



Volume 34 / Number 1 / Winter 1999

Libraries
&
Culture

a journal of library history

University of Texas Press

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Volume 34 / Number 1 / Winter 1999

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Libraries & Culture is an interdisciplinary journal that explores the significance of collections of recorded knowledge—their creation, organization, preservation, and utilization—in the context of cultural and social history, unlimited as to time or place. It is edited at the Graduate School of Library and Information Science, The University of Texas at Austin, and is published quarterly by the University of Texas Press. All views or conclusions are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the editorial staff, the University of Texas Press, The University of Texas at Austin, or The University of Texas System. From its establishment in 1966 as the *Journal of Library History* until 1976, the *Journal* was edited and published by the School of Library Science, Florida State University, Tallahassee. It assumed its present title in 1988.

The editor invites scholarly contributions for consideration by the editorial board and referees. Three copies of each manuscript and an abstract of no more than 100 words should be sent, accompanied by a self-addressed, manuscript-sized envelope, and unaffixed return postage for domestic contributors. Abstracts should employ standard indexing terminology. Manuscripts and notation must be double-spaced with notes gathered at the end, conforming to the *Chicago Manual of Style*, 14th edition.

Manuscripts and editorial correspondence: The Editor, *Libraries & Culture*, Graduate School of Library and Information Science, The University of Texas at Austin, Austin, TX 78712-1276.

Subscriptions and business correspondence: *Libraries & Culture*, University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819.

Subscription rates: Individuals, \$30/year; Institutions, \$54/year. Canada and Mexico subscriptions add \$10 additional for each order. For other foreign subscriptions add \$20 additional to each order. **Single issues:** Individuals, \$14; Institutions, \$22. All prices are subject to change on September 1 of each year. See the last page of this journal for an order form.

Claims Policy: Domestic and non-US claims for missing issues must be received within 90 days of the publication date. Issues returned “undeliverable” are available for re-shipment at cost of new postage.

Libraries & Culture is a member of the Conference of Historical Journals.

L&C/JLH is indexed in *America: History and Life*; *Book Review Index*; *Bulletin des Bibliothèques de France*; *Historical Abstracts*; *IBR (International Bibliography of Book Reviews)*; *IBZ (International Bibliography of Periodical Literature)*; *Journal of American History (Organization of American Historians)*; *Library and Information Science Abstracts*; *Library Literature*; *MLA International Bibliography*; *Social Sciences Citation Index*. Microform copies of *L&C/JLH* can be purchased from University Microfilms, 300 North Zeeb Road, Ann Arbor, MI 48106, and Microforms International, Fairview Park, Elmsford, NY 10523.

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Libraries & Culture (ISSN 0894-8631) is published quarterly in February, May, August, and November by the University of Texas Press, 2100 Comal, Austin, TX 78722-2550. The rates are \$54/year for institutions and \$30/year for individuals. Periodicals postage paid at Austin, Texas, and at additional mailing offices. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Libraries & Culture*, University of Texas Press, P.O. Box 7819, Austin, TX 78713-7819.

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♻️ This journal is printed on recycled paper.

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The University of Cracow Library under Nazi Occupation: 1939–1945

Marek Sroka

This article examines the short but dramatic period of Nazi occupation of the University of Cracow Library. It explores Nazi policies toward Polish cultural and educational institutions, especially in the General Government and its capital, Cracow. It examines the ideological goals and Germanization policies of the *Staatsbibliothek Krakau* as expressed by the governor-general, Hans Frank, and carried out by the library director, Gustav Abb. The article discusses Gustav Abb's tenure in the library and his sometimes ambiguous attitude toward the Polish personnel and the library's Polish collection. Also discussed are the role of Edward Kuntze, the prewar library director, and clandestine activities of the Polish staff.

Introduction

One of the most traumatic periods in Polish history was the experience of World War II, which for Poland began on 1 September 1939 with the Nazi invasion. While Hitler's immediate aim was to conquer the Polish territory and incorporate it into German *Lebensraum* (living space), the ultimate goal of the invasion and subsequent occupation was the destruction of the Polish state, its people (particularly Polish Jews), and its culture.

After defeating the Polish armed forces in a fearsome *Blitzkrieg* (lightning war), the Germans proceeded to organize their administration in the occupied territories. Cracow, the old capital of Poland, was chosen as the administrative center of a newly formed *Generalgouvernement* (General Government), the part of Poland not annexed into the Third Reich. Hans Frank, a senior Nazi lawyer, *Reichsrechtsführer* (Commander of Law in the Third Reich), founder and first president of the Academy of German Law, was appointed governor-general by Hitler. Frank established his residence at the old royal castle, once occupied by Polish monarchs. It was a symbolic act, as it meant transforming Cracow and the rest of

Poland into Hitler's new kingdom. Frank also changed the historical Polish name of the castle, *Wawel*, into German. From that time onward it was to be called *Krakauer Burg* (Cracow's castle).¹

Nazi officials made it clear that Poland was of use to them "only as a reservoir of labour."² German administrative units were instructed to engage in "a hard racial struggle (*Völkstumskampf*) which will not permit any legal restrictions."³ This struggle would be fought primarily against Poland's political, cultural, educational, and religious elite and their institutions. Hans Frank, echoing Hitler, put it very bluntly: "What we have now recognized in Poland to be the elite must be liquidated."⁴ He was also expressing the will of his *Führer* when he said that the Polish people were "to become a society of peasants and workers" with no "cultured class."⁵ In May 1940 Heinrich Himmler, *Reichsführer SS* (Commander of the Nazi special police force), suggested that "for the non-German population of the East [of Europe] there is to be no higher school than the four-grade elementary school."⁶ A similar view was expressed in a report compiled by two NSDAP (Nazi Party) officials, E. Wetzl and G. Hecht, proposing that Polish high schools, colleges, and universities be closed and the teachers forbidden to practice their profession. The report also suggested that cultural censorship be introduced, affecting not only Poland's educational institutions but also the Polish press, theaters, and even cabarets. Any references to Polish language, literature, history, and culture would not be tolerated.⁷ The only kind of information allowed was Nazi propaganda. Possession of radios by Poles was not allowed. Radio sets were confiscated and replaced with a network of loudspeakers displayed in public places. These loudspeakers broadcast official news bulletins and communiqués of the Nazi authorities. Publication of pre-war newspapers was prohibited. The only kind of press allowed by the authorities was Nazi newspapers, some of them also published in Polish.

The new Nazi *Kultur* (culture) spread racial hatred and justified the looting or destruction of Polish books and art collections. In the years 1940 to 1943, Hans Frank's *Hauptabteilung Propaganda* (Department of Propaganda) compiled lists of Polish books considered "hostile" and "dangerous" to Germany, which were therefore judged *unerwünschten* (undesirable).⁸ These lists contained 3,224 "undesirable" titles. The complete works of as many as sixty-eight authors were totally banned, including all authors of Jewish origin.⁹

Poland's art collections also suffered terrible losses. The Nazis seized a great number of works of art from private and state collections. Ironically, the Nazis used two museum buildings in Warsaw and part of the Jagiellonian Library to store the looted items. By the end of 1942, Frank claimed that 90 percent of the art works in the General Government territory had been "safeguarded."¹⁰ Officially, the works were

captured for their protection, but in fact they were eventually taken to Germany, where they ended up in the hands of the highest Nazi officials, including Hitler himself who, for example, gladly accepted thirty drawings by Dürer from the Czartoryski and Lubomirski collections.¹¹ The Nazis wanted, primarily, to secure works of art they considered “Germanic” and to “return” them to the Reich.¹² They dismantled the high altar of St. Mary’s Church in Cracow and shipped it to Berlin. The altarpiece was carved by the Nuremberg artist Veit Stoss (Wit Stwosz) in Cracow in the years 1477–1489. It had been commissioned by the city council of Cracow, and the sculptor used many Cracow inhabitants as models for his work.¹³ Fortunately, after the war the altar was found in Nuremberg and returned to Cracow. The Nazi authorities, however, did not limit their looting activities only to “Germanic” art. Governor-General Hans Frank furnished his many private residences with appropriated art works. His private collection of paintings (looted from Cracow and Warsaw) included works by such prominent artists as Belotto, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, and Rembrandt.¹⁴ Cracow was, by no means, the only target of Nazi plundering squads. Looting took place all over Poland and affected not only national museums (e.g., the Royal Castle in Warsaw, the National Museum in Cracow, or the Wawel Castle and Cathedral in Cracow), but also private collections.¹⁵

In the midst of these horrible events a quiet but determined resistance was growing to save as much as possible of Poland’s cultural heritage.¹⁶ Polish librarians played a vital role in this undeclared war. The University of Cracow Library was one of many sites where librarians carried on a struggle requiring perseverance and intelligence, but most of all great courage.

From Closing to Official Reopening: November 1939–April 1941

On the eve of the German invasion, the University of Cracow Library, the oldest Polish academic library, also known as the Jagiellonian Library (*Biblioteka Jagiellońska*), was one of the most important educational and cultural centers in Poland. Its collection consisted of 600,000 volumes and included a great number of invaluable manuscripts and incunabula.¹⁷

Edward Kuntze, the library director, predicting the inevitable outbreak of hostilities, decided to safeguard some of the most precious rare books and drawings. These were stored in the deep cellars of medieval buildings in the city’s center in the hope of withstanding German air raids. Fortunately, the city was not destroyed but had to surrender to the German forces on 6 September 1939. Many people believed that the Germans would graciously allow the University of Cracow and its library to reopen for the new academic year. That is why, when Bruno Müller, an

SS official, invited professors and fellows of the university and the polytechnic to his lecture, 183 of them showed up. Müller was expected to give a talk about the NSDAP (Nazi Party) policy toward science and universities. Instead, the invited scholars were arrested by the SS and sent to concentration camps in Sachsenhausen and Dachau. Several months later most of them were released, but 15 of them perished in the camps.¹⁸ The arrest on 6 November 1939, known as *Sonderaktion Krakau*, dashed any hopes of the Germans' willingness to sustain the Polish educational system. There was to be no Polish secondary or higher education. On the same day that the Nazis rounded up the professors, the university and its library were closed by the Gestapo.

In the following months the library was occasionally visited by Governor Frank's representatives, who would take books or drawings without leaving any receipts. Polish librarians were not allowed to come back to work. The only Polish staff worker whom the Germans tolerated was Jan Pietras (a stacks worker before the war). He lived close to the library and spoke fluent German, so he was frequently summoned by German officials for assistance in finding items stored in the library stacks. Pietras began to monitor patrons and borrowed items by writing reports for his prewar supervisor, Edward Kuntze. He would also visit Kuntze in his apartment to keep the latter informed about the Germans' activities in the library. Unfortunately, Pietras was not always allowed to accompany dishonest patrons, who took advantage of the absence of the personnel to steal books or drawings.

The situation changed in April 1940, when the Nazis decided that the library buildings should be turned over to a newly formed *Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit* (The Institute for German Labor in the East), also known as *Ostinstitut*. Governor Frank appointed his close friend Wilhelm Coblitz head of the institute. The creation of the *Ostinstitut* was just another step, after the arrest of the professors, in a premeditated campaign of Germanization and the destruction of Polish culture and education. At first the Nazis planned to use part of the collection of the University of Cracow Library for the *Ostinstitut* and its new library.¹⁹ This plan, however, never materialized as the Nazi administration in Berlin decided to reorganize certain Polish libraries, including the Jagiellonian Library, and model them after German *Staatsbibliotheken* (state libraries). The libraries in the occupied territories were devised to serve future German research centers and universities.²⁰ By 1941 four *Staatsbibliotheken* had been created in the former Polish territory. These included libraries in Cracow, Warsaw, Lublin, and Lvov.²¹ The Nazis decided to gather major collections from local academic and research libraries in each *Staatsbibliothek*. The state library in Warsaw, organized and supervised by Wilhelm Witte, included the collections of the University of Warsaw Library, the National Library, and the Krasnińskich Library. The

state library in Lublin was created on the basis of the collections from the Catholic University of Lublin Library, the Jesuit College Bobolanum Library, and the H. Łopaciński Library. Finally, the Cracow State Library incorporated a great number of books from the Jagiellonian Library and several college libraries in Cracow, including the Mining and Metallurgy Academy, Polish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Art Academy, and Trade Academy.²²

The situation was much worse in the territories annexed into the Third Reich, where the Nazi authorities confiscated a great number of books from Polish libraries and stored them in warehouses. Such warehouses, euphemistically called *Buchsammelstellen* (collecting centers for books), were created in Katowice, Poznań, and other cities.²³ The books stored in those warehouses (about three million volumes in Poznań alone) were often damaged, looted, and abandoned.²⁴

The Nazi policy toward Polish libraries needed only to become more institutionalized. A special department within the General Government administration, *Hauptverwaltung der Bibliotheken* (Main Administration of Libraries), was created to deal with libraries. It was placed under the authority of the *Hauptabteilung Wissenschaft und Unterricht* (Main Department of Science and Education) in the Office of the Governor-General.²⁵ Gustav Abb was designated head of the Main Administration of Libraries in the General Government territory and director of the reorganized Jagiellonian Library, the *Staatsbibliothek Krakau* (Cracow State Library). After working as a department head in the Prussian State Library, Abb became the director of the University of Berlin Library.²⁶ In July 1940 he was sent to Cracow to help with the organization of *Staatsbibliotheken* in the General Government territory. Following the German invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941, Abb was also appointed the *Kommissar für die Sicherung der Bibliotheken und Betreuung des Buchgutes* (Commissary for the protection of libraries and welfare of books) in the “eastern territory.”²⁷ His jurisdiction extended not only to the former Polish territory but also to the conquered Soviet lands. The quick advancement of Abb’s career was due in part to his political servility. He was one of the first German librarians to join the Nazi Party.²⁸

The Germans decided to move the collection of the Jagiellonian Library from its old buildings, which were now occupied by the *Ostinstitut*, into a newly constructed library building. The building, completed on the eve of the Nazi invasion, was a state-of-the-art edifice and at “that time a top achievement of library architecture on the world scale.”²⁹ The war, however, had delayed the move into the new facility. Abb adopted the prewar moving plans, prepared by Edward Kuntze, and agreed to employ Polish personnel to do the job. The move began in August 1940 and ended in October the same year. A total of 643,937 volumes, including those hidden just before the war, were relocated to the new building.³⁰

Despite the circumstances Polish librarians were glad to see the collection being moved to a new and safer place, and they were also happy to be working again. As one of them put it, it helped them “to forget about the oppressive nightmare of the [Nazi] occupation, at least for a while.”³¹

The new library also received a great number of books from some of the University of Cracow departmental libraries and several college libraries in Cracow, including the Mining and Metallurgy Academy, Polish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Art Academy, and Trade Academy. These institutions of higher learning and their libraries had been closed by the Germans. Kuntze felt that the only way to save their collections from destruction was to incorporate them into a newly formed *Staatsbibliothek*. He was able to convince Abb that these collections could greatly enhance the quality of the new *Staatsbibliothek's* collection. Abb and Kuntze met for the first time when the former was working in the Prussian State Library. After that they met many times at various international conferences, including the IFLA conference held in Warsaw in 1936.³² It seems that Abb to some degree respected Kuntze and was at least willing to hear his prewar colleague's suggestions. Abb's permission to incorporate other collections into the *Staatsbibliothek Krakau* may have another explanation as well. He probably realized that he would not be able to run the new library efficiently without the experience and knowledge of Polish personnel and their prewar director, Edward Kuntze. The gesture of saving over 400,000 volumes certainly played well with the Polish staff who agreed to work under Abb in the *Staatsbibliothek*. Thus, the prewar collection of the Jagiellonian Library, totaling over six hundred thousand volumes, increased to over one million volumes.³³

The solemn opening ceremony of *Staatsbibliothek Krakau* (State Library of Cracow) took place on 4 April 1941. It was attended by such prominent officials as Governor General Hans Frank, the president of the Third Reich Academy of Sciences, Dr. Theodor Vahlen, and the directors of state libraries in Berlin and Vienna, Dr. Hugo Andres Krüss (Berlin) and Dr. Paul Heigl (Vienna).³⁴ Repudiating the library's centuries-old cultural and educational role in Polish history, the Germans renamed it another *Staatsbibliothek* in order to serve the purposes of the Nazi regime. Polish librarians could take some comfort in the fact that the library was not destroyed and that they were allowed to go back to work.

