

# Literacy, Libraries, and Consciousness: The Provision of Library Services for Blacks in South Africa in the Pre-Apartheid Era

*Alan G. Cobby*

During the early years of the twentieth century an increasingly politicized black elite emerged in South Africa in the context of a growing segregationist climate. A critical feature and weapon of this elite was literacy. While black intellectuals regarded unrestricted access to libraries as a necessity, missionaries, white liberals, and, ultimately, the state considered the question of reading and library provision for blacks in the light of a perceived threat of radicalism from the black elite. Efforts to develop library facilities for blacks were to receive official sanction and support only after the role of libraries had been clearly defined as part of a wider context of social control. Under apartheid the primacy of control over service in the provision of library facilities for blacks would become systemic.

## Introduction

African independence came to an end in South Africa in the face of a double onslaught of the creeping progress of white settler colonialism, which had begun in the seventeenth century, and of the rapid rise of industrial capitalism in the region, which followed the discovery of diamonds and gold in the last third of the nineteenth century. By 1910, with the formation of the Union of South Africa, the basis had been laid for a single capitalist social and economic system within a white-dominated state embracing half a million square miles and stretching from the Cape to the Limpopo. In this system cheap black labor played a critical role, and the stimulation and perpetuation of this labor supply became the major preoccupation of the state. This was the impetus behind the development of a comprehensive framework of segregationist laws in the decades after 1910.<sup>1</sup> Yet even as traditional African elites were being marginalized and undermined in the face of these new economic, social, and political realities, a new African elite was emerging which was a product of the efforts of Christian missions. This new elite—Christianized, educated, and westernized—used the skills and values they had

acquired through the missions to relaunch and redirect the African struggle. In place of armed resistance to white domination, the new African elite campaigned for civil rights within the new union as the first step toward empowering the subjugated African masses. In this context literacy proved to be an important weapon, not only because it could take the struggle beyond local, regional, and even national boundaries, but also because reading informed the ideological discourse out of which a new African nationalist movement grew.<sup>2</sup> Their campaign was taken to a new stage with the formation of the South African Natives National Congress (later renamed the African National Congress) in 1912.<sup>3</sup>

The emergence of an increasingly politicized and radicalized African elite in South Africa during the first two decades of the twentieth century was viewed with horror by many missionaries who unwittingly had helped to equip them for this new phase of struggle. They feared that black radicalism would, at best, provoke a white backlash and ever more draconian segregation measures against blacks, and, at worst, might shade over into revolution. They were joined in their fears by white liberals, who worked in common cause with them during the interwar period to avert disaster. Their efforts were focused in the urban industrial centers, where the poverty and degradation of the slums and "native locations" made the threat seem most acute. By degrees their efforts to promote healthy and safe outlets for African frustrations through the provision of social welfare programs and facilities for recreation also drew in the state, first at the local, then at the national level.<sup>4</sup>

If social welfare and recreation provision was seen by missionaries, white liberals, and the state, albeit from their different perspectives, primarily as a form of social control, the African elite saw the issue very differently. For them, such provision was fundamental to the emergence of a stable urban black community, and in the proportion to which they matched provision for whites were a measure of equality of rights and opportunities between blacks and whites. Thus recreation and social welfare provision became a critical site of struggle for the African elite, as well as for missionaries, white liberals, and the state in twentieth-century South Africa. This paper focuses on one fundamental aspect of this struggle: competing concepts of the use of literacy and the consequent debate over the provision of library facilities for blacks.

### **Literacy and Christianity**

The great surging tide of mission endeavor that engulfed South Africa from the mid-nineteenth century onward had two objectives which most missionaries regarded as interchangeable: to Christianize and to civilize

the indigenous African population.<sup>5</sup> It seemed natural, since many Protestant sects regarded the word of God as represented in the Bible as the prime instrument for the enlightenment of the heathen, that as part of the process of evangelization missionaries should establish schools—both elementary schools for rank-and-file converts and a small number of “Native Institutions” where “native agents” (ministers, teachers, evangelists) could be trained. By 1936 there were twenty-seven such native institutions in South Africa offering teacher training for Africans.<sup>6</sup> Apart from the educational elite who were graduates of native institutions (numbering a few thousand), most of the relatively small proportion of Africans who had received some education by the time of union in 1910 could do little more than recite their ABCs. The 1911 Census found that only 6.8 percent of Africans in South Africa could read and write.<sup>7</sup> This could hardly be considered a widespread dissemination of literacy. Nevertheless, many white commentators regarded the efforts of the missions in education with suspicion and even hostility. Academic education, it was believed, gave Africans an exaggerated sense of their own importance: an “educated native” was a “spoiled native.” Such commentators argued that the only education Africans needed was the inculcation of the proper humility towards superior white civilization and the acquisition of “habits of industry,” so that they might become more effective workers.<sup>8</sup> To combat such views, missionaries and educators produced reams of statistics and cited endless examples to demonstrate that a properly “educated native” was also a “good native.”<sup>9</sup>

For their part, some literate Africans were willing to concede that a partial education could do more harm to their people than none at all. As D. D. T. Jabavu, the first African to be appointed as a lecturer at the South African Native College, remarked to an audience in Kingwilliamstown,

You all know the saying that a little knowledge is a dangerous thing. Many of our people imagine that ignorance means only illiteracy and that once you have learned to read and write you are no more ignorant but “educated.” A greater mistake was never made.<sup>10</sup>

But such reservations did not mean educated Africans like Jabavu had any doubt that literacy was vital both to their own personal development and to the process of racial uplift of Africans. For such individuals literacy, economic opportunity, and political rights went hand in hand.

