How Books, Reading and Subscription Libraries Defined Colonial Clubland in the British Empire

How Books, Reading and Subscription Libraries Defined Colonial Clubland in the British Empire argues that within an entangled web of imperial, colonial and book trade networks books, reading and subscription libraries contributed to the core and peripheral criteria of clubbability used by the “select people” – clubbable settler elite – to vet the “proper sort” – clubbable indigenous elite – as they culturally, economically and socially navigated their way towards membership in colonial clubland. As a microcosm for British-controlled areas of the Caribbean, Asia and Africa, this book assesses the history, membership, growth and collection development of three colonial subscription libraries – the Penang Library in Malaysia, the General Library of the Institute of Jamaica and the Lagos Library in Nigeria – during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This work also examines the places these libraries occupied within the lives of their subscribers, and how the British Council reorganized these colonial subscription libraries to ensure their survival and the survival of colonial clubland in a post-colonial world. This book is designed to accommodate historians of Britain and its empire who are unfamiliar with library history, library historians who are unfamiliar with British history, and book historians who are unfamiliar with both topics.

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How Books, Reading and Subscription Libraries Defined Colonial Clubland in the British Empire

Sterling Joseph Coleman, Jr.

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– For training me to become a librarian.

For Florida State University

– For training me to become an historian.

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– For giving me the opportunity to put all of my training
to good use.

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Abbreviations

AG	Action Group
ALA	American Library Association
CCNY	Carnegie Corporation of New York
CDA	1929 Colonial Development Act 1929
CDAC	Colonial Development Advisory Committee
CDF	Colonial Development Fund
CDWA	1940 Colonial Development and Welfare Act 1940
CDWA	1945 Colonial Development and Welfare Act 1945
CDWAC	Colonial Development and Welfare Advisory Committee
CPM	Communist Party of Malaysia
KMM	<i>Kesatuan Melayu Muda</i> (Young Malay Union)
MCA	Malaysian Chinese Association
MIC	Malayan Indian Congress
MP	Member of Parliament
MPAJA	Malayan People's Anti-Japanese Army
NCNC	National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons
NNDP	Nigerians National Democratic Party
NPC	Northern People's Congress
NYM	Nigerian Youth Movement
OIC	Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs
OIE	Office of International Information and Educational Exchange
OSS	Office of Strategic Services
OWI	Office of War Information
PNP	People's National Party
TUC	Trade Union Congress
UMNO	United Malays National Organization
USIA	United States Information Agency
USIS	United States Information Service

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Introduction

In her groundbreaking article, “Britishness, Clubbability and the Colonial Public Sphere: The Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India,” Mrinalini Sinha argued the imperial nature of the club as an institution in the colonial public sphere and the notion of clubbability resided within a Eurocentric logic which valued the settler as uniquely clubbable and recognized the potential clubbability of the indigenous.¹ Sinha not only highlighted clubbability as it pertained to the settler and the indigenous within the colonial public sphere but also created an opportunity to explore the core and peripheral criteria of clubbability the settler elite used to first determine the clubbability of the European non-elite and later the indigenous elite. This study will build upon Sinha’s work by analyzing how subscription libraries served as a peripheral criterion of clubbability and how books and reading contributed to the core criteria of clubbability during the search of the ‘select people’ – clubbable British elite – for the ‘proper sort’ – clubbable indigenous elite.²

This book is about imperial networks and colonial networks within the Habermasian perspective of the public sphere. It is about imperial networks because it examines how the book trade of the British Empire impacted upon colonial booksellers and their ability to provide reading materials to the settler and indigenous populations within the British colonies of Jamaica, Malaysia and Nigeria. It is about colonial networks because it explores how books, reading and subscription libraries contributed to the development of a colonial cultural network within the public and private spheres which not only educated, entertained and informed the settler elite but also determined the worthiness of first the European non-elite and later the indigenous elite to enter the upper echelons of colonial clubland. This book is also about library history because it assesses the history, membership, growth and collection development of three colonial subscription libraries – the Penang Library in Malaysia, the Lagos Library in Nigeria and the General Library of the Institute of Jamaica – during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and examines their place within the colonial public and private spheres.