Staatsbibliothek Krakau: April 1941–January 1945

Goals of the Staatsbibliothek, Organization of Its Collection, and Germanization Policies

As previously mentioned, the creation of *Staatsbibliotheken* (State Libraries) was one phase of the plan to establish German schools, research

institutes, and universities in the territory of the General Government. Governor Frank made that very clear in a speech delivered at the opening ceremony of *Staatsbibliothek Krakau*. He said that “the university will arise out of the library.”³⁵ It will be “a large German research and educational establishment,” and therefore the German administrators of the newly created *Staatsbibliothek* should not think of themselves as “continuers of Polish librarianship.”³⁶ This view was echoed by the new library director, Gustav Abb, who in his speech called *Staatsbibliothek Krakau* “a new bulwark of German intellectual work in the outermost Southeast.”³⁷ In an article written shortly after the opening of the library, Abb mentions the plans for the creation not only of the German University in Cracow but also the German art academy, the observatory, and the school of biology.³⁸ All these institutions, along with the newly created *Institut für Deutsche Ostarbeit* (The Institute for German Labor in the East), were to be served by the *Staatsbibliothek Krakau*. Their establishment was prompted by, as Abb put it, “a strong *Kulturwille* (cultural will) of the government of the General Government.”³⁹

The philosophy of the new *Staatsbibliothek* as a German research and educational institution was strongly reflected in the organization of its materials, its internal policies, and collection development. Access to the library was limited to Germans, *Volksdeutsch* (German Nationals), and Poles working for German institutions.⁴⁰ These Poles had to obtain special permits from their employers to be allowed to use the library.

The prewar collection was reorganized so that it would demonstrate the German nature of the *Staatsbibliothek*. Polish books were taken out of the main reference collection and relocated to a remote place in the library. They formed a special reference collection named *Polen* (Poland) to be used by German scholars from the *Ostinstitut* (Institute for German Labor in the East). Another reference collection, compiled especially for German researchers, was called *Ostfragen* (Eastern Questions). It consisted mainly of German materials discussing Eastern European issues. *Staatsbibliothek Krakau* was not exceptional in banning some German authors whose works were considered “subversive” by Nazi standards. Following the policy of state libraries in the Third Reich, Gustav Abb forbade circulation of such books, even to German patrons.

Polish books were tolerated only for research purposes, but even that was not a guarantee of their safety. In 1944 Abb gave Helena Lipska, a Polish librarian working in the *Staatsbibliothek*, a document entitled *Verzeichnis der deutschfeindlichen Literatur* (List of Literature Hostile to Germany).⁴¹ The list included a great number of Polish authors whose books were considered “hostile” to the Third Reich. Lipska was ordered to locate those items in the card catalogue and report her findings to Abb. Lipska and others greatly feared that the listed books were to be destroyed. She immediately informed Edward Kuntze, her prewar

director, about Abb's intentions. Following Kuntze's suggestion Lipska sabotaged Abb's order by removing cards of the listed items from the main card catalogue. Later she reported to Abb that those items were missing or that the library had never purchased them.⁴² Fortunately, Abb never had time to carry out his agenda of weeding the collection of undesirable books, as the Soviet Army was advancing quickly from the east and the Germans were getting ready to evacuate from Cracow.

In addition to reorganization of the collection, classification and cataloguing procedures were also changed. Polish catalogue cards were replaced by ones brought from Germany. The new cards were already used in other *Staatsbibliotheken* (State Libraries). A new way of establishing call numbers was introduced. Periodicals and serial publications now had German letters "Z," for *Zeitschrift* (periodical), or "F," for *Fortsetzung* (continuation), as part of their call numbers.⁴³ The old Jagiellonian ex libris were removed from books, along with stamps bearing the old name of the library, *Biblioteka Jagiellńska*.

In 1942 Abb demanded that all Polish personnel speak and write exclusively in German. Those who did not know the language were required to learn it as soon as possible.⁴⁴ The new regulations and policies did not leave any doubt as to the future character of the library. It was to be a strictly German institution, administered by German librarians, with Polish personnel as support staff.

Staff

German authorities decided that in Poland, unlike some other occupied countries (e.g., Austria or France), newly created state libraries would be run by German administrators.⁴⁵ One reason could have been the lack of local librarians sympathetic to the Nazis. Another may have been the Germanization policies carried out on Polish territory, and later in the Soviet Union, that were much harsher and more brutal than the ones applied in Western Europe.⁴⁶ Such policies demanded complete loyalty and trustworthiness on the part of an administrator.

As previously mentioned, Gustav Abb, the former director of Berlin University Library, was appointed head of the administration of libraries in the General Government as well as director general of *Staatsbibliothek Krakau* (Cracow State Library). He was assisted in his work at *Staatsbibliothek Krakau* by several German librarians who took turns serving as his deputies in the years 1941 to 1944. Most of them came from the Prussian State Library in Berlin. These included Paul Brzoska, Dr. Ulrich Johanssen, Dr. Georg Hoedt, and Dr. Alexander Himpel. Dr. Hans Hofmann came from the Saxon Region Library in Dresden, and Dr. Alfred Bachmann from Poznań. Only Paul Brzoska stayed with Abb for

the whole period of the occupation.⁴⁷ Others, after working for a certain time, were either relocated to other libraries or drafted and sent to the front lines.

As far as Polish personnel were concerned, Abb agreed to rehire most of the employees, including the prewar director Edward Kuntze, who had worked for the library from 1926 until September 1939. Abb realized that it would be almost impossible to run a new library without the help of experienced staff who knew the prewar collection. Needless to say, Polish librarians did not exercise any control over library policies. They were treated at best as support staff. Polish employees were required to work eleven-hour shifts (with a half hour lunch break) for starvation wages.⁴⁸ However, they were still glad that they could work in “their” library and be close to the books they loved.

As their former director, Edward Kuntze was treated by the Polish staff with the utmost respect. Even Abb addressed him as *Herr Director* and sought Kuntze’s advice on many occasions.⁴⁹ The most experienced librarians allowed to work alongside Kuntze included Dr. Adam Bar, Dr. Aleksander Birkenmajer, Dr. Zofia Ciechanowska, Wojciech Gielecki, Helena Lipska, Dr. Wladyslaw Pociecha, Gustaw Schmagier, Kazimiera Tatarowicz, Marek Wierzbicki, and many others. The library also employed two University of Cracow professors, Kazimierz Nitsch, a famous Polish linguist, and Tadeusz Kowalski, an orientalist. Altogether, the Polish staff included eighteen librarians and fourteen stacks custodians and maintenance workers.

Collection Development, Circulation, and Reference Services

Despite the ongoing war Gustav Abb was able to build quite a substantial collection. It was his ambition to make the *Staatsbibliothek Krakau* one of the most important German libraries in the occupied territories. From the very beginning of the establishment of *Staatsbibliothek Krakau*, special importance was given to materials related to natural sciences, mathematics, geography, and medicine.⁵⁰ In the fiscal year 1940–41 the amount of money spent on book purchases was surprisingly high. The *Staatsbibliothek Krakau* spent 251,103 RM (Reichsmarks) on books, considerably more than what the Prussian State Library in Berlin spent (216,800 RM).⁵¹ One of the reasons for such high spending in the first year of the *Staatsbibliothek* was the absence of any budgetary restrictions. The situation changed in the following years when Abb had to get the library’s annual budget approved by the authorities and had to be more careful not to overspend.⁵² Although over the next three years less money was allocated for the library budget, the *Staatsbibliothek Krakau* purchased 26,161 volumes by the end of 1944.⁵³ The library also received

4,014 volumes in donations and 1,387 volumes as legal deposit copies.⁵⁴ At first, Polish librarians were able to order some Polish materials behind Abb's back. When Abb became aware of this, he introduced stricter control of acquisition procedures, announcing that no book could be ordered without his official approval.⁵⁵ As a result of this action, the library began to buy almost exclusively German-language materials.

In addition to collection development, changes were made in circulation and reference services. The library was mostly used by German civil servants and military personnel. From 1941 to 1944, 35,599 books were borrowed by 2,621 patrons, and the main reading room was visited by 28,828 patrons.⁵⁶ In the same period of time, 3,757 books and 109 manuscripts were sent to the library from other *Staatsbibliotheken* (State Libraries) through interlibrary loan.⁵⁷ The library also answered reference questions received from individuals and institutions.

Clandestine Activities

Although they were working for a German institution, Polish librarians did their best to continue their mission of serving the Polish people and their oldest university. They were never reconciled to the destruction of the Polish state and its culture. First of all, they were actively involved in the unauthorized lending of books and other materials to Polish patrons, who were forbidden access to the library and its resources by the German authorities. The main beneficiaries of this unauthorized lending were 136 faculty members and over 800 students of the underground university, which continued the prewar work of the University of Cracow.⁵⁸ This clandestine library functioned continuously until the end of the Nazi occupation. Unauthorized book lending was probably greater than official lending, but for security reasons no statistics were kept.⁵⁹

Some librarians were also active participants in the underground movement, which fought against the Nazi occupation. Edward Kuntze participated in the work of the Department of Education and Culture of the Polish Underground Government. The department, created in 1941, was responsible for establishing an underground elementary, secondary, and higher educational system in the Nazi occupied territories. The operation of the underground educational system in the Cracow area was highly successful, thanks to the support and help rendered by Kuntze and his Polish colleagues from the library. Kuntze was also involved in planning the organization of the future (postwar) libraries in Poland.⁶⁰

Dr. Adam Bar and Gustaw Schmagier worked for underground newspapers by writing or editing articles. They also collected underground publications, which they hid in various places in the library stacks. Adam Bar's personal collection of clandestine publications amounted to 467

titles.⁶¹ All those titles became part of the illegal collection of underground Polish publications. Some librarians were also involved in unauthorized cataloguing and bibliographic work. Marek Wierzbicki catalogued old Polish calendars, which was not allowed by Abb. Librarians from the cataloguing department were involved in registering legal deposit items for the purpose of a Polish national bibliography, publication of which had been suspended by the Nazis. The only kind of bibliographic work allowed by Abb was the compilation of the bibliography of *Generalgouvernement* (General Government).⁶²

For almost four years of the existence of *Staatsbibliothek Krakau*, Polish personnel quietly resisted the Nazis and their policies. The resistance increased in 1944 when, against Kuntze's strong objections, Abb decided to send the major part of the reference collection as well as most of the books bought by *Staatsbibliothek* to Germany (altogether about 25,000 volumes). Librarians, charged with the task of filling boxes with books, tried to sabotage Abb's orders. They hid a large number of books and stuffed boxes with old newspapers.⁶³ Despite those heroic efforts to save the collection, the Germans were still able to send a great number of books to Adelsdorf (Adelin) in Silesia. Fortunately, after the war the library was able to recover most of the books that Abb had evacuated from the library.

The clandestine activities performed by Polish personnel required a great deal of courage and determination. In the face of adverse and often dangerous circumstances they did their best to preserve the library as an important center of Polish educational and cultural life.

The End of Nazi Occupation

As the Soviet Army advanced into Poland, the Germans began to evacuate their offices and personnel from Cracow. In July 1944 they began to leave Cracow. The following month Gustav Abb said good-bye to his employees and went back to Germany. His offer of providing a secure place in Germany to anybody who would evacuate with him was rejected by Edward Kuntze, speaking on behalf of all of the Polish personnel.⁶⁴ The library was closed and put under the authority of Dr. Eichholz from the Department of Science and Education of the Office of the Governor-General. The main reading room was used as sleeping quarters for German soldiers. Other rooms were taken over by the army hospital. Part of the library was reopened in November, but not for long. The Soviet Army launched a new offensive in the beginning of January 1945. On 15 January 1945, after transferring his authority over the library to Edward Kuntze, Eichholz fled Cracow before the advancing Russians. On 18 January 1945 the Soviet army drove the German forces from Cracow. The war was far from being over, but for Cracow's residents

and their university library, the ordeal of Nazi occupation was finally ended.

Concluding Remarks

The Jagiellonian Library survived over five years of Nazi occupation with little damage to its collection and building. It was an exceptional case in a country ravaged by the war. Most Polish libraries suffered terrible losses. Of twenty-two million volumes in the prewar collections of all Polish libraries, only seven million escaped harm.⁶⁵ School and public libraries were hurt the most, as the total losses of their prewar collections amounted to between 92 and 93 percent.⁶⁶ Libraries in Warsaw and Poznań suffered the greatest losses. Many of them, including the National Library, Higher Military Academy, Polytechnic, Medical Society in Warsaw, and the Raczyńskich Library in Poznań, lost almost 100 percent of their collections.⁶⁷ In Warsaw almost 90 percent of all library buildings, including public, scientific, special, and academic, were destroyed.⁶⁸ During the Warsaw Uprising of 1944, Ludwig Fischer, governor of Warsaw, gave personal orders to set the Raczyńskich Library on fire. The building as well as 300,000 volumes of precious books were burned to the ground.⁶⁹ The failed Warsaw insurrection provided Hitler and his subordinates “with greater justification for the final destruction of Warsaw.”⁷⁰ The Polish capital was reduced to a pile of rubble. The libraries in Elbląg, Gdańsk, and Poznań were almost completely wiped out. The Nazis also destroyed 70 percent of all Jewish books in Poland during the war years.⁷¹

The Jagiellonian Library was spared because the Nazis turned it into the *Staatsbibliothek* that would support a future German university in Cracow. Also, Cracow was made into an important center of Nazi political, educational, and cultural administration of the territories of *Generalgouvernement* (General Government). Unlike Warsaw, Cracow was not a scene of major military operations.

