

# **The Carnegie Corporation and South Africa: Non-European Library Services**

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The grants provided by the Carnegie Corporation of New York to South Africa through the British Dominions and Colonies Fund in the 1920s and 1930s provided for Non-European Library Services to provide library services to Blacks in the four provinces. The following aspects of these library services will be addressed: the organization and the delivery of the services, book selection, and reading interests. Ideas were gathered from the library services for African Americans in the United States, and African American literature, particularly of the Harlem Renaissance, was included in the collections.

South Africa was a federation of four provinces when the Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY) became interested in the 1920s in providing grants to South Africa through the British Dominions and Colonies Fund. One of the library programs funded by grants from the Carnegie Corporation in South Africa in the 1920s and 1930s will be examined, a program to set up Non-European Library Services in the four provinces of Natal, the Transvaal, the Cape, and the Orange Free State. Black people had no access to library services provided by and for White people. The organization and delivery of these services, book selection, and reading interests will be examined. Brief information on the Carnegie Corporation of New York and its British Dominions and Colonies Fund is given, followed by some background information on South Africa and the development of its library services.

## **Carnegie Corporation Library Program**

The Carnegie Corporation of New York was established in 1911 with an endowment of \$125 million by the American philanthropist Andrew Carnegie. The aim of the corporation was "to promote the advancement and diffusion of knowledge and understanding among the people of the United States."<sup>1</sup> The trust was to continue the philanthropic work of Carnegie in the United States, the United Kingdom, and the

British dominions and colonies. A fund of \$10 million was set aside for the British dominions (Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand) and colonies, administered alongside the CCNY funds from New York.<sup>2</sup>

### **British Dominions and Colonies Fund**

The programs supported by the British Dominions and Colonies Fund in Canada, South Africa, New Zealand, and Australia during the 1920s and 1930s followed the pattern of those within the United States. Grants went to adult education, libraries, support of library associations, education for librarianship, and collections for college and university libraries. To prepare the local personnel to carry out these programs there were grants for study and travel in the United States and Europe. The aim of CCNY projects was to provide successful demonstrations and projects so that local, state (or provincial), and federal governments would continue them with the support of taxpayers. Usually some financial support or matching funds were required before CCNY grants were released.

The grants for library services for Blacks in South Africa were unique among the Carnegie Corporation grants to the four British dominions. The corporation was already providing some support for African American library services in the United States, for example, grants to African American colleges. It was one of several foundations providing funding to encourage the development of education and library services for African Americans in the South. This reflected the liberal values of the president, Frederick Keppel, and of the trustees of the corporation during the period 1923 to 1942.<sup>3</sup>

When the Carnegie Corporation decided to fund the development of library services for Blacks in South Africa, ideas were gathered from the United States about library services and publishing for African Americans. Several White South African librarians traveled to observe libraries in the United States, including services for African Americans, in the late 1920s and the 1930s, and one visit targeted such services. Also one missionary in charge of publishing activities at the Lovedale mission station traveled to observe publishing activities. The situation relating to library services for African Americans in the United States and the comments of the South African visitors have been addressed in a previous paper.<sup>4</sup> Ideas gathered from library services offered to African Americans were adopted and adapted for Blacks in South Africa.

### **South Africa**

The Union of South Africa had been established in 1910, comprising the British colonies of the Cape and Natal, and the Afrikaner republics

of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State. The population included Whites, Black Africans, Indians, and coloured people of mixed descent. The Whites were of two groups: the Afrikaners who were descended from the Dutch settlers and spoke Afrikaans, a language derived from Dutch; and the descendants of British settlers who spoke English. The term "Non-European," which included Black Africans, coloured or mixed-race people, and Indian people, was in wide use during the first half of this century by Whites and was used by the Carnegie Corporation. This term was coined by Whites to emphasize the "otherness" of the rest of the population. Various terms have been used for the original inhabitants of South Africa; the term "native" was used in early times, but the term "Bantu," which was used first in 1856 for the languages spoken by them, has been used officially in the twentieth century.<sup>5</sup> In this article the term Black Africans will be used for the original inhabitants of South Africa and the term Blacks will include coloured people and people of Indian origin, as well as the original inhabitants.

### **Libraries in South Africa**

Libraries existed in South Africa from the eighteenth century, serving the White population, in their two languages, English and Afrikaans. In the nineteenth century subscription libraries were established in the towns in the British colonies of the Cape and Natal, and to a lesser extent in the two Boer republics. It was only in the twentieth century that libraries expanded, particularly after the CCNY grants made an impact in the 1930s. It was in the 1940s that tax-supported libraries began to serve rural communities. Four separate provincial library systems evolved, funded at the provincial level. There were two libraries with national responsibilities, the South African Library in Cape Town and the State Library in Pretoria.<sup>6</sup>

### **Library Survey**

The CCNY commissioned detailed reports by library experts on the current library situation in the dominions before making grants. In South Africa two outside experts, S. A. Pitt from the Glasgow Public Library and Milton Ferguson, State Librarian of California, together carried out a survey in 1928, but published separate reports. They had disagreed over the development of library services for Blacks. Pitt and Ferguson met with a representative group of librarians and government, university, and educational officials during a conference in Bloemfontein 15-17 November 1928, after completing their survey. The attendees formulated a set of resolutions. The needs of the Whites, coloureds, and indigenous people of South Africa, Rhodesia, and Kenya colony were

considered.<sup>7</sup> The recommendations of the conference included the following:

- That a free public library system serving all communities in South Africa should be instituted;
- That school library services be developed along professionally recognized lines; and
- That particular attention should be devoted to the provision of all types of library service to population groups other than Whites, on a segregated basis.<sup>8</sup>

The conference called for a coordinated public library service throughout the country, to avoid costly duplication, with all books in the national system being available to any citizen. The free library service was to have its headquarters in the State Library of Pretoria.<sup>9</sup> Money to finance this national public library service was provided by the CCNY; from 1930 to 1932, \$143,750 was granted to the State Library, Pretoria.<sup>10</sup>

### **Library Services for Blacks**

In his report for the Carnegie Corporation Ferguson ascribed to racial attitudes the reluctance of White South Africans to consider a state-supported library system for its citizens: as the Black Africans, coloured people and Indians paid taxes, it was feared that they would be entitled to use books on the same terms as Whites if there were state-supported libraries.<sup>11</sup>

The conference held at Bloemfontein recommended that library services for Blacks be organized and financed as part of White library services through central and regional libraries and be free, but it was assumed that distribution would be through centers segregated for Blacks. In urban areas these centers would be Black schools, churches, and social centers, and in rural areas the Black schools. The collections were to be circulated as boxes of books and were to include books in the main vernacular language of the district. Field officers would be appointed to develop these library services.