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Within these imperial, colonial and library histories and networks, this work will argue that books, reading and subscription libraries contributed to the core and peripheral criteria of clubbability used as a boundary by the 'select people' to vet the 'proper sort' as they navigated their way from the colonial public sphere into the colonial private sphere of clubland. It will also argue that external and internal challenges during the 1920s and 1930s – the overcrowding of the colonial bureaucracy by the indigenous elite, the British metropolitan and colonial response to the Great Depression, the rise of Nazism and the advent of the indigenous reform movements as counter-publics – compelled the 'select people' to expand the boundaries of clubbability to include the indigenous elite or to use Sinha's terminology, the 'proper sort.'³ This work will also argue that during and after World War II, the British Council acted as an agent of empire by invading the colonial public sphere and by reorganizing colonial subscription libraries to ensure their survival – and the survival of the colonial cultural network including clubland – in a post-colonial world. This book is designed to accommodate British historians who are not familiar with library history, library historians who are not familiar with British history and book historians who are not familiar with either one.

Historiography

This study came into existence because there were noticeable gaps in the literatures of four fields – imperial networks, subscription librarianship, the British Council and colonial clubland – which needed to be filled. This work builds upon Cooper and Stoler's assessment in *Tensions of Empire* of how both the colonies and the metropolis shared in the dialectic of inclusion and exclusion by examining the British book trade in general, the relationship between colonial booksellers and metropolitan book publishers in particular and how the ultimate production of their interaction – books – contributed to the collection development of colonial subscription libraries and the forging of notions of clubbability through the act of reading.⁴ This work also expands Alan Lester's notion of the making and remaking of British colonial discourses through the geographies of interaction between Britain and her colonies, South Africa in particular, by looking at other colonies – Jamaica, Nigeria and Malaysia – throughout the British Empire.⁵ By expanding the analysis of these imperial and colonial networks to these areas rather than limiting them to one colony, one continent or one region, I seek to give the reader a larger and broader examination of the commonalities and differences which existed within the public and private spheres contained within these colonial networks. Finally, in concert with P.J. Cain and A.G. Hopkins' notion of identifying the gentlemanly elite who promoted and secured capitalist interests, this work will expand upon that concept by examining the

social history of the settler elite and indigenous elite through the colonial public and private spheres which they sometimes shared, through the counter-publics which arose to challenge the dominance of the colonial public sphere and through the colonial cultural network they designed within these spheres.⁶

The gaps which exist within colonial clubland are far broader than those dealing with imperial networks. P.J. Rich in *Chains of Empire* explored colonial clubland across the British Empire and the imperial reciprocity agreements between metropolitan clubland and colonial clubland which bound them together.⁷ Yet Rich failed to examine the place of colonial clubland within a larger colonial network of other social and cultural institutions such as subscription libraries. Peter Clark in *British Clubs and Societies 1560–1800* explored the origins and expansion of associations in general and clubs in particular, but only up until the dawn of the nineteenth century.⁸ Mrinalini Sinha in “Britishness, Clubbability and the Colonial Public Sphere” and Amy Milne-Smith in *London Clubland* both analyzed the impact of class and gender upon clubland and their contributions to the boundaries of clubbability, yet their foci were squarely upon clubland in India and London respectively.⁹ Benjamin Cohen’s work, *In the Club*, provided an apologist reappraisal of colonial clubland by exploring the social contributions of these institutions to their respective host communities. Though he explored racial and gender discrimination and integration in colonial clubland, Cohen, like Sinha, geographically limited his assessment to clubland in British India.¹⁰ My goal with this work is to explore colonial clubland and the concept of clubbability throughout the broader British Empire. Because these institutions did not operate in cultural or social isolation but were part of a colonial network designed to entertain, inform and educate its members, this work will also explore the place of social clubs within the colonial public and private spheres that contained these networks.

Many works have been written on colonial subscription librarianship, but most of them offer a descriptive assessment which falls short of a comprehensive analysis of their place in colonial life. Edward Lim Huck Tee’s *Libraries in West Malaysia and Singapore* and Odo L. Nnaji’s *The Library in Nigeria* assess the history, growth and development of subscription libraries within the larger context of their respective colonial library system.¹¹ However, these works fail to explore the role of libraries within the colonial public sphere and their relationship with colonial clubland. The only work which comes close to achieving this endeavor is Brian L. Moore and Michele A. Johnsons’ “*They Do as They Please*”: *The Jamaican Struggle for Cultural Freedom After Morant Bay*. Moore and Johnson addresses Jamaican subscription librarianship as one cultural facet within a larger set of cultural institutions designed to educate, entertain and inform Jamaican society.¹² My work will seek to build upon theirs by linking these disparate cultural institutions together into

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a colonial cultural network that served as places where the settlers and indigenous populations could be entertained, educated and informed.