The library’s new management and its policies reflected very clearly that it was going to be a purely German institution. Despite these adverse circumstances, Polish personnel, under the undeclared leadership of Edward Kuntze, courageously served the underground university and supported or actively participated in the Polish underground movement. They did all they could to provide access to the collection by carrying out unauthorized book lending. Some of them were also involved in collecting underground publications, performing clandestine bibliographic and cataloguing work. Finally, they tried to sabotage those of Abb’s orders they considered especially harmful to the library. The Nazis did not have enough time to completely Germanize the library, and their

last-minute attempt at weeding the collection of “hostile” Polish books never succeeded. It should also be noted that Gustav Abb’s behavior was at times ambiguous. Some of his actions may suggest a strange incompetence or maybe halfheartedness in carrying out Nazi policies. Kuntze described Abb as “basically not a bad person, but selfish.”⁷² Abb seemed to respect Kuntze and genuinely sought the latter’s advice on many occasions. He agreed to Kuntze’s suggestion of incorporating hundreds of thousands of books from many of Cracow’s libraries into the collection of the *Staatsbibliothek*. He was probably aware of the clandestine activities of the Polish personnel, but he did not really do much about it. His only action was the warning that employees might be searched while leaving the building in order to prevent unauthorized lending.⁷³ On the other hand, Abb was able to present himself to Hans Frank and other Nazi officials as a loyal Party member. His good relations with the local and central Nazi administration enabled him to obtain large sums of money for the library. His ambition was the creation of a great state library that could compete with the Reich libraries. Under his administration the library purchased a large number of books; especially enriched was the science collection. Yet for Kuntze and other Polish librarians Abb was always a stranger, even though “civilized,” serving one of the most brutal and ruthless regimes. That is why they refused Abb’s offer of evacuation to Germany.

Shortly after the war the library was able to recover about 25,000 volumes that Abb had sent to Germany in the spring of 1944. A short but dramatic chapter in the library’s six-hundred-year history could finally be closed.

Notes

1. Stanisław Dąbrowa-Kostka, *W okupowanym Krakowie 6 IX 1939–18 I 1945* (Warszawa: Wydawn, Ministerstwo Obrony Narodowej, 1972), 13.

2. Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham, *Documents on Nazism, 1919–1945* (New York: The Viking Press, 1975), 611.

3. *Ibid.*

4. Frank’s words as translated and quoted by Richard C. Lukas in *The Forgotten Holocaust* (Lexington, Ky.: The University Press of Kentucky, 1986), 8.

5. Frank’s words as translated and quoted by Hilda Uren Stubbings in *Blitzkrieg and Books* (Bloomington, Indiana: Rubena Press, 1993), 37–8.

6. Himmler’s words as translated and quoted by Ernst Nolte in *Three Faces of Fascism* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), 355.

7. *Okupacja i ruch oporu w dzienniku Hansa Franka 1939–1945, tom I 1939–1942* (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1970), 137–8.

8. Stanisław Pazyra, *Z dziejów Książki polskiej w czasie drugiej wojny światowej* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1970), 49.

9. *Ibid.*, 52. The policy of restricting “dangerous” Jewish publications was already in place in German libraries before the war. See Pamela Spence Richards, “German Libraries and Scientific and Technical Information in Nazi Germany,” *Library Quarterly* 55, 2 (1985): 151–73.

10. Czesław Madajczyk, *Polityka III Rzeszy w okupowanej Polsce* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1970), vol. 2, 122.

11. *Ibid.* See also The Polish Ministry of Information, *The German New Order in Poland* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1942), 446–70 (about the pillage and destruction of Polish cultural possessions).

12. Jonathan Petropoulos, *Art as Politics in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 108.

13. Michał Rożek, *Przewodnik po zabytkach i kulturze Krakowa* (Warszawa: Wydawn. Nauk. Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1993), 205.

14. Petropoulos, *Art as Politics in the Third Reich*, 227.

15. *Ibid.*, 106.

16. For a detailed account of the struggles of Warsaw librarians and museum workers see Stanisław Lorentz, *Walka o dobrą kulturę Warszawa 1939–1945* (Warszawa: PIW, 1970), vols. 1 and 2.

17. Maria Danilewicz Zielinska, “Okupacyjne losy Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej,” *Bibliotekarz* 7/8 (1993): 40.

18. Tadeusz Wroński, *Kronika okupowanego Krakowa* (Kraków: Wydawn. Literackie, 1974), 45.

19. *Okupacja i ruch oporu w dzienniku Hansa Franka 1939–1945, tom I 1939–1942*, 184.

20. Janusz Dunin, “The Tragic Fate of Polish Libraries after 1939,” *Solanus* 10 (1996): 7.

21. Gustav Abb, “Ein Jahr Staatsbibliothek Krakau,” *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 60 (1944): 62.

22. Barbara Bieńkowska, *Straty bibliotek polskich w czasie II wojny światowej* (Warszawa: Ministerstwo Kultury i Sztuki, 1994), 112.

23. *Ibid.*, 20.

24. Dunin, “The Tragic Fate of Polish Libraries after 1939,” 6.

25. Abb, “Ein Jahr Staatsbibliothek Krakau,” 62.

26. Werner Schochów, *Die Preussische Staatsbibliothek 1918–1945* (Köln: Böhlau, 1989), 56.

27. Manfred Komorowski, “Deutsche Bibliothekspolitik in der Sowjetunion (1941–1944)” in *Bibliotheken während des Nationalsozialismus, teil I* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1989), 476.

28. Edward Kuntze, “Dzieje Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej pod okupacją niemiecką,” *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* 25 (1975): 51.

29. Jan Pirożyński, “The Jagiellonian Library in Cracow: the Past, the Present and Prospects for the Future,” *Polish Libraries Today* 2 (1993): 23.

30. Irena Bar-Święch, “Ludzie i zdarzenia w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej podczas okupacji w latach 1939–1945,” *Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny WSP w Krakowie, Prace Bibliotekoznawcze t. 4* 110 (1987): 30.

31. Kazimiera Tatarowicz, “Przeniesienie zbiorów,” *Bibliotekarz* 8/9 (1948): 135.

32. Kuntze, “Dzieje Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej pod okupacją niemiecką,” 51.

33. Marian Friedberg, “Archiwa i biblioteki krakowskie” in Jan Dąbrowski, *Kraków pod rządami wroga 1939–1945* (Kraków: Tow. Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, 1946), 111.

34. Gustav Abb, "Die Eröffnung der Staatsbibliothek in Krakau," *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 58 (1941): 245.
35. *Ibid.*, 259.
36. *Ibid.*, 258–9.
37. *Ibid.*, 255.
38. *Ibid.*, 246.
39. *Ibid.*
40. For a detailed discussion of race categories used by the Nazis, see Norman Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), vol. 1, 445.
41. Helena Lipska, "Biblioteka Jagiellońska w czasie okupacji 1939–1945," *Biuletyn Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej* 29 (1979): 142.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*, 136.
44. See texts of Abb's directives as published in Lipska, "Biblioteka Jagiellońska w czasie okupacji 1939–1945," 144.
45. Pamela Spence Richards, "Aryan Librarianship: Academic and Research Libraries under Hitler," *Journal of Library History* 19 (1984): 250.
46. Donald E. Collins and Herbert P. Rothfeder, "The Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg and the Looting of Jewish and Masonic Libraries during World War II," *Journal of Library History* 18, 1 (Winter 1983): 28.
47. Bar-Święch, "Ludzie i zdarzenia w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej podczas okupacji w latach 1939–1945," 47.
48. Kazimiera Tatarowicz, "Biblioteka Jagiellońska za okupacji" in *Ne cedat academia* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1975), 452.
49. Bar-Święch, "Ludzie i zdarzenia w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej podczas okupacji w latach 1939–1945," 34.
50. Abb, "Ein Jahr Staatsbibliothek Krakau," 60–1.
51. *Ibid.*, 60.
52. Kuntze, "Dzieje Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej podczas okupacji w latach 1939–1945," 32.
53. *Ibid.*, 33.
54. *Ibid.*
55. Lipska, "Biblioteka Jagiellońska w czasie okupacji 1939–1945," 136.
56. *Ibid.*, 137.
57. Kuntze, "Dzieje Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej pod okupacją niemiecką," 38.
58. Władysław Szafer, "Uniwersytet Jagielloński w latach wojny 1939–1945" in *Kronika Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego za okres wojny 1939–1945* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1946), 21–2.
59. Stanisław Gawęda, *Uniwersytet Jagielloński w okresie II wojny światowej 1939–1945* (Kraków: 1986), 188. Edward Kuntze also claims that the unauthorized book lending was higher than the official one. See Kuntze, "Dzieje Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej pod okupacją niemiecką," 38.
60. Irena Bar-Święch, "Ludzie i zdarzenia w Bibliotece Jagiellońskiej podczas okupacji w latach 1939–1945," 35.
61. *Ibid.*, 41.
62. Tatarowicz, "Biblioteka Jagiellońska za okupacji," 456.
63. Lipska, "Biblioteka Jagiellońska w czasie okupacji 1939–1945," 140. See also Kuntze, "Dzieje Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej pod okupacją niemiecką," 44.
64. Kuntze, "Dzieje Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej pod okupacją niemiecką," 43.
65. Maria Kocójowa, *History of Polish Libraries* (Kraków: Universitas, 1993), 20.

66. Barbara Bieńkowska, "Report on the Losses of Polish Libraries in the Second World War." *Polish Libraries Today* 3 (1995): 30.

67. Bieńkowska, *Straty bibliotek polskich w czasie II wojny światowej*, 48. This is probably the most comprehensive study on the losses of Polish libraries during World War II.

68. *Ibid.*, 54.

69. *Ibid.*, 113.

70. Stubbings, *Blitzkrieg and Books*, 49.

71. See Jacqueline Borin, "Embers of the Soul: The Destruction of Jewish Books and Libraries in Poland during World War II," *Libraries & Culture* 28, 4 (Fall 1993): 445–60.

72. Kuntze, "Dzieje Biblioteki Jagiellońskiej pod okupacją niemiecką," 54.

73. Lipska, "Biblioteka Jagiellońska w czasie okupacji 1939–1945," 139.

The Connecticut Missionary Society and Book Distribution in the Early Republic

James R. Rohrer

This article examines the book distribution efforts of the Connecticut Missionary Society between 1798 and 1812. As part of an effort to aid Congregationalist migrants in frontier settlements, the society distributed tracts, hymn books, sermon collections, and theological treatises for use in worship, catechism, and schooling. The society also established proto-public theological libraries in frontier communities. These efforts probably had little impact upon the overall development of American evangelicalism, but they clearly met an urgent need felt by many Congregationalist churches during the early republic.

On 24 December 1798 Reverend Seth Williston, a young Congregationalist missionary from Connecticut, passed through the newly settled town of Romulus, New York. Like many other villages in the state, Williston found Romulus to be “remarkably dead” in spirit. Parents, the evangelist complained, “dreadfully neglected” the religious and literary education of their families, and everywhere there was “a great want of pious books among the people.” To remedy the situation Williston believed that sympathetic Christians in Connecticut should “supply the new settlers with some of the best authors in divinity and especially to be mindful of the children.”¹

Williston’s concern for theological and literary education led him to organize a subscription library in another frontier hamlet, “Patterson’s Settlement,”² an accomplishment that filled him with deep satisfaction. “I am in great danger of being blown up by pride,” he confessed following the organizational meeting of the library proprietors. During subsequent months he guided the members in their initial selection of titles, and on a visit to Hartford he purchased several volumes for the infant collection.³

Seth Williston was a typical Congregationalist missionary. Between 1798 and 1818 the Connecticut Missionary Society (CMS), evangelistic arm of the Connecticut General Association of ministers, commissioned 148 men to minister in the new settlements of northern New England,

New York, Pennsylvania, and the Old Northwest. The voluminous papers left by these missionaries as well as the records of the society's well-financed book committee reveal an aggressive campaign to systematically disseminate theological literature throughout the northern frontier.

The CMS campaign, which preceded by two decades the rise of the evangelical "benevolent empire," constituted an early effort to mold republican moral character by means of religious education. The society pioneered many of the distribution techniques later employed on a more massive scale by such publishing agencies as the American Tract Society and the American Sunday School Union. In addition CMS missionaries promoted grammar schools, subscription libraries, and numerous short-lived proto-public libraries as part of their program of spiritual regeneration.⁴ These latter entities differed significantly from either the Bray parish libraries of colonial America or the ubiquitous Sunday school libraries of the nineteenth century, and constitute a previously unrecognized variety of American theological library.⁵

I

The Connecticut General Association organized the CMS in June 1798 to undertake home missionary work among the rapidly multiplying "new settlements" of the northern frontier. As early as 1795 the association estimated that there were already more than two hundred settlements where Connecticut migrants resided without any orthodox pastoral guidance.⁶ When central New York and the Connecticut Western Reserve in Ohio opened to settlers in the mid-1790s, the number of such "vacant settlements" increased exponentially. CMS missionaries struggled to provide spiritual succor to these uprooted settlers, to check the spread of heterodox beliefs among them, and to organize them into self-sustaining Congregational churches as quickly as possible.

To perform these duties the CMS initially engaged settled Connecticut pastors to undertake four-month tours in the new settlements. When this approach soon proved insufficient, the society adopted the novel plan of ordaining young men to serve as full-time evangelists, a policy that deviated sharply from traditional Congregationalist opposition to itinerancy. These Congregationalist missionaries functioned much as Methodist circuit riders, moving from town to town, preaching revival sermons, catechizing youth, administering the sacraments, and distributing religious literature.⁷

From the outset the CMS placed a heavy emphasis upon book distribution as a necessary adjunct to preaching. Because the number of vacant frontier posts far exceeded the supply of suitable evangelists, settlers in

many places had to wait for months or even years between visits from Congregationalist missionaries. Given this reality it was essential that lay leaders take the initiative in gathering congregations and conducting worship services themselves. In 1795 the Connecticut General Association reminded Congregationalist emigrants of their covenant obligation to maintain religious observances even in the absence of gathered churches or ordained clergy:

strictly observe the Sabbath; constantly assemble yourselves on that holy day for public worship; and unite in prayers and praises, in reading the scriptures and the best sermons you can obtain. As far as may comport with your circumstances, furnish yourselves with Bibles and other good books, and employ your utmost exertions to give your children a religious and good education.⁸

Several years later the newly organized CMS reiterated this admonition, reminding settlers that the perpetuation of their religious traditions necessarily depended upon their own efforts. Despite the shortage of ministers, the society urged, “let your gravest and most able men lead in social prayers and praises, and let them read the best printed sermons they can obtain.”⁹

This advice highlights the conceptual distance between Congregationalist missionary leaders and their Methodist or Baptist competitors. The CMS leadership was staunchly committed to the New Divinity doctrines associated with Jonathan Edwards and his theological heirs.¹⁰ Unlike their “sectarian” rivals, who generally relied upon uneducated lay preachers, Edwardseans deemed it unsafe for settlers to follow ministers who had received neither formal theological training nor a license from a recognized Congregationalist association. The CMS never envisioned lay settlers proclaiming the Word of God for themselves. Instead migrants were to gather for regular “reading meetings,” to hear and discuss published sermons penned by approved evangelical authors.¹¹

Thus one primary goal of the CMS publishing campaign was to provide frontier laity with the resources they needed to worship properly and to teach sound doctrine. The book committee placed a high priority upon the distribution of sermons and hymn books for corporate worship, as well as devotional material for “the family altar.” The society also produced catechisms, primers, and children’s tracts for use in both homes and schools. In March 1801, for example, the book committee placed a fairly typical order with Hartford printer John Babcock for 500 family devotionals, 44 hymnals, 700 Philip Doddridge tracts on family worship, and 353 volumes of Jonathan Edwards’s sermons.¹²

In addition to worship materials, the society issued many polemical works on key theological controversies of the era. Topics included the nature of genuine revivals, the authority of scripture, infant baptism, and the dangers of Arminianism and Universalism. The committee especially favored the essays of Jonathan Edwards, but it also commissioned numerous works by such local New Divinity luminaries as Benjamin Trumbull of North Haven, Charles Backus of Somers, and CMS general secretary Nathan Strong, pastor of Hartford First Church.