It was also recommended that school library services for Black children be organized by the provincial library system, as they were for White children, but with segregated collections. Each school would have a basic reference collection supplied by the provincial education department, with the provincial government also providing funding for the services.<sup>12</sup> Ferguson commented that the plan to provide services to Blacks alarmed some White South Africans, but that Blacks should be given service of equal quality to that provided to Whites. He thought that few Black peo-

ple were capable of making use of libraries, but that nevertheless they should be available to them. Ferguson assumed Black Africans would eventually rise “toward civilization.”<sup>13</sup> He made recommendations to the corporation for some immediate grants, including those for school and adult library services for Black Africans. He added that “the library has never before had opportunity to bring its lifting power to bear in the groupings toward the light of so primitive a people.”<sup>14</sup> Ferguson also recommended a grant for the printing press at Lovedale Mission in Cape Province to print material in vernacular languages.

S. A. Pitt, Ferguson’s fellow surveyor, raised the question of adequate provision of library services to Black Africans in his address to the Bloemfontein conference: “It is no use shutting one’s eyes to it; some people have been inclined to do so.”<sup>15</sup> They also needed to receive library services; they could not be ignored.

The Black elite emerging from the mission schools, “Christianized, educated, and westernized,” saw unrestricted access to libraries as a necessity and literacy as a weapon in the struggle against segregation. Alan G. Cobby, in an article in a previous issue of this journal, argues that the provision of library services for Blacks was supported officially and by White liberals only when libraries had become part of a system of social control.<sup>16</sup>

The Carnegie grants for Black library services recommended by Ferguson were made to the provinces. How these library services were organized and delivered will be dealt with province by province.

## **Natal**

The Non-European Library in Natal was the first one to be formed and to receive a CCNY grant of \$2,500, because the provincial government was favorable and willing to provide some financial support and because Dr. C. T. Loram, the superintendent of education in Natal, was an active supporter of such services and a member of the CCNY Library Committee for South Africa. The advisory committee for the Non-European Library in Natal consisted of the Durban public librarian as chair, representatives from the Natal Education Department, Native and Indian sections, with representatives of the Durban Library Committee of the Natal Indian Teachers’ Society and the Natal Native Teachers Union, and Loram, who represented the CCNY.

The CCNY wanted most of the grant to be spent on the purchase of books, with the cost of distribution and operation to be borne by participating organizations.<sup>17</sup> Local organizations were required to make some matching contribution to CCNY grants, in order to encourage continued

funding when the CCNY grant was spent. The library service comprised a central collection of books which were distributed through local deposit stations. Circulating boxes of books were changed regularly, every three or six months. This method was used in many countries to provide book services for rural and isolated areas. The model was also used for Black African townships or locations in urban fringe areas as an interim measure until reading rooms were established by municipal governments.

There were already some libraries for Blacks in Natal including the Native Teachers' Library at Pietermaritzburg, operated on a subscription basis by the Education Department, and small libraries in some Black African missions and colleges. The only library for Indians was the M. K. Gandhi Library at Durban, set up by an Indian benefactor, which held 4,445 books and 154 periodicals in 1928.<sup>18</sup>

The Natal Provincial Administration had agreed to certain schools being distribution centers and to providing fifty book boxes, at a cost of £2 each, and £10 a month for distribution expenses. The Durban Public Library agreed to manage the scheme and arrange for the book boxes to be distributed free of charge, but 5 percent of the Carnegie funds paid for stationery and incidental expenses.

Thirty strategically located Indian and Black African schools had been selected as distribution centers. Locked book boxes (designed so that when turned on end they could act as library shelves, and containing fifty to one hundred books) would be sent to these centers. The head teacher would act as the honorary librarian and take care of the books. The books would be available for adults as well as school children. At the end of a certain period, say six months, the boxes would be sent back to headquarters for checking and maintenance and then sent on to another school. The advisory committee drew up a list of suitable books.<sup>19</sup>

A change took place in the direction of Black library services in 1931 when Loram left South Africa to join the faculty of Yale University. He wrote to Keppel that the recently established South African Library Association (SALA) should take over the responsibility for the CCNY Black library projects, and this is what happened. Loram had consulted Matthew Miller Stirling, secretary of SALA, and leading laypeople.<sup>20</sup> The Durban committee looking after the Natal scheme would now be responsible to the South African Library Association for the management of the scheme. Loram did not trust the provincial governments handling the CCNY funds. "I am not sure that it is the wisest thing to place the money in the hands of the Provinces."<sup>21</sup> Not all the provinces supported services for Black users.



*A circulating book box at a Black school. The State Library, Pretoria.*

## **Transvaal**

The offer of a grant of \$5,000 to start a Non-European library service in the province of Transvaal was not taken up until 1931. The Transvaal Education Department claimed that the Depression meant strict controls on government spending, so funds to match the CCNY grant were not available. Loram had been lobbying the director of education in the Transvaal to support the library scheme.<sup>22</sup> Rheinallt Jones, a politician and director of the South African Institute of Race Relations, lobbied the local councils in Witwatersrand to also contribute funds, and announced in a letter in September 1931 to Keppel at the CCNY that the Witwatersrand Council of Education had made a grant so that the Carnegie offer could be taken up.<sup>23</sup> The CCNY sent the money directly to the Carnegie group, with Rheinallt Jones to be responsible for its expenditure.<sup>24</sup> The Germiston Public Library acted as headquarters for the service, as other public libraries declined the job. Experience in Natal had shown the advantage of having a library as the organizing and distributing center. The Germiston public librarian, Matthew Miller Stirling, was the first organizer of the service. Stirling had been a Carnegie fellow, traveling in the United Kingdom and the United States

in 1929 to investigate rural library services. When Stirling moved to head the State Library in Pretoria and spearhead library development in South Africa with Carnegie funding, he was replaced at Germiston by E. A. Borland, who himself received a Carnegie Visitor's Grant in 1935 to visit rural libraries in the United Kingdom, the U.S., and Canada.

Germiston is a mining town near Johannesburg on the East Rand, and its public library already administered unique services to White rural users beginning in 1929. A library service operated through centers in schools and clubs, financed by the Transvaal province, and a rural school library service was financed by the Transvaal Education Department,<sup>25</sup> so was well-prepared to administer the Carnegie Non-European library, Transvaal.

In 1931, when the Carnegie service was established, it was estimated that there were 1,806,100 Black Africans in the Transvaal Province, living either in the urban Witwatersrand area near the gold mines or in the north in the Bushveld. There was 85 percent illiteracy among the Black Africans in the 1930s.<sup>26</sup> In rural areas the old communal tribal life survived, with herding of cattle and growing of crops, but by 1930 many men were leaving their families behind and working in the cities and towns. In the urban areas African families were detribalized and lived in poverty in special locations. There was crime and drunkenness.<sup>27</sup> As in the United States and the United Kingdom in the nineteenth century, the role of the library and reading in promoting healthy use of leisure time and preventing fighting and drunkenness was stressed in South Africa when urging the establishment of libraries for Black Africans.<sup>28</sup> As Cobby has noted, libraries were seen as an instrument for socialization and social control of Blacks.