The link between literacy and consciousness made by both opponents and advocates of the “educated native” led to widely divergent views on

the type of education Africans should receive. While self-appointed white “native experts” such as Dudley Kidd proposed the adoption of a system of education more suited to the subordinate role of Africans in South African society, stripped largely of any intellectual content,<sup>11</sup> African intellectuals like Jabavu proposed a diametrically opposite solution—to urge careful cultivation of the reading habit among both students and graduates of mission schools. Jabavu was especially concerned by the lack of reading by African teachers:

Down in the Cape Province when I enter the house or hut of the ordinary teacher I expect to see no book except the old set of School management manuals with which the teacher passed P.T.3 (familarly called the Third Year), and perhaps a Xosa bible, and then the class books of his children and their exercise books. That is the sum total of his library . . . He is dead to all study.<sup>12</sup>

He urged teachers to set aside or build a room for private study, to enroll in correspondence courses, to club together to buy newspapers, and to “get one or two of the newest books on education”—anything to expand their knowledge and deepen their understanding. As he told an African teachers’ conference,

A progressive teacher acquires from his reading at least one new idea every day and one new idiom in the English language. With such a method of reading you will be surprised what five years’ systematic work will do for you.<sup>13</sup>

It was all very well to prescribe more reading as a route both to self-improvement and racial uplift, but as Jabavu himself recognized, Africans were seriously handicapped by the limited supply of books available to them. The miserable wages of African workers, teachers included, meant few could afford to buy books for themselves, and there were no public libraries open to Africans in South Africa before the end of the 1930s.<sup>14</sup> The lack of access to reading materials and particularly the lack of access to libraries were problems which drew regular comment in black newspapers during the 1920s and early 1930s.<sup>15</sup> These problems were compounded by the nature of the books that were available: few books were in African vernaculars, and even fewer were written by Africans themselves to present an African viewpoint. As Jabavu explained,

For example, we want a history book on the Zulu nation, written by a pure Zulu Native, from the standpoint of Zulus, and based upon information gotten from the Zulus who remember the stories

of their own people . . . Present books on the subject are from the pens of Europeans who, biased on the side of their own people in these things, too often present the Native at a disadvantage. Why should we be told so often of these “cattle-stealing savages wantonly attacking unoffending farmers?” Surely you Zulus have some explanation of your own for all this, and there must be another side to the question. These books do not provide attractive reading for our youths for they instinctively feel that the Native in the story is being unnecessarily painted in the blackest of colours.<sup>16</sup>

In missionary circles the shortfall in supplies of “suitable” reading for Africans was also debated earnestly, but with a very different interpretation of what “suitable” meant. Margaret Wrong of the International Committee on Christian Literature for Africans (an offshoot of the International Missionary Council established with funds from the Phelps Stokes Fund in 1929) wrote,

We are today faced with three stages of demand, the demand for the Bible and the books on Christian teaching, the demand for textbooks and pictures on many subjects, and the demand for general literature. These stages are interdependent, and literature in which the approach is Christian is of the first importance in all three.<sup>17</sup>

R. H. W. Shepherd, principal of the Lovedale Native Institution, picked up this theme in the South African context, advocating the extension of library and reading room facilities to Africans and the establishment of a “Bureau of Literature for the Bantu,” sponsored by missionaries and university Bantu studies departments. In October 1936 Margaret Wrong was among those present at a “Conference of Bantu authors” convened by Shepherd in the Transvaal in an attempt to encourage the production of “suitable literature.”<sup>18</sup>

In view of the ideological context in which literacy spread among Africans, the issue of the regulation of the content of books for Africans would soon become inextricably intertwined with that of the regulation of their access to books. As Tim Couzens notes,

Clearly the activity of reading and the institution of libraries was one of the important ways blacks could be acculturated into the “new civilisation” whose value was scarcely doubted. The value of “good literature” would thus be inculcated and the calm, dispassionate, sedentary nature of the activity would no doubt be salutary.<sup>19</sup>

### Access to Libraries for Blacks: Early Initiatives

The first libraries open to Africans in South Africa were located in the native institutions which had been founded by missionaries in the region from the middle of the nineteenth century. The first and greatest of these schools was the Lovedale Institution near Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape, opened in 1841.<sup>20</sup> At Lovedale endowments and gifts of books created a library collection unrivaled by any other school for Africans. The collection in turn became an important asset for the South African Native College, which opened at Fort Hare on ground adjoining Lovedale in 1915.

Although Lovedale's library was relatively large, every native institution established at the least a rudimentary library for the use of its staff and students. The Tiger Kloof Native Institution, an Anglican foundation in the Orange Free State opened in March 1904, was typical of the smaller institutions. Despite its emphasis on "industrial education" (including such crafts as masonry, carpentry, tailoring, printing, tanning, and leatherwork), the principal regarded "all-round training," including "a reasonable standard of academic attainment" as essential for the success in business of the school's graduates.<sup>21</sup> Accordingly, by the 1930s Tiger Kloof boasted a small lending library, in addition to a staff library with over three hundred volumes. An issue of *Tiger Kloof Magazine* in 1935 listed a number of popular new titles which had been added to the lending library: these included Ray Phillips, "The Bantu Are Coming," E. W. Smith, "Aggrey of Africa," G. A. Gollock, "Lives of Eminent Africans," A. M. Chirgwin, "Khama, The Great Chief," and Sol Plaatje, "Mhudi."<sup>22</sup>

In order to keep "a taste for reading" alive after graduation, a number of native institutions allowed former students to use their libraries. At Tiger Kloof the lending library was advertised regularly for the use of former students in the pages of *Tiger Kloof Magazine* (itself an important vehicle for promoting and maintaining literacy among graduates), while Lovedale sponsored "a book caravan" which toured the towns and villages of the Eastern Cape.<sup>23</sup> Both institutions also had thriving printing departments which allowed them to supplement their precious stock of books with their own publications, ranging from devotional tracts to collections of poetry in African vernaculars.<sup>24</sup>

The first official recognition of the desperate need of African teachers for access to reading materials came from the Education Department in Natal. C. T. Loram, the leading theorist on "Native education" in the country, was an officer in the department; by 1920 he was operating a pioneering *Native Teachers Journal* for African teachers in the province. Subsequently a Native Teachers' Library was opened at the department's offices in Pietermaritzburg. By 1936 the librarian, Fortescue Kunene (a

former schools inspector) had over two thousand volumes under his care.<sup>25</sup> The teachers library in Natal became a model which other provinces were urged to follow.<sup>26</sup>

The paucity of reading matter for Africans in the 1920s might have been eased if Africans had been allowed access to the network of public libraries. But in the intensifying segregationist climate of South African society in these years, such access was unlikely to be granted. For example, when the black trade union leader and businessman, A. W. G. Champion, applied for membership in the Durban Public Library in 1926, he was told that his application could not be entertained under the library regulations and municipal bylaws. When he persisted in pressing his application through his lawyers, the librarian, Franklin Rookes, responded that the library committee had been sympathetic to his case, but had resolved that the absence of library facilities for Africans in the town was not a matter for them but for the city's Native Affairs Department. Rookes added:

At the same time I must point out to you that this is the first time during my service of fourteen years that application for membership has been received from a Native, which seems to prove that a sincere desire for reading matter does not exist beyond that evinced by juvenile natives for School primers etc., which demand is amply catered for by the various Mission schools. In these circumstances you will, I think, concur with me that no demand exists which would warrant the expenditure of much money on the provision of facilities for native readers, but if and when such a demand does arise, I think you can safely rely on the Library Authorities to be alive to their responsibility.<sup>27</sup>

In a note on the letter Champion commented angrily, "Durban white gentlemen do not seem to realize that natives are entitled to changed conditions of life."<sup>28</sup> Leaving aside the questionable assertion that Africans were not interested in reading, the financial objection to providing facilities for Africans could have been overcome by the simple expedient of having blacks and whites share the same facilities. However, such a possibility was never considered by the Library Committee in view of the prevailing segregationist consensus among the white citizenry.

In his correspondence with the public library in Durban, Champion had offered to subscribe to, and assist in raising funds for, library facilities for Africans. As Champion had recognized, given the unwelcoming attitude of the public library system to black readers, it was left to committed individuals like himself to take the initiative. Another such committed individual was the American-educated medical doctor, A. B.



Xuma of Sophiatown in Johannesburg, who was a future president-general of the African National Congress (ANC).<sup>29</sup> During the early 1930s he experimented with his own library service for "Non-Europeans," operated from one of the rooms in his house on Toby Street. In 1933 he wrote to the Johannesburg Public Library asking them for any "discontinued" books they might have to supplement his limited stock. The library apparently did not respond.<sup>30</sup> These early individual efforts were supplemented in a few places by private institutions. In Johannesburg the Bantu Men's Social Centre (opened in 1924) had been operating "a small library stocked with valuable books" for its members since 1929 and perhaps even earlier, but this initiative had petered out by 1931 in the pit of the economic depression, perhaps because of the very limited selection of books available and the lack of money to expand or replace the existing stock.<sup>31</sup> Also in Johannesburg, the South African Institute of Race Relations, opened in 1929, had a library which was open to "Non-European" members of the institute. Another private initiative to bring reading materials to Africans was begun in Kimberley by a group called Bantu Social Endeavour. This group opened a library in a Kimberley location in 1933 with some two hundred volumes.<sup>32</sup>

The sporadic and localized efforts of individuals and philanthropic groups to create library facilities for blacks proved difficult to sustain. It was not until these efforts were coordinated and supported in a systematic way that a sustainable rudimentary network could begin to emerge. This critical coordination and support came with the establishment of the Carnegie Non-European Travelling Library in the Transvaal.

According to the American Board missionary and social worker Ray Phillips (himself a member of the Carnegie Library Committee), the need for the endowment of a library was first mooted as the result of an investigation by two commissioners appointed by the Carnegie Foundation (the philanthropic offshoot of the Carnegie Corporation of New York) in 1925. They regarded library provision as a necessity to promote racial uplift, foster interracial understanding, and maintain social order. A South African Library Conference, held in Bloemfontein in 1928, followed up this idea by recommending "that adequate library provision should be made for the Non-European sections of the population."<sup>33</sup> Then in 1930 the Carnegie Foundation established a fund of one thousand pounds for the creation of a library system in the Transvaal "which would bring books to Native and Coloured, as well as Indian peoples in urban and rural areas."<sup>34</sup> The fund was administered by the Carnegie Non-European Library Committee under the chairmanship of M. M. Sterling. The committee was composed of representatives from the Education Department, the Germiston Public Library (where the new library was to be based), and the Johannesburg Native Affairs Department



and five missionaries. Initially there were no black members of the committee despite the fact that its purpose was to serve the needs of the black reading public, including the selection and purchase of suitable books. Subsequent to the developments in the Transvaal, funds from the Carnegie Foundation helped to sponsor libraries in the other provinces under the auspices of the Natal Carnegie Non-European Library Service established in 1931 and the Cape Coloured Carnegie Library Service formed in 1933. A number of direct grants were also made by the Carnegie Foundation during the 1930s to fund libraries at individual institutions in all four provinces.<sup>35</sup>

The Carnegie Non-European Library in the Transvaal was modeled on the county library system in the United States. A central depot was established at Germiston from which special traveling bookcases or "boxes" were dispatched to various localities. By 1938 there were seventy-eight branches served from Germiston, including twenty-eight for Africans on the Witwatersrand. Eighteen of the latter were in locations and townships, eight were in schools, and the other two were stationed at the Bantu Men's Social Centre and the Bantu Sports Club, respectively, in the center of Johannesburg. The library had a total stock of 5,000 books and in 1934–1935 recorded 5,362 book loans.<sup>36</sup>

The Bantu Men's Social Centre was added to the Carnegie library network as a receiving center in June 1932.<sup>37</sup> The bookcase was placed in the lounge, and members were allowed access to the books on payment of a deposit of two shillings and sixpence. This deposit amounted to more than a day's wage for the average African worker in Johannesburg, and this, together with the high level of unemployment among club members which accompanied the economic depression, may have accounted in part for the fact that initially the library was "very poorly used."<sup>38</sup> However, the first "Annual General Meeting" of library members at the Centre held in 1933 identified another reason for the unenthusiastic response:

It was felt that the books sent were not sufficiently interesting and attractive. The Secretary, thereupon, with the assistance of members set to work to compile a list of books after the desire of members. This list was forwarded to the librarian who sent as many of the books as possible.<sup>29</sup>

During the following year two consignments of a hundred books each expanded the size of the library stock at the Bantu Men's Social Centre and the secretary (a former teacher named J. R. Rathebe) was able to report that the library had been "fairly well patronized," with around a hundred books being borrowed four or five times. However, this was still not a particularly heavy demand: "Reading is . . . a weak point with the

African, and we can only hope the love of reading will continue to grow."<sup>40</sup> By the end of the following year, however, Rathebe was blaming the Carnegie Travelling Library system itself, rather than the readership, for the relative unpopularity of the library at the Centre:

The Lending Library continues to function; but there is very little progress to report beyond the fact that we have added a few more readers to our lists. A circulating library to our way of thinking is unsatisfactory, because of the limited choice of books presented to our members at any one time. Many Africans would read more if a larger selection of books were available to them. In view of the fact that Africans are excluded from the privilege of using the "Public" libraries, we should like to see the establishment of a Bantu Public Library.<sup>41</sup>

Rathebe's criticism of the Carnegie Library contrasted sharply with his praise in the same report for the University of the Witwatersrand Library, which had opened up a "Non-European Reading Room" with access for blacks who were not students at the University under the charge of "an African on the University Staff." The individual in question was Benedict Wallet Vilakazi, a noted Zulu poet, who had joined the University as a language assistant in the Bantu Studies Department in 1935.<sup>42</sup> Apart from acting as librarian, Vilakazi also sponsored a "Reading Circle" for those who joined the Non-European Reading Room.