The single most widely circulated CMS publication was undoubtedly the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine (CEM)*, one of the first monthly religious journals in the United States. The society launched the journal in 1800 in the aftermath of the so-called "Second Great Awakening" in Connecticut, both to fan the flame of spiritual renewal and also to raise money for the permanent fund. Modeled after the *London Missionary Magazine*, the *CEM* carried news of revivals and missions from around the world, as well as monthly excerpts from various classics of evangelical Calvinist theology. Bound together in book form, the *CEM* soon found its way into homes and libraries as far south as Georgia and as far west as the Ohio valley.¹³

II

The CMS attempted to distribute its printed resources as systematically as possible. The society instructed missionaries to keep careful records of the kind of literature most needed in each community they visited. The missionaries also selected reliable lay leaders who would willingly assist with storing and distributing the reading material. In order to avoid wasteful duplication, the society kept track of the titles and quantities of works stored at each station.

The book committee employed the services of trustworthy migrants or teamsters to carry boxes of literature from Connecticut to the new settlements. Most commonly these carriers were departing church members who agreed to add society books to their own household belongings, either gratuitously or for a small fee. Thus in 1806 Rev. Josiah Andrews of Long Island notified the Trustees that:

if you have any missionary books on hand that you wish to send to the Westward you now have a convenient opportunity. Mr. Josiah Pierson the bearer of this is on his way with a waggon, to the Genesee, & will carry some of them, if you desire it, twelve or fifteen miles beyond the Genesee River. He expects soon to remove his family there, & his brother Simon Pierson also who is with him, they will therefore be interested in the business, & I think be suit-

able persons, to send them by. They are both members of our church, worthy men. I have spoken with them concerning the books, and tho' they are so very heavy loaded that they cannot carry a great weight, yet they are willing to carry a few if it should be the Trustees wish.¹⁴

For such services the society usually compensated settlers according to the distance involved, with recorded sums ranging between 67¢ and \$1.25.¹⁵

After reaching their destination carriers typically turned over the literature to the designated lay distributors. From these distribution points missionaries then circulated the books to needy settlers throughout the surrounding region. Settlers could also apply directly for desired reading material, the distributors being advised to exercise their own discretion in deciding how to dispose of society resources.¹⁶

The CMS often made decisions about distribution in response to popular demand. Society officers received a stream of letters from frontier settlements, appealing for specific types of literature. Because few other benevolent agencies could match the financial resources of the CMS, a much broader circle of citizens than Congregationalist migrants alone sought out the society's aid. Written appeals came from Christians of various denominations, from grammar school committees, heads of fledgling academies and colleges, and from unchurched parents who worried about the future of their unschooled children.¹⁷

A typical request, sent in 1812 by the Congregational Society of Bloomfield, New York, complained about the "great evil which arises from the want of religious books in this society." Most households, the letter noted, "are destitute of Bibles; the religious instruction of children is neglected for want of catechisms X our singing on the Sabbath is not performed with that decency it otherwise might be for want of Psalm-books to supply the singers."¹⁸ Another letter, from a settler in Ohio, begged for "some useful & suitable sermon books to be read in our meetings for divine worship; as it is but seldom that we are favored with the preached gospel."¹⁹

A Vermont correspondent in 1811 lamented the lack of regular worship services in his village and the division of the people into many rival sects. The man had recently received from a friend a volume of selections from the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine*. Regarding these short, pithy pieces as ideal for instructing the public, the settler requested the society to give his village as many free copies of the *CEM* as possible, but to refrain from sending "more lengthy labored discussions."²⁰

Other settlers, however, remained undaunted by the more technical theological works which the society issued, and they found them perfectly

suited to their needs. An emigrant in Camden, New York, in 1801 appealed on behalf of “a large settlement of people here mostly from Litchfield County” who rarely received missionary visits. “We meet among ourselves on the Sabbath,” the settler reported, “to read some books from the missionary society for which we feel very thankful.” Among the works which they had already read “and much admired” were two weighty treatises on divine revelation and regeneration, and two volumes of Jonathan Edwards’s sermons.²¹

Such letters substantiate missionary claims that Congregational settlers eagerly received and utilized CMS publications. The people of Meredith, New York, missionary Jedediah Bushnell reported in 1800, “have lately begun their reading meetings” on the Sabbath. “They read books,” Bushnell observed, and would quickly digest as many sermon collections as they could procure.²² Oliver Hill, itinerating around Susquehanna, Pennsylvania, likewise noted how the settlers often walked “3 or 4 miles to a reading meeting on a rainy day and bad roads.” The people had devoured the CMS material previously distributed, Hill assured the society, and eagerly awaited fresh titles on his next visit. “A greater quantity of evangelical primers for children would be especially useful as those already received are about as diligently read and studied by children and by some of their parents as any book in their possession.”²³

Indeed, demand for society literature quickly exceeded the available supply, raising the issue of how best to maximize the number of settlers reached. In an effort to get CMS publications into as many hands as possible, in 1806 the society began to foster the creation of religious libraries. Rather than giving away books or tracts to individuals or single families, the missionaries instructed lay stewards to act as librarians, managing small collections on behalf of the society and loaning the material out to settlers for short periods of time.

In some cases the stewards apparently limited access to those who attended public worship. Alpheus Coburn of Cabot, Vermont, reported in 1806 that the books in his charge

are very servisible for the inhabitance of the society that I belong to; they are very much engaged in reding them & I mak it a rule to have them returned to me evry week & supply them with others, & I find that they are very servisible not only for reding but they have attendance to draw the people to meeting for sack of having a new book.²⁴

In many cases, however, the books were not restricted to worshippers. Jotham Cummings, who took charge of the literature in Holland, Vermont, explained to the society that the material in his trust was “read

with much interest and kept constantly circulating. The books . . . are kept as near the center of our settlement as can be done with convenience & regularly drawn & returned.”²⁵ Reverend Thomas Merrill, who labored in Vermont and New York, stressed to his stewards the importance of unrestricted access:

I have directed the person to whom I committed books for the use of a town to hold them as a kind of librarian. In some small towns I have permitted them to be connected with a library, but however to be free for the use of all the inhabitants of the town.²⁶

Joel Benedict, working in the Catskill Mountains of New York in 1810, followed the same practice in the village of Cook’s Falls.²⁷

In their efforts to encourage “Godly reading” among the general public, Congregationalist missionaries perhaps unwittingly helped to promote the democratization of American Christianity. As Harry Stout has argued, colonial New Englanders typically owned no theological literature apart from the Bible itself. In most communities the minister possessed the only lexicons, commentaries, doctrinal treatises, and sermon collections, a fact that helped to assure clerical domination of religious discourse.²⁸ The remarkable proliferation of mass-produced religious literature in the early republic was thus a key component of what Nathan Hatch has called the “democratic revolution” in American Christianity, a phenomenon which armed the laity with the resources and knowledge needed to reflect theologically for themselves. According to Hatch, the orthodox New England clergy generally opposed this democratization of religious knowledge.²⁹ Yet the example of the CMS suggests otherwise. Despite the generally conservative social and theological orientation of the New England clergy, CMS book distribution efforts both presupposed and facilitated the formation of a knowledgeable and activist Congregationalist laity wielding a significant degree of religious authority.

III

How did missionary publications immediately affect the settlements served by CMS evangelists? Unfortunately we cannot go beyond the impressionistic accounts given by the missionaries themselves. Because there are virtually no other surviving records of the collections created by the CMS, it is not possible to ascertain how broadly society literature actually circulated. The society received many testimonials from grateful laypeople, some attributing cases of conversion and even widespread revivals to the influence of CMS literature.³⁰ But substantiating such statements is impossible.

Certainly the work of the CMS book committee declined rapidly following the War of 1812. By the 1820s CMS missionaries devoted little of their time and energy to literature distribution. The rise of national evangelical tract societies and the explosive growth of the Sunday school movement removed much of the need for CMS efforts. These specialized agencies, operating with budgets vastly larger than the CMS and employing armies of full-time colporteurs, could produce literature more cheaply and distribute it far more efficiently than state and local efforts heavily reliant upon part-time volunteers.

Moreover, the religious needs of many Congregationalist migrants changed rapidly as frontier communities grew more populous and developed more stable educational institutions. Eventually most vacant churches secured permanent pastors. Common schools took root almost everywhere, and revolutionary changes in printing technology, marketing techniques, and systems of communication and transportation soon combined to flood the nation with inexpensive reading material of every conceivable sort. By the 1830s American communities even in frontier regions no longer faced a shortage of religious literature.³¹

The literary work of the CMS probably had little impact upon the overall development of American evangelicalism. Nonetheless, the record suggests that the society succeeded in accomplishing its primary objective. At a time when countless orthodox New England migrants found themselves momentarily cut off from their traditional sources of spiritual support, CMS reading material helped to fill the gap. Without the resources that the society made available, it is likely that many frontier congregations would have ceased to gather and that many Congregationalist migrants would have drifted into competing religious bodies. Thus, the CMS book distribution campaign played a vital if fleeting role during one critical phase in the history of American Congregationalism.

Notes

1. John Q. Adams, ed., "The Diaries of the Rev. Seth Williston," *Journal of The Presbyterian Historical Society* 7-9 (December 1913-March 1917): Part 10, 24. Hereafter cited as Adams, "Diaries."

2. Now the village of Whitney Point, Broome County, New York.

3. Adams, "Diaries," Part 2, 245, 247-8, 254.

4. References to these small libraries are scattered widely throughout missionary letters and journals. Given the scattered and sometimes fragmentary nature of the evidence, it is unfortunately impossible to determine exactly how many collections the CMS created and where all of these collections were located.

5. On Bray libraries see C. T. Laughler, *Thomas Bray's Grand Design* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1973). See also Bernard C. Steiner, "Rev. Thomas

Bray and his American Libraries," *American Historical Review* 2 (1896): 59–75; and William D. Houlette, "Parish Libraries and the Work of Rev. Thomas Bray," *Library Quarterly* 4 (October 1934): 588–609. The best treatment of Sunday school libraries is found in Anne M. Boylan, *Sunday School: The Formation of an American Institution, 1790–1880* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 48–52. See also Frank Keller Walter, "A Poor But Respectable Relation: The Sunday School Library," *Library Quarterly* 12 (1942): 731–9; F. Allen Briggs, "The Sunday School Library in the Nineteenth Century," *Library Quarterly* 31 (1961): 166–77; Arthur W. Swarthout, "The Church Library Movement in Historical Perspective," *Drexel Library Quarterly* 6 (1970): 115–18; Thomas W. Laquer, *Religion and Respectability: Sunday Schools and Working Class Culture, 1780–1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976); and Donald G. Davis, "Bread Upon the Waters: The Printed Word in Sunday Schools in 19th Century England and the United States," in *Reading for Moral Progress: 19th Century Institutions Promoting Social Change* (Champaign, Ill.: Graduate School of Library and Information Science, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1997, Occasional Paper no. 207), 5–18.

6. Connecticut General Association, *A Continuation of the Narrative of the Missions to the New Settlements, According to the Appointment of the General Association of the State of Connecticut* (New Haven: T. & S. Green, 1795), 19–20.

7. The fullest analyses of the CMS are James R. Rohrer, *Keepers of the Covenant: Frontier Missions and the Decline of Congregationalism, 1774–1818* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), and Ronald H. Norricks, "To Turn Them From Darkness: The Missionary Society of Connecticut on the Early Frontier, 1798–1814," Ph.D. diss., University of California, Riverside, 1975. See also discussions of the CMS in Charles L. Chaney, *The Birth of Missions in America* (South Pasadena, Calif.: William Carey Library, 1976); Oliver Wendell Elsbree, *The Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790–1815* (Williamsport, Penn.: The Williamsport Printing & Binding Co., 1928); Colin B. Goodykoontz, *Home Missions on the American Frontier* (Caldwell, Idaho: The Caxton Printers, Ltd., 1939); Charles Roy Keller, *The Second Great Awakening in Connecticut* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942); and Richard D. Shiels, "The Connecticut Clergy in the Second Great Awakening," Ph.D. diss., Boston University, 1976.

8. Connecticut General Association, *An Address to the Inhabitants of the New Settlements in the Northern and Western Parts of the United States* (New Haven: T. & S. Green, 1795), 5.

9. Missionary Society of Connecticut, *The Constitution of the Missionary Society of Connecticut: With an Address from the Board of Trustees, to the People of the State, and a Narrative on the Subject of Missions* (Hartford: Hudson & Goodwin, 1800), 7.

10. On the New Divinity see especially Mark Valeri, *Law and Providence in Joseph Bellamy's New England: The Origins of the New Divinity in Revolutionary America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); William Breitenbach, "The Consistent Calvinism of the New Divinity Movement," *William & Mary Quarterly* 41 (1984): 241–64; and Joseph Conforti, *Samuel Hopkins and the New Divinity Movement: Calvinism, the Congregational Ministry, and Reform in New England between the Great Awakenings* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1981).

11. On Baptist and Methodist attitudes see Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989), 67–122.

12. Book Committee file, March 1801 account sheet, Connecticut Missionary Society Papers, Congregational House, Hartford, Connecticut. Hereafter cited as CMS Papers. The Philip Doddridge tract was the oft-reprinted *A Plain and Serious Address to the Master of a Family on the Important Subject of Family Religion*. The

hymnal issued by the CMS was *The Hartford Selection of Hymns. From the most approved authors, to which are added a number never before published. Compiled by Nathan Strong, Abel Flint, and John Steward* (Hartford: John Babcock, 1799).

