Cape Town City Libraries: 1952-1972

by

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Abstract

Cape Town City Libraries: 1952-1972

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The purpose of the study is to investigate the history and development of the Cape Town City Libraries (CTCL) from 1952-1972 and examine the effect of apartheid legislation on establishing a public library system. The study looks at one library service, how it was established, how it adapted to the political and social forces of the time and the services it delivered.

Data was sourced from the surviving CTCL archives, interviewing people who worked for CTCL and researching relevant material in the National Library and Archives.

Public libraries have aims and functions which are underpinned by a philosophy of free and equal access to all and access to knowledge and books. IFLA defines a public library as an organization that:

> provides access to knowledge, information and works of imagination through a range of resources and services and is equally available to all members of the community regardless of race, nationality, age, gender, religion, language… (Koontz & Gubbins, 2010).

Legislation introduced by the National Party enforced segregation and controlled access to knowledge and books which brought CTCL into conflict with library philosophy. This legislation determined who the CTCL could serve, where they could serve them and what they could serve them.

The findings show that CTCL extended the library service to more people and increased the number of facilities, membership and circulation but in a segregated manner. Censorship legislation affected library stock but also induced self-censorship amongst librarians further restricting what was available to patrons. Staff were treated differently because of their racial group.

One of the recommendations is that COCTLIS develop a policy for preserving library history.

The study concludes that CTCL was not able to meet the library philosophy of free access to all

May 2014

Declaration

I declare that *Cape Town City Libraries: 1952-1972* is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Kathleen Mary Laishley   May 2014

Signed: ……………………………………………

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List of abbreviations

CCCC	Cape Coloured Carnegie Committee
CLEA	Cape Libraries Extension Association
CLS	City Library Service
COCTLIS	City of Cape Town Library and Information Service
CPLS	Cape Provincial Library Service
CTCL	Cape Town City Libraries
IFLA	International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions
LIS	Library and Information Services
NLSA	National Library of South Africa
SAPL	South African Public Library
UNESCO	United Nations Education Scientific and Cultural Organization
WCARS	Western Cape Archives and Records Service

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Chapter One

Background and motivation

1.1 Introduction

Cape Town City Libraries (CTCL) was established in 1952, a turbulent period in South African history. The National Party had won the election in 1948 and immediately started legislating segregation. The new laws affected all aspects of life in South Africa including library provision and use.

Public libraries have aims and functions which speak of free and equal access for all and a mission to inform, educate, improve culture and make the public better people. The question is whether CTCL was able to implement these ideals in the context of South Africa which was implementing apartheid legislation? How did a public library service that came into existence at the same time as apartheid deal with the contradictions of public library philosophy of free access and equality and the apartheid system of group areas and separate amenities?

1.2 Terminology

The terminology used to describe people's "race" is a sensitive topic. The terms changed over the years and were used differently. Sometimes black would mean anybody not white another time it could refer to black people of African descent. For the purposes of this investigation I will use the term black for black Africans, coloured for people of mixed descent and white for people of European descent.

The name of the free library service in Cape Town changed over time. From 1952-1954, City Library Service (CLS) was used. From 1955-1957 City of Cape Town Libraries was used and from 1958 Cape Town City Libraries (CTCL) was used. In this study I will use CTCL for all periods.

1.3 Motivation

My interest in this topic was triggered by the digitization of the archives of Central Library. Many people who work in libraries today do not know the history of libraries in general or the library where they work. The history of CTCL informs policies and procedures of today. Knowing the organisational history and culture of the service gives a background and

perspective to what is happening in libraries today. It can engender a sense of pride and ownership amongst staff.

Three reasons have been given why library history should be studied:

- lessons to be learnt
- a sense of community with the profession
- Inspirational value (Jackson, 1981).

Library history writing is important as we learn from what happened in the past and apply that knowledge to libraries of today, for example, in the 1960s books were banned and burned in South Africa and today people are protesting about the Protection of State Information Bill.

1.4 Philosophy of public libraries

Public libraries have aims and functions which are underpinned by a philosophy. The literature speaks of free access for all, and the desire to inform, educate, promote culture and to make patrons better citizens. A public library serves the educational, recreational and information needs of the public and should be accessible to all members of the community. It can be seen to have a social mission for the upliftment of the community. It is of particular importance to people who do not have access to books and information for economic reasons. The public library can bridge the gap between the have and have-nots. In a poor community the library can support education and small business; it can provide access to information about government policies and inform people of their rights.

IFLA defines a public library as

> an organization established, supported and funded by the community, either through local, regional or national government. It provides access to knowledge, information and works of imagination through a range of resources and services and is equally available to all members of the community regardless of race, nationality, age, gender, religion, language, disability, economic and employment status and educational attainment (Koontz & Gubbins, 2010).

In South Africa the Library and Information Services (LIS) Transformation Charter was commissioned by the Department of Arts and Culture and the National Council for Library

and Information Services to align the LIS sector with the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa.

> The Library and Information Services Transformation Charter is guided by certain fundamental principles enshrined in the South African constitution. The most crucial are the redress and equity. The unevenness in distribution and quality of LIS in South Africa reflects the apartheid past. The Transformation Charter presents a vision of transformed LIS (National Library of South Africa, 2009).

The Charter acknowledges that the library service in South Africa was unequal in the past. The manifesto and charter set a standard for public library services which guide public libraries in their work and which can be used to evaluate their services. These statements inform our understanding of library services and the role that they play in society. They allow us to re- evaluate past services.

In 1936 an Interdepartmental Committee on the Libraries of the Union of South Africa was formed. A report from this committee was published in 1938 and formed a blueprint for future library development in South Africa (Taylor, 1967). It contained the following statement:

> At the root of this conception (i.e. of the modern public library) is the belief that books, through enlightenment of the understanding and broadening of sympathies which they may be expected to bring about, not only enrich life, but may be made to play an important part in producing good citizens. This gives a definite mission to public libraries and imposes on the state and civic authorities the duty of seeing that these institutions are properly organised and adequately equipped for the work (Friis, 1962).

According to Olden (1995) this was meant only for the whites in South Africa excluding about 4/5 of the population which was also the experience in other parts of colonial Africa, for example, Kenya.

In 1949 UNESCO published its first public library manifesto which stated:

> to fulfill its purpose the public library must be readily accessible and its doors open for free and equal use by all members of the community regardless of race, colour,

nationality, age, sex, religion, status or educational attainment (Murison, 1988).

Regional congresses were held around the world to discuss the objectives of a library service. The first regional seminar on the development of Public Libraries in Africa was held at Ibadan in Nigeria in 1953 (Murison, 1988). At this seminar it was decided to adopt the UNESCO manifesto as the basis on which national library services would be established in Africa (Olden, 1995). This was just a few months after CTCL was established and it was a manifesto that it could have adopted.

CTCL was confronted by two ideologies – one the UNESCO Manifesto of access for all and the other the apartheid system which was being implemented by the government. South Africa adopted the guidelines relating to public library services but only applied them to the white section of the population. The question to be answered in the study is how CTCL performed when looking at these guidelines.

1.5 Brief literature review

The history of libraries in South Africa is well documented. Friis (1962) and Taylor (1967) have written on the history of South African libraries. Kalley (2000) wrote about apartheid in libraries but focused on the then Transvaal. Dick (2012) wrote about the history of reading in South Africa. Many articles have covered the development of libraries in South Africa but none on CTCL exclusively. Clark (2006) covered the development of libraries in the Cape from 1930s to the 1960s and refers to CTCL. Kruger (1972) deals with library services for coloureds but examines provincial services mainly.

Prior to the establishment of CTCL there was a reading culture and desire for public libraries at the Cape. This need was met in different ways, for example, Ehlers mentions private book groups/societies and subscription libraries of the 19th century in Cape Town (Ehlers, 1986). According to Dick (2002) there was a literate population which promoted the establishment of libraries.

There was segregation in libraries from the beginning for social and economic reasons. The Molteno Act of 1874 allowed access to all reading rooms (Friis, 1962). Most libraries before 1940 were subscription libraries and few blacks could afford the fee (Clark, 2004). Subscription libraries excluded blacks who could afford the rates (Warley & Holdsworth, 1941).

In South Africa formal library development is recognised to have started in 1928 when the first national library conference was held in Bloemfontein (Kalley, 2000). From this conference libraries for whites and blacks were discussed and developed along different lines. One of the recommendations of the Interdepartmental Committee on the Libraries of the Union of South Africa was that libraries be free. Libraries were seen as a form of social control for blacks, the aim was to police the provision of library services to blacks (Cobley, 1997).

However the readings also show that there were parts of Cape Town where all people came together, lived and shared space. This is evidenced in biographies such as 'Sala Kahle District Six' in which Nomvuyo Ngcelwane writes about her family's life in in District Six until they were forcibly removed in 1963 (Ngcelwane, 1998).

There was some protest against implementing apartheid and censorship in libraries but it went ahead. Dick (2005) has written about the burning of books. Vincent Kolbe (1990) wrote that librarians dutifully put up apartheid signs in libraries.

The word public can be interpreted in different ways. According to Warner one must distinguish between *the* public and *a* public. *The* public can be considered people in general but *a* public is a group who share the same space (Warner, 2002). The library public would be *a* public within a community but in South Africa the library public was divided into different publics according to apartheid racial categories. In South Africa the government in the 1950s was in the process of creating segregated communities. These communities could be seen as different publics.

1.6 Problem statement

Given the philosophy of public libraries, discussed shortly under 1.5, the timing of the establishment of CTCL is significant. The 1950s was the decade when segregation was legislated by the National Party. This led to a contradiction of the public libraries' principles of free access for all and equity of services. The study investigates the history and development of the CTCL from 1952-1972 and the effect of apartheid legislation on setting up a public library system. The study looks at one library service, how it was established, how it adapted to the political and social forces of the time and the services it delivered.

1.6.1 Problem formulation

How did the CTCL manage to set up and run a public library service while apartheid legislation was in force?

The study has the following questions and sub questions.

Research question one

What led to the establishment of a public library service in Cape Town?

- Was there a reading culture in Cape Town?

- Who was reading?

- How did people fulfill their need for books and information?

- Was there a demand for a public library?

Research question two

How did the formal library services develop in South Africa?

- What were the key events that led to the establishment of formal library services in South Africa?

- What key legislation was introduced to establish formal library services?

Research question three

What is the history and development of CTCL?

- What facilities were available for reading in Cape Town prior to the establishment of CTCL?

- What was the spur to the establishment of CTCL?

Research question four

The political context and its impact on the development of the service:

- How did political developments influence the CTCL specifically?

- Did the CTCL oppose the legislation and if so, how?

- How did legislation affect the staff and their work?

1.7 Research design and methodology

The purpose of this study is to explore the history and development of CTCL and to look at how it dealt with delivering a public library service during a time when apartheid was being implemented.

Historical research links the past to the present. According to Lundy (2008) "The researcher attempts to establish the meaning in the data and the context from which it was derived." (Lundy, 2008, p. 427). Historical research methodology includes oral history and case studies. Oral history can challenge the domination of written sources that are biased towards those in power and reveals new knowledge (Field, 2007).

The approach included the content analysis of documents in the surviving CTCL archives, interviewing people who worked for CTCL and researching relevant material in the National Library and Archives. The method was iterative as the analysis and interviews led to other documents or people to interview. Content analysis of documents directed me to areas to investigate. I consulted books and articles on public library systems, the history of Cape Town and South Africa and library history.

Data collection included documents, photographs and interviews. The document analysis was complemented by interviews. The advantages of interviewing are that participants can provide historical information. The disadvantages are that not all people are equally articulate and perceptive and information is filtered through the views of the interviewees (Creswell, 2009). The interviews had open-ended questions to elicit the participants' views and opinions. An interview guide ensured that topics relevant to the study were covered. See Appendix 9. Interviews were conducted with long-standing library staff members and library ex-staff. To obtain a balanced view I interviewed people who worked at different levels, for example, assistant librarian and librarian in charge, at different size libraries and at libraries in the then segregated residential areas.

Data analysis involves examining, sorting, categorizing, evaluating, comparing, synthesizing and contemplating the coded data as well as reviewing the raw and recorded data (Neumann, 1997).

I used primary and secondary sources. The advantages of using public documents are that they can be accessed at any time, represent data which are thoughtful in that participants have given thought to compiling them. The limitations are that the documents may not be accurate and material may be incomplete (Creswell, 2009). Secondary documents on library development and South African history were consulted to provide a broader picture. Interview data were transcribed and annotated, related material was collated and themes identified.

Neumann (1997) reminds us that researchers must be sensitive to race, sex, age and other social divisions. I must be aware of alternative perspectives and not allow my own social background to influence me.

1.7.1 Scope

The CTCL was established in 1952 and was in existence until 2002 when it became part of an integrated service. For the purposes of this study I focused on the period from its establishment in 1952 until 1972. The study was a mini thesis so the period covered had to be limited. I chose the first 20 years because by 1972 CTCL had succumbed to the pressure from the provincial administration and had applied apartheid legislation to all libraries. Only the Central Reference and Music libraries were open to all.

This is a study of only one public library service in South Africa in the period of apartheid and may not be generalisible to public library services outside of South Africa.

1.8 Ethical statement

I have adhered to the ethical guidelines of the Research Committee of the University of the Western Cape. I have obtained informed consent from interviewees based on adequate information about the project. Participation is voluntary and anonymous, if so wished, and interviewees may withdraw from the project at any time. Participants were informed of the use of audio recording and keeping period and disposal of the recording. All gave permission for their names to be used. A letter of consent form is attached in Appendix 8.

 Permission to undertake the study and to use original documents contained in the Central Library and Lansdowne Library archives was granted from the City of Cape Town LIS.

1.9 Chapter outline

Chapter one introduces the research project. It explores the philosophy of public libraries. It gives a brief review of the literature and incudes the research methods for the study.

Chapter two examines the reading culture and facilities in the Cape before the establishment of CTCL and gives a brief overview of key events and legislation that led to the establishment of formal library services in South Africa.

Chapter three discusses the development and history of CTCL. It examines the socio-economic background of Cape Town.

Chapter four explores the role of apartheid legislation on a public library service namely CTCL and its response to it.

Chapter five interprets the data in the light of the research questions, problem statement and philosophy of public libraries.

Chapter six presents a summary of the study, draws conclusions and makes recommendations for further study.

Chapter Two

Reading culture and facilities in the Cape

2.1 Introduction

This chapter looks at the culture of reading at the Cape and the reading facilities available to the Cape Town public prior to the establishment of CTCL in 1952. It provides a brief overview of legislation and key events that led to the establishment of formal library services in South Africa. It is important to look at what reading there was before the advent of public library services as this indicates that there was indeed a need and desire for libraries by all sections of the population. According to Immelman (1952) libraries did not appear out of thin air and therefore one needs to look at what there was before libraries.