In response to the criticisms of the Carnegie Library, the library committee decided during 1936 to appoint a "Non-European Librarian-Organiser." Rathebe at the Bantu Men's Social Centre was enthusiastic, expressing the hope that the new appointee would "assist in making these make-shift libraries more effective."<sup>43</sup> The man chosen for the job out of sixty-one applicants was Herbert I. E. Dhlomo. Already a poet, playwright, and regular contributor to black newspapers at the time of his appointment in February 1937, Dhlomo was at the center of the small but burgeoning African literary scene along the Witwatersrand and thus seemed well suited to the job.<sup>44</sup> His duties for the Carnegie Library included organizing reading centers, regulating the supply of books, lecturing and advising on reading matter, and "the interesting of adults and children in self-education through reading."<sup>45</sup> To assist in his duties he was given a car which he was to pay off in installments from his salary of fifteen pounds per month.

At first Dhlomo tackled his new job with enthusiasm, establishing new centers and even producing a duplicated bulletin entitled *The Reader's*

*Companion.* From comments made during the early months of his employment, it is evident that he was convinced of the benefits the Carnegie Library could bring to its readership:

They look upon the library service as a heaven-sent opportunity to educate themselves. They seize avidly every book they can lay their hands on. They pass them on to their friends too. It is impossible to say how many people benefit from the Non-European Library for books are passed so much from hand to hand that it is impossible to keep track of them from headquarters.<sup>46</sup>

But there was a marked difference between his emphasis on racial uplift and the views of the all-white committee as expressed in their annual report for 1938, which emphasized the purpose of libraries as an instrument for socialization and social control:

At present we are all appalled at the rioting, fighting, drunkenness and other uncivilised behaviour rampant in our locations. It is true that a few municipalities have adopted the principle of encouraging Non-Europeans to use their leisure time in a healthy fashion: sports organisers are employed; halls for social gatherings, dance, concerts, etc. are to be found in nearly every Reef location; but many municipalities do not yet seem to have grasped the significance of the library as a civilising force. Encourage natives to read good books and develop the habit of reading as a spare-time occupation, and it is quite possible that fighting, drinking, rioting and immorality will cease to exist in the locations.<sup>47</sup>

There is little doubt that, notwithstanding the intentions of the white overseers of the library, the growing supply of books was an important source of radical ideas for, and had an important impact on the consciousness of, a rising generation of black intellectuals. One example was Peter Abrahams, who was one of South Africa's leading black writers in exile during the apartheid era. Some months after Dhlomo took over as "Librarian-Organiser," the young Abrahams encountered the library at the Bantu Men's Social Centre for the first time with something akin to awe: "I wanted to touch the books but held back. Perhaps it was not permitted."<sup>48</sup> However, he soon overcame his initial hesitation:

In the months that followed, I spent nearly all my spare time in the library of the Bantu Men's Social Centre. I read every one of

the books on the shelf marked: American Negro Literature. I became a nationalist, a colour nationalist through the writings of men and women who lived a world away from me. To them I owe a great debt for crystallizing my vague yearnings to write and for showing me the long dream was attainable.<sup>49</sup>

Unfortunately Dhlomo's positive beginning with the Carnegie Library soon began to turn sour as tension surfaced between him and the library committee over his expenses and over the direction and quality of his work. Finally, on 30 December 1940, a row between the committee's secretary, E. A. Borland, and Dhlomo led to the latter's "summary dismissal" (according to Dhlomo) or his "resignation" (according to Borland).<sup>50</sup> The conditions of work laid down for Dhlomo's successor were suggestive of the disputes he had had with the library committee: the job was to be downgraded to the level of "Library Assistant," the salary was reduced to twelve pounds ten shillings per month, and the car provided for the assistant's use was to be the property of the library and garaged at Germiston.<sup>51</sup> While much of the trouble had been financial, it is also apparent that the committee considered that Dhlomo had enjoyed too much independence in his sensitive post. Couzens also suggests that the dispute between them may have been related to interference by the committee in the breakup of Dhlomo's marriage and in particular to the insistence of the missionaries on the committee that he return to his wife. Such interference would have been in line with the Carnegie Library Committee's belief in its mission to promote the reading of "good books" as a means to combat immorality, as noted above. By the end of 1940, Dhlomo was no longer considered by the committee to be a fit person to fulfill this moralizing and civilizing mission.

The short-lived effectiveness of Dhlomo in his new job had been acknowledged by the Bantu Men's Social Centre in its annual report at the end of 1937:

We had many more books taken out by members this year than in previous years, making an appreciable increase in the Reading Circle. The appointment of Herbert I. E. Dhlomo as Organiser-Librarian for Africans by the Carnegie Library Committee, was hailed with great enthusiasm by Africans throughout the country. For a member of the Centre to be chosen was to us a distinct honour. . . .<sup>52</sup>

However, the report stressed that this success did not obviate the need for more comprehensive library provision for Africans in the city: "We hope the City Council, in its plans for African Welfare, will not forget

to allow Africans access to the Public Library, or will at least make other adequate provision for them."<sup>53</sup> As a writer in the *Bantu World* had noted earlier that year, there was still "a great deficiency and a pressing need for libraries" for blacks.<sup>54</sup>