13. See *The Georgia Analytical Repository* 1 (1802): 14, for evidence of a southern readership. The first series of the magazine ran for seven years, from July 1800 to June 1807. A second series, retitled the *Connecticut Evangelical Magazine and Religious Intelligencer*, ran from January 1808 to December 1815. Both series have been microfilmed in their entirety. See *Missionary Society of Connecticut Papers, 1759–1948*, microfilm edition (Glen Rock, N.J.: Microfilming Corporation of America, 1976), reels 16–19.

14. Josiah B. Andrews to Abel Flint, n.d. 1806, CMS Papers.

15. An undated 1801 fragment identified as “Abel Flint’s Bill” lists the amounts paid to book carriers over a two-year period. Book Committee Records, CMS Papers.

16. Many letters shed light on the developing CMS distribution system. See, for example, Seth Hayes to Abel Flint, 20 February 1800; Eliphalet Nott to Abel Flint, 1 June 1800; Heman Comstock to CMS, 23 July 1800; Allen Adams to Abel Flint, 7 February 1803; J. Washburne to Abel Flint, 3 February 1804; Noah Cowles to Abel Flint, 20 May 1807; Moses Gillet to Abel Flint, 23 May 1811; Thaddeus Osgood to Abel Flint, 11 June 1811, CMS Papers.

17. See for example, Joel Humaston to Abel Flint, 1 November 1806, CMS Papers, appealing for books for the schools and library recently established in Vienna, Ohio.

18. Bloomfield Congregational Society to CMS Trustees, 5 May 1812, CMS Papers.

19. Zenas Pelton to CMS Trustees, 7 October 1808, CMS Papers.

20. Elias Buel to Nathan Strong, 1 April 1811, CMS Papers.

21. John Humaston to Benjamin Trumbull, 23 May 1801, CMS Papers.

22. Jedediah Bushnell to Nathan Strong, 29 September 1800, CMS Papers.

23. Oliver Hill, missionary journal for 1813 and 1814, CMS Papers.

24. Alpheus Coburn to Nathan Strong, 19 September 1806, CMS Papers.

25. Jotham Cummings to Abel Flint, 1 July 1811, CMS Papers.

26. Thomas Merrill to Abel Flint, 17 March 1812, CMS Papers.

27. Joel Benedict, journal commencing 20 December 1810, CMS Papers.

28. Harry S. Stout, *The New England Soul: Preaching and Religious Culture in Colonial New England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), 32–3.

29. See Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, 132.

30. Moses Gillet to Abel Flint, 3 February 1813, CMS Papers.

31. On this theme see Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, 125–27; David D. Hall, “The History of the Book: New Questions? New Answers?” *Journal of Library History* 21 (1986): 31; and two essays by David Paul Nord: “The Evangelical Origins of Mass Media in America, 1815–1835,” *Journalism Monographs* 88 (1984): 1–30, and “Systematic Benevolence: Religious Publishing and the Marketplace in Early Nineteenth-Century America,” in Leonard I. Sweet, ed. *Communication & Change in American Religious History* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1993), 239–69.

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

Maxine K. Rochester

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

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

Carnegie Corporation Library Program

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

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

British Dominions and Colonies Fund

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

The grants for library services for Blacks in South Africa were unique among the Carnegie Corporation grants to the four British dominions. The corporation was already providing some support for African American library services in the United States, for example, grants to African American colleges. It was one of several foundations providing funding to encourage the development of education and library services for African Americans in the South. This reflected the liberal values of the president, Frederick Keppel, and of the trustees of the corporation during the period 1923 to 1942.³

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

South Africa

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

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

Libraries in South Africa

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

Library Survey

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

considered.⁷ The recommendations of the conference included the following:

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

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

Library Services for Blacks

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Natal

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

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

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

There were already some libraries for Blacks in Natal including the Native Teachers' Library at Pietermaritzburg, operated on a subscription basis by the Education Department, and small libraries in some Black African missions and colleges. The only library for Indians was the M. K. Gandhi Library at Durban, set up by an Indian benefactor, which held 4,445 books and 154 periodicals in 1928.¹⁸

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

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

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



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

Transvaal

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By 1940 the library had 81 centers throughout the province. There were 9,000 volumes with an estimated circulation of 10,288.³¹ The collections included books in the following languages: Afrikaans and English, the Indian languages Gujerati and Tamil, and the African languages Sendiebe, Sepedi, Sesotha, Shangaan, Swazi, Thonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa, and Zulu.³²

The Non-European Library Service, Transvaal, gradually achieved better library services for Africans, although these were segregated. The Johannesburg Public Library in 1940 took over support of the library of the Bantu Men's Social Centre in Johannesburg, which had received book deposits from the service, and also opened a library in the Western Native Township, called the Winifred Holtby Memorial Library, the first purpose-built Black public library.³³ These services for Blacks were run as branch library services.³⁴ Other towns opened reading rooms; for example, in Benoni the local council opened a large reading room furnished with tables and benches, and supplied magazines and daily papers; in a neighboring room were kept the three hundred books deposited by the Non-European Library. There was a local organizing committee which arranged literary functions.³⁵ In 1941 Germiston began its own municipal library service to Black Africans in temporary premises just outside the town, with a full-time Black African library assistant. In 1947 a branch library building opened in the township.³⁶ In 1943 Pretoria opened a library for Blacks with a part-time librarian, and another with a full-time librarian in 1944.³⁷

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

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

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

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

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

Training of Black Librarians

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

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

Evaluation

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

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

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

Cape Province

A sum of \$5,000 from the CCNY had been set aside to purchase books for the provision of a service to the coloured schools of the Cape Province. The provincial education department would not provide any matching support for such a service, so a committee with representatives from the Joint Committee of Europeans and Coloured People itself marshaled support and received the CCNY grant to set up a service for adults and children in 1932.⁵⁴ In 1936 a further CCNY grant of \$1,500 was received to purchase books in Afrikaans, the language spoken by

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

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

Orange Free State

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

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

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

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

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

CCNY Funding

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

In addition to the original grants approved in 1928, with Stirling's advice a further sum of \$13,500 for Non-European libraries was appropriated in 1934 from the British Dominions and Colonies Fund; the amounts are listed in Table 1.⁶¹ The money went to meet further requests for extension of services in South Africa: \$5,000 to found a library for Non-Europeans at Port Elizabeth for the eastern Cape Province, \$1,500 for books in Afrikaans for the Cape Coloured Library in Cape Town, \$2,500 to set up a special library of Black African and African American literature and music at the Bantu Social Centre in Durban, and \$3,000 toward the expenses of a Black librarian to be a full-time organizer for the Transvaal Non-European Library, at the suggestion of the committee which Stirling chaired.⁶²

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

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

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

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

to 1932 of \$143,750.⁶³ Some support for the Black libraries came from this funding through infrastructure development for libraries, an example of the gross inequalities of provision at federal, provincial, and local government levels in South Africa for the majority Black African, coloured, and Indian population.

Book Selection and Reading Interests

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

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

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

Lessons learned from the experience of setting up the service in Natal were applied elsewhere. Thus at the Germiston Public Library, which organized the Carnegie Non-European Library, Transvaal, the most important lesson from the Natal experience was judged to be that only part of the book grant should be spent immediately, so that the tastes and reading capacities of Non-European readers could be judged, and suitable books added later.⁶⁵ In March 1935 the Carnegie Non-European Library, Transvaal, held a gathering in Johannesburg of librarians and the volunteers who looked after the centers to discuss suitable materials to include in the library collection.⁶⁶ Another was held in September 1936.⁶⁷

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

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

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

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

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

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

Bantu Social Centers

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

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

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

Typed slips showed what each shelf held: novels, history, sociology, travel, Africana, political science, American Negro literature . . .

I stopped there. American Negro literature . . . I reached up and took out a fat black book. *The Souls of Black Folk* by W. E. B. Du Bois. I turned the pages. It spoke about a people in a valley. And they were Black, and dispossessed, and denied. I skimmed through the pages, anxious to take it all in. I read:

"For this much all men know: despite compromise, war, struggle, the Negro is not free."

"The Negro is not free." . . . Du Bois's words had the impact of a revelation.⁷⁹

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

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

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

Many of the items in the collection were by African American writers associated with the Harlem Renaissance. The Harlem Renaissance was named after the Harlem section of upper Manhattan, where many African Americans settled in the 1920s. In the 1920s and early 1930s African American writers and artists flourished there, with their work emphasizing their African heritage.⁸² "Typical works"⁸³ in the African and Negro Library included the following American titles: *Color*, a collection of poetry published in 1925 by Countee Cullen (1903–1946), a Black author who was a leader in the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s;⁸⁴ *Poetry* by Paul Laurence Dunbar (1872–1906), who came from Dayton, Ohio, and wrote on Black themes;⁸⁵ *Not without Laughter*, a 1930 novel of James Langston Hughes (1902–1967), another major figure in the Harlem Renaissance;⁸⁶ and two items by James Weldon Johnson (1871–1938) were listed: a novel, *The Autobiography of an Ex-colored Man* (1912) about a light skinned Black man who passes as a White man, and *God's Trombones: Seven Negro Sermons in Verse* (1927). Johnson was a Black educator, composer, civil rights campaigner, and author who was active in the Harlem Renaissance.⁸⁷ There was also *Up from Slavery* (1901), the autobiography of Booker T. Washington (1856–1915), whose mother was a Black slave and father a White man, and who was born into slavery on a plantation in Virginia. He taught himself to read, and eventually became head of the Tuskegee Institute in 1881.⁸⁸

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

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

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

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

Conclusions

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Notes

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

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

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

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

4. Rochester, "American Philanthropy Abroad."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

12. *Ibid.*, 18–9.

13. *Ibid.*, 24.

14. *Ibid.*, 27.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

27. *Ibid.*, 7-9.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

38. *Ibid.*, 49, 66.

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

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

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

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

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

67. *Ibid.*, 55.

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

69. *Ibid.*, 43–5.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Constructing Women in Library History: Responding to Julia Taylor's "Left on the Shelf?"

Evelyn Kerslake

This paper is a response to work on women library workers in the United Kingdom. It suggests that recent concerns about the need for library historians to extend the analytical and interpretative side of their work contain an inherent demand to develop the theoretical frameworks in the field. A discursive feminist approach to library history is outlined as one such approach, and developments of a paper by Julia Taylor using this framework are outlined. Central benefits of using such a framework are that it helps historians to avoid reinscribing women into oppressive discourses. The need for women's and feminist library history in the U.K., where little work has so far been carried out, is suggested, particularly as the profession in the U.K. largely tends to avoid the gender politics of library employment.

Merely to paint a broad backcloth against which library activity took place is not enough. Such an approach might explain very superficially "how" libraries came to be. It does not necessarily explain the fundamental "why" of development and practice. Ideally in addition to it being given sufficient depth, context should not simply be described but interpreted, in an effort to pin-point the social functions and micro-worlds of libraries, and their professionals, providers and patrons.¹

The importance of context to library history cannot be doubted: understanding the reluctance of local government electors to increase local taxation by a library rate, for example, depends in part on awareness of the nineteenth-century laissez-faire economic attitudes turning on low wages and low taxation.² As Black contends, context in itself is insufficient in historical writing, which must be accompanied by analysis and interpretation. However, interpretation is problematized by post-modern doubts about the existence of "truth" and objectivity in history,³ thus giving rise to pluralities rather than absolutes, histories rather than history. It is further problematized because, as Jenkins summarizes:

Epistemology shows we can never really know the past; that the gap between the past and history (historiography) is an ontological one, that is, is in the very nature of things such that no amount of epistemological effort can bridge it.⁴

Like Jenkins, I argue that the bridge historians construct between their present-minded selves and the past is based on theory/ideology.⁵ Theoretical frameworks therefore underpin historical interpretation and analysis. The theoretical position may be explicitly adopted, as in some Marxist or feminist work, or it may be implicitly assumed, as in work grounded in established or “common sense” theories. Library history’s need for interpretation, therefore, also contains a demand for theory.

The development of “new” schools⁶ of historical thought and practice, such as social, labor, and women’s history, arises from the recognition of the plurality of histories. A recent instance of women’s history in the field of U.K. library history is a stimulating paper by Julia Taylor⁷ which investigates the position of women employed in English libraries from the late nineteenth century to the 1950s, thereby covering a period in which overt discrimination against women was standard throughout the labor market. Based on data and sources infrequently used by U.K. library historians,⁸ the paper provides a vivid picture of that world, yielding glimpses of the extent to which work in this historical field is pertinent to our understandings of the development of contemporary information and library services.

Taylor states that her paper aims to investigate how oppressive images of the woman librarian came about,⁹ and to some extent this is achieved. However, here I argue that while Taylor provides a glimpse of both “how” women library workers were oppressed and the context in which this occurred, a more developed exploration of this subject may be accomplished if the argument is moved even farther to address the problematic interpretative “why” question: why were women library workers oppressed and what did this mean? In particular, I argue that women’s employment in libraries could be usefully investigated from a particular theoretical position, utilizing theory developed by feminist writers throughout this century, who have extensively addressed the contemporary and historical position of women in the labor market.¹⁰ These ideas are used later in this paper to explore data from Taylor’s work.

U.K. Library History and Gender

Taylor’s paper stands out from most work in U.K. library history which eschews engagement with any gendered implications arising from

it. Black's extensive investigation of public libraries may be criticized for relegating discussion of gender issues to an "also-ran" position and privileging above all else the "crucial contextual area of class,"¹¹ after the way of many social historians.¹² While class is undoubtedly a significant factor, many theorists now accept that the impact of class has to be understood within a complex framework of intersecting oppressions.¹³ Black argues that "the central purpose of library history" should be to facilitate "the comprehension of social processes, historical and contemporary."¹⁴ The ensuing paucity of discussion of gender and race construction and negotiation, both key social processes, in the context of libraries—their architecture, staffing and admission policies, and so on—is, in the light of this comment, all the more striking. The omission is, however, in keeping with much other U.K. library history. The index to Kelly's¹⁵ immensely useful work on U.K. public libraries contains just four page references under the heading "women library workers," two references to women readers and none to the gender composition of library committees. Similarly, although women library workers are included by name, the existing six volumes of Keeling's¹⁶ bibliography of library history contain just four references under the heading "women librarians." The Keeling bibliographies, to some extent, even obscure work on women. Papers, such as that by Joynes,¹⁷ containing extensive, valuable information on women library workers in special libraries, are not indexed under "women"—thus rendering them invisible. Indexing is certainly a feminist (and a class, sexuality, and race) issue.

Women's History or Discursive Approaches to History?