The Carnegie Non-European Library, Transvaal, was controlled by a committee with representatives of the Inter-Racial Council, the Germiston Public Library, the State Library, missionary associations, and representatives of the Black African, coloured, and Indian communities.<sup>29</sup> The small collections of books circulated in book boxes were placed in local centers such as schools, Black African locations, mine compounds, and missionary institutions; these boxes changed every six months. School teachers or the superintendents of Black African locations took responsibility for the collections at local centers. Library users with particular book requests could make these through the local center to the headquarters library.

By the end of the first year of operation of the service in 1932, fifteen centers in Witwatersrand, Pretoria, and other parts of the Transvaal were opened.<sup>30</sup> By 1934 there were 3,000 volumes in the library collection, and the circulation was 4,895, with many users reading at the cen-



ters when the libraries were open. This was because Black African homes were noisy and crowded, and most had no electricity.

By 1940 the library had 81 centers throughout the province. There were 9,000 volumes with an estimated circulation of 10,288.<sup>31</sup> The collections included books in the following languages: Afrikaans and English, the Indian languages Gujerati and Tamil, and the African languages Sendiebe, Sepedi, Sesotha, Shangaan, Swazi, Thonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa, and Zulu.<sup>32</sup>

The Non-European Library Service, Transvaal, gradually achieved better library services for Africans, although these were segregated. The Johannesburg Public Library in 1940 took over support of the library of the Bantu Men's Social Centre in Johannesburg, which had received book deposits from the service, and also opened a library in the Western Native Township, called the Winifred Holtby Memorial Library, the first purpose-built Black public library.<sup>33</sup> These services for Blacks were run as branch library services.<sup>34</sup> Other towns opened reading rooms; for example, in Benoni the local council opened a large reading room furnished with tables and benches, and supplied magazines and daily papers; in a neighboring room were kept the three hundred books deposited by the Non-European Library. There was a local organizing committee which arranged literary functions.<sup>35</sup> In 1941 Germiston began its own municipal library service to Black Africans in temporary premises just outside the town, with a full-time Black African library assistant. In 1947 a branch library building opened in the township.<sup>36</sup> In 1943 Pretoria opened a library for Blacks with a part-time librarian, and another with a full-time librarian in 1944.<sup>37</sup>

The Non-European Library Service, Transvaal, also stimulated government financial support for library services for Blacks. By 1934 the Johannesburg Municipality had agreed to pay £25 per annum for each of the four centers established in the Johannesburg townships, to be followed by five other municipal councils. Then the Transvaal Provincial Council made a grant of £100. Beginning in 1942 there was a grant of £300 annually from the Union Native Affairs Department.<sup>38</sup> These grants were an acknowledgment of the responsibility of the union and of provincial and local governments to support library services for Blacks as well as Whites, even though the funding was on a much lower level for Blacks and services were segregated.

The demand from Black students for textbooks and recommended books that they either could not afford to buy or could not get access to in Whites-only libraries was such that in 1938 the Carnegie Non-European Library Service set aside £50 to buy books for the university and matriculation students. Students in the Transvaal were able to use

this personal loan service.<sup>39</sup> The State Library would not loan materials from the central lending collection to Blacks.<sup>40</sup>

The Carnegie Non-European Library, Transvaal, was unique in having the first Black African librarian-organizer in South Africa. *The Bantu World* noted that the appointment gave “welcome signs of the cultural advancement of Non-European peoples of the Union.”<sup>41</sup> The person appointed in February 1937 to be the librarian-organizer was Herbert I. E. Dhlomo (1903–1956), the first Black playwright in South Africa. He was a teacher and journalist who helped found the ANC Youth League.<sup>42</sup> He had attended the American Board Mission School in Johannesburg. In his biography of Dhlomo, Tim Couzens notes that “the blacks who attended the mission schools of the 1920s were largely subjected to an ideology of trusteeship, slow evolution, but with inevitable progress towards eventual assimilation.”<sup>43</sup> Teaching was in English, and pupils studied the classics of English literature; there was an emphasis on “high” culture.<sup>44</sup>

The librarian-organizer was to organize the reading centers and their supply of books, and was also to give lectures and provide advice on books. Dhlomo established new centers and organized lectures. He published a mimeographed bulletin, *The Readers' Companion*, with hints for people looking after the centers, news, lists of suggested books, and brief sketches about African authors. There were four issues in 1938; it then ceased. Dhlomo had to travel frequently between the thirty-five branches, so the library bought a car, which Dhlomo paid off out of his salary of £15 per month.<sup>45</sup> Dhlomo resigned at the end of 1940, due to personal and financial problems.<sup>46</sup>

### **Training of Black Librarians**

The success of the distribution centers and the reading rooms depended on the efforts of the voluntary library workers. Those of the Non-European Library, Transvaal, had been trained by visits from the librarian-organizer, visits to the headquarters library, reading pamphlets on basic library procedures, and informal advice from White librarians. Conferences lasting a day were also held for the Black volunteers who looked after the distribution centers of the library. A schedule for the third one held on 19 February 1938 at the Bantu Men's Social Centre in Johannesburg shows that it was opened by an address by Stirling, the State Librarian. Gladys Oppenheim, the librarian of the Bloemfontein Public Library, who had recently undertaken a Carnegie study visit, spoke on “Negro Libraries in America.” There were sessions to assist and inspire the volunteers in their work: Dhlomo on keeping library records, and other presentations on debating societies and the library, the library

and the school, and on literature, including one by the poet W. B. Vilakazi on Bantu literature. The participants lunched together, and it must have been a pleasant occasion for the volunteer librarians.<sup>47</sup>

## Evaluation

Keppel, the president of the CCNY, thought the Carnegie Non-European Library, Transvaal, was one of the corporation's minor successes. CCNY headquarters would have received the annual reports and perhaps a copy of E. A. Borland's article in *South African Libraries* in 1942 reporting on the first ten years of the library.<sup>48</sup> He wrote that the library was "attempting to carry out extremely difficult tasks under extremely difficult conditions because of the widespread prejudice that still exists against the intellectual development of Non-Europeans in this province."<sup>49</sup> Dhlomo wrote in 1938 in *South African Outlook*: "The task is a difficult one; it is pioneering work. The task is a great one; it is to help in the education of a whole race."<sup>50</sup>

Keppel wanted to offer the library a supplementary grant of up to \$10,000 in recognition of its success.<sup>51</sup> It was 1951 before the Non-European Library Service, Transvaal, was to receive a final grant of \$5,000 to be used over a three-year period in developing the service.<sup>52</sup>

Marguerite Peters, in her evaluation of the contribution of the Carnegie Non-European Library Service, Transvaal, to the development of library services for Blacks, writes that it showed the need for a library service for Blacks and demonstrated some practical solutions to the problems of providing such services.<sup>53</sup> Some Blacks were introduced to books and library services and helped in adult education activities. The library also demonstrated the need for library services to individual Black students, who had few library resources available to them. There was a need for library education for Blacks. The great weakness was in the volunteers at individual centers and inadequate communication and supervision. The library was criticized for spreading its work too thinly.