Because it has been largely written by its current and retired employees, the historiography of the British Council is largely slanted towards a descriptive narrative emphasizing the institutional history of the organization in library building and library management activities. Frances Donaldson in *The British Council: The First Fifty Years* and Douglas Coombs in *Spreading the Word: The Library Work of the British Council* both provided a detailed historical study of the British Council's library operations throughout the British Empire and the world respectively.¹³ Yet they failed to critically analyze the British Council's role, function and mission throughout the British Empire. They drew attention to the imperial connection which existed between the British Council, metropolitan publishers and colonial governments, but they never analyzed these connections through the lens of an imperial network, nor did they link them to the colonial public sphere.

In the last five years, the colonial and post-colonial work of the British Council has begun to receive a more comprehensive and scholarly treatment. Tamara van Kessel in *Foreign Cultural Policy in the Interbellum* explored the contested cultural and political space of the Mediterranean between the British Council and its Italian counterpart, the Dante Alighieri Society, in the aftermath of World War I,¹⁴ while Peter Mackridge and David Ricks (eds.) in *The British Council and Anglo-Greek Literary Interactions, 1945–1955* explored in a collection of essays the British Council's cultural activities in Greece after World War II.¹⁵ My work will seek to address these aforementioned shortcomings and build upon these latter works by reexamining the British Council within the larger imperial network of the British book trade and within the public spheres of the British colonies. I will also assess the extent to which the British Council, acting as a counter-public, sought to preserve colonial institutions for a post-colonial world.

In an attempt to successfully fill these gaps in the literature, my work will seek to answer the following questions: What role did books, reading and subscription libraries play in the colonial public and private spheres? What role did subscription libraries play in the lives of their respective patrons within these colonial settings? How did the settler elite use subscription libraries to determine whom among the indigenous elite were the 'proper sort'? And why were colonial subscription libraries and colonial clubland able to persist during and after the post-independence periods of Jamaica, Malaysia and Nigeria?

My work will arrive at the following conclusions: Colonial subscription libraries were communities of interest within a larger network of social and cultural institutions designed to educate, entertain and inform both the settler and indigenous elite. Throughout the long nineteenth century, the settler elite used subscription libraries as well as exhibitions,

sports clubs, debates, lectures, concerts, theater, reading performances, public dances, comedy shows, banquets, circuses, cinemas, social meetings, bazaars, fairs and agricultural and horticultural shows as peripheral criteria to determine the clubbability of the European non-elite, with little thought given towards opening clubland to the indigenous elite.¹⁶ Clubland was deemed to be an exclusively European enclave, and while the indigenous elite were free to establish clubs of their own – and some did – few were deemed clubbable in the eyes of the ‘select people.’

Between the 1920s and 1950s five demographic, economic, social and political challenges emerged which forced the settler elite to expand clubbability to the indigenous elite. Those challenges were the overcrowding of the colonial bureaucracy by the indigenous elite, the rise of anti-imperialism abroad, the British metropolitan and colonial response to the Great Depression, the rise of Nazism and the advent of indigenous reform movements. These challenges compelled the ‘select people’ to search for the ‘proper sort’ – clubbable members of the indigenous elite who would serve as their silent partners in the political, economic and social management of the colony.

Subscription libraries such as the Penang Library in Malaysia, the General Library of the Institute of Jamaica and the Lagos Library in Nigeria along with the books they contained, the reading environments they offered and the committees of management they held were used during this search for the ‘proper sort.’ The kinds of books they read (penny dreadfuls as opposed to the works of Shakespeare), the quality of the books they owned (hardcovers as opposed to paperbacks), their ability to pay the subscription fee of the library and their participation on the management committees of these subscription libraries were integral towards the core criteria for clubbability.