Taylor, then, challenges a great deal of library history simply in choosing to work with the subject of women, and particularly in framing the work as an exploration of the oppressive image of women library workers. The need to make women library workers visible in historical studies is often based on the premise that women have been "overlooked" by library historians and simply need to be added to work in the field. This premise is based on an essentially liberal stand-point¹⁸ which argues that "additive" work is necessary to correct a previous imbalance or oversight. Further, it is based on the belief that the omission may be remedied by extending existing structures and frameworks, rather than by issuing a fundamental challenge to established political and theoretical values. Taylor's approach is useful in that it renders women library workers visible. However, I argue that it is also limited because it does not address the power relations in society by asking a fundamental question: who benefits from the oppression of women?

With the aim of exploring this question, a discursive analytic approach could prove useful. Discourse is used here following Jenkins's explanation of the term's use in history as a "field of force":

a series of ways of organising the past by and for interested parties which always comes from somewhere and for some purpose and which, in their direction, would like to carry you with them. This field is a "field of force" because in it these directions are contested (have to be fought for). It is a field that variously includes and excludes, which centres and marginalizes views of the past in ways and in degrees that refract the powers of those forwarding them. Using the term "discourse," then, indicates that we know that history [and other discourses] is never itself, is never said or read (articulated, expressed, discoursed) innocently, but that it is always for someone.¹⁹

Jenkins further argues that a discursive approach to history is particularly pertinent because

if "doing history" is about how you can read and make sense of the past and the present, then it seems important to me to use discourses that have "readings" and the construction of meanings as major concerns.²⁰

A discursive approach enables historians to interrogate the function of constructions in the text rather than presenting it as an "always, already"²¹ transparent truth. Moreover, notions of marginalized discourses allow for individual agency, negotiation, resistance, and renegotiation which explain those people or groups who do not conform to dominant "common sense" ways of being.

A discursive approach informed by feminist concerns may be particularly helpful in an investigation of women's position in the labor market. This area has been extensively addressed by feminist writers, as noted above. Feminism is used here to encompass an awareness of women's oppression by the intersecting forces of patriarchy, capitalism, racism, and heterosexism. Women are variously situated in these discourses according to their social position. Bennett argues, however, that it is possible to usefully work with this acknowledgement of differences between women because

Some women have more capital or status than some men; some women wield more political power than some men; some women

enjoy racial or sexual privileges denied to some men. But within each group of men and women—whether the group is structured by commonalities of race, class, sexuality or whatever—women as a group are disempowered compared to *men of their group*.²²

Feminism then, in general terms,

is the ideology of women's liberation since intrinsic in all its approaches is the belief that women suffer injustice because of our sex.²³

Discursive techniques may be employed in a development of the arguments in Taylor's paper to explode, for example, references to the suitability of library employment for women. Taylor explains that this was based either on the profession moving toward those skills women were presumed to have for domestic work and so was "a role at which they could excel";²⁴ or alternatively, she writes that "the perception of the librarian was modifying as women moulded the profession around their specific skills and traits."²⁵ Both are pertinent points to make; however, an explanation of how they come to have currency is needed in order to understand their significance.

A feminist discursive approach would leave no doubt that these domestic skills were not innate feminine traits, but rather were learned as a result of nineteenth-century social pressures on women to acquire an appropriately "ladylike" education, i.e., one based on "catching" a husband and retaining one by carrying out domestic tasks. Taylor's wording, however inadvertently, reinforces the notion that domestic skills are some of the *essential* qualities which belong to "woman." Essential differences, as has often been noted, are rooted in binary oppositional terms where women or feminine terms are placed in a negative or marginal position and men or masculine terms are positive and central.²⁶ Thus, despite the obvious intention to validate and legitimate the history of women library workers, Taylor's paper can also be seen as trading on and reinforcing dominant oppressive discourses. This is, of course, one reading of this text, framed against a particular theoretical framework. It is not the only reading, and others may wish to challenge it from their particular standpoints.

A further development of issues in Taylor's paper might be to take issue with the notion—popularized by Dee Garrison²⁷—that feminization of the library profession is problematic. Buying into the discourse that the preponderance of women in librarianship caused it to become a poorly remunerated profession depends on a sexist acceptance that women's labor is problematic and of less value than men's. A discursive approach

is useful here in offering a framework in which it may be argued that women workers are constructed as lesser than men—rather than being *intrinsically* of less value—and that this construction is used to justify their lower remuneration. The decrease in the cost of labor was essential for the expansion of public libraries within a standstill budget. Rather than women's labor being constructed as less valuable than men's, this discursive analysis argues that women were paid less than men because such exploitation was seen as legitimate in achieving the aim of public library expansion. Thus, in this way, the emerging public library movement benefited from the exploitation of women library workers.

Moreover, recent analysis of the feminization of professions suggests that such feminization was necessary to cope with the proliferation of routine work accompanying expansion, yet without devaluing male patronage. As Jordan²⁸ indicates in her work on women clerks in the insurance industry, expansion of routine work jeopardizes the promotion opportunities of men appointed through patronage, and so devalues patronage. Preserving the patronage system necessitated the creation of an "unpromotable category of clerk." Far from being problematic, the introduction of women clerks was an "answer" to this male-defined problem. Jordan's work indicates that the feminization of a profession occurs against complex, even competing, factors which cannot be explained simply by blaming the low-paid worker. The investigation of the history of women library workers in this vein, as another pink-collar profession, might prove a useful way of investigating the feminization debate, perhaps to explore how the underremuneration of women library workers was legitimized to the benefit of those (men) in positions of power in the public library movement.

Taylor's paper makes quite evident her opposition to the oppressive image of librarians and engages with political concerns about equal pay and women's access to the labor market; however, several further challenges to the data reported there can be offered. The discussion of patriarchal control of women's bodies as a prime source of women's oppression might be extended. Although there are references to this, further work might be carried out, particularly given the emphasis on the primary data reported in Taylor's paper. Such analyses might, for example, explore the issue from a feminist perspective (where an analysis of patriarchal oppression would be central) or from a Marxist perspective (where an analysis of the relations between capital and labor would be central). Of course, these categories overlap, so we find feminist historians working from a Marxist perspective and Marxist historians also concerned with the gender implications of their work.

Taylor highlights the control of women's bodies, for example, in her discussion of Henry Tedder's 1882 recital of the objections to women

working in libraries, and she challenges his assumption that women "are weak in both a bodily and mental sense."²⁹ A further challenge is made to a later complaint about the presence of "Woman" in the Reading Room of the British Library:

The frou-frou of her silken raiment is censured; she shall not walk in silk attire amongst the books . . .³⁰

Taylor understands this as "women disturbing the atmosphere of cerebral calm by their physical presence" and being prevented from occupying a legitimate, "intellectual" space within the institution of the library. This is an extremely interesting line of thought, and further analysis might include explorations of the way that this discursive construction of women library workers both legitimated their presence in libraries (because they were thought to have a calming influence which was useful to public libraries' function of social control³¹) and simultaneously constrained the right to that place (because Woman is constructed as sexual, not cerebral, as attached primarily to unpaid domestic work, not to paid employment, as noted earlier in Taylor's paper).

Reinscribing Women Library Workers

Taylor's paper challenges the oppression of women in the labor market. However, it could be argued that it simultaneously reinscribes women into oppressive sexist discourses³² by describing all women as essentially the same, rather than highlighting differences between women from various classes or ethnic groups, or of different sexual orientations or physical abilities. Three examples of reinscription in the paper are discussed here.

First, the discussion of women's access to education:

With compulsory education now the law of the land, women were beginning to improve their minds, to fill the gap of ignorance.³³

The assertion that *all* girls were uneducated before the 1870 Education Act, and similarly that *all* girls were educated thereafter, is inaccurate. Before the act, some girls from wealthy families were privately educated, while some from poor families were educated by Sunday schools and charity schools such as those established by the National Schools and British and Foreign Schools Society;³⁴ and after the act, some girls from poor families continued to work—at least sporadically, say when harvesting—instead of regularly attending school. Similarly, Taylor's assumption that all women in nineteenth-century Britain were in positions of eco-

conomic dependency ignores those women who provided for dependents and those who had independent means. This is seen in her statement that:

Women began to break away from their recognised positions of dependency as sisters, daughters, wives, aunts and to seek independence through employment.³⁵

The failure to recognize the impact of varied economic positions on the category of woman and an insistence on understanding women through their familial roles close down the possibilities of what it was to be a woman in nineteenth-century England. It also ignores work by Hakim³⁶ and others (such as Hecht's³⁷ work on domestic servants) demonstrating that throughout most historical periods, most women have engaged in paid (as opposed to only unpaid) labor. By ignoring this, Taylor's paper renders all women the same, and they may then be categorized as "woman." Failure to resist this definition plays into the hands of oppressive understandings of gender. Essentialist constructions of men as strong and active and of women as passive and weak are a primary justification for the oppression of women, which Taylor's paper to some extent challenges. This challenge is, however, weakened by the assessment that women were to blame for their own lack of success:

Trained by society to care and foster, women were victims of their own success.³⁸

The power of library committees, other librarians, councillors, families, and wider societal pressures in actively preventing or limiting women's employment is ignored, and the real fault is identified as women's inability to shake off the caring role. The relatively powerless woman, rather than the economically and ideologically powerful labor market and social systems, is blamed for her failure to progress in the library profession. Thus "blaming the victim" is an example of rewriting women library workers into oppressive discourses, which then reinforces apparently common-sense evaluations of women's labor as being lesser than men's. This can be argued as benefiting the capitalist and patriarchal exploitation of women workers.

A second example of reinscribing women within dominant discourses concerns established periodization. It would be interesting to challenge the idea that the 1870s were "a time of great advancement in the library movement."³⁹ While this may be so *for particular aspects* of the library movements—for example, for the number of public libraries established and for men working in them—it was not so for everyone

concerned with libraries. A time of great advancement for women library workers, for example, came about during the First and Second World Wars.⁴⁰ Taylor herself makes the point about women's increasing employment during periods of war, saying that the First World War "showed them [women] one possibility of a promised land."⁴¹ However, this observation does not lead to a questioning of the usefulness of established periodization. Such differentiation in the periodization imposed by library historians on their subject is necessary to encompass realities experienced by different sections of society. When pronouncing a period "great" or "poor," it is necessary to ask the question: for whom was it a great time? An exploration of the concepts available to historians for framing their work would show a huge debate on this subject within the literature on feminist history⁴² and also generally within postmodern theories of history.⁴³

Third, the role played by the image of the librarian-spinster is not explored in any detail, although possible justifications for the introduction of this image are given.⁴⁴ The image of the repressed "dowdy spinster . . . left on the shelf"⁴⁵ is seen as something to be explained—if married women librarians left the labor market, then only unmarried ones, constructed as being without dependents, remained, thus justifying the lower wages paid to women—if not excusing them. It is not seen as something to be angry about or as a glaring example of dominant, sexist power relations in action which need to be challenged. Neither does Taylor's paper validate those women who wanted to be economically independent and to live alone or without a male partner. Thus, here too the paper reinscribes women into limited oppressive constructs of what it meant to be a woman library worker.

The importance of Julia Taylor's paper in bringing to the surface a much-neglected area of U.K. library history cannot be overstated, but the use of dominant discursive constructions of women weakens its impact in addressing its goal of understanding how women workers were oppressed in the library labor market. Here, I have suggested that the use of feminist historical theory and discursive techniques could be used to challenge oppressive discourses of women library workers. Taylor makes significant points in discussing the historical context of issues which continue to plague the sector today,⁴⁶ and she demands answers to new questions about old problems: of how the profession deals with equal pay and equal opportunities; of how systematic oppression is still entrenched in today's "glass ceiling" rather than yesterday's legislative brick wall; of how the profession in the U.K. still fails to attach great importance to these, and other, oppressive issues, instead remaining fixated on the—very masculinized—professionalization/scientificization debate. Engagement with these issues should mark the start of an assess-

ment of the politics of library employment and move that argument forward rather than simply providing a missing piece of the library history jigsaw.

Notes

Many thanks to Dr. Anne Goulding and Professor Margaret Kinnell for their constructive comments.

1. Alistair Black, *A New History of the English Public Library. Social and Intellectual Contexts, 1850–1914* (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), 17.

2. *Ibid.*, 20.

3. For a summary see Keith Jenkins, *Re-thinking History* (London: Routledge, 1991), 28.

4. *Ibid.*, 19.

5. *Ibid.*, 15.

6. Of course, some work in these fields was carried out earlier, e.g., Ivy Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981, first printed 1930). However, such work was not incorporated within the history canon. Women's history, particularly in the U.K., remains marginalized.

7. Julia Taylor, "Left on the Shelf? The Issues and Challenges Facing Women Employed in Libraries from the Late Nineteenth Century to the 1950s," *Library History* 11 (1995): 96–107.

8. A literature review revealed that Taylor's is only the third full-length paper focusing on women library workers in the United Kingdom to be published. The others are Nigel Webber, "Prospect and Prejudice: Women and Librarianship, 1880–1914," *Library History* 6:5 (1983): 153–162; and Alan Clarke, "Few and Far Between: Women Librarians in the Nineteenth Century," in Michael Wise, ed., *One Hundred Years: A Collection to Celebrate the Library Association Centenary*, Occasional paper number 8 (Aberystwyth: College of Librarianship, 1977). Shorter papers have appeared, such as Ann Harrold, "Bright Ribbons and Thin Shoes," *Library Association Record* 96:2 (1994): 90. There have also been investigations of gendered library provision, for example, Lindy Moore, "The Provision of Women's Reading Rooms in Public Libraries," *Library History* 9:5/6 (1993): 190–202. A brief discussion on the Sharp-L discussion list confirmed the dearth of papers. I would like once again to thank those who responded.

9. Taylor, "Left on the Shelf?" 96.

10. See, for example, Pinchbeck, *Women Workers and the Industrial Revolution*; Cynthia Cockburn, *Brothers: Male Dominance and Technological Change* (London: Pluto, 1983); Shirley Dex, *The Sexual Division of Work* (Brighton: Harvester, 1985); and Sue Sharpe, *Double Identity* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1984).

11. Black, *A New History*, 5.

12. For an early critique see Sally Alexander and Anna Davin, "Feminist History," *History Workshop Journal* 1 (1976): 4–6.

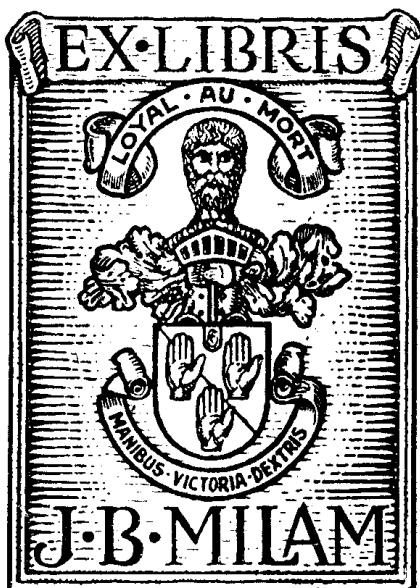
13. For example, bell hooks, *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Centre* (Boston: South End, 1983); Catherine Hall, *White, Male and Middle Class: Explorations in Feminism and History* (Cambridge: Polity, 1990).