## Cape Province

A sum of \$5,000 from the CCNY had been set aside to purchase books for the provision of a service to the coloured schools of the Cape Province. The provincial education department would not provide any matching support for such a service, so a committee with representatives from the Joint Committee of Europeans and Coloured People itself marshaled support and received the CCNY grant to set up a service for adults and children in 1932.<sup>54</sup> In 1936 a further CCNY grant of \$1,500 was received to purchase books in Afrikaans, the language spoken by

Cape coloured readers. In 1937 the bookstock was transferred to the reading room of the Hyman Liberman Institute, which had been set up for coloured users with a donation from a former mayor of Cape Town. The circulating boxes reached fifteen to twenty schools and club centers. The maintenance money at the institute was not adequate to pay a librarian to develop the service. The institute and the Cape Libraries Extension Association approached the Cape Town city council for support, and £200 was given, and the grant later renewed. The librarian of the South African Public Library, Douglas Varley, took over supervision of the service, thus bringing the Cape Colored Carnegie Library in line with the other provincial Non-European Libraries in being administered from a library service. The institute library and the circulating box scheme were revitalized and a library opened in the new coloured residential township of Athlone, with five hundred members joining in the first month.

The Cape Provincial Administration also had been lobbied and agreed to a subsidy for work done beyond the city boundaries. The library group was proud of having thus gotten the municipal and provincial authorities to acknowledge that providing support for the Cape Coloured Library Service was their responsibility. The Provincial Library Advisory Committee appointed by the administrator of the Cape Province had planned a unified rural library service on a regional basis and was now turning to the library needs of the rural Blacks. Their most urgent needs were for a traveling librarian to give encouragement and supervision, and a good library collection to be circulated around the province.<sup>55</sup>

### **Orange Free State**

The last province to set up a Non-European library was the Orange Free State. On 5 December 1932 a formal request for a grant of \$2,500 was forwarded to the Carnegie Corporation of New York;<sup>56</sup> it had been four years since the CCNY had approved such a grant. Loram and Stirling had been lobbying provincial authorities.<sup>57</sup> The service was to be organized by a subcommittee of the Bloemfontein Public Library Committee. The Bloemfontein librarian, Gladys Oppenheim, who had an M.A. and a British library qualification, received a grant under the Carnegie Visitors' Grants scheme to visit the United States.

The Non-European Library in the Orange Free State received no further grants from the CCNY. The circulating library continued on to a number of country centers, but progress was hampered by the great distances between centers. After the Carnegie grant had been used up, funding to continue the service came from the Native Education Department and the Bloemfontein municipality.<sup>58</sup> In 1938 an attractive

reading room was established at the Bantu Social Centre on the Bloemfontein location. There were five hundred books and several South African, American, and British newspapers. The center was open until 11:00 P.M., with some provision for service to children in the afternoons.<sup>59</sup>

Oppenheim had suggestions on improving Black library services. The most important element was the librarian, but she thought it premature to set up a library school for Blacks, as there were so few jobs. There should be a trained traveling library-organizer in each province, like Dhlomo in the Transvaal. These organizers could be prepared by an apprenticeship to one of the Black branches of the Johannesburg Public Library and by taking the correspondence courses of the South African Library Association. The teachers taking charge of the book boxes or depots could have vacation library schools, and there could be some teaching of librarianship in teacher training institutions.<sup>60</sup>

In addition to improvements in the library collections themselves, Oppenheim recommended that attractive reading rooms be set up in every location, with newspapers, magazines, and a varied collection of books. The authority responsible for native education should finance libraries in Black schools and in rural areas. In urban areas the local councils should pay for library services.

### **CCNY Funding**

The Carnegie Corporation was not as strict with matching funding for its grants for Non-European library services as it was for the other library grants. The contributions from provincial and local governments for the services were a small part of the total expenses.

In addition to the original grants approved in 1928, with Stirling's advice a further sum of \$13,500 for Non-European libraries was appropriated in 1934 from the British Dominions and Colonies Fund; the amounts are listed in Table 1.<sup>61</sup> The money went to meet further requests for extension of services in South Africa: \$5,000 to found a library for Non-Europeans at Port Elizabeth for the eastern Cape Province, \$1,500 for books in Afrikaans for the Cape Coloured Library in Cape Town, \$2,500 to set up a special library of Black African and African American literature and music at the Bantu Social Centre in Durban, and \$3,000 toward the expenses of a Black librarian to be a full-time organizer for the Transvaal Non-European Library, at the suggestion of the committee which Stirling chaired.<sup>62</sup>

The total amount of \$32,000 for the Black services is in contrast to the funding for the library movement in South Africa, which went chiefly through the state library in Pretoria, an amount in the period from 1930

TABLE 1  
 CARNEGIE CORPORATION FUNDING APPROVALS  
 FOR NON-EUROPEAN LIBRARY SERVICES

Provinces	Amount
Cape Province 1928-36	\$11,500
Natal 1928-36	5,000
Orange Free State 1928	2,500
Transvaal 1928-51	13,000
Total	\$32,000

Source: Stephen H. Stackpole, *Commonwealth Program 1911-1961* (N.Y.: Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1963), p. 29.

to 1932 of \$143,750.<sup>63</sup> Some support for the Black libraries came from this funding through infrastructure development for libraries, an example of the gross inequalities of provision at federal, provincial, and local government levels in South Africa for the majority Black African, coloured, and Indian population.

### **Book Selection and Reading Interests**

The Non-European library services were not immediately successful in terms of stimulating a good response from their prospective users. In the case of the first Non-European library service for Natal, with headquarters at the Durban Public Library, an inquiry into the library service was conducted in 1932 by Mary C. Hewitt, the children's librarian who was responsible for book distribution, and Maurice Webb, the chief librarian and chair of the committee for the Non-European library service in Natal, to see how far the reading habit had been acquired by Blacks.<sup>64</sup> The Indian users lived mainly in the coastal towns, and the Zulu people lived both in towns and rural areas. Books were distributed through five Zulu schools and colleges and five Indian schools and colleges, but in December 1931 when the book boxes were returned after three months, some books had scarcely been used. Inquiries at a Black African school revealed problems in book selection. The committee visited many schools and held discussions with students and teachers, and also with leading educators and citizens. There was a readiness for reading among potential Indian users, but Black Africans with lower levels of education and wealth had not acquired the reading habit; they had no reading materials in their homes, poor teaching and poor school "readers," and no opportunity for leisure-time reading. Materials in English were difficult

to read for poorly educated Black Africans for whom English was a second language.