The founding of the British Council in 1934 and their library-related activities during and after World War II in the colonies of Jamaica, Malaysia and Nigeria served as a counter-public to the colonial public sphere by fundamentally reorganizing the role, function and collections of the Penang Library, the Lagos Library and the General Library of the Institute of Jamaica, so they could survive decolonization intact, thereby preserving the colonial network of cultural and social institutions within a post-colonial world.¹⁷

Sources

Colonial clubland does not easily surrender its secrets. Aside from club histories produced by clubs themselves, one must look to anecdotal evidence such as personal letters, memoirs and advertisements in colonial newspapers for primary sources about these institutions. Subscription libraries offer the luxury of keeping annual reports which can be used by a researcher to determine the size, composition and growth of

6 *Introduction*

a library collection and membership over extended periods. However, these institutions are also susceptible to the ravages of time, pests, war and natural disasters, which can not only devastate a library's collection and destroy its records but also end the library itself. Thus one finds gaps in the annual report of these institutions, which makes a reliance upon memoirs, correspondences and government documents such as colonial handbooks a necessity. The only consistent and reliable set of collected records is that of the British Council which provide a thorough and comprehensive assessment of not only their library-related activities but also their English language teaching activities abroad.

The secondary sources used throughout this work came from a wide variety of disciplines including library history, imperial history and cultural history. The goal of using such a broad spectrum of works is to gain a better understanding of how the cultural network of the colonial public sphere was utilized by the upper echelons of clubland within the colonial private sphere to create a contact zone in which the 'select people' would determine the clubbability of the 'proper sort.'

In the face of a rising tide of nationalist movements during the Cold War, the British Council and some members of the settler elite attempted to shift the responsibility of maintaining these subscription libraries from the subscribers themselves to their local municipal governments. Their goal was to ensure that each of the aforementioned subscription libraries would continue to serve as peripheral criteria of clubbability well into the post-independence era. However, the question of how books, reading and subscription libraries could continue to be utilized for this purpose well after independence will be more clearly discerned later in the text.

While this topic has been long neglected within these historiographies, this study will not only determine what patrons and subscribers read and what books they may have owned but also how these subscription libraries were used by patrons ranging from the casual reader to the bibliophile among the 'select people' and the 'proper sort.' As many studies have examined both literacy and librarianship within some of the colonies of the British Empire, this work will break new ground and contribute to the literature by providing the first comprehensive analysis of books, reading and subscription librarianship as the core and peripheral criteria of clubbability for three of the most understudied colonies of the British Empire. Finally this study will analyze the history of the British book trade during the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth centuries and measure the extent to which innovations in the print industry contributed to the greater availability of books in the British colonies.

The purpose of exploring the British book trade is to assess the impact of books and reading upon the indigenous elite's clubbability. By exploring the political and cultural origins of the British Council, a greater understanding of its mission and role throughout the British Empire will be achieved. Overall, the metropolitan context of the British book trade

and the British Council will provide a firm foundation for the study of books, reading and library development throughout the colonies of the British Empire.

In the end, this study will argue books, reading and subscription libraries contributed to the core and peripheral criteria of clubbability used by the 'select people' to find the 'proper sort.' While these criteria were primarily designed to entertain, educate and inform its participants, the rise of colonial clubs during the nineteenth century compelled the 'select people' to use them to determine the clubbability of the European non-elite. To counter a confluence of political, social, economic and demographic events within each colony and in an effort to find the 'proper sort,' clubbability was expanded to include the indigenous elite by the first third of the twentieth century. Even after independence was achieved in Jamaica, Malaysia and Nigeria, books, reading and subscription libraries were still used by the indigenous elite to determine the clubbability of their own members and the indigenous masses. Before a more detailed analysis of this situation can begin, a brief assessment of the British book trade and its relationship with the colonies must be explored.