14. Black, *A New History*, 17.

15. Thomas Kelly, *A History of Public Libraries in Great Britain, 1845–1975* (London: Library Association, 1977).

16. Dennis F. Keeling, ed., *British Library History: Bibliography 1962–1968* (London: Library Association, 1972); Dennis F. Keeling, ed., *British Library History: Bibliography, 1969–1972* (London: Library Association, 1975); Dennis F. Keeling, ed., *British Library History: Bibliography, 1973–1976* (London: Library Association, 1979); Dennis F. Keeling, ed., *British Library History: Bibliography, 1977–1980* (London: Library Association, 1983); Dennis F. Keeling, ed., *British Library History: Bibliography, 1981–1984* (London: Library Association, 1987); Dennis F. Keeling, ed., *British Library History: Bibliography, 1985–1988* (London: Library Association, 1991).
17. Sara E. Joynes, "The Sheffield Library, 1771–1907," *Library History* 2:3 (1971): 91–116.
18. For a powerful critique of this approach to history, see Joan Kelly, *Women, History and Theory: The Essays of Joan Kelly* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).
19. Jenkins, *Re-thinking History*, footnote 1.
20. *Ibid.*, 3.
21. *Ibid.*, 33.
22. Judith Bennett, "Women's History: A Study in Continuity and Change," *Women's History Review* 2:2 (1993): 177.
23. Maggie Humm, *The Dictionary of Feminist Theory* (Hemel Hempstead: Prentice Hall/Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1995), 94.
24. Taylor, "Left on the Shelf?" 102.
25. *Ibid.*
26. For further discussion of biological determinism, see Gisela T. Kaplan and Lesley J. Rogers, "The Definition of Male and Female: Biological Reductionism and the Sanctions of Normality," in Sneja Gunew, ed., *Feminist Knowledge: Critique and Construct* (London: Routledge, 1990).
27. Dee Garrison, "The Tender Technicians: The Feminization of Public Librarianship, 1876–1905," in Kathleen Weibel and Kathleen Heim, eds., *The Role of Women in Librarianship, 1876–1976: The Entry, Advancement and Struggle for Equalization in One Profession* (Mansell, London: Oryx, 1979). For a critical assessment of Garrison's work, see Suzanne Hildenbrand, "Revision versus Reality: Women in the History of the Public Library Movement, 1876–1920," in Kathleen Heim, ed., *The Status of Women in Librarianship: Historical, Sociological and Economic Issues* (New York: Neal-Schuman, 1983).
28. Ellen Jordan, "The Lady Clerks at the Prudential: The Beginning of Vertical Segregation by Sex in Clerical Work in Nineteenth-century Britain," *Gender and History* 8:1 (1996): 65–81.
29. Taylor, "Left on the Shelf?" 99.
30. *Ibid.*, 100.
31. For a discussion of the controlling discourse of public librarianship, see Black, *A New History*, chapter 9.
32. Kum-Kum Bhavani, "Tracing the Contours: Feminist Research and Feminist Objectivity," *Women's Studies International Forum* 16:2 (1993): 95–104.
33. Taylor, "Left on the Shelf?" 98.
34. Thomas W. Laqueur, "Working Class Demand and the Growth of English Elementary Education," in Lawrence Stone, ed., *Schooling and Society* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976).
35. Taylor, "Left on the Shelf?" 98.
36. Catherine Hakim, *Occupational Segregation. Research Paper No. 9* (London, Department of Employment, 1979).

37. J. Jean Hecht, *The Domestic Servant Class in Eighteenth Century England* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956). Liz Stanley notes that in the mid- to late Victorian era around one-third of all women aged fifteen to twenty were employed as domestic servants (*The Diaries of Hannah Culwick. Victorian Maidservant* (London: Virago, 1984), 4.
38. Taylor, "Left on the Shelf?" 107.
39. *Ibid.*, 98.
40. Weibel and Heim, *The Role of Women*, 70.
41. Taylor, "Left on the Shelf?" 105.
42. See, for example, Kelly, *Women, History and Theory*; Sylvia Walby, "From Private to Public Patriarchy. The Periodisation of British History," *Women's Studies International Forum* 13:1/2 (1990): 91–104.
43. For a summary see Jenkins, *Re-thinking History*.
44. Taylor, "Left on the Shelf?" 107.
45. *Ibid.*
46. For a recent exploration see Veronica Fraser and Fiona Poland, "Exposing the Invisible Ceiling in LIS," *Library Association Record* 97:8 (1995): 434–5.



THE COVER

Loyal Au Mort translates to *Faithful Unto Death*. These words adorn the personal bookplate of J. B. Milam as well as describing his philosophy and dedication toward his Cherokee Nation.

Jesse Bartley Milam (1884–1949), Cherokee Roll #24953, was born near Italy, Texas, of Sarah Ellen Couch Milam, a descendant of the Cherokee Adair family and a member of the Long Hair Clan, and William Guinn Milam. In 1887 the family returned to the Cherokee Nation near what is now Chelsea, Oklahoma. There J. B. Milam attended grammar school and went on to the Cherokee National Male Seminary in Tahlequah, Oklahoma, and, in 1901–02, to a course of study at the Metropolitan Business College in Dallas. After returning from college, he resumed work in his father's hardware store in Chelsea and, at the same time, entered the oil and gas business. With his brother-in-law he formed the Phillips and Milam Oil Company, which by the early 1930s

Bookplate courtesy of McFarlin Library, Dept. of Special Collections, The University of Tulsa

had an interest in more than one thousand producing wells. In 1904 he also married Elizabeth Peach McSpadden, Cherokee Roll #12943, and later produced two daughters and one son.

Milam was actively involved in the banking business, and in 1915 became president of the Bank of Chelsea, the first bank in the Cherokee Nation. He was also one of the founders and the first president of the Rogers County Bank in Claremore, Oklahoma, the hometown of another Oklahoma favorite son and fellow Cherokee, Will Rogers.

Perhaps Milam's most enduring legacy was as Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation from 1941 to 1949. In 1907 the dissolution of the Cherokee government in Indian Territory was coincident with the formation of the state of Oklahoma. After the death of the incumbent Cherokee Chief W. C. Rogers in 1917, the U.S. government would from time to time appoint a principal chief for a day or so to sign official Cherokee documents. In 1941 President Franklin D. Roosevelt appointed Milam as Principal Chief of the Cherokees for a one-year term. Milam set about to obtain better living conditions for the Cherokees, better schools, outlets for their arts and crafts, roads into remote communities, and more realistic appraisals of land belonging to Cherokee families.

As Chief, Milam had two main goals for the Cherokees: to reconstruct the tribal government and to reactivate tribal claims against the U.S. government. Another of Milam's goals was identification and preservation of items that were historically significant to the tribe. In 1942 he worked with representatives of the Carnegie Library in Tahlequah, the University of Oklahoma, and Northeastern State College in Tahlequah to recover historical items from these three institutions and place them in the Oklahoma Historical Society in Oklahoma City.

J. B. Milam also had a life-long interest in Cherokee history. In the 1920s Milam underwrote the expenses of having Emmet Starr, the author of several books on the Cherokee including the landmark *Early History of the Cherokees* (Claremore, Okla.: published by the author, 1917), carry out extensive research on the life of Sequoyah, including financing an expedition into Mexico to find Sequoyah's burial place. In the late 1930s, he began book collecting on the advice of his physicians to help control his high blood pressure. Even during his service as Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation, book collecting held a predominant interest for him.

In the obituary he wrote for the autumn 1949 *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, historian Grant Foreman noted that Milam had left "one of the most extensive and best selected libraries in the state." The obituary in the *Tulsa World* called the collection "one of the state's greatest private libraries with many rare books on the Cherokee tribe in particular." The library focuses on Oklahoma, the Southwestern United States, and

Cherokee Indian history. It contains more than 1,600 items, along with many photographs and hundreds of newspaper clippings.

Milam maintained author, title, and subject card catalogues, acquiring printed Library of Congress cards where available and producing type-written cards when they were not. Fragments of correspondence and occasional notes and marks in some books make it clear that he was in contact with booksellers in Oklahoma, Kansas City, St. Louis, Chicago, and elsewhere, buying from lists and catalogues and visiting bookshops whenever and wherever he traveled. He also maintained a fascinating accessions book with pages dated between 4 April and 21 July 1945, on which are recorded, apparently in the order acquired, 1,621 items. Milam was also in the habit of underlining in red pencil any occurrence of the word "Cherokee" and passages that related specifically to Cherokee history.

Among Milam's books and papers are an 1851 set of Schoolcraft's *History of the Indian Tribes of the United States* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo & Company, 1851-57), the second edition of the McKenney & Hall folios, minutes of the Cherokee government (1880-90) in longhand, and an extensive run of the books of his friend, the historian Grant Foreman of Muskogee.

Important government documents are part of Milam's library as well. Document 512 of the 23rd Congress gives notice from the U.S. Government to the Indian tribes to remove themselves from Georgia and Tennessee to the West; an original copy is in the library. A copy of the Final Rolls of the Five Civilized Tribes (the Dawes Commission Rolls) is there with the allotment maps of the old Cherokee Nation as the state of Oklahoma was created.

Milam's bookplate, which appears in virtually all volumes of his library, is 6.5 by 9 cm., with black letters on a silver background. *Ex Libris* and *J. B. Milam* appear prominently above and below the *Arms of Adairs*, which was virtually certain to have been borrowed from the crest appearing in *Adair: History and Genealogy* (Los Angeles: J. B. Adair, 1924). As a descendant of the Cherokee Adairs, J. B. Milam chose the heraldic symbolism of his ancestors to occupy the prominent position in the bookplate. Above the crest appears the Adair's motto *Loyal Unto Death*, and below the words *Manibus, Victoria, Dextris*. Milam was loyal unto his Cherokees until his death in 1949.

His eldest daughter, Mildred Milam Viles, added a room to her home to house her father's collection. In 1971 she and her two siblings made an agreement which called for donation rather than sale of the library following her death. She set out criteria for selection of a repository by a committee comprised of three first cousins, representing each of Milam's children. Mildred Viles died in 1987. Adhering to the criteria set forth,

the committee subsequently made inquiries of museums, universities, and three individuals as to their interest in the collection and their abilities to store and display the collection. In November 1989 the committee selected the University of Tulsa. Included in the gift were Milam's papers and correspondence from the eight-year period when he served as the Principal Chief of the Cherokee Nation (1941–1949).

A great portion of the Milam Library filled in the gaps of TU's existing Native American collection, and a smaller portion represented duplicates which the library already held. During negotiations between McFarlin Library and the Milam family, it was determined that duplicate volumes would be identified for eventual sale and the resulting income would be used to establish an endowment for the collection. If the endowment income were sufficient, it would be used as well to help underwrite the tuition of history students, preference being given to students of Cherokee descent.

Founded in 1884, the University of Tulsa celebrated its centennial anniversary in 1984. The roots of the university lie in evangelistic and educational efforts among the Indians of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, which resulted in, among other things, the Presbyterian School for Indian Girls in Muskogee, the capitol of the Creek Nation. In 1894 the school became Henry Kendall College; and by 1900 Kendall College had the largest enrollment of any college in the territory that in 1907 would become the state of Oklahoma. Henry Kendall College moved to Tulsa in 1907, and in 1920 was rechartered as the University of Tulsa.

Alice Mary Robertson (1854–1931) bequeathed to the University of Tulsa her substantial private library, including the translation work of her parents, William Schenk Robertson (1820–1881) and Ann Eliza Worcester Robertson (1826–1905), who were interpreters, prolific translators, and missionaries to the Creeks. Her grandfather, Samuel Austin Worcester (1798–1859), was a missionary and translator among the Cherokees from 1825 until his death. Although he was respected by the Cherokees and operated the only printing press in their language, it was against Georgia law for a white to reside in Cherokee territory, and in 1831 he was arrested. His case led to Chief Justice John Marshall's enduring opinion in *Worcester vs. Georgia* reaffirming the freedom of the press. Worcester and his family followed the Cherokee and Creek to Indian Territory, where Worcester's Park Hill press became the first source of printed materials in Indian Territory.

Alice Mary Robertson's library also included her own and her family's papers, which date back to Samuel Worcester's 1824 journal, and several hundred letters exchanged between members of the Worcester and Robertson families before the Civil War. This contribution was the

foundation of the Cherokee and Native American collection. Other major contributions to this collection were made by John W. Shleppay, who bequeathed a remarkable collection of more than six thousand items, which he appears to have begun assembling before 1920 as a result of his exposure to native cultures as a Boy Scout. Shleppay acquired anything Cherokee which came his way, including James Adair's *The History of the American Indian* (London, 1755); James W. Mahoney's *The Cherokee Physician, or Indian Guide to Health, as given by Richard Foreman, a Cherokee Doctor* (Chattanooga, 1846); minutes, in Cherokee, for the KeetooWah Society, 1859–1870; and even the Cherokee syllabary (list of syllables) in phototype, apparently part of a project to produce a Cherokee dictionary, never published, but toward which he assembled a great deal of material.

McFarlin Library at the University of Tulsa has other important collections, including the Walt Whitman collection, considered one of the six most complete Whitman archives in the country. McFarlin also has an impressive collection supporting TU's programs in geology and petroleum engineering, and the library established a collection of petroleum exploration and production materials that continue to command international attention. Members of the university's Modern Letters program were instrumental in the acquisition of several collections, including Cyril Connolly's library. Founded at TU in 1962, the *James Joyce Quarterly* has been the impetus for a distinguished collection of materials on the famous Irish modernist. The Léon collection includes a set of proof sheets for Joyce's *Finnegans Wake*.

The donation of the J. B. Milam Library in 1989 has been an invaluable addition to the Special Collections of McFarlin Library. The agreement with the Milam heirs specified that the library would mount an exhibition and publish a catalogue of the collection. Several hundred copies of *The J. B. Milam Library: A Short-Title Catalog* (Tulsa, Okla.: McFarlin Library, The University of Tulsa, 1993) are still available for those interested in Cherokee and Native American scholarship. A guide to the J. B. Milam Library of Cherokee History as well as guides to all of the special collections at the University of Tulsa McFarlin Library are available.

In accordance with the wishes of Mildred Milam Viles and her two siblings, the grantors, their heirs, or qualified researchers will be granted "the specific right to have access to [the Jesse Bartley Milam Library] at all regular business hours."

Jerrie Hall, Tulsa, Oklahoma

Philip Viles Jr., Tulsa, Oklahoma

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CONTRIBUTORS

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Book Reviews

A Feeling for Books: The Book-of-the-Month Club, Literary Taste, and Middle-Class Desire. By Janice A. Radway. Chapel Hill, N.C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997. xiii, 424 pp. \$29.95. ISBN 0-8078-2357-0.