Recommendations included the need for trained librarians to keep in close contact with readers and maintain better liaison with the local volunteer librarians. There needed to be more careful selection of titles, with as many in the vernacular language as possible. There were detailed suggestions about suitable books for the collections. There was also a need for access by Black adults, especially those attending night schools, to the central collection of materials in Durban. Not all could get access through schools. On page 6 of the copy of the report in the CCNY files, where Hewitt claims that the library service threatened to fail in its purpose, a note by Charles Bertram, secretary of the corporation, observed: "Loram should have known enough to have anticipated just this."

Lessons learned from the experience of setting up the service in Natal were applied elsewhere. Thus at the Germiston Public Library, which organized the Carnegie Non-European Library, Transvaal, the most important lesson from the Natal experience was judged to be that only part of the book grant should be spent immediately, so that the tastes and reading capacities of Non-European readers could be judged, and suitable books added later.<sup>65</sup> In March 1935 the Carnegie Non-European Library, Transvaal, held a gathering in Johannesburg of librarians and the volunteers who looked after the centers to discuss suitable materials to include in the library collection.<sup>66</sup> Another was held in September 1936.<sup>67</sup>

Oppenheim thought it essential that libraries serving Black people provide materials in all the Black languages used in the area served, in addition to books in English and Afrikaans as appropriate. The problem was to obtain enough books printed in these languages. The main publishers she noted were the Morija Sesuto Book Depot, the Lovedale Press, and the Witwatersrand Press.<sup>68</sup> There could be improvements in book selection by exchanges of information among all librarians selecting books for Blacks. Oppenheim warned that each library must test local tastes, as books popular in one province might not be in another. Statistics should be kept of book issues, so reading interests could be studied. She reminded her readers that, while only dealing with printed materials, the other mass media of the film and radio were popular with Blacks in Africa and might be used in library work with children and illiterates.<sup>69</sup>

In the selection of materials for the Carnegie Non-European library services, ideas were borrowed from the United States. What had been popular with African Americans in the United States was assumed to be suitable for these libraries. The influence that African American writings had in the 1930s on the work of Dhlomo, Peter Abrahams, and others is

discussed in Tim Couzens's biography of Dhlomo. This influence existed not only in the area of literature; Black Americans were an "example and inspiration" for Black Africans who named their children after African American hero figures.<sup>70</sup> Dhlomo, by writing his plays about Zulu leaders, wanted to raise pride in the Black Africans' own leaders.

Several experienced commentators noted that books relating to South Africa and its people were very popular with Black African readers. An article on the Transvaal Non-European library in the paper *Bantu World* in March 1935 said that readers wanted books on travel and biography, and simply written novels. They liked books by Charles Dickens and Alexandre Dumas and were fond of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the American anti-slavery novel of 1851 by Harriet Beecher Stowe.<sup>71</sup> Similar interests were also noted in another report on the Transvaal Non-European library service. Indians and better educated Black Africans and coloured persons would read similar materials to Whites, as would children. In one branch of the library, James Henry Breasted's textbook *A History of Egypt* was the most popular book. Books and journals that were well illustrated and of general interest, such as the *National Geographic Magazine*, were in demand.<sup>72</sup>

Another commentator, Hewitt, who administered the Natal Non-European library service, said in 1933 that reading interests were an unexplored area. "There is an urgent need for more books dealing with topics essentially African, for stories of African people, of African ways of living and thinking." She argued that these should be written in simple English as well as in vernacular languages.<sup>73</sup> The books selected for the Durban depot for distribution among Blacks in Natal included the following types: books in the vernacular, school anthologies and short stories, folk and fairy tales, poetry and fiction, and works on religion, natural history, machines, biology. Lists of books were included; they were mostly British publications, with some American ones deemed appropriate, such as biographies of African Americans and Alain Locke's *The New Negro*. School anthologies and readers included ones designed for African schools published by British publishers such as Macmillan, Watts, and Edinburgh House Press, and an African publisher, Juta. Oppenheim asserted in 1940 that "It has been established by now that the most popular books are books about Negroes and Africans, legends and fairy-tales, religious works, and books of a practical nature."<sup>74</sup>

There was a different problem with book selection in the Cape Province Library. Books were needed in Afrikaans for the Cape coloured community who spoke Afrikaans. As Afrikaans books were expensive, a special grant was requested and received from the Carnegie Corporation to buy them.<sup>75</sup>



## Bantu Social Centers

The Bantu social centers in Johannesburg and Durban are interesting institutions. Both had special collections of books on African and African American topics, and both also received the book boxes from their respective Non-European libraries of the Transvaal and Natal. The Bantu Men's Social Centre in Johannesburg had been founded as a social center for educated Blacks by the American Board of Missions;<sup>76</sup> everyone spoke English there.

The club already had a small library and in June 1932 became a receiving depot for the Carnegie Library. Dhlomo organized two lectures at the Social Centre in 1938. An African American, Dr. A. W. White, spoke on American Black literature, and E. A. Borland, secretary of the Carnegie Non-European Library, Transvaal, spoke on Negro libraries in the United States.<sup>77</sup>

In his autobiography Peter Abrahams, the Black African dissident who was forced to leave South Africa,<sup>78</sup> discusses what access to library books at the center meant to him. When his father died he had to leave school to work; at fifteen he got a job at the Bantu Men's Social Centre. There he discovered the library.

Typed slips showed what each shelf held: novels, history, sociology, travel, Africana, political science, American Negro literature . . . I stopped there. American Negro literature . . . I reached up and took out a fat black book. *The Souls of Black Folk* by W. E. B. Du Bois. I turned the pages. It spoke about a people in a valley. And they were Black, and dispossessed, and denied. I skimmed through the pages, anxious to take it all in. I read:  
 "For this much all men know: despite compromise, war, struggle, the Negro is not free."  
 "The Negro is not free." . . . Du Bois's words had the impact of a revelation.<sup>79</sup>

Abrahams read all the books in the section on African American literature; he said he was encouraged to write because of them and to be a fighter for racial equality. Abrahams gained an international reputation as a writer and influenced other Black writers.<sup>80</sup>

The Durban Bantu Social Centre, a sister institution to that at Johannesburg, received a special grant from the Carnegie Corporation to purchase materials for the African and Negro Library, whose object was "to establish and maintain a library of books and music written by Africans and American Negroes as a memorial to the achievement of the