Notes

1. Mrinalini Sinha, "Britishness, Clubbability and the Colonial Public Sphere: The Genealogy of an Imperial Institution in Colonial India." *Journal of British Studies* 40, no. 4 (October 2001): 492.
2. For the purpose of this study, the term 'subscription library' will be defined as follows: "A type of library that developed in Britain during the second half of the 18th century, whose members paid annual dues or a subscription fee in exchange for the privilege of using library materials and services." And for the purpose of this study, the term 'public library' will be defined as follows: "A library or library system that provides unrestricted access to library resources and services free of charge to all the residents of a given community, district or geographic region, supported wholly or in part by public funds." Both definitions can be found in Joan M. Reitz, *ODLIS: Online Dictionary of Library and Information Science* (New York: ABC-CLIO Incorporated, 2002), "S" and "P," www.abc-clio.com/ODLIS/odlis_s.aspx and www.abc-clio.com/ODLIS/odlis_p.aspx. The terms 'select people' and 'proper sort' were derived from Sinha, "Britishness, Clubbability," 505 and 516.
3. The terms 'select people' and 'proper sort' were derived from Sinha, "Britishness, Clubbability," 505 and 516. The terms 'British elite' and 'settler elite' will be interchangeably utilized throughout the text. The terms 'indigenous elite' and 'colonized elite' also will be interchanged throughout this work.
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5. Alan Lester, *Imperial Networks: Creating Identities in Nineteenth Century South Africa and Britain* (London: Routledge, 2001).
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15. Peter Mackridge and David Ricks (eds.), *The British Council and Anglo-Greek Literary Interactions, 1945–1955* (New York: Routledge Press, 2018).
16. This listing of peripheral criteria is derived from the following study of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Jamaican culture, Moore and Johnson, “*They Do*,” vii–viii.
17. For the purpose of this study, the term ‘reading room’ will be defined as follows: “A specially designated room in a library, usually furnished with comfortable chairs, study tables, and reading lamps, where a person can study or read quietly without being disturbed. Reading rooms may also contain library materials such as reference books. Also refers to a community facility administered independently of a library, equipped with tables, chairs and illumination but containing little or no reading matter, to which a person in need of a quiet retreat may bring his or her own materials for study, more common in less developed countries where comfortable space for individual study is at a premium.” This definition can be found in Reitz, *ODLIS*, “R.”

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23. The preceding agricultural schools and their dates of establishment were derived from the following sources: Joyce L. Robinson, "Jamaica, Libraries in." In *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science, Volume 13: Inventories to Korea*, eds. Allan Kent and Harold Lancour (New York: Marcel Dekker, Inc., 1975), 196; Sam C. Nwoye, "Nigeria, Libraries in." In *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science, Volume 20: Nigeria, Libraries in, to Oregon State University*, eds. Allen Kent and Harold Lancour (New York: Marcel Dekker, Inc., 1976), 29; Hedwig Anuar and Donald E.K. Wijasuriya, "Malaysia, Libraries in." In *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science, Volume 17: Malawi to Metro*, eds. Allen Kent and Harold Lancour (New York: Marcel Dekker, Inc., 1975), 61.

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6. Frank Cundall, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1920: Comprising Historical, Statistical and General Information Concerning the Island, Compiled from Official and Other Reliable Records* (Kingston: Government Printing Office, 1920), 225. For the purpose of this study, the term ‘special collections’ will be defined as follows: “Some libraries segregate from the general collection rare books, manuscripts, papers and other items that are (1) of a certain form, (2) on a certain subject, (3) of a certain time period or geographic area, (4) in fragile or poor condition, or (5) especially valuable.” This definition can be found in Reitz, ODLIS, “S.”
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9. “Jamaica Institute.” *Daily Gleaner*, 25 May 1889.
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12. T.L. Roxburgh and Jos. C. Ford, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1900: Published by Authority Comprising Historical, Statistical and General Information Concerning the Island* (Kingston: Government Printing Office, 1900), 223.
13. W.G., “The Educational Possibilities of the Institute.” *Daily Gleaner*, 1 May 1902.
14. “A Free Library for Kingston.” *Daily Gleaner*, 19 July 1902.
15. “Free Library.” *Daily Gleaner*, 21 July 1902.
16. “Free Library.” *Daily Gleaner*, 21 July 1902.
17. *The Cornwall Herald* (Montego Bay), 28 July 1902.
18. H.E. Henderson Davis, “A Free Library for Kingston.” *Daily Gleaner*, 28 July 1902.
19. Reverend William Marwick, “The Institute.” *Daily Gleaner*, 17 July 1907.
20. *The Jamaica Times* (Kingston), 13 January 1912.
21. “Affairs of Jamaica Institute, Kingston Pen.” *Daily Gleaner*, 3 February 1912. The indicated subscription amount of 2/6 is defined as two pounds and six shillings.
22. “Affairs Jamaica Institute.” *Daily Gleaner*, 3 February 1912. The indicated subscription fee of 5/ is defined as five pounds.
23. “Affairs Jamaica Institute.” *Daily Gleaner*, 3 February 1912.
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25. “Work of Institute of Jamaica.” *Daily Gleaner* (Kingston), 12 July 1918.
26. Frank Cundall, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1930: Comprising Historical, Statistical and General Information Concerning the Island, Compiled from Official and Other Reliable Records* (Kingston: Government Printing Office, 1930), 167.
27. A. Hyatt Verrill, *Jamaica of Today* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1931), 39.
28. Verrill, *Jamaica Today*, 168.
29. Frank Cundall, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1935: Comprising Historical, Statistical and General Information Concerning the Island, Compiled from Official and Other Reliable Records* (Kingston: Government Printing Office, 1935), 174.

