customers, 18 November 1932.

⁸⁰ M Kaplan, *Jewish roots...*, p. 255.

⁸¹ (J & Co): Letter to customers, 21 June 1934.

⁸² Interview, (1), A Foster/H dos Santos, 25 October 2006; Delswa Limited Website: <http://www.delswa.co.za>.

⁸³ *The Buyer*; 11 (7), July 1939.

and blouses and later slacks when they became fashionable.⁸⁴ Labels that followed were Jade, Marchesa and the leisurewear label, Crazy Horse. School uniforms were also produced under the Markstan and Schoolmaid labels and boyswear under the Youngset and Gabstan labels.⁸⁵ During the early years Jaff and Company supplied the independent shops and during the 1950s they started supplying the chain stores, which became their largest supply market. These included what were known as the “Big Seven”: Edgars, Jet, Sales House, Foschini, Truworths, Milady’s and possibly Greatermans.⁸⁶

In the 1980s, the tradition of silk fabric was still evidenced in its range of Jade silk dresses.⁸⁷ The company also produced under various franchises and for many years paid royalties to Mary Quant for the use of its label.⁸⁸ By 1956, reflecting back over the years, the company was satisfied that its aspiration of “fit, quality and value, and that simplicity that is the essence of good fashion” had been maintained. By the 1980s, its ladies’ wear was still considered to represent “simple elegance”.⁸⁹



Figure 4: Fashion in the 1980s by Delswa⁹⁰

84 Interview, S Jaff/H dos Santos, 4 October 2006; Supplement to *The Buyer*, August 1981.

85 Supplement to *The Buyer*, August 1981.

86 Interview, S Jaff/H dos Santos, 4 October 2006; E-mail: S Jaff/ H dos Santos, 30 November 2007.

87 Supplement to *The Buyer*, August 1981.

88 *News Check*, 25 August 1967.

89 Supplement to *The Buyer*, August 1981; Advert for Delswa, *SA Merchandising*, September 1956; Interview, S Jaff/H dos Santos, 4 October 2006; E-mail: S Jaff/H dos Santos, 30 November 2007.

90 Delswa Limited Website: <http://www.delswa.co.za>.

Jaff and Company as family business

Family entrepreneurs

As noted in the introduction to this article, Godley points to the idea that a nation's intrinsic nature can stimulate entrepreneurship and economic development. Sam Jaff grew up in this culture and was exposed to his father's and certainly other Jews' business ventures, which must have stimulated his entrepreneurial thinking and made him aware of the importance of the economic welfare of family, achievable through family business.

Sam Jaff's father, Herman, immigrated to South Africa from Lithuania during the 1890s. His entrepreneurship in South Africa commenced with the trading in wool and cattle. Then, after the South African War, he raised his own stock on a farm in the Harrismith district until 1926.⁹¹ Stephen Jaff, explained that in 1926 his grandfather Herman Jaff started a wholesale company in Johannesburg called Kobe Silk House. The company imported silk fabric and blouses from Hong Kong, using Herman's brother-in-law in Japan as the Eastern contact. At first, the company did well, but unfortunately during the Great Depression Kobe Silk House ran into difficulties. Sam Jaff, who at that time was at university, was forced to interrupt his studies to assist his father in trying to save the company. When Herman Jaff suddenly died, Sam was left with an insolvent company and limited clothing background.⁹² Phillip, Sam's brother, had to leave school and became employed by Elephant Trading, which was one of the prominent Jewish wholesale companies.

Once Jaff and Company was well established, Sam took the first step in the direction of making the company a family enterprise. He appointed Phillip as Sales Manager and then as Director in 1939.⁹³ Over time, managers were employed to handle the accounting and production functions.⁹⁴ Howorth et al. show that family in businesses can be extended to include outsiders.⁹⁵ In the case of Jaff and Company a member of the clothing industry community, Joe Pillemer, joined the company in 1961. Stephen Jaff explains that Joe Pillemer joined the company as the Sales Director and made a major contribution by

91 M Kaplan, *Jewish roots...*, p. 253. He fought on the Boer side and was imprisoned on the island of Ceylon.

92 Interview, S Jaff/H dos Santos, 4 October 2006; E-mail: S Jaff/ H dos Santos, 30 November 2007; *News Check*, 25 August 1967. A few years later Sam Jaff completed his Bachelor of Economics degree.