African people." The library was in a special room at the Durban Bantu Centre. We are fortunate to have details of its contents. Books on Black Africans and on race relations were in constant demand. There were titles such as Raymond L. Buell, *The Native Problem in Africa* 2 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1928); William M. Macmillan, *Bantu, Boer and Briton: the Making of the South African Native Problem* (London: Faber & Gwyer, 1929); Lucy P. Mair, *Native Policies in Africa* (London: Routledge, 1936); Howard Rogers, *Native Administration in the Union of South Africa* (Johannesburg, 1933; *Bantu Studies Supplement No. 6*); and Isaac Schapera, ed. *Western Civilisation and the Natives of South Africa* (London: Routledge, 1934).<sup>81</sup>

Many of the items in the collection were by African American writers associated with the Harlem Renaissance. The Harlem Renaissance was named after the Harlem section of upper Manhattan, where many African Americans settled in the 1920s. In the 1920s and early 1930s African American writers and artists flourished there, with their work emphasizing their African heritage.<sup>82</sup> "Typical works"<sup>83</sup> in the African and Negro Library included the following American titles: *Color*, a collection of poetry published in 1925 by Countee Cullen (1903–1946), a Black author who was a leader in the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s;<sup>84</sup> *Poetry* by Paul Laurence Dunbar (1872–1906), who came from Dayton, Ohio, and wrote on Black themes;<sup>85</sup> *Not without Laughter*, a 1930 novel of James Langston Hughes (1902–1967), another major figure in the Harlem Renaissance;<sup>86</sup> and two items by James Weldon Johnson (1871–1938) were listed: a novel, *The Autobiography of an Ex-colored Man* (1912) about a light skinned Black man who passes as a White man, and *God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse* (1927). Johnson was a Black educator, composer, civil rights campaigner, and author who was active in the Harlem Renaissance.<sup>87</sup> There was also *Up from Slavery* (1901), the autobiography of Booker T. Washington (1856–1915), whose mother was a Black slave and father a White man, and who was born into slavery on a plantation in Virginia. He taught himself to read, and eventually became head of the Tuskegee Institute in 1881.<sup>88</sup>

African books in the special collection included the following titles: *Chaka* (1925) by Thomas Mofolo (1877–1948), who came from Basutoland and was a teacher at a mission school. Mofolo wrote in the Sotho language, and *Chaka* was translated into English in 1931, and several other languages. Chaka was the founder of the Zulu nation.<sup>89</sup> Another inclusion was *Mhudi* (1930), a historical novel written in 1917–18 by Sol T. Plaatje (1876–1932), who was educated at a Lutheran mission school. The novel had as background the war between the Matabele and the Barong, and showed how Christianity could be destructive.<sup>90</sup> There was also *In Kondlo Kazulu* by B. W. Vilakazi (1905–1947), who taught at Witwatersrand University.<sup>91</sup>

The Durban Bantu Social Centre received regularly the book boxes of the Carnegie Non-European Library in Natal. The members of the Social Centre liked the following titles best: the novel of Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, and that of Jules Verne, *Dropped from the Clouds*, together with Arthur Mee's *Golden Year* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, [1922]). Titles about Africa that were popular included Georgina Anne Gollock, *Daughters of Africa* (London: Longmans, 1932); J. H. Patterson, *Man-eaters of Tsavo and other East African Adventures* (London: Macmillan, 1907); Sydney H. Skaife, *Animal Life in South Africa* (Capetown: Miller, [1920]); and Ernest E. T. Seton, *Wild Animals at Home* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1913).<sup>92</sup>

We see that alongside works of African American literature from the United States, books about African topics written by Blacks were popular, part of the groundswell of protest by Blacks. The same thing was occurring in urban areas in other cultural media, for example, in jazz and vaudeville, alongside African American music and sketches, there was the inclusion of African music and materials.<sup>93</sup> It has already been noted that Dhlomo was writing plays on African themes.

Titles included in the opening collection in 1940 for the Black branch library, the Winifred Holtby Memorial Library, of the Johannesburg Public Library reflect experience gained in book selection to meet user interests in the Carnegie-funded Non-European library services. Coblely notes that the "Africa and the Africans" section of the collection presented a range of views, with only the most radical excluded.<sup>94</sup>

## Conclusions

The Carnegie-funded Non-European library services did provide reading materials from segregated service points for Black Africans, Indians, and coloured readers, both adults and children, who did not have access to White libraries. Despite the libraries receiving inadequate funding, resulting in not enough books and poor facilities, they provided educational, informational, and recreational reading materials, and some played a cultural role for the Black population and demonstrated the need for such services. There were also the beginnings of the education and training of Black librarians, but again there were too few of them. The first Black librarian/organizer, Dhlomo, was employed by the service. The Non-European library services stimulated the development of improved library services for Blacks, such as branches of public libraries in urban areas. The provision of the library services, which needed some support from local, provincial, or the Union governments to function, forced an admission of responsibility for supplying library services to all inhabitants of South Africa. This met the aim of the CCNY projects to provide successful demonstrations so that governments at various levels

would continue to fund them. The idea of library services for Blacks was a new one in South Africa.

The Non-European library services did make the Blacks aware of the services libraries could provide. The libraries gave the few educated Black readers access to their own literature, in English or the vernacular languages, and also to material written by African Americans. We know what a liberating experience this was for Peter Abrahams, and perhaps for many others. The Carnegie Corporation gave a special grant to set up the collection of books and music written by and about Black Africans and African Americans at the Durban Bantu Social Centre. This followed American precedents; the CCNY made a grant in 1926 to the New York Public Library to buy the Schomburg collection. Knowledge of what reading materials interested Black readers grew by trial and error.

One area I have not been able to investigate concerns the goals of the people working to establish the Non-European library services. On one hand it was "social control," that is, providing for productive use of leisure time, assisting students studying for examinations; on the other hand it was providing books on traditional Black resistance heroes and books by African Americans with ideas on the oppression of Black people. Alan Cogley thinks that the development of library facilities for Blacks received support from Whites only after the role of libraries had been clearly defined as part of a wider context of social control.

The establishment and operation of the Non-European library services in the four provinces in the 1930s was achieved by the efforts of librarians and interested laypeople in South Africa who supported these services and thought Black Africans, coloureds, and Indians should have access to library materials. The delivery of the services depended on the Black African volunteers who received the book boxes and circulated the books, or supervised the reading rooms in the locations. These services were set up and delivered in the face of indifference or active opposition on the part of some governments and White citizens. The grants from the Carnegie Corporation were an essential catalyst.