2.2 Reading culture and facilities

Even before the establishment of a refreshment station at the Cape in 1652 there had been reading and writing at the Cape, for example, letters were left under postal stones to be collected by ships and taken on to the relevant country.

From the establishment of the refreshment station at the Cape in 1652 there was reading and writing at the Cape. Starting with official documents kept for the Dutch East India Company to schools, private libraries, and subscription libraries a culture of reading developed at the Cape (Ehlers, 1986). The following all contributed to the establishment of a reading culture.

2.2.1 Schools

Schools were important in creating a culture of reading amongst all at the Cape. A slave school was started in 1658 in the Cape, only six years after the establishment of the station. Slaves were taught to read and write as part of converting them to Christianity but it also created the basis of a reading culture. There were also Muslim schools that taught reading and writing (Dick, 2012).

Mission societies started schools for slaves and the working class. Day schools and Sunday schools taught adults and children to learn to read and write. According to Dick (2002), the notion of wider reading was established in mission communities in the early 19th century and literacy levels were raised.

2.2.2 Book collections

According to Ehlers (1986), the first mention of book collections in Cape history is the collections of Dutch East India Company official's such as Ryk Tulbagh. Books were brought to the Cape by those coming to work or live here. Adam Tas who came to the Cape in 1657 noted the books that he owned and bought in his diary (Immelman, 1952). He also noted books he lent to other people (Attwell & Attridge, 2012).

One of the most well-known collectors was Joachim von Dessin, 1703-1761, who bought books at auctions, arranged for books to be sent from overseas and received books as presents. The Von Dessin collection indicates which books were read at the Cape from 1710 - 1760. The books in the collection were in a number of languages and covered a wide range of subjects including Latin and Greek, works from the previous 150 years, religious and scientific books (Immelman, 1952). Joachim von Dessin left his collection of books to the Dutch Reformed church to be used "to establish a public library, for everyone's benefit, with annual addition of books" (my own translation) (Immelman, 1952). In 1820 the collection was incorporated into the South African Public Library (Friis, 1962).

According to Immelman (1952), 18th century book collections can be seen as the forerunners of libraries.

2.2.3 Book and reading societies/book clubs/groups

There were reading societies and suburban book clubs in the 19th century in Cape Town. The first commercial book club in South Africa was *Die Burger-leeskring* advertised in the Huisgenoot of February 1918. Subscribers received a new Afrikaans book every 2 months. The Lenin Club and Spartacus Club were established in Cape Town in the 1930s and 1940s respectively as debating and discussion groups but also distributed books to its members (Dick, 2012).

2.2.4 South African Public Library (SAPL)

The SAPL was established in 1818 with proceeds of a tax on wine. The governor of the Cape, Lord Charles Somerset, issued a proclamation that part of the tax would be used to establish a public library 'which should place the means of knowledge within the reach of the youth of this remote corner of the globe' (Friis, 1962, p. 10). In 1828 the library was closed

as government funding was withdrawn and it reopened in 1829 as a subscription library (Ehlers, 1986). It remained a subscription library until 1954 when it was declared a state aided institution (Friis, 1962). In February 1830, Ordinance No. 71 was passed which allowed "all respectable persons, even although they not be subscribers, shall have free access thereto" (Friis, 1962, p. 108). No mention is made of racial classification.

2.2.5 Subscription libraries

Some private societies allowed people to use their library at a fee and subscription libraries were also started as a business. These libraries gave access to books but only for those who could afford the subscription (Van der Walt, 2004). The Popular Library was opened in 1834 with more affordable rates. According to Friis (1962), it was intended for the young people of Cape Town but Dick (2012) says that it was probably promoted to retain the middle-class exclusivity of the SAPL.

2.2.6 Government–aided libraries

The concept of libraries for all supported by government had an early start in the Cape with the establishment of the SAPL in 1818 although it only lasted until 1829 when the SAPL became a subscription library. In 1855 financial aid was granted to established libraries with the condition that access to the libraries was for all. Many reading societies accepted the government aid and became public subscription libraries which allowed all people access to books but only subscribers could take books home (Ehlers, 1986). Dick (2002), states that people who had learnt to read at mission schools used the non-subscribers' rooms of subscription libraries from the 1840s.

In 1874 the 'Memorandum of Regulations' (Government Notice No. 422) was issued by the colonial secretary, Sir John Molteno, which granted funding to libraries. One of the regulations read "that the public be admitted free whenever the library is open" (Friis, 1962, p. 108). These regulations stimulated the growth of public libraries and opened libraries to the general public and less well-off. Before the regulations were issued, there were 36 libraries and ten years later in 1884 there were 53 libraries (Friis, 1962). According to Kalley (2002), the regulations led to the entrenchment of the public library system in the Cape but, as will be shown, for the white community's benefit and not all.

2.2.7 Cape Coloured Carnegie Committee (CCCC)

CCCC was set up to administer money granted by the Carnegie Corporation to provide books for coloureds in Cape Town (Clark, 2006). In 1928 a grant of $5000 was awarded for circulating libraries for schools for coloureds in Cape Town. In 1936, $1500 was awarded for Afrikaans books for the Cape Coloured Library (Friis, 1962). Book boxes were circulated to schools and institutions on a rotational basis. According to Clark (2004), CCCC showed the need for free library services for all.

2.2.8 Hyman Liberman Institute

Hyman Liberman, an ex-mayor of Cape Town, left a bequest to the City of Cape Town to establish a reading room for the poorer inhabitants of Cape Town. The Hyman Liberman Institute opened in 1934 in District Six and the reading room became the first free library in Cape Town (Hyman Liberman Institute, 1943). In 1937, the institute merged with the Cape Coloured Carnegie Committee. In 1941, the management committee of the Institute approached other library organisations in Cape Town to establish a body to create a system of free libraries for non-Europeans. It was noted that only three subscription libraries accepted non-European subscribers and the only library available generally to Non-Europeans was the Liberman Library (Hyman Liberman Institute, 1943) . Discussion led to the establishment of the Cape Libraries Extension Association (CLEA).

2.2.9 Cape Libraries Extension Association

CLEA was established on 9 October 1941 and the main objective was to extend free library service among the poorer communities (Hyman Liberman Institute, 1943). Race was not mentioned with regard to patrons.

The CLEA revived the system of circulating boxes of books to schools and institutes including hospitals (Cape Libraries Extension Association, 1943). By 1951, CLEA administered seven libraries (CLEA, 1952).

2.3. Library legislation

As mentioned earlier the first library legislation in South Africa was the proclamation of 20 March 1818 by the governor general Lord Charles Somerset (Friis, 1962).

In 1874, the 'Memorandum of Regulations' (Government Notice No. 422) was issued by the colonial secretary, Sir John Molteno, which gave funding to libraries and opened libraries to the general public. These regulations were in force in the Cape until 1955. The most important regulation for this study is that the public be admitted free whenever the library is open (Friis, 1962, p. 108).

The Financial Relations Act No. 10 of 1913 made the provinces responsible for administering libraries in their respective areas with the exception of SAPL and the State Library in Pretoria. An amendment, Act 8 of 1949, allowed provinces to establish libraries (Taylor, 1967).

Provincial Library Service Ordinance No.10 of 1949 established the provincial library service. The regulations allowed large urban areas to establish their own library service. In the Cape an area with a population of more than 15 000 Europeans could become an urban library area. This legislation is important as it allowed the council to establish, maintain, improve and close public libraries. The ordinances stated that there would be separate services for Europeans and non-Europeans (Friis, 1962, p. 132). This ordinance made libraries free but also segregated (Dick, 2002) In May 1955, Ordinance No. 5 of 1955 was passed and replaced the ordinance of 1949 but kept the clause re separate facilities.

Section 228 of the Municipal Ordinance 19 of 1951 allowed the council, with the approval of the Administrator, to establish, maintain, improve or discontinue libraries within or outside the municipality (Friis, 1962). The fact that the Provincial Administrator's approval was needed was to have a significant effect on CTCL operations.

The Cape Town City Municipality Regulations No. 1957 for Regulating and Maintaining Public libraries were issued in terms of the Municipal Ordinance No. 19 of 1951. Cape Town was declared an urban library area and entitled to receive a 50 % grant of their total library expenditure from the Provincial Library Service.

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 placed responsibility for libraries for blacks with the Department of Native Affairs and not the provincial bodies as was the case for whites and coloureds.

2.4. Formal library development

In South Africa formal library development is recognized as having started in 1928. The Carnegie Corporation was asked to investigate libraries in South Africa. After a study tour, a conference was convened in Bloemfontein. Four main recommendations were made at this conference:

- government recognition of library facilities as an extension of educational facilities;

- the encouragement of a reading ethic both among school going children and the wider public;

- the promotion of adequate library provision for the black sector; and

- the coordination of library services country wide with the purpose of making all books in the national system within the reach of South Africans (Kalley, 2000).

The fact that one of the recommendations is the provision of adequate services for blacks highlighted that there were very few library resources available to blacks. It also highlighted that the services for whites and blacks were seen separately. From the start of formal library services in South Africa separate services were considered for the different racial groupings.

This conference resulted in the demise of the subscription system of libraries and the formation of the South African Library Association (Kalley, 2000). Committees were established in the four provinces to implement the recommendations and oversee the grants that the Carnegie Corporation had awarded. Friis (1962) noted that the South African library system was largely based on these recommendations. In 1936, an Interdepartmental Committee on the Libraries of the Union of South Africa was formed. The committee published a report with fifteen recommendations in 1938. According to Taylor (1967), they formed a blueprint for future library development in South Africa. Of relevance to this study is the recommendation that the library service be free but also the recommendation of a service for "Non-Europeans" (Taylor, 1967). The library service was not seen as one library service for all but as different services for different communities within South Africa.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter shows that there was a reading culture at the Cape. Facilities were available but were in the main restricted by social and economic factors to whites. Legislation in the 19th century gave financial aid to libraries and opened at least the reading rooms to all. With the start of formal library development the need for a free sustainable library was recognised.

The development of formal library services was in the form of separate services for whites and blacks which included coloureds and Indians (Mostert, 1999). The concept of public libraries was there but corrupted by segregation. This desire for reading material and places in which to read led to institutions that supported reading and some of these institutions were later incorporated into the CTCL.

The next chapter will provide a brief description of the socio-political situation in Cape Town in the 1940s to 1960s. It will discuss the history and development of CTLC.

Chapter Three

History and development of CTCL

3.1 Introduction

Chapter two looked at the reading culture in the Cape, library legislation and formal library development before 1952. Chapter three looks at the development and history of the CTCL. It provides a socio economic background of Cape Town.

Libraries and librarians were divided about whether libraries should be segregated or not. According to Varley, chief librarian of SAPL:

> Librarians are not concerned with distinctions of race, class or creed. Their object is to provide facilities of the most useful kind to all members of the public – not only those who can read, but to all those who can be persuaded to read (Varley, 1950).

Varley's outlook might have been a professional view but it was not the view of all the public or all library staff as shown by the letters and meeting agendas found in the manuscript section of the National Library of South Africa (NLSA) asking about separate facilities and attempts to bar coloureds from libraries as Claremont library tried to do in 1941 (Warley & Holdsworth, October 1941).

3.2 Socio-political situation in Cape Town, 1940s to 1960s

By the late 1940s there were many areas of Cape Town that were effectively segregated. There was segregation in government institutes, although, according to Bickford-Smith (1999), public gardens, zoos and libraries were generally open to all. Workplace and residential segregation increased (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden, 1999).

There was also increasing legislation to control the presence of blacks in urban areas. The legislation restricted land ownership and place of abode for blacks and entry into Cape Town was only for work purposes for blacks. In order to ensure that the legislation was applied properly, the central government removed responsibility for services affecting blacks from municipalities. In 1945 the central government became responsible for the provision of housing to ensure that segregation took place and in 1954 took control of education (Bickford-Smith, Van Heyningen & Worden, 1999). In 1952, The Natives (Abolition of

Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act required that all Africans living and working in urban areas over 16 years of age carry reference books (Muthien, 1994). A journalist, D Nokwe, wrote of:

> the humiliation of having to stop every few hours to produce these [pass] documents, the torture and cruelty of having to line up for hours in full view of the public, manacled, whilst the police waylaid more victims (Posel, c 1997, p. 123).

Before 1948 Cape Town was a city of integration and segregation (Christopher, 2001). Although there were segregated housing estates there were also places where coloured, black and white people lived together. In 1952 only a third of blacks lived in areas officially set aside for them (Muthien, 1994). These areas of mixing were slowly reduced first for the blacks and then for the coloureds. Blacks were removed from the common voters roll in 1936 and coloureds in 1956 (Horrell, 1978).

After the Nationalist Party won the 1948 election they legislated segregation based on the policy of apartheid. This legislation dominated every aspect of South African life from what bus or train people could use to where people could live and who people could marry. The aim of the legislation introduced after 1948 was to increasingly restrict and separate people and to restrict the movement of Africans into white areas. According to T.E. Donges, Minister of the Interior, 1948-1958, the aim of the apartheid laws was to remove points of contact between people of different groups (Marks & Trapido, 1987, p. 170). The National Party believed that this was necessary to ensure the survival of the white race (Christopher, 2001). This was reflected in the library service where there was constant pressure from the provincial administration to segregate the libraries where there was a mixed user group even if it was only by half a percentage of users from another group.

This legislation was not accepted by everyone and people protested against the implementation (Muthien, 1994). In 1960 the PAC called for a march against the pass laws and many Langa residents participated. On 21 March thousands gathered at the PAC office and two people were killed when the police dispersed the crowd. In response official buildings were burnt including the library (Lodge, 2011). In the Central Library Archive there are photos of the Langa Library burning. See Appendix 1.

The government responded to the anti-pass campaign with force. A state of emergency was declared in 122 of the country's 265 magisterial districts including all the large towns and remained in force until 31 August 1960 (Horrell, 1978).

Pre-apartheid Cape Town was a mixture of racial integration and enforced separation (Christopher, 2001). As the 1960s progressed, Cape Town was divided into sites of separation. The old spaces were destroyed and new sites of apartheid space developed (Banks & Minkley, 1998/1999). New libraries were built in these segregated sites.

3.3 Facilities available for reading in Cape Town in the 1940s

A survey conducted for the library commission found that Cape Town had 17 libraries which received grants from the council and province. Only the libraries administered by CLEA were free libraries. The subscription libraries were independent and did not cooperate with one another. The SAPL, one of two national libraries in South Africa, also served as a subscription lending library (City of Cape Town, 1945).