### **The Winifred Holtby Memorial Library and Public Library Facilities for Blacks in the 1940s**

By the end of the 1930s it was no longer possible for municipal authorities to argue that there was no demand for library provision from black readers. Despite its inadequacies, the Carnegie Non-European Library had demonstrated conclusively that a demand for reading matter existed among Africans. More important from a municipal point of view was the broad consensus among "native experts" and officials charged with the duty of administering the rapidly growing urban black population along the Witwatersrand that orderly recreation was a powerful weapon in the struggle against violence, crime, and political radicalization. The role that reading could play in orderly recreation was emphasized by Ray Phillips from his perspective as a missionary and member of the Carnegie Non-European Library Committee. He argued,

In view of the exclusion of Non-Europeans from public libraries on the Witwatersrand, it should be regarded as a legitimate charge upon the funds of local authorities to provide library accommodation in Locations for that small but growing class of resident which would appreciate and use it.<sup>55</sup>

But he added that it was equally important to monitor what was being read and especially to combat the flood of "undesirable literature" by "placing good literature before Location dwellers" in an attempt "to inculcate standards of judgment as to what is wholesome and what is less worthy." In this regard, he argued, "the influence and example of literary-minded Europeans should be invaluable."<sup>56</sup>

Municipal involvement in library provision for Blacks began with piecemeal measures. A number of municipal authorities, including Johannesburg, made grants to the Carnegie Non-European Library during the late 1930s, which helped to keep it afloat financially. This support was supplemented by the opening of municipal "Non-European" Reading Rooms. By 1939 there were reading rooms in Eastern Native Township, Western Native Township, and Orlando, all in Johannesburg, and at the Randfontein, Springs, and Benoni locations.<sup>57</sup> R. H. W. Shepherd, principal of Lovedale, stressed the important role played by such reading rooms:



*The Winifred Holtby Memorial Library, Western Native Township, Johannesburg, on its opening in 1939. (Courtesy of the Department of Historical Papers, The William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg)*

Often the African in a city location is beset with drab surroundings, so that a brightly lit library reading-room with books and quiet is irresistibly attractive. It is all the more attractive because frequently the educated Bantu, cut off from contact with Europeans which he enjoyed during his period at College now finds that he must depend on books for his deeper understanding of European life and culture.<sup>58</sup>

However, the major breakthrough in library provision for blacks in Johannesburg came with the decision of the Johannesburg Public Library to take over the library at the Bantu Men's Social Centre. From mid-December 1939 the Bantu Men's Social Centre Library was staffed and stocked by the municipality and offered a free borrowing service to all black residents in Johannesburg. It thus became the first branch of a new Johannesburg Non-European Public Library. Within a year the new library had over a thousand members and a stock of over three thousand books and periodicals, as well as files of all the black newspapers in publication. It also had a special reference section for the use of students from the recently opened Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work (which

operated from the same building) and a well-used children's section. By the end of 1941, a survey showed that the Library had 367 active members, of whom 264 were African, 62 were so-called "Coloured," 40 Indian, and two Chinese. Women and girls accounted for only 36 of the total, including 25 African women, nine African girls, one "Coloured" woman, and one "Coloured" girl.<sup>59</sup>

The takeover of the Bantu Men's Social Centre Library by the municipal authorities in Johannesburg set an important precedent. A year later, on 8 December 1940, the first library erected specifically as a "Non-European Public Library" in the country, the Winifred Holtby Memorial Library, was opened by the city council in Western Native Township. A simple plaque on the wall of the reading room recorded that the library was dedicated to the memory of Winifred Holtby, "A friend of Africans."<sup>60</sup> Holtby, a noted novelist and political activist, had founded a philanthropic grouping called the "Friends of Africa" in England, which provided grants for African trade unions, cooperatives, and other social democratic projects in South Africa. Much of the original stock for the library was purchased from a fund raised in England in her memory by the Friends of Africa. The administration of the fund and



*The Reading Room at the Winifred Holtby Memorial Library, 1939. (Courtesy of the Department of Historical Papers, The William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg)*



the purchase of books was undertaken by a committee in Johannesburg consisting of R. F. Kennedy, the city librarian, and three close associates of the “Friends of Africa”—Margaret Ballinger (a “Natives Representative” in Parliament), her husband William Ballinger (a labor organizer), and Julius Lewin (a lawyer).<sup>61</sup>

The stock on the shelves of the Winifred Holtby Memorial Library at its opening in 1940 totaled 3,964 books, all of them new.<sup>62</sup> A preliminary list of over 1,100 titles for the library, dated August 1940, preserved in the collection of the Johannesburg Public Library, provides an invaluable insight into the thinking of the committee as it went about its task of building a suitable stock.<sup>63</sup> Sections on the list range from “Books for Reference” to “General Non-Fiction,” “Fiction,” and “Children’s Books,” but perhaps the most interesting titles are listed under the broad title of “Africa and the Africans.” This section is subdivided into books on “Africa,” “South Africa,” “Ethnography and Folklore,” “Education,” “Language and Literature,” “Missions,” “Biography,” “Miscellaneous Books Written for Africans,” and “The Negro.” The influence of the Friends of Africa is evident in the inclusion of books such as William



*The Lending Section at the Winifred Holtby Memorial Library, 1939. (Courtesy of the Department of Historical Papers, The William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg)*

MacMillan's *Bantu Boer and Briton* and *Complex South Africa*, Monica Hunter's *Reaction to Conquest*, Margery Perham's *Ten Africans*, and Buell's classic two-volume study, *The Native Problem in Africa*. Ethnography and the debate on "native policy" in South Africa is well-represented in works ranging from I. D. MacCrone's *Race Attitudes in South Africa* and works by Isaac Shapera and H. P. Junod to P. A. W. Cook's *Social Organisation and Ceremonial Institutions of the Bomvana* and R. F. A. Hoernle's *South African Native Policy in the Liberal Spirit*. Cook was later a key architect of apartheid, while Hoernle was president of the white liberal-sponsored South African Institute of Race Relations. At the same time white settler perspectives which often exhibited crudely racist attitudes to Africans, were not excluded—such works as those by F. C. Selous, Denys Rietz, and Dudley Kidd. Inevitably, there are numerous works by missionaries, ranging from uplifting biographies of African Christians by Georgina Gollock to more or less rigorous analyses of missionary endeavor. An interesting aspect of the listing is the inclusion of works by African writers; among those represented on the list are D. D. T. Jabavu, Sol Plaatje, S. M. Molema, Thomas Mofolo, A. K. Nyabongo, N. Azikiwe, Tshkedi Khama, and P. G. Mockerie.