White librarians of British origin such as M. M. Stirling and his successor E. A. Borland at Germiston Public Library for the Transvaal, Gladys Oppenheim at Bloemfontein for the Orange Free State, and Douglas Varley at Cape Town gave their support, as did laypeople such as C. T. Loram in Natal and Senator J. D. Rheinallt Jones in the Transvaal. Librarians and laypeople also worked through the South African Library Association. The members of library committees and public librarians who established public library services for Blacks, which had to be segregated in the apartheid climate of South Africa in the 1930s, also played their parts.

Segregated library services continued until 1990, when the Separate Amenities Act was repealed, opening services such as public libraries to all races, although many libraries were already open to all races. The model of library services which has developed in South Africa is not considered adequate for the new multiracial South Africa. A new model for public library services is needed for the new South Africa.

## Notes

This research was carried out with the assistance of a small grant from the Centre for Information Studies of Charles Sturt University-Riverina during a period of study leave from the University.

1. Florence Anderson, "Carnegie Corporation of New York," *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science*, vol. 4 (New York: Dekker, 1970).

2. Information on the grants from the fund is provided in Maxine K. Rochester, "American Philanthropy Abroad: Library Program Support from the Carnegie Corporation of New York British Dominions and Colonies Fund in the 1920s and 1930s," *Libraries and Culture* 31, 2 (Spring 1996): 342–63.

3. Ellen Condliffe Lagemann, *The Politics of Knowledge: the Carnegie Corporation, Philanthropy, and Public Policy* (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1989), 7.

4. Rochester, "American Philanthropy Abroad."

5. Marguerite Andree Peters, *The Contribution of the (Carnegie) Non-European Library Service, Transvaal, to the Development of Library Services for Africans in South Africa* (Pretoria: The State Library, Die Staatsbiblioteek, 1975), 3–4. Marguerite Peters had worked for the Non-European Library Service, Transvaal, and this study was her master's dissertation, Department of Librarianship, University of Cape Town.

6. Jean G. Kesting, "South Africa, Libraries in Republic of," *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science*, Vol. 28 (New York: Dekker, 1980), 166–80.

7. *Die Carnegie—Biblioteeksending van 1928*, deur P. C. Coetzee (Pretoria: State Library/Die Staatsbiblioteek, 1975).

8. Milton J. Ferguson, *Memorandum: Libraries in the Union of South Africa, Rhodesia and Kenya Colony* (New York: Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1929), part 2, 56.

9. *Die Carnegie—Biblioteeksending van 1928*, 132.

10. Stephen H. Stackpole, *Commonwealth Program 1911–1961* (New York: Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1963).

11. Ferguson, *Memorandum: Libraries in the Union of South Africa*, 10.

12. *Ibid.*, 18–9.

13. *Ibid.*, 24.

14. *Ibid.*, 27.

15. *Die Carnegie—Biblioteeksending van 1928*, deur P. C. Coetzee, 130.

16. Alan G. Cobley, "Literacy, Libraries and Consciousness: The Provision of Library Services for Blacks in South Africa in the Pre-Apartheid Era," *Libraries & Culture* 32 (Winter 1997): 58.

17. Aide memoire, 30 October 1931, for Keppel, note of letter 26 February 1929, RML [Lester] to CTL [Loram], CCNY Archives, file Non-European

Library Service (Africa). Distribution centers were originally to be the Bantu Social Centre, Johannesburg and YMCA in Bloemfontein.

18. Franklin H. Rooke, "Non-European Libraries in Natal," *South African Libraries* 17 (October 1949): 83-4.

19. Memorandum headed Non-European Library Scheme in Durban and District, attached to letter from C. T. Loram to provincial directors of Education of the Transvaal, Orange Free State, Cape Province, 3 March 1930, CCNY Archives, file Non-European Library Service (Africa).

20. C. T. Loram to F. P. Keppel, 22 July 1931, CCNY Archives, file Non-European Library Service. Matthew Miller Stirling (1889-1965) came to South Africa from Scotland in 1906; he was librarian at Germiston Public Library before moving in 1931 to become librarian of the state library in Pretoria. He was the first secretary of the South African Library Association from 1930 to 1942 and later its president.

21. C. T. Loram to M. M. Stirling, 22 July 1931, copy CCNY Archives, file Non-European Library Service.

22. C. T. Loram to Director of Education, Transvaal, 3 March 1930, CCNY Archives, file Non-European Library Service.

23. J. D. Rheinallt Jones to F. P. Keppel, 28 September 1931, CCNY Archives, file Non-European Library Service.

24. F. P. Keppel to Patrick Duncan, 9 November 1931, CCNY Archives, file Non-European Library Service, Patrick Duncan.

25. W. M. Thomas, *A History of the Germiston Public Library and Its Influence on Library Development in South Africa* (Pretoria: Universiteit van Suid-Africa, University of South Africa, 1979), 1 (*Mousaion* II.6). When the author was in the Transvaal in July/August 1993, trains had stopped running to Germiston because of violence to passengers, so the book by Thomas, part of his master's thesis at the University of South Africa in 1978, was used for information on the role of the Germiston Public Library.

26. Peters, *The Contribution of the (Carnegie) Non-European Library Service*, 20.

27. *Ibid.*, 7-9.

28. Carnegie Non-European Library, Transvaal, Second Report 1938 (Germiston: The Library), cited in Peters, *The Contribution of the (Carnegie) Non-European Library Service*, 9.

29. Peters, *The Contribution of the (Carnegie) Non-European Library Service*, 45-6.

30. South African Library Conference Executive Committee Report 1932, 5, University of South Africa Archives, Documentation Centre for African Studies, File Carnegie Library Development Fund.

31. Peters, *The Contribution of the (Carnegie) Non-European Library Service*, 65.

32. Fifth Report of the Carnegie Non-European Library 1941, cited in Peters, *The Contribution of the (Carnegie) Non-European Library Service*, 48-9.

33. Cobley, "Literacy, Libraries and Consciousness," 71-2.

34. Report of the Carnegie Non-European Library, Transvaal, 1940, cited in Peters, *The Contribution of the (Carnegie) Non-European Library Service*, 68.

35. Peters, *The Contribution of the (Carnegie) Non-European Library Service*, 68-9.

36. Thomas, *A History of the Germiston Public Library*, 45-7.

37. Peters, *The Contribution of the (Carnegie) Non-European Library Service*, 70.

38. *Ibid.*, 49, 66.

39. *Ibid.*, 104-5. In 1942 it was extended to the whole of South Africa, with cost of railage and postage being paid one way by the library and the student paying for return of the books.