3.4 The spur to the establishment of CTCL

There had been a number of attempts to create a free municipal library system in Cape Town with the first discussions in 1903 (Varley, 1941b). It was discussed again in 1914, 1917 and in 1931 (Anon., 1931).

In September 1938, the SAPL presented the Cape Town City Council with a proposal for a free library system. In June 1939, a meeting was held for representatives of the council, SAPL and the subscription libraries. The SAPL proposal was not accepted but the council passed a resolution which approved in principle the idea of free libraries. Later that year the council set aside £5000 to organise a free library service. On 29 February 1940 the council noted that it would consider any proposal for a free library service that was supported by all the role players (Varley, 1941b). World War II slowed the process of establishing a free municipal library service and only in April 1944 was a library commission established to report on:

- The percentage of population (all races) served by the public libraries within the Cape Town municipal boundaries;

- The steps necessary to be taken to make library services freely available to all citizens as recommended by the Union Government's Interdepartmental Report on libraries of the Union (1937); and

- The estimated cost of such a service (City of Cape Town, 1945).

The commission found that Cape Town was behind other South African cities of a similar size in that it did not have a tax-supported municipal library service and in its service to hospitals, isolated readers, the less privileged ("European and non-European") and in facilities for children and young people. The commission attributed this to the subscription system and the fact that the council did not have a coordinated and informed library policy (City of Cape Town, 1945). The commission recommended the establishment of a library service for the Cape municipal area to be developed in stages. The service was to be free, paid for by municipal taxes (City of Cape Town, 1945).

Separate facilities and parallel library services were part of the first discussions about a free municipal library service. The scheme for a free library service that the SAPL presented to council in 1938 included a proposal for a "parallel chain of branch libraries in 'non-European' communities" (Varley, 1941b). It did not specifically say that 'non-Europeans' should not use white libraries. Criticism of the scheme included that the scheme would "break down when the 'non-European population' claimed the right to use the libraries" (Varley, 1941a). In discussions with subscription libraries in the 1940s about creating a free library service, the issue of 'non-European' use was raised at most of the meetings. Sea Point library wanted to know "if there would be separate entrances, stocks of books and reading rooms?" (Library Commission, 1944) At a meeting at Maitland library, there was discussion about coloureds and blacks especially from Windemere or Kensington areas using the library. The lobbyists for a free service allowed the issue of who would be allowed to use the library to remain vague.

In 1945, the Council accepted the recommendations of the commission on condition that provincial government paid half the costs. In 1949, the Provincial Library Ordinance was proclaimed which allowed urban library areas to be declared. These areas would receive a subsidy of at least 50% on expenditure from the province but significantly it also included a clause that separate facilities would have to be provided for whites and non-whites (Varley, 1950).

When the 1949 Provincial Library Ordinance was proclaimed with a clause about separate facilities, the council was faced with two options according to Varley (1950):

- to have Cape Town declared an urban library area on the assumption its library service would be implemented on its own understanding of separate facilities or,
- To run a library service without the provincial subsidy

There was some opposition to accepting the subsidy. Councillor Kahn, a member of the Special Library Committee, said that the council should not accept the terms of the ordinance and that it would be better to run a service without a subsidy from the provincial administration. Other councillors felt that there would be no service without the subsidy (City of Cape Town, 1950).

The council lawyer was asked for his opinion on whether the provincial administration could force the council to apply separate facilities according to provincial terms. His response was that the clause required separate facilities to be provided but did not give criteria for the facilities and a court would have to decide the adequacy of the facilities (City of Cape Town, 1960e). The council adopted the Ordinance despite the fact that according to them the segregation clause was contrary to its policy in such matters (City of Cape Town, 1953b). In 1951 Cape Town was declared an Urban Library Area and the broad scheme recommended by the library commission in 1944 was approved for subsidy (Varley, 1951).

3.5 Development of CTCL

In December 1951, Bryan Hood was appointed as the City Libraries Development Officer (Anon., [1951]). He took up his position on April 23 1952 (City of Cape Town, 1957a). After Hood visited 33 South African libraries, he wrote a detailed report on the way forward for CTCL. His report suggested three stages of development and noted the separate facilities clause.

3.5.1 Incorporation of CLEA and Hospital Library Service

The seven libraries of CLEA were incorporated into CTCL on 1 October 1952. In many instances the library was a locked case of books, the opening hours were limited and the stock was limited. Hood noted that the CLEA libraries were handicapped by the nature of their premises (Hood, 1955-6).

The Hospital Library Service had been started in 1945 and served seven hospitals. The head office had been at Groote Schuur hospital but in 1952 transferred to Hamilton House when it was incorporated into CTCL (City of Cape Town, 1953a).

3.5.2 Incorporation of subscription libraries

Stage Two of Hood's development plan outlined the incorporation of the subscription libraries in Cape Town. There were 11 subscription libraries as noted in chapter two. The report covered all aspects of the incorporation and the implications (Hood, 1952).

On 31 December 1952 a letter was sent to the 11 suburban libraries, the Hyman Liberman Institute and the Afrikaans Nederlandse Boekery and Leeskamer inviting them to join the City Libraries service from 1 January 1954 (City of Cape Town, 1953a). On 4 January 1954 ten of the subscriptions libraries opened as units of the free City library service. The response from the public was enthusiastic and some libraries were overwhelmed. There were so many new members at Wynberg that the staff had to work until 10pm the first week and all went off "sick one by one" (Lindsay, 1987).

The takeover of the subscription libraries had made it easier and cheaper to implement a free library service and the council gained assets valued at £47 709 (City of Cape Town, 1953g).

3.5.3 Hyman Liberman Library

The Hyman Liberman Library joined the CLS on 5 January 1954. A clause in the agreement with the Hyman Liberman Institute stated that it was open to all regardless of race, creed or colour (Hood, 1959).

3.5.4 Afrikaans Nederlandse Boekery en Leeskamer

The Afrikaans Nederlandse Boekery en Leeskamer declined to join the City Service (City of Cape Town, 1953h).

3.5.5 Incorporation of SAPL lending stock

The SAPL had performed the function of a lending library in the city centre from its start in 1818. In 1945 the Library Commission had suggested that the Central Lending be accommodated in the new SAPL building to be built while a site was sought (City of Cape Town, 1945). When Hood presented his report to Council in 1952 on the development of the

CTCL he suggested integrating the central library (lending, reference and administration functions) with the SAPL and establishing a subcommittee to investigate this (Hood, 1952).

In March 1953 negotiations were started between the council and SAPL (City of Cape Town, 1953d). After lengthy negotiations, agreement was reached between the council and SAPL. City libraries took over SAPL lending on 15 December 1954 and five staff members were transferred to City Council and the library start operating as a free service on 15 January 1955 (City of Cape Town, 1954).

It took one year to incorporate the subscription libraries and the council gained many assets. With SAPL the discussions started early in 1953 and the free central lending library only opened in January 1955. Throughout the negotiations separate facilities were mentioned with regard to Central Lending as the segregation clause in the Library Ordinance affected municipal libraries but not national libraries (City of Cape Town, 1953b).

3.6 Conclusion

Cape Town was a city of segregation and integration that became progressively more segregated. The work to establish a free municipal service highlighted that racial classification was definitely a factor. The council accepted the Provincial Library Ordinance which set CTCL on a path of segregated libraries. The early years of CTCL was taken up with the incorporation of the library facilities noted in the Library Commission.

The next chapter examines the effect of apartheid legislation on the service and the council's response.

See Appendix 7 for a timeline of CTCL development.

Chapter Four

The political context and its impact on the development of CTCL

4.1 Introduction

Chapter three examined the establishment of CTCL. This chapter will explore the role of apartheid in a public library service, namely CTCL, and the service's response to apartheid.

When the National Party came into power in 1948, they introduced legislation which enforced segregation including the Group Areas Act 1950, The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act 1953 and the Population Register Act 1950. Their aim was the maintenance of a white population as a pure white race and for a South Africa where the white race would remain in control of the government and the finances (Nasionale Party, 1968). The Library Ordinances of 1949 and 1955 reinforced the separate facilities aspect. Legislation was introduced to control access to books and information such as The General Law Amendment Act, No. 76 of 1962 and the Publications and Entertainments Act, No. 26 of 1963. The Bantu Education Act 1953, placed libraries for blacks with the education department rather than the provincial and municipal authorities as was the case with whites and coloureds.

This legislation determined who the CTCL could serve, where they could serve them and what they could serve them. I will discuss the effect of the legislation on the development of the service and council's response to the legislation.

This chapter will examine the segregation legislation, the censorship legislation and the response to the legislation from the council, the staff and the public.

4.2 Segregation legislation

When the library service started in 1952, there were libraries in areas that were racially segregated and libraries in areas with a mixed population. The Group Areas Act meant that as people were moved from an area the library would be used by one group only. The Separate Amenities Act restricted access to libraries by a group that it was not designated for.

As noted previously, the Library Ordinances contained a separate facilities clause which the council believed they could interpret in their own way. According to Hood this clause concerned the council as it was "a policy foreign to the City Council at that time" (Hood,

1955, p. 3). Despite this concern the library regulations issued in 1953 mentioned a separate "non-European" service.

The council did not immediately introduce separate facilities in libraries in mixed areas. Central, Wynberg and Woodstock libraries had the highest usage by a mixed group but there were also smaller libraries with mixed user groups. In 1957, Lansdowne library reported that they had 800 readers of which 15% were "Europeans" who made regular use of the library (City of Cape Town, 1957b).

From 1959, CTCL faced pressure from the provincial administration to apply the separate facilities clause even though there was apartheid in most libraries because of the Group Areas Act. The council was informed by the provincial secretary that separate facilities had to be applied and the council had to inform them how it would be enforced. The council was given three years to implement the changes (City of Cape Town, 1959b).

In response the council requested Hood to submit a report on how CTCL was implementing separate facilities and commissioned a survey of all the libraries (City of Cape Town, 1960e). Hood's report did not speak out against the separate facilities clause but noted the financial consequences and suggested that separate libraries for the racial groups would happen given time. It listed what had been accomplished to implement separate facilities in the library service including:

- The provision of new and separate libraries in non-White council housing areas and library depots in factories employing non-White labour;
- The provision of two travelling libraries giving alternative service to non-Whites in predominantly White areas;
- By drawing to the attention of all new or re-registering borrowers the appropriate clause in the Ordinance and advising them where the alternative library service is to be found
- Visits to school principals and advising them of the position;
- The employment at predominantly White libraries of White professional staff only;
- The employment and supervision at predominantly non-White libraries by non-White staff only.

- At the head office non-Whites, although they may be professionally qualified, do not do professional work such as cataloguing, as this would involve working with White staff (City of Cape Town, 1961a).

When discussing the Library Ordinance the council had noted that the segregation clause was contrary to its policy but this report shows that it was being implemented.

The survey looked at the number of libraries in CTCL, membership according to race and the racial character of the neighbourhood and the extent to which each library is patronised by white and non-white persons (City of Cape Town, 1960e). The survey showed that the majority of libraries (73.5 %) were used by a single racial group (less than 1% of other groups used the library). Only three libraries had high usage by different groups and of the three only Woodstock had equal use by white and coloured people. The survey noted that "no separate record of borrowers in various categories is kept and these figures are based on estimates by the librarians concerned" (City of Cape Town, 1961a). See Appendix 2 for the full survey.

The council library committee met with the provincial administrator in 1960 to discuss separate facilities. After the meeting the council believed that they did not have to apply separate facilities by 8 June 1962 (City of Cape Town, 1960b). In January 1961 the acting provincial secretary instructed the council to implement separate facilities. The Provincial Administration had used the 1959 survey to determine whether a library was white, black or coloured and instructed the council to apply the following criteria by 8 June 1962:

- In the 31 libraries where one race uses it predominantly then the library must be for their use only;
- The race which is only a small percentage of the users be prohibited from using the branch provided that the existing mobile service is made available to them or new service points be established for them; and
- In the case of Central, Wynberg and Woodstock libraries, separate libraries for "European and non-Europeans" to be established within three years (City of Cape Town, 1961a).

According to Kruger (1972), after South Africa became a republic in 1961 the pressure increased to implement apartheid in the libraries. The provincial administration used the withholding of their subsidy as a threat to force the council to implement separate facilities.

In 1963 the provincial subsidy was approved but on condition that the council report fully on how they were going to apply apartheid in the libraries (Cape Times, 1963a).

In 1963 a new survey using the same criteria was conducted by the library service. Woodstock library showed the biggest change as usage was reported as 75% coloured and 25% white compared to 50/50 at the last survey. The usage at Wynberg was the same at 77.5% white, 22% coloured and 0.5% African. See Appendix 3 for photographs of Wynberg Library being used by all races. No figures were given for Central library (Cape Times, 1963b). A report in The Torch newspaper queried how the survey was conducted as they claimed that the library service had no written evidence of patrons' race (Torch, 1963b). The librarians had to decide the race of a patron which Varley had predicted would happen if the separate facilities clause was implemented (Varley, 1950). There were no annual reports for 1958-1962 but the 1963 report noted that the council were told to make further efforts to implement separate facilities but the survey was not mentioned.

In response to the pressure the library service planned segregated libraries for Wynberg and Woodstock and separate facilities for the Central Library (City of Cape Town, 1965a). The annual report did not comment on whether this was right or wrong nor protest against the extra effort or expense.
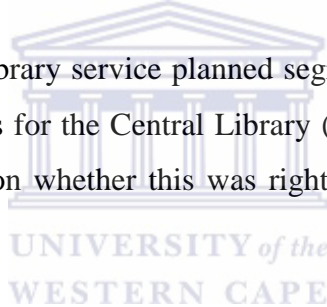
To enforce the separate facilities clause in Wynberg the council leased a building in Bexhill Rd and Castletown Library was opened in 1967. A notice was put up at the Wynberg library:

> The City Council has been obliged to provide separate library facilities for Whites and non-Whites, in order to comply with the requirements of Cape Provincial Library Ordinance No. 4 of 1955. In Wynberg a new library for non-White members has been built on the corner of Sussex and Bexhill Roads. It will be known as the Castletown branch. As this library is now open, we greatly regret that we must request our non-White members to transfer their membership to it (Cape Argus, 1967a).

A newspaper article noted that this was the first time in municipal libraries in Cape Town that apartheid was applied and that no ceremony was held for the opening because of the way it was provided (Cape Argus, 1967a). The opening of the Castletown library was the subject of a cartoon by David Marais in the Cape Times. See Appendix 4 for the cartoon.