93 Interview, S Jaff/H dos Santos, 4 October 2006; *The Buyer*, 11(7), July 1939; M Kaplan, *Jewish roots...*, p. 253.

94 E-mail: S Jaff/H dos Santos, 22 October 2008.

95 C Howorth & M Rose & E Hamilton, "Definitions, diversity and development: Key debates in family business research", M Casson, B Yeung, A Basu, N Wadeson et.al, *The Oxford handbook...*, pp. 230-231.

introducing sophisticated business systems to the company. Commenting on complementary roles, Stephen Jaff believes that his father was an entrepreneur, innovator and a visionary with regard to fashion, and Pillemer was his equal in administrative tasks.⁹⁶

Succession came from within the family sphere. Sam Jaff remained the CEO until son Stephen succeeded him in 1980. Stephen Jaff had worked at the company during his school and university vacations and on completion of his MBA in America in 1965 he joined Jaff and Company.⁹⁷ His brother Nicky also completed an MBA and managed the knitwear division until he emigrated. His cousin Peter, Philip Jaff's son, also joined the company in 1973 as a Chartered Accountant. Peter Jaff became a Director in 1978 and a few years later he became the Financial Director.⁹⁸ By 1980, Jaff family members still featured prominently on all four Delswa Limited's divisional companies, which remained family-controlled by at least 60 percent.⁹⁹



Figure 5: From left to right: Stephen Jaff, Phillip Jaff, Nicky Jaff, Peter Jaff and seated Sam Jaff (Mid-1970s)¹⁰⁰

Sam Jaff the entrepreneur

Sam Jaff's entrepreneurial behaviour fits well within the framework of

⁹⁶ E-mail: S Jaff/ H dos Santos, 22 October 2008. Pillemer was co-owner of Jaxly Manufacturers before joining Jaff and Company.

⁹⁷ Supplement to *The Buyer*, August 1981; *Cape Times*, 23 February 1948.

⁹⁸ Interview, S Jaff/H dos Santos, 4 October 2006; E-mail: S Jaff/ H dos Santos, 22 October 2008.

⁹⁹ E-mail: S Jaff/H dos Santos, 22 October 2008; Supplement to *The Buyer*, August 1981.

¹⁰⁰ Jaff and Company's private collection.

Kuemmerle's definition on entrepreneurship.¹⁰¹ Jaff identified the production of ladies' dresses as an entrepreneurial 'opportunity' and then matched it with 'resources'. At that stage the resources at his disposal were silk fabric, left over from his father's insolvent company, and the abundance of available labour, who at that stage were poor White Afrikaner women. He also continued to 'match' resources and opportunities as they occurred. At first he continued to import the cheaper Japanese silks that made it possible to compete with imported garments, and when the local demand for his product increased, he travelled to Italy, France, England, America and Japan to source the latest fabrics. Subsequently, contacts were also established overseas, and these assisted him in keeping up with the latest fashion and textile trends.¹⁰²

Sam Jaff's entrepreneurial personality traits are evident in his conduct. His persistent marketing techniques motivated customers to secure their orders. He regularly sent out letters to promote his products to established and prospective clients.¹⁰³ He identified two markets neglected by importers: larger sizes as well as half-sized ladies' clothing, which presented the company with an opportunity to establish niche markets. His personality traits also manifested in his intuitive forecasting that labour problems on the Witwatersrand were on the increase.¹⁰⁴ Consequently, as Stephen Jaff explained, he investigated alternative areas in which to set up a clothing factory and discovered that the munitions factory and the mint in Kimberley had closed down, which had resulted in high female unemployment. At first he 'cautiously' rented small premises to test the potential venture. When the Kimberley municipality refused to sell land to him, Jaff believed in the potential of the business venture and pursued the possibility of starting a factory in Kroonstad. On his many train journeys via Kroonstad he had envisaged the possibility of employable females living in the latter town, who were the spouses of the very large contingent of railway workers. The decision to relocate production to Kroonstad and Kimberley made him a pioneer of decentralisation in South Africa.¹⁰⁵

101 W Kuemmerle, "Innovation in large firms", M Casson, B Yeung, A Basu, N Wadeson et.al, *The Oxford handbook...*, p. 312.

102 Interview, S Jaff/H dos Santos, 4 October 2006.

103 Jaff & Company's Private Collection (J & Co): Examples of letter to customers, 28 July 1932, 18 November 1932, 21 June 1934. The letter dated July 1932 urged customers to book: "As we are getting heavily booked up with spring orders, we would be glad, should you desire to take up any of the three lines mentioned in this letter, if you would let us have your order as soon as possible."