30. "Mr. Lightbody Criticizes Request of Loan Board for Guarantees By Justices of the Peace That Monies Have Been Spend on Cultivations." *Daily Gleaner*, 26 April 1933.
31. "Ex-Librarian Gives Talk on Library Work." *Daily Gleaner*, 22 September 1936.
32. Herbert G. deLisser to The Secretary, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, F.P. Keppel, 11 September 1935. This and all other letters cited in this chapter are, unless otherwise stated, from the file entitled Series III. Grants III.A. Grant files, ca. 1911–1988. Box 188 Folder 11 Jamaica, Institute of, 1934–1948.
33. deLisser to Keppel, 11 September 1935.
34. deLisser to Keppel, 11 September 1935.
35. Edward Denham to F.P. Keppel, 13 September 1935.
36. Denham to Keppel, 13 September 1935.
37. Denham to Keppel, 13 September 1935.
38. Ernest A. Savage to F.P. Keppel, 12 December 1935.
39. Denham to Keppel, 19 February 1936.
40. Denham to Keppel, 19 February 1936.
41. *Daily Gleaner*, 14 November 1936.
42. "Proposals of Sub-Committee of Institute's Board of Governors." *Daily Gleaner*, 4 May 1936.
43. "Should There Be a Free Public Library." *Daily Gleaner*, 13 July 1936.
44. "Rev. Walter Lewis Ph.D.: Pioneer of Free Library in Jamaica." *Daily Gleaner*, 16 October 1955.
45. Jamaica Library Service, *Jamaica Library Service: 21 Years of Progress in Pictures, 1948–1969* (Kingston: Jamaica Library Service, 1970), 242.
46. Jamaica Library Service, *30 Years of Service: A Brief History of the Manchester Parish Library* (Kingston: Jamaica Library Service, 1968), 2.
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48. Jamaica Library Service, *21 Years*, 244.
49. Jamaica Library Service, *30 Years*, 5.
50. Jamaica Library Service, *21 Years*, 245.
51. Colonial, "Bookless Jamaica." *Daily Gleaner*, 10 May 1937.
52. "Mr. Aubrey Stephenson Comments on Lack of Reading Among Past Students." *Daily Gleaner*, 2 May 1938.
53. Nora Bateson, *Library Plan for Jamaica* (Kingston: The Government Printer, 1945), 5.
54. Institute of Jamaica, *Report for the Year Ended on the 31st of March, 1945* (Kingston: Institute of Jamaica, 1946), 1.
55. Bateson, *Library Plan for Jamaica*, 6.
56. This information can be found within these annual reports: Institute of Jamaica, *Annual Report of the Institute of Jamaica April 1st April, 1947–March 31st, 1948* (Kingston: Institute of Jamaica, 1948), 4; Institute of Jamaica, *Annual Report of the Institute of Jamaica 1st April, 1951–31st March, 1952* (Kingston: Institute of Jamaica, 1952), 7; and Institute of Jamaica, *Annual Report of the Institute of Jamaica 1st April, 1953–31st March, 1954* (Kingston: Institute of Jamaica, 1954), 19. For the purpose of this study, the term 'weeding' will be defined as follows: "The process of examining items in a library collection title by title to identify for permanent

withdrawal those that meet pre-established weeding criteria, especially when space in the stacks is limited.” This definition can be found in Reitz, ODLIS, “W.”