The council struggled to find a site in Woodstock to build another library (City of Cape Town, 1963c). The provincial administration wanted a temporary library built for whites "which would provide an unobtrusive means for a voluntary and gradual separation of the races" (Cape Argus, 1964b). In 1966 the council was told to provide separate libraries in Woodstock or they would be responsible for the full cost of running it. Plans were made for a new library but by 1972 the library had not been built.

The effect of the legislation will be illustrated further by focusing on the rehousing of Central Library, the rebuilding of Langa Library and the planning of a library for Gugulethu.

4.2.1 Central Library

Central Lending had opened in the SAPL building in 1955 as a temporary measure until a site could be found in the city centre. An information library for the city centre was opened in 1956 in Long Street. Operating two libraries in the city centre was inefficient and costly. By 1959, Central Lending needed larger premises as the membership had grown from 380 to 14 894 and circulation had risen from 7 126 to 27 8996.

Over the next few years a number of buildings were offered as accommodation either for a consolidated central library or for the lending and information sections. At first Hood rejected the offers because of the plans for a consolidated central library in the proposed civic centre (City of Cape Town, 1959a).

In 1961 the council was offered space in the Sanlam building on the corner of Burg and Wale streets which was found to be suitable (City of Cape Town, 1961e). Approval to lease the building was needed from the provincial administration and they would expect separate facilities to be implemented. Hood had said in 1953 that separate facilities would be an issue if the council opened any new central library (City of Cape Town, 1953b).

There was disagreement amongst the councillors when they discussed leasing the Sanlam building. Some were opposed to it because of the cost involved and others because separate facilities were to be applied. Councillor Gool said that 'separate facilities were an insult not only to the Cape Coloured people but to all non-white races' (Cape Times, 1962). Gool had been fighting against separate library facilities since the 1940s. In 1941 she opposed a council grant to establish a non-European library service (Cape Times, 1941). The Torch newspaper reported that because it was not possible that equal services could be provided the

non-whites would be the ones to suffer (Torch, 1961b).   On 9th March 1962 the council agreed to lease space in the Sanlam building.

The city librarian, Vermeulen, submitted a report on how separate facilities would be applied. There would be separate entrances on the ground floor but inside the building all races would have equal access to the shelves, and books would be issued from one desk. On the first floor tables would be set aside for "Europeans and non- Europeans" and shelves would be used to create boundaries for the reading rooms. From the report it seemed that Vermeulen was not in favour of implementing separate facilities.   Vermeulen noted:

> The plan has been devised as a means of carrying out the instructions of the provincial administrator while attempting to solve the practical problems raised thereby. Detailed planning has brought the realisation that any scheme to bring about the even partial separation of the two racial groups will cause considerable ill feeling among the citizens of Cape Town and embarrassment to the staff.   Attention of an undesirable kind would be focused on the Central branch and the city libraries generally. It was difficult to foresee that the former city librarian's request for extra accommodation and a consolidated central library would lead to a situation as potentially harmful as this has now become. It is thus with little enthusiasm that these proposals are advanced (City of Cape Town, 1962a).

Central lending moved into the Sanlam building on 28th July 1962.

In 1963 the provincial administration informed the council that a separate library for coloureds had to be established in the city centre. The council argued that they had only leased the Sanlam building after submissions to the provincial administration and could not now be expected to provide entirely separate libraries (City of Cape Town, 1963b).   In April 1964, the provincial administration threatened to withhold the subsidy if separate facilities were not supplied in the city centre (City of Cape Town, 1964b).

Vermeulen submitted a report to the council in which he said that he still believed what he had written in 1962 that even partial separation would cause ill feeling and embarrassment. He felt that it would be more offensive to have totally separate facilities for the different races in one building and it would be better to have separate libraries in different buildings. He listed the reasons for not separating the races in the Sanlam building:

- Other places in Cape Town did not require separate entrances for the races – department stores, post office;
- It would be difficult to enforce;
- It would be insulting to our "Non-European" patrons;
- It would place staff in an invidious position; and;
- It would be a waste of space and inefficient

He recommended renting a space nearby and that the reference library on the first floor remained available for both racial groups with separate tables.   He felt that these recommendations were a practicable solution and one which would not give undue offence to "non-Europeans" (City of Cape Town, 1964b).   It also could be seen as reflecting the National Party policy of separate development.

In June 1964, the council announced that a separate library would be built in the city centre for non-whites in the City Park building. This library was two-three blocks away from the Central Library in Wale Street which was contrary to the standard distances that there should be between branches.   This was "in order to give effect to the requirements that separate facilities be provided for the different racial groups in this area" (City of Cape Town, 1965a).

The City Park Library was completed in 1967 but opened in 1969 because of problems with the building. Vermeulen noted "it is with great regret that all 'non-White' members of the Central Library were being asked to transfer their membership to the new library" (Cape Argus, 1969). The reference library in Wale Street was still open to all but with separate tables. Before City Park opened, a meeting was held for the staff of Central Library and Mr Bennet, librarian in charge at City Park, to discuss the implementation. Vermeulen explained that because CTCL received a subsidy from the provincial administration they had to apply the separate facilities clause.   According to the minutes, no problems were expected as "Wynberg has already separated and therefore provides a precedent where the changeover worked smoothly". The process of segregation included:
- A notice board put up at Central Lending and hand-out leaflets to inform borrowers of the new situation;
- All "non-White members" to transfer to City Park ; and
- "Non-White" messengers to only be served at the desk and staff to select the books.

Coloureds and blacks would be allowed to use the Information and Music libraries but not the reference books in the Art room. Librarians were told not to discuss the merits of the new

regulation but refer borrowers to the notice and the hand-outs (City of Cape Town, 1969a). The minutes do not include any protest against what was happening. A newspaper article reported that the City Park library was not wanted by white or non-white people and that there had never been any friction between the races using libraries. The message of library apartheid was "that however educated, cultured and civilized a non-White may be he is not good enough" to share a library with whites (Cape Times, 1969).

4.2.2 Langa and Gugulethu Libraries

When the CTCL started in 1952 there was only one library in a black township. There was a reading room in Langa in 1934 which became part of the CLEA in 1943 (Dick, 2008). CLEA was incorporated into the CTCL in 1952. In 1953 the council decided to include plans for libraries in all city housing or civic centres including black townships (City of Cape Town, 1953c).

By 1955, Langa Library, which was housed in a wooden prefabricated building, needed bigger premises. Membership had increased, there was not enough shelf space and a quiet study space was needed. Hood requested from council that the library move into the committee room in the same building as it was larger. The council did not agree to this but included a library in plans for the Langa market hall (City of Cape Town, 1955c). In 1956 public libraries for blacks became the responsibility of the Department of Bantu Education (Taylor, 1967, p. 66).   This would have a drastic effect on the provision of libraries for blacks in Cape Town.

On 20 March 1960 Langa library was burnt down during protests against the carrying of passes. This event was described by the librarian on duty at the time, Mr Sixaba:

> At 6.30 p.m. on Monday, 21st March 1960, I opened the above library as usual. At 7.15 pm unrest increased and, although I had no suspicion of the intention of the rioters, I decided to close the library and locked it just after 7.15 p.m. The rioters were near the St Cyprian's Church, being about 100 in number, some being highly excited. They surrounded the library, some trying to force an entrance, and at 7.30 p.m. I had nearly reached St. Cyprians Church when the rioters set fire to the building. I could not persuade them not to set it on fire (City of Cape Town, 1960c).

Hood recommended that the library be rebuilt and the council requested the city engineer and the city librarian to draw up plans (City of Cape Town, 1960f). Council accepted the plans subject to the approval by the Native Affairs Committee and the Minister of Bantu Administration (City of Cape Town, 1960d). The library was to be twice the size of the former library with a stock of 3 000 to 4 000 books (Cape Argus, 1960). In October 1960 the Bantu Affairs Committee approved the plans for Langa library (City of Cape Town, 1963c). In 1961 it was agreed that Langa should be rebuilt with the proviso that the money came from the administrator and not the native revenue account (City of Cape Town, 1961d).

At the end of 1961, the council agreed to a library in Gugulethu, at the time called Nyanga West (City of Cape Town, 1961b). Vermeulen, the city librarian, said that there were no standards for "Bantu" libraries therefore the library in Gugulethu would be a pilot scheme. Standards for white libraries were based on population (with the presumption that all were literate) but he said that because of the high rate of illiteracy this could not be used for blacks (City of Cape Town, 1962b). The library planned for Gugulethu was to be built in three stages with the option of splitting the building and using the one half for something else if the library was not utilised (City of Cape Town, 1962c). This idea of building in stages and levels of illiteracy determining the size of libraries is echoed in the 1971 City Library Development Plan.

The libraries for Langa and Gugulethu were put onto the capital estimates for 1962. However, in November 1962, the Provincial Administrator said he would not subsidise expenditure on libraries for blacks. In July 1963 the Langa and Gugulethu libraries were moved from the library budget to the Bantu Administration budget (City of Cape Town, 1963a). The Bantu Affairs Committee thought the money should come from the general council revenue and the General Purposes Committee wanted to use the money made from the sale of liquor in townships (Cape Times, 1963c).

In 1963, an Interdepartmental Commission of Investigation into Library Services for Non-Whites was appointed. The council decided to wait until the commission had made its recommendations before making a decision about Langa and Gugulethu libraries (City of Cape Town, 1964c). The commission recommended that the provincial authorities be responsible for providing library services to all population groups in cooperation with local authorities but these recommendations were only accepted in June 1970 (Musiker, 1986).

The Department of Bantu Administration made funds available to build Langa and Gugulethu libraries in 1968. Once funding was available the argument was about who was responsible for building the libraries.   Bantu Administration said that they were too busy to build the libraries and that it should be undertaken by the City Engineer's Department or by public tender. The City Engineer replied that they were fully committed to other projects and so the construction of the libraries was put on hold until the Bantu Administration could build them (City of Cape Town, 1968b). Construction of the libraries began in 1969. The libraries were funded by Bantu Administration and administered by CTCL. Bantu Administration was responsible for salaries, bookstock and the furniture. The librarians fell under Bantu Administration but Vermeulen felt that for professional reasons they should be considered as members of the city libraries' staff. The libraries would be supervised by the extension librarian along with all the coloured libraries (City of Cape Town, 1969b). The Langa and Gugulethu libraries opened in July 1970. Both libraries were only 92m² although the first plan for Gugulethu was for a building of 153 m² with two expansions resulting in a building of 383 m² (City of Cape Town, 1962d).

4.3 Censorship legislation

There had been censorship, formal and informal, in South Africa and in libraries before 1948. The first statutory censor board was established in 1931 in South Africa and from 1934 imported books were subject to this board. Locally published books were controlled by provincial legislation and common law (McDonald, 2009).   After the Nationalist Party came into power in 1948, censorship was tightened. A number of reasons were given for the need for greater censorship. According to the Nationalist Government, white western culture had to be kept pure. The image of whites had to be protected and blacks had to be stopped from turning away from their "own culture". (McDonald, 2009). The nationalist government felt that books with suggestive sex and bloodthirsty themes were harmful to South Africa with its heterogeneous population. Books were banned for their content and also if the cover was lurid or because of advertisements in the books (Cape Argus, 1955).

In 1954 a Commission of Inquiry into Undesirable Publications was set up and it gathered information from librarians, amongst others. Hood, the city librarian, and Councillor Martin Hammerschlag submitted a report to the commission and gave verbal evidence. The recommendations of the commission published in 1957 included pre-publication censorship, a publications control board and a government appeals body (McDonald, 2009).

In 1963 the Publications and Entertainments Act was passed and it became "the cornerstone of apartheid censorship bureaucracy" (McDonald, 2009, p. 33). A Publications Control Board was established that could declare undesirable any publication that was submitted to it. Items could be submitted by the public and by customs officials. It became an offence to publish, distribute or import an item that was declared undesirable. Importation of cheap paperbacks was also restricted (Horrell, 1978).

In 1962 the General Law Amendment (or Sabotage) Act was passed which silenced anti-apartheid activists including writers Alex la Guma and Dennis Brutus which affected what libraries offered (Merrett, 1994).

The increasing censorship was reflected in the annual reports of the CTCL. Bryan Hood, the first city librarian, felt strongly about censorship and had written articles on the subject while a librarian in New Zealand. He said that there were three levels of censorship – government, the librarian in his book buying policy and readers' complaints. He believed that "the librarian is not charged with the maintenance of public morals, but has a duty to facilitate the flow of ideas in his community" (Hood, 1949, p. 32). He said that librarians should protest against censorship both as individuals and through their library association (Hood, 1949). Hood was scathing about the censors and what was censored. He wrote that the books banned in 1954 would only have been considered obscene or subversive if "seen through the eyes of fourteen year old girls or single-minded fanatics" (City of Cape Town, 1955a, p. 4). He was against the system of censorship which had no appeal and felt that if it continued "South Africa would appear ludicrous in the eyes of the civilised world" (City of Cape Town, 1955a, p. 8). By the 1960s, after Hood had left, censorship was noted in the annual reports in relationship to its effect on work and cost to the council. In 1963, 173 books were not supplied by the requests department because the titles had been banned (City of Cape Town, 1965a).

Books that were placed on the banned list had to be destroyed according to the Custom Act and people in possession of banned books were liable for fines (Cape Times, 1955). This led to libraries and individuals burning books that had been banned. Dick has condemned librarians for not opposing censorship and for burning banned books without any protest. A number of incidents involving the burning of books by CTCL have been recorded. In 1957, the deputy city librarian Zaaiman said that as soon as the gazette was published the books were recalled and that then a big bonfire was held (Dick, 2005). In the first seven months of

1964 CTCL reported that more than 800 books were burnt (Sunday Times, 1964). Later in 1964 Watts, the acting city librarian, said that several thousand books were burnt every six months (Cape Argus, 1964a).

From interviews with staff, none could recall the burning of books although all remember the list of books sent to branches that had to be returned to head office:

> Banned books were kept in the chief librarian's office and books had to be taken off the shelf and returned to head office and were kept in a cage. Banned books could be requested for study. I did not know about burning books (Jansen, 2013).

> Banned books weren't destroyed but were kept in a locked cupboard. The cupboard was there when I started in 1970. Not sure if all banned books were kept. There might have been books burnt but I didn't know about it (Epstein, 2013).

Book burnings did not only take place in Cape Town or public libraries but occurred in other provinces and affected commercial libraries, bookstores and individuals, for example, Hilda Bernstein burnt books in the bath (Merrett, 1994, p. 75). One of the principal librarians at head office said "I burnt some books myself in the garden. It was a bit of a fever in the day" (Albert, 2013). It is interesting that none of the interviewees can recall anything about books being burnt. They did not even mention that they had heard about the burning of books outside of libraries except for one person. Dick contends that the librarians knew what was happening as they received lists of books to be withdrawn and there were articles in the newspapers about the burning of books. Although Dick condemned the librarians for what they did, he noted that it could have been because of the authoritarian mood of the time in South Africa and in the library world (Dick, 2005). By the 1960s South Africa had become a security state (Dick, 2012).