104 M Kaplan, *Jewish roots...*, p. 225.

105 Interview, S Jaff/H dos Santos, 4 October 2006.

Sam Jaff also had to contend with specific technical obstacles, since even by the 1940s the level of South African technical expertise in certain clothing manufacturing processes was not that advanced. Permanent pleating of fabric could only be done by shipping the cut skirts to Scotland. Buttons were also not yet locally produced or dyed. Being the entrepreneur that he was, Sam Jaff initiated the development of pleating equipment and established Buttrim to manufacture buttons as a separate business entity.¹⁰⁶

Sam Jaff the business community leader

Sam Jaff's contribution to the South African clothing industry is notable. He served in various positions in numerous organisations related to the clothing industry such as President of the National Co-ordinating Council for the Clothing Industry, Chairman of the Transvaal Clothing Manufacturers' Association, and Executive Committee Member of the Transvaal Chamber of Industries, and he was the Presidential Nominee of the Executive Committee of the Federated Chamber of Industries.¹⁰⁷

Sam Jaff became the Chairman of the Clothing Industry's Medical Aid Society, since he considered the workers to be "the power-producing factor" of the whole "industrial machine".¹⁰⁸ He was very actively involved with the Industrial Council for the Clothing Industry, and played a role in the setting up of a provident fund for the industry. His close relationship with the Garment Workers' Union served to improve his relationship with his employees. His staff's welfare was important to him and the company was one of the first to recognise Black and Coloured shop stewards. He liaised regularly with leaders such as Lucy Mvubelo, even when Black unions were not yet legitimate. His company was often investigated for employing more Black workers than prescribed under job reservation legislation.¹⁰⁹

Despite the potential of the local production of ladies' clothing to provide employment for the growing population, import protection for this sector was inadequate before 1947. During the Second World War Sam Jaff, as spokesman for the industry, convinced the government to utilise the limited shipping capacity to import fabrics and provide employment, rather than use

106 Interviews, (1 & 2), A Foster/H dos Santos, 25, 26 October 2006.

107 *Sunday Star*, Finance, 14 July 1991.

108 Booklet published by the Industrial Council: "What is the Industrial Council?" December 1952, p. 125.

109 Interview with Stephen Jaff, 4 October 2006.

it to import finished garments.¹¹⁰ In 1947 the import tariffs on dresses were increased to 25 percent.¹¹¹

From the 1930s, fashion retail was already well established on the Witwatersrand and by the end of the Second World War ladies' fashion production was also well established.¹¹² To further stimulate development, Sam Jaff founded the Transvaal Fashion Guild, a body consisting of 24 of the Witwatersrand's leading manufacturers. He also initiated the Fashion Fortnight, which started during 1947 and was held annually during March and September.¹¹³ Fashion Fortnight was an opportunity for customers, especially those from all over the country, to view the manufacturers' ranges. Prior to this, clothing was generally sold to retail shops by travellers who went out to the customers with the manufacturers' ranges to secure orders. During Fashion Fortnight, customers came for three to four days to view the ranges of all the manufacturers, rather than travelling back and forth to Johannesburg. Cape Town manufacturers also came and set up a showroom for the two-week event, usually at hotels or at their agents' offices.¹¹⁴ It was a very successful exercise until the mid-1980s when the chain stores became dominant and began specifying their own requirements. Ranges and the manufacturer's in-house labels had become much less important.¹¹⁵

Conclusion

Sam Jaff was part of a generation of remarkable family business entrepreneurs, who established the clothing industry in South Africa. His entrepreneurial capabilities very effectively embodied the continuation of the concept of 'enlightenment'. Although it is difficult to pinpoint the cognitive relationship to entrepreneurialism, Sam Jaff's insight and ability to recognise potential ventures for the family business probably crown his list of personality traits. Likewise, as regards the development of Jaff and Company in relation to the environment, it is clear that when Sam Jaff encountered and undertook

110 Supplement to *The Buyer*, August 1981.

111 UJ: Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Textile and Clothing Industries..., pp. 55, 62-66, 68; HAF Barker, *The economics of the wholesale...*, pp. 437-440.

112 UW/WCL, DHC, Reference DHC:AD1454: Wage Board Report: The Clothing Industry, 1 May 1956, p. 12.

113 *News Check*, 14 February 1964; M Kaplan, *Jewish roots...*, pp. 274, 283.

114 Interview, S Jaff/H dos Santos, 4 October 2006.

115 Interview, S Jaff/H dos Santos, 4 October 2006; M Kaplan, *Jewish roots...*, p. 275; The event lost its importance from the mid-1980 and ended towards the late 1980s.

entrepreneurship, certain elements for success were present. At that point in time, the Witwatersrand offered both a responsive political and economic climate and provided stability and opportunity through its gold mining economic standing. However, the clothing industry faced many difficulties, such as increasing import tariffs on textiles, competition from imports as well as technical and labour problems. To solve labour problems, Sam Jaff instinctively relocated his factory to decentralised areas, and currently Jaff and Company continues to operate its Kimberley factory.

This article offered a background to the establishment and rapid expansion of Jaff and Company. It highlighted the entrepreneurial qualities of the company as a family business and reflected on a period in the history of the clothing industry during the time that it developed from a few sewing machines to almost completely eliminate the importation of garments. Many of the problems presently experienced in the clothing industries are remarkably similar to those discussed in the article. The article may assist in placing current problems in the clothing industry in perspective.