40. Ibid., 99.
41. *Bantu World*, 20 February 1937, cited by Tim Couzens, *The New African: a Study of the Life and Work of H. I. E. Dhlomo* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1985), 107.
42. Couzens, *The New African*.
43. Ibid., 50.
44. Ibid., 51–2.
45. Minutes of Carnegie Non-European Library, 29 April 1937, cited by Couzens, *The New African*, 198.
46. Couzens, *The New African*, 206–7.
47. Third Conference of Non-European Librarians. Letter E. A. Borland with schedule, 28 January 1938. University of South Africa Archives, Documentation Centre for African Studies, File Non-European Libraries Committee 1938–1973.
48. E. A. Borland, “Ten Years of the Carnegie Non-European Library, Transvaal: 1931–1941,” *South African Libraries* 10 (July 1942): 1–6.
49. Ibid., 1.
50. H. I. E. Dhlomo, “Carnegie Non-European Library, Transvaal,” *South African Outlook* 68 (1 October 1938): 231, cited in Peters, *The Contribution of the (Carnegie) Non-European Library Service*, 77.
51. Record of Interview, C. D. and F. P. K., New York, 3 September 1942, CCNY Archives, file Non-European Library Service (Africa).
52. S. H. Shepherd to H. Barker, Honorary Secretary, 1 November 1951. CCNY Archives, file Non-European Library Service. In 1951 the CCNY made a final grant of \$5,000 to the library, which was used to publish two handbooks on library methods and to help Black students to study for librarianship qualifications.
53. Peters, *The Contribution of the (Carnegie) Non-European Library Service, Transvaal*, chapter 8.
54. J. D. Rheinallt Jones, to Secretary CCNY, 13 July 1932, CCNY Archives, file Non-European Library Service.
55. Douglas Varley to Secretary, CCNY, 17 May 1943. CCNY Archives, file Non-European Library Service.
56. W. H. Lageman, chairman, Bloemfontein Public Library Committee, to F. P. Keppel, 5 December 1932, Carnegie Corporation of New York, file Non-European Library Service.
57. M. M. Stirling to F. B. Keppel, 21 November 1932, Carnegie Corporation of New York, file Non-European Library Service.
58. Marguerite Andree Peters, “Historical Review of Library Services For the Non-White Peoples of the Republic of South Africa,” in *Give the People Light: Essays in Honour of Matthew Miller Stirling* (Pretoria: The State Library/Die Staatsbiblioteek, 1972), 63.
59. Gladys Oppenheim, *Books for the Bantu: a Study of Library Service for the African, Based on the Negro Library Service of the United State of America, with a Chapter on Bibliotherapy* (Pretoria: Carnegie Corporation Visitors’ Grants Committee, 1940), 12–3.
60. Ibid., 42–3.
61. M. M. Stirling to F. P. Keppel, 24 December 1935, CCNY Archives, file Non-European Library Service.
62. F. P. Keppel to Hon. Patrick Duncan, 21 April 1936, copy in CCNY Archives, file Non-European Library Service (Africa).
63. Stackpole, *Carnegie Corporation, Commonwealth Program 1911–1961*, Grants under Commonwealth Program, 1911–1961, 29.

64. Mary C. Hewitt and Maurice Webb, *Non-European Library Service. Report of an Enquiry into the Present Working of the Library Service and its Future Possibilities* (1933?). Mimeographed. CCNY Archives, file Non-European Library Service.

65. Borland, "Ten Years of the Carnegie Non-European Library, Transvaal," 2. The problems of book selection seem to have also occurred in the United States, as George T. Settle, librarian of the Louisville Free Public Library, noted in the introduction to the eleven-page pamphlet, Louisville Free Public Library, *Some Books and Pamphlets, Music, Magazines and Newspapers by Negro Writers, Composers and Editors, in the Colored Department of the Louisville Free Public Library* (Louisville, KY, 1921), that the pamphlet had been published in response to "repeated requests for lists of books in the Colored branches of interest to colored readers."

66. Peters, *The Contribution of the (Carnegie) Non-European Library Service*, 48.

67. *Ibid.*, 55.

68. Oppenheim, *Books for the Bantu*, 4–5.

69. *Ibid.*, 43–5.

70. Couzens, *The New African*, 121–3, footnotes 82, 85.

71. "Carnegie Library Does Good Work," *Bantu World*, 9 March 1935, cited in Couzens, 234–5, footnote 6.

72. R. H. W. Shepherd, *Literature for the South African Bantu: a Comparative Study of Negro Achievement* (Pretoria: Carnegie Corporation Visitors' Grants Committee, 1936), 74–5.

73. Mary C. Hewitt, Appendix 3, The Reading Interests of the Bantu in Natal, and Appendix 4, Book Lists, in Hewitt and Webb, *Non-European Library Service*.

74. Oppenheim, *Books for the Bantu*, 43.

75. E. A. McGregor, secretary, Cape Coloured Carnegie Library Committee to Chairman, Carnegie Foundation, 29 July 1935, CCNY Archives, file Non-European Library Services.

76. Ray E. Phillips, *The Bantu in the City* (Lovedale: Lovedale Press, [1938]), 302–3.

77. *Bantu World*, 6 August 1938 and 27 August 1938, cited in Couzens, *The New African*, 122, footnote 93.

78. Peter Abrahams, *Tell Freedom: Memories of Africa* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1954).

79. *Ibid.*, 224–6, 230. Du Bois's book was also included in the list from the Louisville Public Library; see note 65.

80. *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, Vol. 117, *Twentieth Century Caribbean and Black African Writers*, First series, s.v. "Peter Abrahams," by Michael Wade.

81. Maurice Webb, "Library Facilities for Non-Europeans in Durban and District," *South African Libraries* 5 (October 1937): 56. Please note that only authors' surnames and titles are given in the article; publishing details given here were obtained by checking the British Museum, *General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1955*, Compact ed. (New York: Readex Microprint Corp., 1967); Library of Congress, *National Union Catalog of Printed Cards* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 1967); and catalogs of South African libraries accessed via the Internet. Thus the publishing details may not be exact for the copies held in the library collections of the Natal Non-European Library.

82. *Cambridge Handbook of American Literature*, ed. Jack Salzman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 105.

83. Webb, "Library Facilities for Non-Europeans," 56.

84. *Oxford Companion to American Literature*, 5th ed., s.v. "Cullen, Countee."

85. *Ibid.*, s.v. "Dunbar, Paul Laurence."



86. Ibid., s.v. "Hughes, [James] Langston."
87. Ibid., s.v. "Johnson, James Weldon."
88. Ibid., s.v. "Washington, Booker T[aliaferro]."
89. Martin Seymour-Smith, *The Macmillan Guide to Modern World Literature*, 3d ed. (London: Macmillan Press, 1985), 1169–70.
90. Ibid., 1170–1.
91. Ibid., 1171.
92. Webb, "Library Facilities," 56.
93. Christopher Ballantine, "Music and Emancipation: The Social Role of Black Jazz and Vaudeville in South Africa Between the 1920s and the Early 1940s," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 17 (March 1991): 129–52.
94. Cobby, "Literacy, Libraries and Consciousness," 73.