In the 1960s CTCL did not immediately remove books that were under embargo or by banned persons. In 1962 when the Johannesburg Public Library removed books by banned people, Vermeulen said that CTCL did not remove books by banned people or cut published statements from publications but only withheld or withdrew publications listed in government gazettes as banned (Cape Argus, 1962).

When Nadine Gordimer's novel *Occasion for loving* was put under a sales embargo Vermeulen said that the library service would not take the book off the shelves until the novel

was banned.   On the other hand Friis, the Director of the Cape Provincial Library Service (CPLS), said that because of their strict selection process it was unlikely that they had the book at all (Cape Argus, 1963). This indicated that they were applying their own censorship.

Later CTCL became more cautious. In the words of one interviewee:

> A list of banned books was sent to the libraries. They came to check that the books weren't in the library and were very strict about it. Adult librarians were responsible for that. Staff did not protest against – they were told to do it and just did it. Books were taken off the shelf when list came round and sent to H.O., weren't allowed to keep the books. Maybe we were too scared to protest (Osman, 2013).

In the 1960s CTCL did not speak out against the censorship but spoke of the cost and impact of censorship on the service. Watts, acting city librarian, spoke about the cost to the service if a book was banned and had to be withdrawn. According to Watts, they had developed a sixth sense about which books would be banned and did not buy them (Cape Argus, 1964a). In 1965, 477 copies of books were withdrawn and destroyed, 329 in 1966 and 160 in 1967 (City of Cape Town, 1968a).

There was not only censorship in libraries but in the wider South African society. Publishers' representatives checked books before recommending them to booksellers. Oswald Linton, the representative for Penguin, remarked "One is virtually a self-appointed censor. If I make a mistake then the bookseller loses money" (Cape Argus, 1971). Legislation banning books affected society as a whole and libraries, publishers and individuals burnt books but Merrett reflected what Hood had said in 1949 that libraries had a special role to play with regard to censorship. "One of the most important tasks of libraries is to combat censorship on every level, of every type and wherever" (Merrett, 1994, p. 213).

4.3.1 Censorship in book selection

Another form of censorship was about which books a library should supply. Dick wrote that Vermeulen "spontaneously agreed to self-censorship" in 1965 (Dick, 2005, p. 11). The researcher could not find a reference to the 1965 incident but in 1967 Vermeulen banned an anti-Semitic book, *The new unhappy lords* by A. K. Chesterton. The book was requested and supplied to Rondebosch library but withdrawn a few weeks later after a complaint. According to Vermeulen he did not want the library to be become involved in a "violent

controversy" and felt that the book expressed extremist views in "a manner lacking scholarly objectivity". He referred the decision to the Amenities Committee who supported him (Cape Argus, 1967b). The Argus questioned whether there was to be censorship over and above the legislation.

Some white librarians had preconceived ideas about the type of books libraries in coloured areas should receive. Fiction was categorized into A, B or C fiction with A being literary, B being middlebrow and C being light fiction. This categorization was done internationally but in South Africa there was the added element of racism which dictated which libraries could have A, B or C fiction. Township libraries did not receive A fiction except with special motivation (Jacobs, 2013). The same applied to non-fiction:

> I would go in and ask for certain books. Some of the principal librarians would say no you don't need them. I would look at Mr Vermeulen and he would say if Mr Naiker wants the book give it to him. This is the thing we had to contend with (Naiker, 2013).

The library bookstock was influenced by legislated censorship and self-censorship:

> There was a lot of self-censorship, books that were not on the banned list but certain librarians did not want them, and there was censorship from within. This reflected the librarians own feelings, political as well as religious (Naiker, 2013).

4.4 Response to apartheid

4.4.1 Staff response to apartheid

The effect of apartheid legislation on the library service became more apparent and intense over the years. In the fifties there were still mixed libraries. A staff member who worked for the service in the 1950s felt that:

> It was an extremely liberal staff. As far as staff I did not come across anyone who approved of the new dispensation. Wynberg library was still mixed. Certainly Woodstock library was mixed and it was mixed in all the libraries (Dubow, 2013).

Another mentioned that there was no colour bar in libraries but also that there were no blacks in the libraries. Most of the staff seemed to have accepted the legislation and its effects on

the service even if they did not agree with it. Kolbe said that in the 1960s they "dutifully" put up the whites only signs (Kolbe, 1990). People interviewed said that they put up the ordinance although some indicated that they did not apply it. A white principal librarian came to City Park and asked about a person in the library who looked white. She said that he was not supposed to be there and Naiker (one of my interviewees) responded:

> In fact he is not white he is coloured and you can now see my problem, how to differentiate on physical looks alone who is white or not. If you want me to enforce it then you have to entitle me to ask for ID documents. That afternoon Mrs Vermeulen's secretary phoned and said he wanted to see me. He said I only want to tell one thing. You let anyone use that library and if anyone tells you otherwise refer them to me (Naiker, 2013).

Shirley Jansen, who had been librarian in charge at Lansdowne library for many years, relates an incident at the Lansdowne library where a white person wanted to use the library and a patron at the library insisted she not be helped.

> A lecturer from UCT wanted to use library and the patron was furious – said she must go, it's not your library, we did not make the rules – read there on the board. She was going on and I said I am sorry if you did not ask we would have ignored and treated you as a normal person but you asked and you are white so you have to leave and go to Claremont (Jansen, 2013).

Some white librarians enforced apartheid in libraries using the excuse that it was the law.

> I must say that most of the separation and inequalities was brought about by the personal feelings of the librarians themselves. They went out of their way to impose this and you would not realise this because it was very subtle until you have a wide range and you can see where it differs (Naiker, 2013).

A library that was mixed would become a library for only one group by people being forcibly moved from residential areas. Naiker, who was librarian at the Janet Bourhill library in the 1960s, remembers the affect it had on that library.

> Harfield Road was a mixed community before the group areas started. Lots of immigrants came to library and it was an opportunity to meet a diverse group of

people. There was good mix in the library, it was a social centre, people got to know each other and there were lots of lonely people put into flats by their children. The library was multicultural, across socioeconomic lines and racial lines. Then group areas came in and these people were moved out, it was sad to see the effect on them. It also affected the nature of the library, the whole atmosphere (Naiker, 2013).

A survey from 1960 indicated that Janet Bourhill library members were 85% coloured, 10% white and 5% black (City of Cape Town, 1961a).

Coloured staff at mixed libraries had to deal with racism from patrons. In a letter of complaint to the City Librarian about Lansdowne Library a patron referred to the librarian in charge as "the new coloured boy in charge" (Boyle, 1956).

The staff seemed to accept the situation outwardly even if they disagreed with it.

There was so little reaction, in retrospect I am surprised, there was a tiny little ripple at that time. I'm surprised that the white librarians didn't say anything. They kind of accepted the status quo. I think there was general a sense of fear (Thorne, 2013).

4.4.2 Public response to library apartheid

When the provincial administration announced that separate facilities had to be introduced in libraries by June 1962, letters of protest were published in the papers. They were from individuals and organisations such as The Black Sash and the National Council of Women. Writers were against separate facilities and questioned the cost of providing separate buildings, stock and staff. For one person the Wynberg library was a place where there was no barrier between the races and where she could be close to non-whites "whose society is denied me by the custom and law of the land" (Cape Argus, 1961b).

When the Long Street library was moved into the Sanlam building, a person wrote that he could not understand why it moved except that it was easier to apply apartheid there (Cape Argus, 1965). People wrote at the opening of Castletown library that the library was a place where people could mix freely (Cape Times, 1967).

4.4.3 Petty apartheid amongst staff

Until 1963 the staff of the extension libraries, who were all coloured, worked at head office in the mornings and then went to their own libraries in the afternoons. They had to process books, file cards, write overdue notices, and shelve books at white libraries (Jansen, 2013). "The hours of extension libraries were dictated by the need for people to work on the [processing] belt" (Naiker, 2013). White staff at branches did not have to do this. "So called coloured workers had to do all the dirty work at head office before going out to the branches" (Jansen, 2013). In the mornings they were library attendants and in the afternoon librarians.

This practice of coloured staff working at Head Office in the morning and then going to their own libraries was only stopped in 1963. After an investigation into staffing, permanent staff was appointed to the processing department and extension staff only worked in their own libraries (City of Cape Town, 1964a).

At head office the work people performed was decided by their racial group.

> The other jobs in cataloguing, and requests… were primarily white, whether they were qualified or not, that was where the segregation came in. There were no whites in processing (Naiker, 2013).

This is confirmed by Hood's report on how separate facilities were being applied in the library service.

> At the head office Non-Whites, although they may be professionally qualified, do not do professional work such as cataloguing, as this would involve working with White staff (City of Cape Town, 1961a).

Even if people in the service were not openly racist, the non-white staff members were still subjected to petty apartheid which demeaned them. Shireen Osman mentions an incident at head office when coloured staff members were waiting for a meeting and a white librarian came in and turned off the lights without saying anything.

> We were sitting in the dark and had to open the curtains, they thought it was funny. Lydia Pienaar came in and wanted to know what we were doing. We told her and it never happened again (Osman, 2013).

When you went to H.O. you greeted everyone but not all greeted back- they looked at you – 'Who are you?' Those were the early years (Osman, 2013).

4.5 Conclusion

Chapter four examined the apartheid laws and the effect on CTCL. Segregation and censorship legislation brought CTCL in conflict with the library philosophy of free access for all and access to books and information. There was some protest against the legislation but it was applied. The chapter illustrates the effect of the legislation on the staff and patrons.

Chapter five will interpret the data in light of the research questions, problem statement and philosophical framework.

Chapter Five

Analysis and interpretation of data

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis and interpretation of data presented in chapters one, two, three and four. The guiding framework for this analysis is the public library philosophy espoused primarily in the IFLA/UNESCO public libraries guidelines. Some interpretation and analysis was started in the previous chapters.

Chapter one introduced the topic. A library philosophy of free and equal access developed which culminated in the UNESCO public library manifesto of 1949 which stated that:

> to fulfill its purpose the public library must be readily accessible and its doors open for free and equal use by all members of the community regardless of race, colour, nationality, age, sex, religion, status or educational attainment (Murison, 1988).

This acceptance of the principles of public libraries but only for whites corresponded with the idea of a separate white nation that was being pushed by the government after the 1948 election. 1952, the year that the CTCL was established, was also the tercentenary of the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck at the Cape. A large festival, sponsored by the government, was planned to commemorate the establishment of the white settlement at the Cape. According to Witz "the primary purpose of the festival was to establish a white national identity and show the "non-Europeans beholden to the European race" (Witz, 2003, p. 146).

Chapter two examined the reading culture and facilities for reading in Cape Town. It also briefly examined the formal development of libraries in South Africa and library legislation. Taylor (1967) and Kalley (2002) noted that from the beginning the library service was for primarily for whites with services for coloureds and blacks as an addendum. The Bantu Education Act made public libraries for blacks the responsibility of the Bantu Education Department and not provincial and local authorities as was the case for whites and coloureds.

Chapter three looked at the history and development of CTCL and a socio-economic profile of Cape Town in the 1940s-1960s was sketched. It described the establishment of CTCL in 1952 and the incorporation of libraries into the new service.

Chapter four examined the impact of apartheid legislation on the library service. Libraries were affected in particular by legislation relating to separate facilities and censorship. Case histories of selected CTCL libraries were used to describe the impact of the legislation.

The study examined the first 20 years of CTCL and examined the impact that apartheid had on the service. The main question is

> How did the CTCL manage to set up and run a public library service while apartheid legislation was in force?

In answering the main question, more refined research questions and sub questions were developed.

5.2 Research question one

What led to the establishment of a public library service in Cape Town?

- Was there a reading culture in Cape Town?

- Who was reading?

- How did people fulfill their need for books and information?

- Was there a demand for a public library?
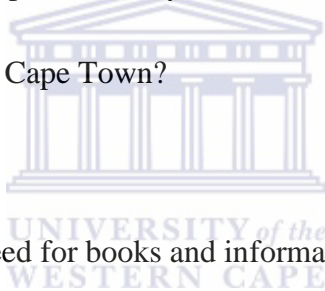
5.2.1 Was there a reading culture in Cape Town?

Chapter two showed that there was a reading culture at the Cape from the establishment of a refreshment station which is evidenced by the book collections, books sold at auctions and the numerous subscription libraries. The need for free public library facilities was recognised early on as evidenced by Joachim von Dessin leaving his book collection and money "to establish a public library, for everyone's benefit" (my own translation) (Immelman, 1952, p. 91) and by the establishment of the SAPL.

All members of the community read. Schooling of slaves and the working class created a literate population. There were ordinary public schools, church schools, slave schools, private schools and home schools (Coetzee, 1963). According to Dick (2002), the work of religious,

voluntary and other organisations created a literate population and promoted the establishment of libraries.

5.2.2 How did people fulfil their need for books and information?

Chapter two examined how people accessed books and information.   Facilities were available but were in the main restricted by social and economic factors to whites. Government aid to libraries in the 19th century opened the reading rooms to the public who could not afford subscription fees (Dick, 2002). Subscription libraries charged membership which barred the poor but they also opposed those of colour who could afford the fees. CLEA and the Hyman Liberman Institute were established for those who could not join subscription libraries for economic or social reasons.

5.2.3 Was there a demand for a public library?

The demand for a public library can be demonstrated by considering the use of free facilities. Libraries that received government grants had to open the reading rooms to all. Dick (2002) states that people who had learnt to read at mission schools used the non-subscribers' rooms of subscription libraries from the 1840s. When the SAPL installed electrical lighting in 1897 which allowed it to open until 10pm, the numbers of visitors quadrupled, from 25 830 readers in the period 1887-1889 to 93 204 readers in the period 1897-9 (Cape of Good Hope, [1902]). The lighting allowed the library to be used by those who worked during the day. In 1901 it was noted that SAPL only had 671 subscribers but the number of readers and visitors for the year was 98 155.

The twentieth century brought the demand for a free municipal service and was led, by amongst others, the chief librarian of SAPL, Varley. The need was highlighted in letters and annual reports.

> What is missing is not the wish to read, but the facilities to gratify the wish. Make books more freely available, and the rest will follow (Varley, 1943).

> it is usual to see a queue of school-children waiting inside and outside the library, each child taking from the boy or girl in front the book that has just been returned (Cape Libraries Extension Association, 1943, p. 2).