The overall impression given by the Holtby Library book list is of a collection designed to provide a range of views, from which only the most radical were conspicuously absent. Thus the "Negro" section of the list included works by Booker T. Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois but none by Marcus Garvey, while the section on "Social Problems" included such titles as "The Story of Trade Unionism" by R. M. Raymon and "The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism" by B. Shaw, but had no place for Karl Marx.

In the first seventeen days of its operation, the Winifred Holtby Memorial Library registered 443 borrowers, of which 331 were school children. In this short period 822 book loans were recorded. William Ballinger noted,

A feature of these first weeks has been the number of adults who visit the Reading Room in the evenings. Several times there have been as many as 20–25 at one time sitting at the tables reading. The newspapers and periodicals are popular but many are engaged in serious reading. These evening readers are almost exclusively men, so that the Reading Room has the aspect of a Men's Club in the evening. Probably the popularity of the Reading Room in the evenings is due to the fact that houses in the township are crowded and are not equipped with electric lights. At the Reading Room

there is quiet and good lighting. Many adults prefer to read their books in the Reading Room rather than borrow them for home-reading.<sup>64</sup>

Despite the enthusiasm of the readership, the library committee felt that there was a need for some instruction before they could use the library. This was a legacy of the long exclusion of Africans from public libraries:

With very few exceptions, the borrowers, adults and children, are quite uninstructed in the use of libraries and of books. It is necessary before they can make intelligent use of the Library to impress on them the use, privileges and obligations of a free library, to instruct them in the general arrangements of the books on the shelves and to teach them how to care for books which are the property of the community.<sup>65</sup>

The true level of commitment of the Johannesburg Library Department to provide for "Non-European" readers was evident in its issue statistics from the end of the 1930s. In 1937–1938 the public library in Johannesburg had no "Non-European" stock in hand, but in the following year 833 books were purchased and housed at the Bantu Men's Social Centre, where they became the nucleus of a new "Non-European" library stock. At the time of the municipal takeover of the library at the Bantu Men's Social Centre, the city's total "Non-European" stock was 3,390 books. Of this total, 2,562 books were housed at the Centre, while the remaining 828 were made available to "Non-European" schools. By 1944 the stock held at the Bantu Men's Social Centre had risen to 6,521 books, while the schools' collection had risen to 1,170. In addition, the Winifred Holtby Library collection had risen from 3,964 books at its opening to 6,731. Two other libraries for "Non-Europeans" had been opened in the interim; one was at the "Non-European" Barangwanath Hospital, which opened with an all-new stock of 1,002 books in 1942–1943 (rising to 1,418 by the end of the following year), and the other was at Orlando Township, which had been equipped with an all-new stock of 2,740 books when it opened in 1943–1944. This gave a total "Non-European" stock in June 1944 of 18,580 books.<sup>66</sup> Some perspective on the figures cited above may be gained by noting that while the "Non-European" stock had risen from zero to 18,580 between 1938 and 1944, over the same time frame the "European" stock had risen from 185,084 to 336,652 books.<sup>67</sup> Thus, notwithstanding its newly acknowledged responsibility to provide facilities for blacks, the Library Department was acquiring books over the period from 1938–1939 to 1943–1944 at a rate of ten books for whites to every

one for blacks. It should be noted, in addition, that many of the books added to the "Non-European" stock in these early years were not purchased by the Library Department but were gifts from philanthropic agencies or private individuals. The low priority given to black readers and the inadequacy of the stock available to them is also evident from the statistics on books withdrawn from circulation due to damage. In 1943–1944 17,905 books had been withdrawn from the "European" stock, or one in eighteen of the total; the comparative figure for the "Non-European" stock was 1,443, or one in thirteen. The disparity reflects a comparatively heavy usage of books by readers in the Non-European libraries, especially when one considers the high proportion of new books in the "Non-European" stock.<sup>68</sup> If the state at the local level had at last recognized the need for providing library services for blacks on self-interested grounds, this certainly did not imply provision that would be on a par with that for whites.

### **Conclusion: The Impact of Apartheid**

After the election of the National Party Government in 1948, the implementation of the party's apartheid policy required a review and a rethinking of many areas of public provision for blacks. The report of the Eiselen Commission on Native Education published in 1951 was to lead to the virtual destruction of the liberal humanitarian system of education developed by mission schools in favor of the new state-sanctioned system of "Bantu Education."<sup>69</sup> As part of its deliberations, the commission also reviewed the status of library provision for "Non-Europeans" in the country. It noted that by 1951 special libraries for "Bantu teachers" were being operated not only by the Natal Education Department in Pietermaritzburg, but also by the Transvaal Education Department in Pretoria and by the Cape Education Department in Cape Town and Umtata.<sup>70</sup> The commission listed eight major school libraries which admitted outside readers, including those at Fort Hare and Lovedale in the Cape, and Mariannhill, Adams College, Inanda Seminary, Umpumulo Institute, and the Dundee Government Bantu School in Natal. In Natal all the schools listed except Mariannhill were serviced by the Durban Municipal Library Department. In all only eleven municipal authorities across the country had made provision for "Non-European" public libraries. They included Johannesburg (five branches), Brakpan, Benoni, Germiston, Springs, Vereeniging, Krugersdorp, Roodepoort, and Pretoria (two branches) in the Transvaal, Durban in Natal (serving seventeen branches), and Bloemfontein in the Orange Free State. Five out of the nine municipalities which had

“Non-European” libraries in the Transvaal were still dependent on the traveling library service for their stock. Between them, the forty-two teachers, school, and public library facilities listed by the commission across the country had a total registration of only 26,944 readers and a total stock of 130,108 books.<sup>71</sup>

Notwithstanding the fact that over three-quarters of the African population was still illiterate, it was clear that the level of library provision remained woefully inadequate for a potential readership numbered in the millions.<sup>72</sup> Under the policy of apartheid, however, more clearly than ever the priority of the state was not to increase the level of library provision for Blacks but to control and police it effectively. In order to achieve this, the regulation of access to library facilities on the grounds of race was now coordinated at a national level through the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1956. As for the content of books available to Blacks, in terms of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 what was deemed suitable reading matter in schools was strictly defined and curtailed, not only for Africans as a whole, but for each ethnic group. General texts in English were replaced by specially written texts in African vernaculars.<sup>73</sup> As an added control, the access of the general black (and white) readership to books was limited by strict censorship laws. In the sphere of library provision, the increasingly authoritarian climate was symbolized by the fate of the ten thousand-volume library collection at Lovedale. A former student reported:

At Lovedale the fine collection of books in the Cuthbert Library, one of the biggest and best school libraries in the country, was put up for sale; today the former Cuthbert Library building is a store-room for BAD [Bantu Administration and Development] Books.<sup>74</sup>

The struggle for libraries was important for Blacks not only because reading was an important route to self-awareness and self-advancement, but also because it helped to inform a new nationalist consciousness among them. Accordingly, it could be argued that in the first half of the twentieth century Blacks had achieved an important victory in the struggle for official recognition of their need for libraries. By the 1950s this matter was no longer a subject for serious debate, except among the most hard-line segregationists who always opposed any form of social and recreational provision for Blacks. But this victory had been won in large part because library provision was seen by interested Whites and by the white-dominated state as complementary to a broader strategy of social control. Under apartheid that control would be exercised in a more unambiguously ideological framework and would become more authoritarian than ever before.

## Notes

1. Bernard M. Magubane, *The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1979).

2. For example, reading gave access to the substantial literature on the black civil rights movement in the United States. The writings of key thinkers such as Booker Washington and W. E. B. Du Bois were already circulating among the African elite in South Africa by 1900. A generation later, the writings of Marcus Garvey in the Universal Negro Improvement Association newspaper, *Negro World*, had a major influence on black political debate in South Africa during the 1920s.

3. See Andre Odendaal, "*Vukani Bantu!*" *The Beginnings of Black Protest Politics in South Africa to 1912* (Cape Town and Johannesburg: David Phillip, 1984), especially the final chapter on the formation of the South African Natives National Congress.

4. Paul Rich, *White Power and the Liberal Conscience. Racial Segregation and South African Liberalism, 1921–69* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984), chapter one.

5. J. Du Plessis, *A History of Christian Missions in South Africa* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1911), 404, estimates that the number of missionaries active in South Africa rose from less than 150 in 1850 to over 2,000 by 1910. He calculated, given an estimated African population in 1910 of 7,000,000, that this worked out at one missionary for every 3,500 Africans.

6. Union of South Africa, *Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education 1935–1936* (Pretoria: UG 29, 1936), paragraphs 194–195.

7. Union of South Africa, *Union Statistics for Fifty Years 1910–1960* (Pretoria: Bureau of Census and Statistics, 1960), Table A–22.

8. Free-lance missionary and self-styled "native expert" Dudley Kidd regarded the "raw native" as "one of nature's gentlemen," who was quickly spoiled by education: "As he ascends the educated ladder all the man's natural self respect vanishes, and in its place is found an aggressive, unnatural and unpleasant self-assertion and effrontery." Dudley Kidd, *Kafir Socialism and the Dawn of Individualism, An Introduction to the Study of the Native Problem* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1908), 151–152. See also Loram's description of the "Repressionist" viewpoint in Charles T. Loram, *The Education of the South African Native* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1917), 18.

9. Loram, *The Education of the South African Native*, 41 cites the Report of the Cape Select Committee on Native Education published in 1908 to support his case for educating Africans: "The witnesses are generally agreed that education has the effect of making the Native more intelligent, more civilised, and more loyal, and of increasing his wants. It is also widely, though less generally, admitted that education makes the native more moral and more industrious. Your Committee can, however, find no evidence in support of the theory that education has a tendency to induce crime." See also James Stewart, *Lovedale, Past and Present. A Register of Two Thousand Names. A Record Written in Black and White, But More in White Than Black* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1887) xvii–xviii.

10. D. D. T. Jabavu, *The Black Problem. Papers and Addresses on Various Native Problems* (1st pub. 1920—reprint New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 159.

11. Kidd, *Kafir Socialism*, 184, 189–191.

12. Jabavu, *The Black Problem*, 75.

13. *Ibid.*, 89.

14. The first national salary scale for African teachers was approved in 1928, although it was never fully implemented. It was supposed to raise overall



standards in the profession, yet the vast majority of teachers were paid less than most mineworkers and considerably below the "minimum essential expenditure" of an African family of four, which was estimated in 1931 at £6 per month. See Alan G. Cobby, *Class and Consciousness. The Black Petty Bourgeoisie in South Africa, 1924 to 1950* (Westport and New York: Greenwood, 1990), 45–47.

15. Timothy J. Couzens, *The New African. A Study of the Life and Work of H. I. E. Dhlomo* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985), 197–198.

16. Jabavu, *The Black Problem*, 76.

17. Margaret Wrong, *Africa and the Making of Books. Being a Survey of Africa's Need of Literature* (London: International Committee on Christian Literature for Africa, 1934), 9–10.

18. Couzens, *The New African*, 102–105.

19. *Ibid.*, 105–106.

20. For an account of the school's history see R. H. W. Shepherd, *Lovedale South Africa 1824–1955* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1971).

21. "[Memorandum] Submitted by the Rev. A. J. Haile, M.A. Principal of Tiger Kloof Since 1917," in "Native Economic Commission 1930–1932, Minutes of Evidence," after 5457, copy of typescript held at the State Archives, Pretoria.

22. *Tiger Kloof Magazine* 17 (December 1935): 51.

23. Wrong, *Africa and the Making of Books*, 41–42.

24. *Tiger Kloof Magazine* included regular advertisements for its own publications and publications from Lovedale Press. One of its home-produced offerings advertised in 1937 was a book of poetry in Tswana entitled "Moretlo" by a teacher at the school, S. S. Mafonyone.

25. A visit to The Natal Teachers' Library by the president of the Orange Free State African Teachers' Association, Jacob Nhlapo, was reported in the association's journal, *The African Teacher* 1, No. 8 (December 1936): 11–12.

26. See for example, *Report of the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education*, paragraphs 610–613.

27. Franklin Rookes [Borough Librarian] to Messrs. Cowley and Cowley [Champion's lawyers], 3 December 1926, copy in the Lionel Forman Papers held at the University of Cape Town Library, ref. BC581, item A1.9.

28. Franklin Rookes to Messrs. Cowley and Cowley, 3 December 1926. Champion's handwritten note on this copy of the letter is addressed to "Mr. Lutuli."