57. BW 41/2 A.S.A. Bryant to British Council Books Department, 16 January 1950.
58. BW 41/2, *A Report on the Organization of the Jamaica Library Service* (London: British Council, 1948), 23.
59. For the purposes of this study, the term ‘depository library’ will be defined as follows: “A national library to which a publisher is required by law to give at least one copy of each book it publishes.” This definition can be found in Reitz, ODLIS, “D.”
60. Institute of Jamaica, *Annual Report 1951–1952*, 1.
61. Institute of Jamaica, *Annual Report 1951–1952*, 4.
62. Institute of Jamaica, *Annual Report 1952–1953*, 1.
63. The Government Public Relations Office, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1960: Comprising Historical, Statistical and General Information Concerning the Island, Obtained from Official and Other Reliable Records and Compiled* (Kingston: Government Printing Office, 1960), 389. For the purpose of this study, the term ‘repository’ will be defined as follows: “The physical space (building, room, area) reserved for the permanent and intermediate storage of archival materials (manuscripts, rare books, government documents, papers, photographs, etc.).” This definition can be found in Reitz, ODLIS, “R.”
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65. “The Reading of the Institute.” *Daily Gleaner*, 27 May 1895.
66. The data in Table 5.1 was drawn from the following sources: Roxburgh and Ford, *Handbook 1900*, 220–221; Jos C. Ford and A.A.C. Finlay, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1905, Comprising Historical, Statistical and General Information Concerning the Island* (Kingston: Government Printing Office, 1905), 236; Joseph C. Ford and Frank Cundall, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1910 Comprising Historical, Statistical and General Information Concerning the Island, Compiled from Official and Other Reliable Records* (Kingston: Government Printing Office, 1910), 207; Ford and Cundall, *Handbook 1915*, 218–219; Cundall, *Handbook 1920*, 225; and Cundall, *The Handbook of Jamaica for 1925*, 211.
67. Cundall, *Handbook 1925*, 212.
68. “Mother and Daughter.” *Daily Gleaner*, 13 October 1905.
69. The data was drawn from two sources: Ford and Cundall, *Handbook 1910*, 208 and Cundall, *Handbook 1925*, 212.
70. The information in Table 5.2 was derived from the following sources: Cundall, *Handbook 1930*, 167; Cundall, *Handbook 1935*, 173; Institute of Jamaica, *Report for the Year Ended 31st December, 1938* (Kingston: Institute of Jamaica, 1939), 9; and Institute of Jamaica, *Report from 1st January, 1939 to 31st March, 1940* (Kingston: Institute of Jamaica, 1941), 3.
71. “Manchester Free Library.” *Daily Gleaner*, 22 January 1941.
72. “Manchester Ponders Plans for Free Public Library.” *Daily Gleaner*, 5 August 1937.
73. Who’s Who, *Who’s Who in Jamaica 1941–1946 British West Indies*, 28, 30.
74. Who’s Who, *Jamaica 1941–1946*, 246.

1. It must be noted that *awqaf* is the plural form of the term *waqf* which is located in Mohamed Makki Sibai, *Mosque Libraries: An Historical Study* (London: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1987), 92.
2. "Timbuctoo the Mysterious." *The Lagos Weekly Record* (Lagos), 9 October 1897.
3. "What Is Success?" *The Lagos Standard* (Lagos), 1 January 1908.
4. "Books." *The Nigerian Pioneer* (Lagos), 2 July 1915.
5. Burns, *Colonial Civil*, 105.
6. B. Olabimpe Aboyade, "Library Development in Nigeria: Part I the Beginnings." *COMLA Newsletter* 33 (September 1981): 3.
7. F.P. Keppel to Sir Alan C. Burns, 4 March 1929. This and all other letters cited in this chapter are, unless otherwise stated, from the file entitled Series III. Grants III.A. Grant files, ca. 1911–1988. Box 274 Folder 4 Nigeria – Library Development, 1929–1936.
8. Sir Alan C. Burns to F.P. Keppel, 7 May 1929.
9. Burns to Keppel, 7 May 1929.
10. Burns to Keppel, 7 May 1929.
11. Keppel to Burns, 7 January 1930.
12. Burns to Keppel, 18 January 1930.
13. Burns to Keppel, 18 January 1930.
14. F.P. Keppel to the Crown Agents for the Colonies, 27 May 1932.
15. "The Lagos Library." *The Nigerian Daily Times* (Lagos), 30 September 1932.
16. Lagos Library, *The Lagos Library: Report for the Period Ending 31st December 1932* (Lagos: Lagos Library, 1933), 1.
17. Lagos Library, *Report 1932*, 1.
18. Lagos Library, *Report 1932*, 2.
19. This information can be found within these annual reports: Lagos Library, *The Lagos Library: Report for the Year Ending 31st December 1933* (Lagos: Lagos Library, 1934), 2 and Lagos Library, *The Lagos Library: Report for the Year Ending 31st December 1935* (Lagos: Lagos Library, 1936), 2.
20. This information can be found within these annual reports: Lagos Library, *Report 1933*, 2 and Lagos Library, *Report 1935*, 2.
21. "The Lagos Library." *Nigerian Pioneer*, 30 September 1932.
22. "The Lagos Library." *Nigerian Daily Times*, 1 October 1932.
23. "A New Lagos Library." *West Africa* (Lagos), 29 October 1932.
24. C.C. Aguolu and I.E. Aguolu, "Library Development in Nigeria: Role of Dr. Azikiwe, the First President." *Herald of Library Science*, 36, no. 1–2 (January–April 1997): 5.
25. Margaret Wrong and Hans Vischer, *West African Library Development* (New York: Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1939), 111.
26. Aguolu and Aguolu, "Library Development," 8.
27. F.C. Ekpe, "The Colonial Situation and Library Development in Nigeria." *International Library Review* 11 (1979): 17.
28. Adekunbi Adegoke, "The Evolution of Libraries in Nigeria." *International Library Review* 5, no. 4 (1973): 415.
29. BW 8/1 Minutes of Committee convened by the Director of Education at the instance of the Chief Secretary to consider the policy of the British Council in Nigeria, with special reference to the provision of Libraries, 3 February 1945.
30. BW 8/1, Minutes, 3 February 1945.
31. BW 8/1, Minutes, 3 February 1945.
32. BW 8/1 Norman Lloyd Williams to William Miller MacMillan 8 March 1945.
33. BW 8/1, Williams to MacMillan, 8 March 1945.
34. "Nigeria Letter: The Tom Jones Memorial at Lagos." *West Africa* (Lagos), 20 June 1931.