The 1928 library conference recognized the importance of free library services and this was included in its recommendations.

The reality in South Africa was that even before the formal development of libraries in South Africa, coloureds and blacks were excluded from using libraries. With the development of formal library services the segregation continued with a service for whites and a service for non-whites. The concept of public libraries was there but it was corrupted by segregation and later by apartheid.

5.3 Research question two

How did the formal library services develop in South Africa?

- What were the key events that led to the establishment of formal library services in South Africa?

- What key legislation was introduced to establish formal library services?

The development of formal library services was recognized as starting in 1928 with the first national library conference held in Bloemfontein. The conference resulted in the formation of South African Library Association and the establishment of provincial library committees to implement the conference recommendations. The conference perpetuated the segregation in libraries with a Special Services Committee responsible for library provision for blacks (Kalley, 2000). According to Friis (1962), the South African public library system is based on the conference's recommendations.

The library legislation formalized the segregation already present in libraries. The Library Ordinances included the clause that there would be separate facilities for "Europeans and non-Europeans".

5.4 Research question three

What is the history and development of CTCL?

- What facilities were available for reading in Cape Town prior to the establishment of CTCL?

- What was the spur to the establishment of CTCL?

Before the establishment of CTCL, there were subscription libraries and free libraries operated by CLEA. In December 1943 only 4.4 % of the total population were library members (City of Cape Town, 1945).

Chapter three highlights that race was a factor in discussions held to decide a unified library service from the beginning. One of the criticisms of a unified service was that "the free library principle will break down when the non-European population claim the right to use the libraries" (Varley, 1941a, p. 140). This criticism seems to concede that a municipal library should be open to all races. The chair, Varley, noted that no-one could be barred from a library because of race but then went on to suggest to two solutions to avoid friction – provide separate facilities or provide libraries near where people live (Varley, 1944). He noted that if "non-European libraries were comparable to European then there was no reason why the problem of mixed readers should arise" (Varley, 1941a, p. 141).

Varley said that library services were for all but then suggested building libraries near where people live and proposed a parallel service for coloureds and blacks.

The library commission recommended libraries should be as close as possible to where a person lived. Perhaps this was to accommodate Varley's suggestion to avoid racial friction.

With the library commission report, a firm decision was not made whether libraries would be for all or whether there would be separate libraries according to race. The desire for a free municipal system influenced people and they ignored the fact that race was an issue at all meetings to discuss a free system. The council had accepted the Library Commission's recommendations on condition that the provincial government paid 50% of the costs of the library service. Then the council accepted the Library Ordinance with the clause re separate facilities. The implications were discussed but financial factors outweighed "moral" ones. When Varley left South Africa he said that he regretted signing the 1949 Library Ordinance which included the separate facilities clause. He said that he only agreed because he was told that the ordinance would not have been passed without it (Cape Argus, 1961a).

Race was always a factor within libraries in Cape Town and the city council was not willing to fund the library service for all fully themselves but rather with contributions from the provincial administration. This decision would have consequences as it gave the provincial administration a power over the decisions made by CTCL. The withholding of subsidy was

often used as a threat by the provincial administration if CTCL would not comply with developing separate facilities for different racial groups.

5.5 Research question four

The political context and its impact on the development of the service.

- How did political developments influence the CTCL specifically?

- Did the CTCL oppose the legislation?

- How did legislation affect the staff and their work?

5.5.1 Introduction

The legislation determined who the CTCL could serve, where they could serve them and what they could serve them. The legislation brought CTCL into conflict with a library philosophy of free and equal access. IFLA defined a public library as an organization that provides access to knowledge. In 1931 S. R. Ranganathan wrote that there was a book for every reader and a reader for every book (McMenemy, 2009).

5.5.2 Segregation legislation

The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act 1953, Group Areas Act 1950 and the Provincial Library Ordinances of 1949 and 1955 restricted access to libraries and were in contrast to the concept of free and equal use of libraries no matter race, colour and education.

The 1949 Provincial Library Ordinance allowed Cape Town to be declared an urban library area and to receive a subsidy from the provincial administration of 50% of its costs. This ordinance included a clause that separate facilities had to be provided in the libraries. The ordinance was adopted by the council with dissent from only one councillor, Sam Kahn rather than subsidise the library system fully themselves. So at its start, CTCL did not meet the library philosophy of free access for all. The council claimed that segregation was against their policy but analysis of the council minutes revealed that the council felt that they would be able to interpret the clause in their own way. This did not necessarily mean that there would not be separate facilities.

Documents about the new library service reveal how apartheid was being applied. A pamphlet about the new library service noted that members could use any library in the system but also that a parallel system was being developed for the non-European population (City of Cape Town, 1953e). It does not explain how this would work. When the library regulations were drawn up for the new service they had to be sent to the provincial administrator for approval. The regulations were approved with two amendments. The one was that CTCL could not impose a charge for light fiction and the other was to include a separate facilities clause to which the council agreed (City of Cape Town, 1953f). Hood's response to the special facilities amendment highlights the obfuscation of the time:

> at present no library facilities operated by council are specifically set aside for the exclusive use of any particular race and no such provision was made in the regulation. Separate facilities are being provided at different points but are not expressly delineated as such (City of Cape Town, 1953f).

On one hand CTCL libraries were open for all but there were also separate facilities. Interestingly, the 1953 annual report only noted that the clause about charging for light fiction was not approved. No mention was made of having to include the separate facilities clause. Was it because there were still coloured voters on the council voters roll and the council wanted to create an illusion of a non-racial city (James & Simons, 1989)? In reports to the council Hood (1955) wrote about the policy of gradualism and what was accomplished to implement separate facilities. This was not spoken about publicly. A 1955 pamphlet noted that members could use any library but "are expected to draw their books, as far as possible, at the libraries at which they enrol" (City of Cape Town, 1955b). This was after the incorporation of the subscription libraries. As noted in chapter three, the subscription libraries had raised the colour issue in the 1940s when the Library Commission investigated establishing a free municipal service. The Group Areas Act was already in place so people were being moved from mixed residential areas. By expecting members to use libraries where they joined, presumably where they lived, it seemed that the council wanted segregated libraries without having to say libraries were segregated.

Analysis shows that from 1959 the provincial administrator put pressure on CTCL to apply the separate facilities clause. Council responded that the service was running smoothly and that province should not interfere (City of Cape Town, 1960a). But the council commissioned a survey of who was using the libraries and Hood compiled a report on the ways that they had

implemented the ordinance (City of Cape Town, 1961a). One can speculate that the survey and the report were to appease the provincial administrator. It revealed that most libraries were used by one race group only - only three libraries had significant usage by mixed groups. As discussed in chapter four, this survey was used by the provincial administration to determine the race of a library.

5.5.2.1 Bantu Education Act

One of the recommendations at the 1928 conference was that there should be adequate provision for black libraries. Langa library was incorporated into CTCL in 1952 but in 1953 responsibility for black libraries was placed with the Department of Native Affairs and in 1958 with the newly formed Bantu Education Department. This resulted in a lack of financial support for these libraries and services to blacks were only reallocated to provincial councils in 1970 (Mostert, 1999).

There was no perceptible change in the way Langa library was treated by CTCL after 1954. Langa library was part of the library service even though the Native Affairs Department was responsible for salaries, the building and assets (City of Cape Town, 1960c). Hood requested larger premises for Langa Library and their statistics were reported in the CTCL annual reports. Chapter four shows that problems arose when Langa library burnt down and there was a request for a new library in Nyanga West (Gugulethu). CTCL was involved in drawing up plans for the libraries and included them in the library budget. The provincial administrator once again exercised control over CTCL and insisted that Langa and Gugulethu be removed from their library budget. According to Cobley (1997), the priority of the state was not to increase the provision of libraries to blacks but to control and police it. This is demonstrated by the fact that Langa and Gugulethu libraries were only opened in 1970.

5.5.3 Censorship legislation

There was control of reading through legislation, the Publications and Entertainments Act, No. 26 of 1963, and through self-censorship at book selection and books allocated to libraries.

Chapter four revealed that initially CTCL opposed the censorship laws but with time this changed until the service was predicting what was to be banned and not buying these books. Analysis of annual reports reveals that in the 1950s CTCL spoke out against censorship. By

the 1960s the annual reports noted the effect of censorship on work routines, for example, the number of books that had to be withdrawn but did not protest against censorship. Censorship had become accepted and CTCL worked within the system. Watts, the deputy city librarian, noted that embargoing books was good because then these books were not bought (Cape Argus, 1964a).

CTCL in some instances may have been a bit more liberal than other library systems in South Africa with regard to applying censorship. In 1962 when the Johannesburg Public Library removed books by banned people Vermeulen commented that CTCL only withheld or withdrew publications listed in government gazettes as banned (Cape Argus, 1962). When Nadine Gordimer's novel *Occasion for loving* was put under a sales embargo CTCL noted that it would only remove the book from the shelves if it was banned. CTCL seemed to want to work at their own pace as they had done with separate facilities.

Dick has condemned librarians for burning books. Burning books is an emotive issue reminding one of the Nazi era and is symbolic of cleansing (von Merveldt, 2007). The annual reports mentioned the number of books withdrawn and destroyed but did not mention *how* the books were destroyed. Newspaper articles about book burning quote the deputy and the acting CTCL city librarians, Zaaiman and Watts. It is interesting that a city librarian was never quoted, perhaps because they were more sensitive to comparisons to Nazis burning books. All except one interviewee said that they did not know that CTCL burnt books. People recalled the lists of banned books that had to be withdrawn and sent to head office and some mentioned a cage at head office where the books were stored. The cage was still there in 1989 when the researcher started working at CTCL. The interviewee who mentioned books being burnt said they were books removed by Lydia Pienaar, head of the Children's section, and not books withdrawn because of censorship. Snyman (nee Pienaar) confirmed that she weeded 40 000 books in her first year at CTCL but did not mention burning the books (Snyman, 2013).

It is baffling that the ex-staff do not remember that books were burnt. Perhaps it was not important to them or the incineration was handled discreetly. Does it make a difference if the books were burnt, pulped or kept in a cage? Librarians complied with the law and the books were no longer accessible to the public. Although censorship was applied throughout South Africa it was thought that librarians had a duty to protect the freedom of speech and access to books.

5.5.3.1 Self-censorship

Apart from the censorship laws, there was censorship imposed by librarians themselves. Books that might be banned were not bought as it was considered a waste of library funds. Some white librarians tried to control the books selected for coloured libraries. They had preconceived ideas about the type and level of book that these libraries' patrons would or should read.

As noted in chapter four, fiction books were categorised A, B or C and staff from extension libraries said that they were not allowed to select A or B fiction. However, the Lansdowne library annual report for 1965 commented on the borrowing trends which were mainly A and B fiction even though from 1965 Lansdowne was a coloured only library (City of Cape Town, 1966). It shows the preconceived ideas of white librarians were based perhaps on what they read and heard in the media and not on experience. Librarians working in extension libraries knew that patrons were reading all types of literature. Interviewee Chee Mee commented that patrons read the works of Emile Zola, category A fiction (Chee Mee, 2013). Inter library loan requests by extension libraries after incorporation into CTCL show that there was a demand for fiction and non-fiction books such as

- The divine comedy by Dante;
- King Oedipus by Sophocles;
- The wisdom of Confucius (CLEA, 1953).

Libraries applied censorship laws either because they agreed or because they were scared that if they did not, they could face harsh penalties. "In English speaking libraries there was apparent liberalism overlaid by anxious legalism and subservience to distant authority" (Merrett, 1994, p. 199).

CTCL worked within the legal system and withdrew and destroyed the books thus denying patrons' access.

5.5.4 Did CTCL oppose the legislation?

CTCL did not apply all the apartheid legislation immediately but there was always talk of a parallel library service for blacks and coloureds. When pressured by provincial administration to apply legislation, council said it could not do it immediately, did not have the finances and at times that it was not necessary. Hood spoke of the necessity of a policy of

gradualism. He observed that "the problem will sort itself out to some extent with the gradual implementation of the Group Areas Act" (Hood, 1959, p. 474). This was in line with the council's policy of voluntary segregation (Torch, 1961a).

CTCL was against separate facilities for Central and Wynberg libraries which is shown by quotes by Vermeulen and reports by Watts. This does not mean that the council was against separate facilities but only against how it was applied. Watts, said it would be wasteful, inefficient and unequal if separate facilities were applied to Sanlam building (Cape Times, 1961). Vermeulen did not openly speak out against apartheid but when discussing Central library moving to Sanlam building noted that separate facilities would be "insulting to our non-European patrons" (City of Cape Town, 1964b).

CTCL was a newly established service and adhering to the legislation added a financial burden. Finances that could have been used to build new libraries or upgrade old libraries were used to provide libraries to satisfy the legislation. At the same time CTCL could not meet the requests for libraries from, for example, ratepayers associations. In 1961 Watts said that no libraries were planned for at least three years as CTCL was already committed to five new libraries and to rehouse Central, Claremont and Sea Point libraries (City of Cape Town, 1961c). Segregated libraries were built in close proximity to Wynberg and Central to fulfil the separate facilities clause. The Group Areas Act forcibly moved people to newly established areas without facilities where libraries had to be built. Many were moved from an area with a library to an area with no library. People living in District Six had access to the Hyman Liberman Library and the Central Library. They were moved to housing estates such as Bonteheuwel which was completed in 1964 and only in August 1967 was a new Bonteheuwel library opened.

Mobile library services were offered in place of a fixed library. Mobile libraries were meant to be used for areas that were too small to warrant a library (City of Cape Town, 1968a). CTCL used the mobile vans to provide a service in new areas and where libraries had not been built but this did not work. Vans were overrun by borrowers and the staff could not cope (City of Cape Town, 1971). See Appendix 5 for photographs of mobile libraries. Staff who worked on the mobiles spoke of driving into Bonteheuwel and seeing all the children waiting. Mobile stops were deployed in areas like Sea Point which had a library that was reserved for whites only. The mobiles allocated to provide service for coloured users in white areas could have been used to meet the demand for stops elsewhere.

In comparison to CTCL the provincial library service implemented library apartheid early. Parow was the first municipality to a build a library for coloureds at the cost of £ 4000 (Kruger, 1972). The Cape Librarian noted that the new CPLS head office "is designed for apartheid with separate entrances for Europeans and non-Europeans" (Cape Provincial Library Service, 1959). Separate facilities were applied at CTCL later than at CPLS and SAPL (Torch, 1963a).

CTCL complied with legislation although not always immediately. CTCL withdrew and destroyed books. CTCL said separate facilities were not policy but had mobiles for non-whites in white areas. From 1965 all new libraries were designated for a particular race group. It can be noted that all city council departments were being pressurised to implement apartheid. A list of beaches and how to allocate them was sent to council as had been done for libraries (City of Cape Town, 1965b).