29. For biographical information on Xuma see Richard Ralston, "American Episodes In The Making of An African Leader: A Case Study of Alfred B. Xuma (1893–1962)," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 6, No. 1 (1973): 72–93; see also Thomas Karis and Gail M. Gerhart, eds., *From Protest to Challenge. A Documentary History of African Politics In South Africa 1882–1964: Vol. 4—Political Profiles, 1882–1964* (Stanford, Calif.: Hoover Institution Press, 1977).

30. A. B. Xuma to Johannesburg Public Library, 11 February 1933, copy in the A. B. Xuma Papers, held on Microfiche at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London, ref. MF121.

31. Couzens, *The New African*, 109.

32. *Ibid.*, 197.

33. The resolution is quoted in Ray E. Phillips, *The Bantu in the City: A Study of Cultural Adjustment on the Witwatersrand* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1938), 305. According to R. H. W. Shepherd in *Lovedale South Africa*, (94), one of the last public acts of his predecessor, James Henderson, as principal before his retirement in 1930 was to attend a library conference in Bloemfontein, where he



argued the need for library facilities for educated Africans. Presumably, this was the same conference as that referred to by Phillips.

34. Phillips, *The Bantu in the City*, 305–306.

35. Ironically, the Natal Carnegie Library Committee was chaired by Franklin Rookes, the same librarian who had asserted to Champion a few years earlier “that a sincere desire for reading matter does not exist” among Africans. An exhaustive listing of “Non-European” libraries in South Africa up to 1940 is contained in a report entitled “Non-European Libraries in South Africa,” prepared by Karlton C. Johnson for the Transvaal Branch of the South African Libraries Association and dated 25 June 1941. A copy of the report is in the J. D. Rheinallt-Jones Papers, University of the Witwatersrand Library, ref. AD843, item B86.3.4–5.

36. *Ibid.*, 306. For a semi-official historical account of the Carnegie Library published by the State Library in Pretoria, see Marguerite A. Peters, *The Contribution of the Carnegie Non-European Library Service Transvaal to the Development of Library Services for Africans in South Africa. An Historical and Evaluative Study* (Pretoria: State Library, 1975).

37. Couzens, *The New African*, 110.

38. Annual Report of the Bantu Men’s Social Centre [hereafter referred to as the Annual Report], 1932, copy in the Bantu Men’s Social Centre Records, 1923–1975, University of the Witwatersrand Library, ref. A1058.

39. Annual Report, 1933.

40. Annual Report, 1934.

41. Annual Report, 1935. Undoubtedly these highly critical comments were from the pen of J. R. Rathebe, the highly articulate and independent-minded secretary of the Centre.

42. For biographical information on Vilakazi, see Mck. Malcom’s introduction to the poetry collection by B. W. Vilakazi entitled *Zulu Horizons* (Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1973).

43. Annual Report, 1936.

44. Couzens, *The New African*, 198.

45. Phillips, *The Bantu in the City*, 307.

46. Quoted by Ray Phillips in *The Bantu in the City*, 307. See also Couzens, *The New African*, 198–199.

47. Excerpt from “Carnegie Non-European Library, Transvaal. Second Report, 1938,” 5, quoted in Peters, *The Contribution of the Carnegie Non-European Library Service*, 9.

48. Peter Abrahams, *Tell Freedom* (First pub. 1951—London: Faber and Faber, 1981), 192.

49. *Ibid.*, 197.

50. Couzens, *The New African*, 206–207.

51. *Ibid.*, 207.

52. Annual Report, 1937.

53. *Ibid.*

54. Article in the *Bantu World* 9 (January, 1937), quoted in Couzens, *The New African*, 197.

55. Phillips, *The Bantu in the City*, 312–313.

56. *Ibid.*, 314.

57. *Ibid.*, 306, 310.

58. R. H. W. Shepherd, *Lovedale and Literature for the Bantu. A Brief History and a Forecast* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, 1945), 66.

59. Annual Reports, 1939, 1940, 1941.

60. Photograph of the Reading Room of the Holtby Memorial Library in the W. G. Ballinger Papers, held at the University of Witwatersrand Library, ref. A410, item c2.10.

61. "The Winifred Holtby Memorial Library" (typescript with handwritten additions by W. G. Ballinger), copy in the Ballinger Papers, item c2.10. Ballinger notes that the committee would report periodically to Arthur Creech Jones, MP, and Alderwoman Carol Johnson, respectively chairman and secretary of the "Friends of Africa" in London.

62. Johannesburg Public Library Department, "Issue Statistics January 1936—December 1945: Stock Book Analysis—Johannesburg Public Library," unpublished typescript held in the Johannesburg Public Library, Table A, Statistics of Stock.

63. Johannesburg Public Library Department, "Winifred Holtby Memorial Library, Western Native Township. Book List. August 1940," typescript.

64. *Ibid.*

65. *Ibid.*

66. Johannesburg Public Library Department, "Issue Statistics."

67. *Ibid.*

68. Johannesburg Public Library Department, "Issue Statistics," Table B, "Books Withdrawn."

69. Union of South Africa, *Report of the Commission on Native Education, 1949–1951* (Pretoria: UG 53, 1951). On the nature of Bantu Education see Freda Troup, *Forbidden Pastures—Education Under Apartheid* (London: International Defence and Aid Fund, 1976).

70. *Report of the Commission on Native Education*, paragraph 501.

71. *Ibid.*, Annexure L., "Library Facilities Available to the Bantu."

72. According to the Census of 1951, 23.8 percent of Africans ("Bantus"), or 2,034,842, were literate. However, only 8.8 percent, or 754,101, were literate in English. *Union Statistics for Fifty Years 1910–1960*, Table A–22.

73. Of course, the influence of the concepts of "Bantu Education" extended far beyond the schools. In 1965 a government committee on library services for Blacks advised that book selection for such libraries should be done in conjunction with the Department of Bantu Education, Republic of South Africa, *Report of the Interdepartmental Committee of Inquiry Into Library Services for Non-Whites. August 1965* (Pretoria: Department of Education, Arts and Science, 1965), paragraph 6.6.

74. Phyllis Ntantala, "The Abyss of Bantu Education," *Africa South* 4, No. 2 (1960): 43, also quoted by J. D. Shingler, *Education and Political Order in South Africa 1902–1967* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International, 1978), 288.