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36. C.C. Aguolu, "The Foundation of Modern Libraries in Nigeria." *International Library Review* 9 (1977): 461–483.
37. M.E. Ojo-Igbinoba, *History of Libraries and Library Education* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 141.
38. Adegoke, "The Evolution of Libraries in Nigeria," 419.
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40. Harold Lancour, *Libraries in British West Africa: A Report of a Survey for the Carnegie Corporation of New York, October–November 1957* (Urbana-Champaign: University of Illinois Library School, Occasional Papers Number 53 (October 1958), 1958), 15.
41. Elizabeth M. Moys and C.C. Momah, *Directory of Lagos Libraries* (Lagos: Oceana Publications, 1965), 34–35 in Anthony Olden, "Alan Burns, the Lagos Library and the Commencement of Carnegie Support for Library Development in British West Africa." *Journal of Library History, Philosophy & Comparative Librarianship* 22 (Fall 1987): 405.
42. For the purpose of this study, the term 'special library' will be defined as follows: "A library established and funded by a commercial firm, private association, government agency, non-profit organization, or special interest group to meet the information needs of its employees, members, or staff in accordance with the organization's mission and goals." This definition can be found in Reitz, *ODLIS*, "S."
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45. John Harris, *Occasional Papers Number Two: Libraries and Librarianship in Nigeria at Mid-Century* (Legon: University of Ghana, 1970), 7.
46. Moys and Momah, *Directory of Lagos Libraries*, 34–35 in Anthony Olden, "Alan Burns, the Lagos Library and the Commencement of Carnegie Support for Library Development in British West Africa." *Journal of Library History, Philosophy & Comparative Librarianship* 22, (Fall 1987): 405.
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49. Burns, *Colonial Civil*, 107–108.
50. Robert July, *The Origins of Modern African Thought: Its Development in West Africa during the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, New Series 3, no. 4 (December 1968): 429.
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 2. Nigeria, Department of Statistics, *Population Census of Lagos 1950* (Kadua: The Government Printer, 1951), 73, 77, 79–80. It must be noted that the Nigerian census data for lawyers are the actual totals for the larger category of professional, technical and related workers because a more refined

estimate was not possible to discern. It must also be noted that the population tabulation for clerks includes office appliance operators.

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13. Morgan, *The Official History of Colonial Development Volume 1*, 200; D.J. Morgan, *The Official History of Colonial Development Volume 2: Developing British Colonial Resources, 1945–1951* (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1980), 37, 63, 64; and United Kingdom, Colonial Office, *Colonial Development and Welfare Acts: Report on the Use of the Funds Provided under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, and Outline of the Proposal for Exchequer Loans to the Colonial Territories* (London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. Cmd. 672, 1959), 3–4.
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