5.5.6 How did legislation affect staff and their work?

Analysis of the annual reports also reveals the racism in the service. In the annexures circulation statistics for libraries were listed by branch libraries which meant a library in a white area and extension libraries which were libraries in coloured and black areas. The first statistics were recorded in 1955 and membership was listed from highest to lowest but from 1958 membership was also recorded by branches and extension libraries.

There was an emotional effect which was described by one interviewee:

> Then group areas came in and these people were moved out, it was sad to see the effect on them. It also affected the nature of the library, the whole atmosphere (Naiker, 2013).

There was anger as demonstrated by the patron at Lansdowne who insisted that a white person not use the library. There was also acceptance. Castletown opened in 1967 to implement separate facilities in Wynberg. In 1967 there were 1 837 members and by 1970 the membership was 4 573. When coloureds were forced to move from Wynberg and Central libraries, there were some letters to newspapers but there is no evidence that the new coloured libraries were boycotted. The libraries were used, and maybe people went along even if they did not agree with apartheid.

Some principal librarians went out of their way to apply the legislation and others said that they ignored the ordinance. Kolbe (1990) noted that they "dutifully" put up the ordinances.

Coloureds were treated differently to whites in CTCL. Only coloured staff had to shelve books at white libraries and deliver books on Fridays. Access to libraries in coloured areas was affected as they were only open in the afternoons because staff was working in white libraries in the mornings. At the white libraries coloureds were only good enough to shelve and make tea but at coloured libraries they had to perform professional duties. This practice stopped in 1963.

Inherent racism was shown by the attitude of white staff in areas of work such as book selection. Whites thought they knew what coloureds should read and would say that certain books were not needed at coloured libraries.

Analysis of the interviews reveals that depending on race staff remember the times differently. In general whites felt that there was not discrimination within the libraries even if there was in the outside world. Coloured staff remembers it differently – less pay, longer hours, being made to work as shelvers or book processors before going to own libraries, less money at book selection, and control of what they bought for their libraries. Then there was the indefinable such as not being greeted. Some interviewees noted that the staff was liberal but others felt that this liberalism was token. People showed their true selves by insisting on applying the laws and hiding behind the excuse that they had to because it was the law. In response to how it was to live and work in that time Osman said:

> There were a lot of other hassles but somehow you just, I think when you are enjoying your work, then those things are there but you just have to go on – you going to H.O. on a bus where you can only sit on certain seats, or train – half carriages crammed into (Osman, 2013).

5.6 Conclusion

CTCL did not meet the philosophy of free and equal services to all or the idea of access to knowledge. On one hand CTCL was more open than other services in the country but there was segregation from the start. CTCL did bring free services to a much wider audience. Circulation statistics show a steady rise in all libraries in the service from 134 974 in 1952 to 4 689 787 in 1972. Membership increased from 3850 in 1952 to 227 270 (1973 figure given

as 1972 was not given in annual reports). In 20 years the number of libraries grew from eight service points in 1952 to 45 service points in 1972. In 1972 approximately 29% of the population were members of the service compared to 4.4% in 1941. See Appendix 6 for circulation and membership graphs.

Chapter Six

Conclusion and recommendations

6.1 Introduction

The study evaluated the effect of apartheid legislation on the establishment of CTCL in terms of a library philosophy of free access to information for all. The study examined if it was possible to establish a library service which adhered to the manifesto of equal access to all when legislation was being introduced which insisted on separate facilities. The study sought to answer four research questions.

- What led to the establishment of a public library service in Cape Town?
- How did the formal library services develop in South Africa?
- What is the history and development of CTCL?
- The political context and its impact on the development of the service?

This chapter will draw conclusions from the analysis in chapter five and provide recommendations.

6.2 Findings

Chapter one introduced the topic and gave a brief overview of the literature. A library philosophy of free and equal access to all and access to books and knowledge was identified.

Chapter two established that there was a reading culture in Cape Town and all racial groups read. Facilities catered to whites who had social and economic power and subscription libraries were the norm. In the early 20th century facilities were established for blacks and coloureds and the use of these free facilities demonstrated the need for facilities. The development of formal library services and library legislation continued the segregation of subscription libraries. Taylor (1967) and Friis (1962) acknowledged that that the library service offered in South Africa was for the white population. Services for blacks and coloured were considered as an afterthought.

Chapter three established that before the advent of apartheid Cape Town was a city with areas of segregation and mixing. Library services only reached a very small percentage of the population. After a number of attempts, it was only in 1945 that a free municipal service was

recommended. Race and costs were factors in the establishment of CTCL. The council's decision to only establish a library service with funding from the provincial administration had a profound effect on the library service. At its establishment CTCL had mixed and segregated libraries.

Chapter four examined the legislation that affected CTCL and its services and how the council opposed the legislation. It considered the effect of the legislation on the staff and their work.

CTCL complied with the legislation although not always immediately or without some form of protest. CTCL took longer to apply the separate facilities legislation even though they were pressurised. They applied segregation in certain areas with immediate effect, for example, head office. There seemed to be genuine feeling that it was not necessary to implement immediately in areas where there was mixing. This did not mean that CTCL was against separate facilities but that they wanted to apply it in their own way. The city council had a policy of gradualism which depended on voluntary segregation. The conduct of CTCL showed that it was not opposed to segregation as demonstrated by a parallel service for non-Europeans, the treatment of coloured staff and the introduction of mobile services for non-whites in white areas, amongst others. By 1972 CTCL was a segregated service with the exception of the reference and music sections of Central Library.

There was an expectation that librarians would defend freedom of access to books. Despite protests in the 1950s the censorship legislation was applied from the beginning. Books were withdrawn and either kept at head office or destroyed. Book burning was an extreme response to censorship and CTCL participated in this. By the 1960s censorship became an administrative problem.

There was a difference in CTCL response to legislation in the 1950s and the 1960s. In the 1950s CTCL protested against censorship and did not rush to apply apartheid legislation. In the 1960s CTCL were more acquiescent and this could be related to the political situation in South Africa. The nationalist government was more secure and were intent on implementing their policies which they did with more aggression. After 1960 the state was more aggressive and responded harshly to opposition. The legislation created a situation where the newly

established service was not able to meet the library philosophy of free access for all and access to knowledge.

Depending on their racial group staff experienced CTCL differently. Whites remembered a service that was not segregated. Coloureds and blacks remember being treated as inferiors.

Chapter five presented an analysis of the data. It demonstrated that CTCL was not able to meet a philosophy of free and equal access to all and access to knowledge.

6.3 Limitations of the study

In 2002 the libraries in Cape Town were amalgamated to form one service, the City of Cape Town Library and Information Services (COCTLIS). The CTCL head office in Cape Town held a file for each library which recorded its history through letters, correspondence, notes, statistic forms, plans, keys and newspaper cuttings. This constituted an archive which dated from 1952. This archive was pulped after the amalgamation of the libraries in 2002. Only the Lansdowne library's file was not pulped as it had been sent to the library and not returned. I requested information from libraries about their library's history. Few libraries had kept minutes, annual reports or other paperwork dating back to their establishment. Central Library was one of the libraries that had kept documentation including letters, minutes and so on. Most libraries had at most pamphlet file with newspaper articles and some photographs relating to their library. The lack of access to original documents means that the study findings could be skewed.

6.4 Recommendations

COCTLIS should create a policy for preserving its history encompassing individual libraries and include the head office. Annual reports, policies, procedures, personnel information and other documentation should be preserved whether by digitisation or storing material. The policy should include digital material.

A study of CTCL from 1973 to 2002 should be conducted which will allow for a complete picture of CTCL.

6.5 Conclusion

CTCL allowed itself to be threatened by the political circumstances and did not challenge legislation meaningfully. The political climate led to a library service that did not meet the library philosophy. At a period in time when libraries in countries such as the United States of America were slowly moving towards opening libraries to all, CTCL was moving in the opposite direction. Although CTCL brought library services to more people in 20 years, it did so in a segregated service. CTCL was not able to establish a service in line with library philosophy of free and equal access to all.

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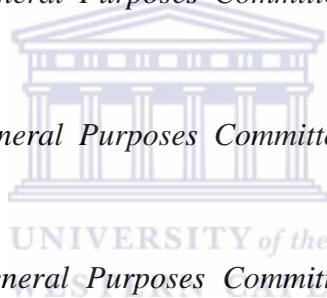
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List of Appendices

Appendix 1: Langa Library

Central Library Archive

Central Library Archive

Appendix 2: Survey of CTCL 1960

1905

4th April 1960.

	MEMBERS	BOOKSTOCK	RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF MEMBERS			RACIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF NEIGHBOURHOOD	REFERENCE FACILITIES	PERIODICALS TAKEN (INCLUDES NEWSPAPERS) & DONATIONS	ART PRINT COLLECTION	CHILDREN'S BOOKS	AFRICANA
			AFRICAN	COLOURED	EUROPEAN						
Ackermans	105	415			100%	Factory with Coloured labour.	D	8		C	C
Athlone	1010	2194		100%		Coloured Housing (CCC).	C	5		C	C
Bloemhof	544	2277		100%		Coloured.	C	3		C	C
James Bourhill	952	1774	5%	85%	10%	Coloured.	C	11		C	B
Bridgetown	1135	2282		100%		Coloured Housing (CCC).	C	16		C	C
Gleemoor	2042	3689		100%		Coloured.	C	11		B	B
Kensington	1828	4180	16%	83%	1%	Coloured.	C	29		A	D
Newtown	2563	6683		100%		Coloured Housing (CCC).	B	4	Yes.	D	C
Lansdowne	1074	2294	1%	93%	6%	Coloured.	C	30		C	C
Liberman	2350	9046		100%		Coloured.	A	1		A	B
Mobile	4351	4199		100%		Coloured.	D	8		D	B
Retreat	897	3994		100%		Coloured Housing (CCC).	A			A	B
Schotsche Kloof	784	1465		100%		Cape Malay.	B			A	B
Service Products	62	468		96%	4%	Coloured and European.	C	13		C	A
Traveller	5230	2993		100%		Coloured and European.	A			A	A
Bamington's	44	271		88%	12%	Factory with Coloured labour.	A			A	A
Tej	82	625		88%	12%	Factory with Coloured labour.	A			A	A
Brooklyn	1336	5081			100%	European.	C	45	Yes.	C	D
Central	15728	38787	4%	25%	74½%	European.	B	25		D	B
Camps Bay	2166	12107			100%	European.	A	57	Yes.	C	C
Claremont	2198	25980		6%	94%	European.	C	11		C	B
Green Point	1903	5809		7%	9?%	European.	A	12	Yes.	A	B
Huis I'Skthoff	51				100%	European.	A	213		B	A
Kalk Bay	1006	5412		4%	99½%	European.	A	28		A	A
Kloof Street	1794	4309	1%	1%	100%	European.	C	32	Yes.	C	D
Long Street	7226	20015		7%	92%	European.	A	47		D	C
Maitland	1573	6732		1%	99%	European.	B	51		A	C
Mowbray	1948	8863			100%	European.	B	20		A	B
Muizenberg	2832	11784		1%	99½%	European.	B	14		D	A
Observatory	3510	19788		1%	99½%	European.	D	80		D	A
Plumstead	2561	7247		1%	99½%	European.	A	63	Yes.	A	A
Sea Point	7827	21786		50%	50%	Mixed.	B	34		A	B
Woodstock	5035	22267		22%	77½%	European.	A	77		A	A
Wynberg	9174	28851	4%			European.					

NOTES:-

Racial Characteristics of Members:
No separate record of borrowers in various categories is kept and these figures are based on estimates by the librarians concerned. There (½% is used, the number is actually smaller than 2%.

Reference Facilities: A — more than 65 titles. B — more than 35 titles. C — more than 15 titles. D — more than 5 titles.

Children's Books: A — 3500 – 4000 volumes. B — 1500 – 2500 volumes. C — 700 – 1500 volumes. Does not include children's reference books.

Other Facilities: Kenton, Long Street, Sea Point and Wynberg have sheet music collections. Wynberg has a collection of sets of plays for lending. Long Street and Wynberg have gramophone records for lending, and Long Street has a listening room. Wynberg has a picture collection. Long Street has the United States Information Service collection, trade catalogues, technical books, film services and a pamphlet collection.

Travelling Libraries: Timetables of the travelling libraries are attached. (laid upon the table.)

Western Cape Archives and Records Service

Appendix 3: Use of Wynberg Library by all racial groups

Central Library Archive

Appendix 4: David Marais cartoon opening of Castletown Library

Cape Times 13 September 1967, Courtesy of the Cape Times

Appendix 5: Mobile libraries
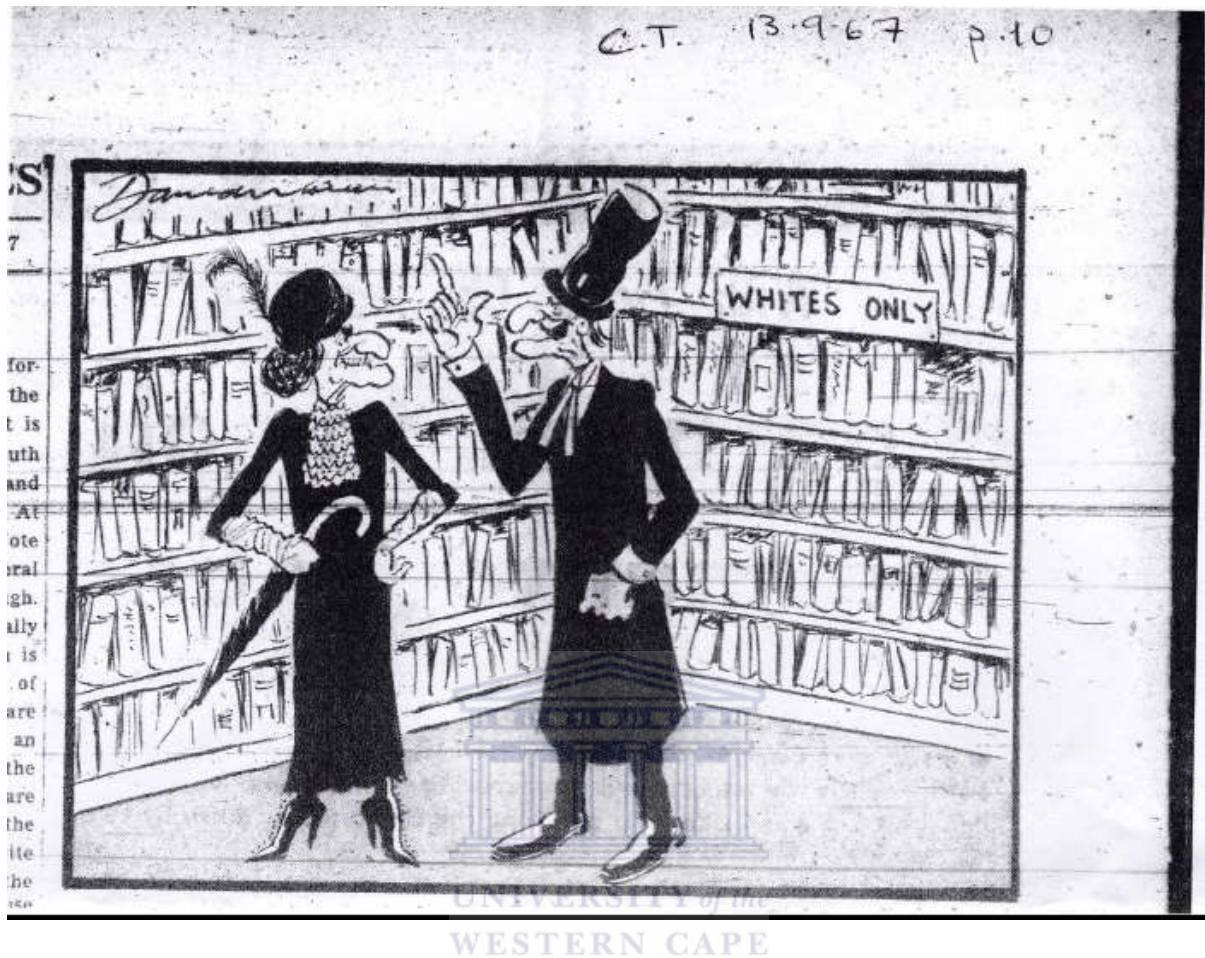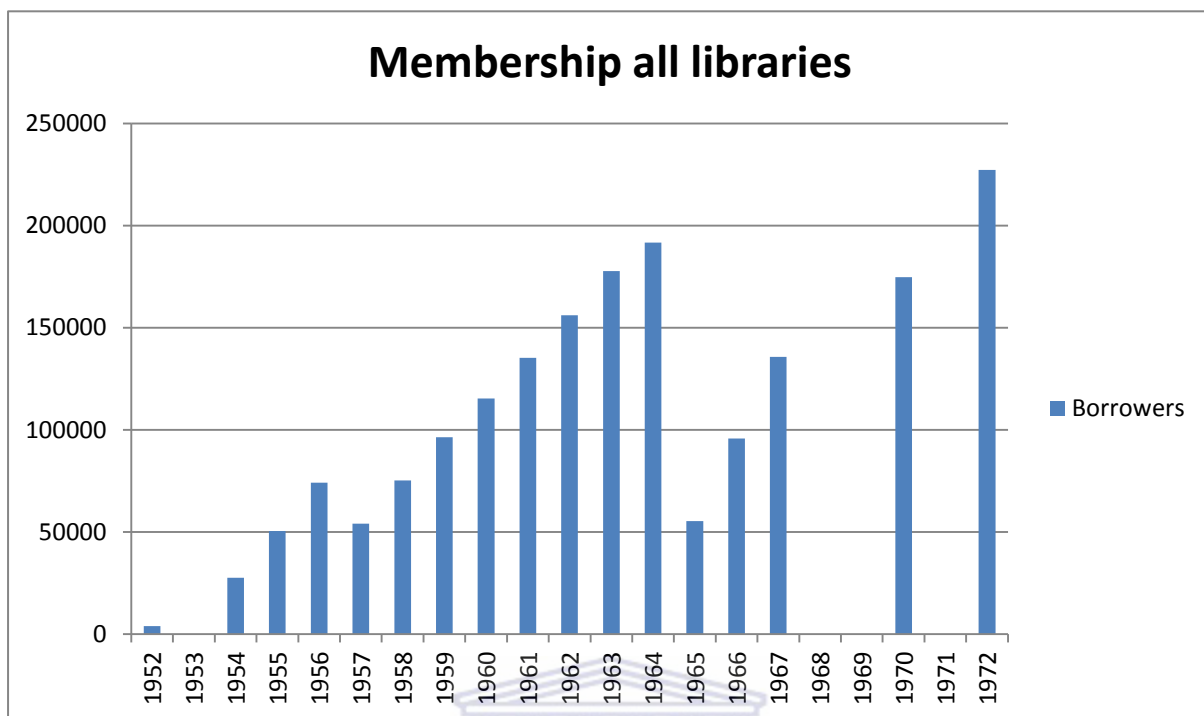

Central Library Archive

Central Library Archive

Appendix 6: Membership and circulation statistics for CTCL

Membership all libraries

Appendix 7: Timeline of CTCL 1952-1972

1952	
23 April	City Libraries Development Officer , Mr B. G. Hood, started
June	Children's section opened at Kensington library
June	Tour of libraries in South Africa by Hood
August	Library opened at Lansdowne in the Moravian school
26 August	Development Officer's Interim report adopted
1 October	CTCL takes over CLEA
23 October	CTCL moved into Hamilton House, 30 Chiappini St, Cape Town
9 December	Hood presented report to council on development of the library service
31December	Subscription libraries, Hyman Liberman Institute, Openbare Afrikaans Nederlands Boekery en Leeskamer invited to join city library service from 1st January 1954
	Cafda library closed
	Hospital Library Service incorporated into CTCL
1953	
April	Request service for borrowers started
15 June	Kensington student clinic library opened
17 June	Ackerman's factory library opened, first factory library in South Africa
1 October	Registration of subscription borrowers for new service started
28 December	Mobile library service launched for non-Europeans
	Negotiations started with SAPL to establish a free municipal library in the city centre
	New librarian appointed at Langa library
	Library Regulation drawn up and submitted to council which approved it and sent to provincial administration

1954	
4 January	10 of the subscription libraries opened as units of the free City Library service
5 January	Hyman Liberman Institute Library became part of the City Library Service
10 January	Janet Bourhill Library opened
24 March	Observatory Library joined service
21 May	Meeting convened by Provincial Secretary to consider a new Library Ordinance
14 September	Deposit library opened at Service Products factory
28 October	Hostel library opened at Monica Hostel
15 December	Reisende, 2nd mobile library, launched
15 December	Council leased lending room from SAPL and purchased the 32 500 volumes; Central library opened but another source says it only opened to public in Jan 1955
	First gramophone records catalogued
	Africana Price Catalogue compiled
	Name change - Athlone became Kew Town
	Name change - Gleemor became Athlone
	Name change - Jamestown became Gleemor
	Athlone Library moved to new Athlone community centre
	Lansdowne Library moved to Lansdowne municipal hall
	Langa Library moved to Church St, Langa
	Standard Fiction List compiled
	Vertical File started
	Accession lists of new books sent to libraries approximately every three weeks
1955	

31 January	Library at Monica's Hostel closed because the hostel closed
February	Service started ordering books for other Council departments
18 April	Plumstead Library opened
20 April	Kalk Bay Library opened
July	Record recitals started at Sea Point, Claremont and Hyman Liberman libraries
1 August	Green Point Library opened
2 October	Deposit library opened at Symington's factory
	Provincial Library Ordinance No. 4 proclaimed
	Donation of Evelyn Fincken collection which formed basis of music collection
	Story time started at Groote Schuur hospital for children
	Afrikaans books supplied to Langa for the first time
	Langa premises improved
1956	
6 February	Kloof Street Library opened
20 February	Schotse Kloof Library opened
6 March	Long Street Library opened
5 July	Gramophone records issued for the first time (in South Africa)
August	Art prints issued for the first time from Wynberg Library
24 September	Traveller ("Non-European") mobile library launched
5 October	Windermere Library closed
October	Wynberg Military Hospital added to Hospital Service
	Music librarian appointed at Long Street Library
	Films and projector available for loan to public (and record player, ,screen, filmstrip projector)

	Full time display artist appointed
1957	
20 February	City Readers' Society formed
7 July	Langa Library moved into large adjoining room
20 May	Bridgetown Library opened
8 June	Kewtown Library moved to offices
August	Plumstead library moved to a larger shop in same building
	Rondebosch Red Cross Memorial Hospital and Maitland Cottage Home joined Hospital Service
	Hospital Service to Eaton Convalescent Home discontinued
	Fiction marked with symbols
	Reregistration of all members
	Children's rooms opened at Sea Point and Camps Bay libraries
	City Librarian received travelling fellowship from Carnegie Corporation
1958	
	Children supplied with pictures for projects (A/R 1964 says started six years ago)
March	Kensington branch moved to new premises, a shop in 9th St.
1959	
March	Retreat Library opened in community centre
July	Kensington Library extended to include a children's section
14 December	Wynberg Library opened in new premises next to Maynardville
1960	

20 March	Langa Library burnt down
25 March	Official opening of new Wynberg Library
1961	
14 April	Official opening of Janet Bourhill Library in new premises
15 June	Official opening of Muizenberg Library in new premises
August	Hood resigned
1962	
	Paperbacks bought for the first time
June	Gramophone section started at Muizenberg Library
28 August	Official opening of Central branch in new premises - Sanlam Building, Wale St.
	Gramophone record section moved to Central branch from Long St. branch
	Central Children's section in a separate room
1963	
	Extra floor rented at head office for expansion
	Retreat Library's name changed to Steenberg Library
	Teen books a new phenomenon, marked with T on spine
1 April	Extension Librarian (new post) Mrs M. C. Parker started
April	Librarians at Extension libraries no longer had to work at processing department
25 April	Vredehoek Library opened
May	Report into staffing problems adopted by council
19 August	Regent Rd Library opened
November	Reregistration of members scheme approved

1964	
November	"Reisende" mobile van replaced
	Start of membership reregistration scheme
February	Monthly meetings started for children's librarians
April	Subject index issued to libraries
May	Children's book selection committee formed
25 May	Bonteheuwel Library opened, Jakkalsvlei Lane
August	Lansdowne Library closed while new civic centre being built
1965	
	Record section at Kewtown closed
	Story hour done weekly instead of only in school holidays
August	English fiction standing orders list revised, some authors of light fiction removed
	Subject book lists issued
May	Inter office telephone system installed at head office
June	Brooklyn Library moved to new premises
July	Long Street merged with Central Lending in Sanlam building, Cape Town
1 September	Lansdowne reopened in new building
	Subject book card supplied to branches
	CTCL started to buy large print books
1966	
	City Librarian, C H Vermeulen, study trip to USA
	Compiled standard authors list

January	Lydia Pienaar started
June	Publication of "Basic children's books : a list for a South African Library"
	Stock request card made introduced
	Commercial artist post created
1967	
	Periodicals ordered for three year period instead of one year
	Regrading of salary scales
	Branches not allowed to request stock from Central Information
August	New Bonteheuwel library opened, Vince Kolbe in charge
12 September	Castletown Library opened
September	Kloof Street Library enlarged by renting adjoining shop which became the children's library
1968	
February	Light fiction requests stopped
	Book selection open to all LICs
1969	
February	City Park Library opened
	Fines for children under ten abolished
	Branch staff manual revised
	Started to use Dewey 17
	New Anglo-America cataloguing rules implemented
	Accounts sent for long overdues
	Standard letter for new members revised, included letterhead and crest

1970	
July	Langa Library opened
July	Gugulethu Library opened
August	Vredehoek Library housed in shop closed, area served by mobile library
October	Meadowridge Library opened
October	All branch libraries except Central closed on Saturday afternoons
	Senior Service started
	City Lip (in-house staff magazine) started
1971	
January	Meadowridge Library joined CTCL
3 May	New Camps bay Library opened
6 May	New Vredehoek Library officially opened
July	"Library Services in Cape Town : a development plan for the future" report submitted to council
10 August	New Southfield Library opened
1972	
10 January	Heideveld Library opened
March	Follow up report to Development Plan
July	Central Children's Library closed
July	Green Point Library closed
July	New Sea Point library opened
	Regionalisation of administration
	Deposit to use record libraries abolished.

	Deputy Librarian, ,Watts, appointed to investigate mechanisation of libraries
	Stopped issuing art prints from smaller libraries - space a problem

Appendix 8: Consent form

By signing this consent form, you are not waiving your legal rights or releasing the investigator(s) or involved institution(s) from their legal and professional responsibilities.

I have read the information presented in the information letter about a study being conducted by Kathleen Laishley of the Department of Library and Information Science at the University of the Western Cape. I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study, to receive satisfactory answers to my questions, and any additional details I wanted.

I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be video recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses. I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in the thesis and/or publications to come from this research. With the understanding that the quotations will be anonymous if so desired. I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by advising the researcher.

This project has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through, the Office of Research Ethics at the University of the Western Cape.

With full knowledge of all foregoing, I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

  YES   NO
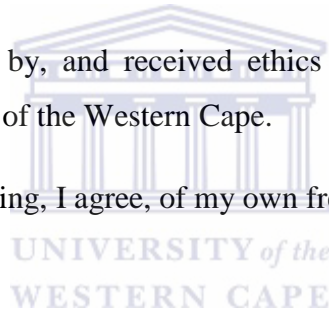
I agree to have my interview video recorded.

  YES   NO

I agree to the use of quotations, anonymous if so desired, in any thesis or publication that comes of this research.

  YES   NO

Participant Name: _____ (Please print)

Participant Signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix 9: Schedule of interviews and questions

Jean Albert, interviewed Cape Town, May 2013

Rev. Clarence Chee Mee, interviewed Cape Town, July 2013

Rhonda Dubow, interviewed Cape Town, February 2013

Rheina Epstein, interviewed Cape Town, January 2013

Neil Jacobs, interviewed telephonically, January 2013

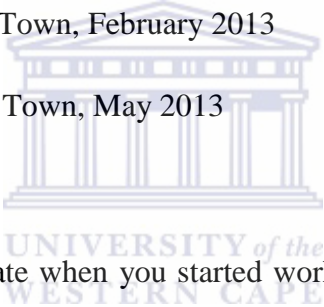Shirley Jansen, interviewed Cape Town, February 2013

Errol Naiker, interviewed Cape Town, February 2013

Shireen Osman, interviewed Cape Town, January 2013

Lydia Snyman, interviewed Cape Town, February 2013

Colette Thorne, interviewed Cape Town, May 2013

Interview questions

- Please state your name, date when you started work at CTCL and library where you started.

- What do you remember about your time at CTCL?

- Did you know anything about censorship and burning of books?

- How did apartheid affect you and your work?

- Was staff from racial groups treated differently?

- Were the libraries treated differently according to race?

- Did librarians go along with legislation?