Funny. My approach to crafting a history of the Book-of-the-Month Club (BOMC) would have been significantly different from Jan Radway's, and I think our differences may be traced to our graduate training. As a Ph.D. in American history with a master's degree in library studies, I was taught to look upon the BOMC as my friend—an institution that provided a fairly accurate indicator of what the public would be asking for at their local public libraries in coming weeks. As a Ph.D. in American studies, on the other hand, Radway was taught to condemn the BOMC for marketing literature as a commodity and for pushing popular titles that were questionable as "literature." Radway admits she was conflicted by this instruction because at the same time she was echoing the academy's criticism of the BOMC titles in her own scholarship and professional discourse, in the back of her mind she was also remembering the pleasures she had experienced reading them as a youth. *A Feeling For Books* details her efforts to resolve this conflict. It represents a highly personalized and quite courageous effort to question the merits of her graduate training in order to understand her own "experiences with books" that the BOMC effected.

Radway divides her coverage into three parts. In the first she autobiographically details research that allowed her to observe the practices of and to interact with in-house BOMC editors between 1985 and 1988. In the second she largely abandons autobiography and historically locates the BOMC as a cultural institution established in 1926 that provided one foundation for discourse among middle-class professionals (and those aspiring to that status), who used it to accommodate the shifting forms of work and concepts of class forced by a dynamic consumer culture. In the third part (my favorite) she returns to autobiography as a way of connecting herself to the BOMC's public history. It is here she recounts memories of visits to the Englewood (N.J.) Public Library as a child, and especially of her experiences as a teenager during a bed-ridden year in a body cast when Mr. Shymansky, her high school librarian, supplied her with BOMC titles during her convalescence. Radway's goal is to understand what we are now calling middlebrow culture on its own terms—not the academy's—and to define its particular substance and intellectual coherence. Ultimately, she recognizes herself as a product of middlebrow culture.

Two minor criticisms. First, for people unfamiliar with the discourse of cultural studies, literary criticism, and social history, this will be a difficult read—a lot of jargon to work through here. Second, I think Radway allocates a bit too much importance to the BOMC as an original site for fostering a new set of cultural tastes and preferences manifest in middlebrow culture. My own research into American library history unearthed apologies for similar kinds of texts in the prefatory material in early editions of the *Fiction Catalog*, a serial put out by the H. W. Wilson Company as early as 1908 to guide librarians' choices. In the 1928 edition, for example, compilers warned that the catalog "includes, for the sake of

the average reader, some recent novels the permanent worth of which is open to question." All this sounds to me a lot like justifications BOMC editors struggled to make in the 1930s to explain to elite cultures many of their popular selections.

But enough carping. For understanding the traditions of public (and, to some extent, school) librarianship, I think Jan Radway has written one of the most important books in this decade. After all, middlebrow culture does constitute a stratum of the larger American culture whose forms have for generations been featured in services rendered by the public and school library, two of America's most ubiquitous cultural institutions, both of which (remember the Englewood Public Library and Mr. Shymansky here) worked their influence as intermediaries on the author herself. *A Feeling for Books* also identifies meaning in the act of reading a group of texts that marked middlebrow culture, texts that for most of this century public libraries have circulated to patrons without really knowing why. Finally, it also provides a persuasive explanation for a set of human behaviors librarianship cannot ignore if it expects to prepare a prudent and democratic agenda for the next century.

Wayne A. Wiegand, *University of Wisconsin-Madison*

Writing Women in Late Medieval and Early Modern Spain: The Mothers of Saint Teresa of Avila. By Ronald E. Surtz. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1995. 223 pp. \$32.95. ISBN 0-8122-3292-5.

In this well-written, meticulously researched book, Ronald Surtz studies five women writers who are the predecessors of Spain's greatest woman writer, Saint Teresa of Avila. Although he refers to them in his title as "the mothers of Saint Teresa," Surtz does not present them simply as foreshadowing a later and far greater figure; rather, his goal is to view them "as individuals reacting to individual circumstances in individual ways" (19). It is important to note, however, that these writers did have certain circumstances in common: all worked in isolation, none had models of other women writers to draw upon, and some (like Saint Teresa) wrote because they had been ordered to do so by a higher (male) authority.

Surtz's primary concern is the issue of authority, a question that is central to the literature of the Middle Ages. He proposes to examine "[t]he ways in which [these five women writers] created authority and the ways in which they compensated for their ignorance of models of female writers" (20).

Teresa de Cartagena is the most well-known of the writers studied here. Probably born between 1420 and 1435, she came from a distinguished *converso* family about which we know a great deal. She is the author of two extant works: *Arboleda de los enfermos* [Grove of the Sick], probably composed between 1453 and 1460, and *Admiración Operum Dey* [Wonder at the Works of God], which was written later. Surtz examines Teresa's use of imagery as a strategy in the *Admiración* and her spirited defense of her first work and of herself. He also provides an excellent overview of the *Arboleda*.

Constanza de Castilla, chronologically the earliest of the five writers, was probably born in the mid-to-late 1390s and died in 1478. The granddaughter of Pedro I of Castile, she was the prioress of the convent of Santo Domingo el Real in Madrid for some fifty years. Her literary production consists of prayers, devotional treatises, and liturgical offices composed for use in her convent. Surtz pays

particular attention to three of Constanza's works: her extensive *Prayer*, the *Hours of the Nails*, and the *Fifteen Joys*.

While Teresa de Cartagena and Constanza de Castilla took an intellectual approach to spirituality in their writings, the other writers included in this study were mystics or visionaries. The first is María de Ajofrín (d. 1489), whose life and visions were recorded by her confessor. Surtz describes her visions and discusses the themes that occur in them, linking them to the Toledo of her time. The messages of her visions encouraged the agents of the Inquisition to pursue heretics and conveyed divine approval of the harsh actions they took against them. Thus, Surtz explains, the Church validated María's authority as a visionary and granted her credibility because her visions helped it further its own agenda, which included the establishment of the Inquisition in Toledo in 1485.

María de Santo Domingo (c. 1486–1524) was a controversial figure during her lifetime for religious as well as political reasons. Cardinal Cisneros, however, believed in the authenticity of her mystical experiences and ordered her confessor to write down her revelations. These were published around 1518 as the *Libro de la oración* [Book of Prayer]. Surtz concentrates on the first of the revelations contained in the *Libro*, a retelling of Christ's appearance after the Resurrection, which he shows "bears an implicit relevance to María and to her situation as a woman whose critics questioned her credibility" (91).

Juana de la Cruz (b. 1481) experienced mystical raptures during which she delivered sermons that were five or six hours in length. Her sermons from the 1508–1509 liturgical year were written down by one of her companions and constitute her only extant work, *El libro del conorte* [The Book of Consolation]. Surtz focuses on her sermon on the Feast of the Nativity of the Virgin, discussing it in detail.

The five writers Surtz introduces us to are fascinating figures. Specialist and nonspecialist alike will find his study interesting and useful. English translations follow all of the quotations in Spanish (and other foreign languages as well). Extensive notes accompany each chapter, and the bibliography alone is worth the price of the book.

Madeline Sutherland-Meier, University of Texas at Austin

Anthoine Vérard, Parisian Publisher, 1485–1512: Prologues, Poems, and Presentations. By Mary Beth Winn. Geneva, Switzerland: Librairie Droz, 1997. 555 pp. Fr.s. 132, 60. ISBN 2-600-00219-7.

Anthoine Vérard dominated French publishing from 1485 to 1512, producing some 280 individual editions. These were not ordinary editions, however, for this "father of the French illustrated book" (cited, 9) specialized in magnificently illuminated and specially crafted volumes, often on vellum, for presentation to royalty and the highest nobility of his day. These presentation volumes often included a specially conceived prologue or poem, which it is the purpose of the present volume to edit and comment upon. However, like Vérard himself, Winn goes well beyond the expected and the ordinary.

The first four chapters (1–205) introduce us to Vérard, the self-styled "humble libraire" of Paris; to the largely contemporary authors he favored and his relationships with them, including the curious appropriation of authorship he frequently assumed through his prologues; and to the high-born patrons he

cultivated (Kings Charles VIII, Louis XII, and François I of France, King Henry VII of England, Queen Anne de Bretagne of France, Charles d'Angoulême and Louise de Savoie, parents of François I and Marguerite de Navarre, and several lesser personalities). As publisher, Vérard catered to the tastes of the aristocracy for devotional treatises and books of hours, of which he produced about eighty, and for chivalric fiction, chronicles, histories, and translations of classical authors in French. Comparison of the various editions that bear his mark (two eagles holding a heart on which are inscribed his monogram, AVR) show that he owned a collection of printing materials (type, woodblocks, borders, etc.) that he lent to the many important printers he employed. He also hired some of the best illuminators and decorators of his day to overpaint the woodcuts and provide additional miniatures and decoration for the presentation volumes.

Vérard worked precisely at the interstices between the manuscript culture of the Middle Ages and the printed culture of the Renaissance: by printing works on vellum and decorating them in the traditional way with hand-painted miniatures, he sought to make his printed works resemble as closely as possible the precious manuscripts that constituted the bulk of his patrons' libraries. "Imitating in format, layout and type-face the literary manuscripts popular in aristocratic circles, these books could be mistaken for their models, particularly when printed on vellum and hand-illuminated" (31). Vérard was among the first and certainly the most successful of the printer/publishers exploiting this luxury trade in collectors' editions, selling to *nouveaux riches* financiers, members of parliament, and wealthy tradesmen as well as to royalty and the aristocracy. Luxury copies on vellum exist for some 150 of his editions.

These opening chapters provide a fascinating introduction to the book trade at the dawn of the Renaissance. Vérard was really much more than a "humble bookseller": he chose the texts to be published, negotiated with the authors, hired the printers and artists, provided illustrations, and altered or revised the texts, generally without consulting the author. His interventions, unscrupulous by our standards, frequently effaced the role of the author in favor of that of the publisher: he sometimes combined texts without their authors' permissions, replaced authorial prologues with his own, commissioned title pages with woodcuts that substituted the publisher for the author as donor of the book, etc. In all of this Vérard magnified the role of the publisher as book-maker and exploited the popularity of the texts and authors he published.

Chapter 5, "Texts by Vérard" (207–456), provides critical editions of the nineteen prologues (fourteen in prose, four in verse, and one combining verse and prose), four other texts in verse by Vérard, and three dubious prologues, all in verse. The editions are competently and thoroughly done, using the generally accepted criteria for editing early French texts. The text transcribed is that of the presentation copy, which is in a few cases the only source. After the text, the editor lists all other sources for the prologue, all known copies of the edition (alphabetically by city with call numbers), and references to standard bibliographies and catalogues. Additionally, she contextualizes each prologue in a detailed discussion that compares it to its source, if known; analyzes its style and content; describes any accompanying miniatures; and relates the codicological information for the volume.

Appendices to the volume include several archival documents relative to Anthoine Vérard; lists of books arranged according to patrons; a register of thirty miniatures depicting Vérard himself; editions of Vérard's prologues by other publishers; a roster of the printers employed by Vérard, including the volumes

for which they were responsible; and a supplement of some eighty-four volumes by Vérard to the standard catalogue of his works, that by John Macfarlane (*Antoine Vérard*, London: 1900; rpt. Geneva: Slatkine, 1971).

Winn's beautifully produced and carefully printed volume includes eighty-seven black-and-white illustrations, usually full-page, of the illuminated title and prologue pages of the volumes discussed. It should be noted—at least to judge from the descriptions in the text—that figures 4.15 and 4.16, and figures 4.22 and 4.23 have been reversed. On page 124 the reference should be to figure 4.19 rather than 4.16; and on page 134 the reference at the beginning of the second paragraph should be to 4.8 rather than 4.9. These and the very rare typographical errors do nothing to decrease the value of this splendid contribution to our knowledge of the publisher's art in late medieval and early Renaissance France.

William W. Kibler, University of Texas at Austin

Vico's Cultural History. The Production and Transmission of Ideas in Naples, 1685–1750. By Harold Samuel Stone. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1997. xxiv, 328 pp. \$106.00. ISBN 90-04-10650-2.

Giambattista Vico's historical reputation has fluctuated wildly. Between the time of his death in 1744 and the appearance of Jules Michelet's French translation of *La Scienza Nuova* in 1822, there was little note of his presence in the intellectual life of Europe and the world. Little does not mean none, and recent interest has prompted intensive investigation of the tenuous links between Vico's Napoli and Michelet's Paris. Vico was, after all, the forerunner of the new cultural history. The whole twentieth century "Annales" school has come out from under his cloak. So many of our most important modern thinkers have, so to speak, gone to school to him, from Karl Marx to Michel Foucault, from Ernst Cassirer and Wilhelm Dilthey to James Joyce, Edward Said, and Sir Isaiah Berlin. There is no one seriously at work in the humanities or the social sciences today who has not to some degree, directly or indirectly, been influenced by Vico's thought.

In the process, some shadows of doubt have fallen on the image of Vico created by Michelet, Victor Cousin, and the Romantics, and nourished to the size of Vico's putative primordial giants by Benedetto Croce and R. Collingwood, of a solitary genius, decades ahead of his time, arising in a provincial backwater cut off from the main currents of the Enlightenment. To some extent, Vico's own *Autobiography* has encouraged this notion, though a more careful reading might easily have dispelled it.

As the subtitle of Professor Stone's book intimates, Vico's solitude was at most a self-enabling myth. Naples in his lifetime was the third largest city in Europe, hardly a backwater. A whole network of intellectuals in and out of the Church, booksellers and publishers, writers, poets, editors, educated travelers, and wealthy merchants had a keen interest in and close contact with the intellectual life not only of the other Italian cities, but also Paris, London, Vienna, Amsterdam, the cities of Spain, and the new metropolis of St. Petersburg. Vico had a considerable circle of friends as well informed as himself who debated with him the issues of the day. Bookstores, like the one Vico's father owned, were thriving centers of intellectual exchange and far more closely connected with the

"Production and Transmission of Ideas" than they are today. Libraries, like that of Vico's close friend Giuseppe Valetta, collected manuscripts and personal archives as well as books, and the widespread circulation of unpublished manuscripts was commonplace. A complex and well-endowed system of poetic patronage was in place. The musical life of the city was extremely rich, especially in opera, on every level, from popular street songs to the most refined orchestration of castrato voices. It was one of Vico's key insights into the process of cultural history, after all, that he saw it not as passing down from above by elites to the *hoi polloi*, but as emerging out of a constant tension between high culture and low, part of the class struggle that was for Vico the motivating force of history. Professor Stone points out the influence on Vico of such gifted composers as A. Scarlatti, L. Vinci, and G. Pergolesi. He also points out the custom in Naples of including between the acts of tragic opera scenes of *opera buffa*, generally in the Neapolitano dialect, with all its intimations of carnival.

Of course, there were the Inquisition and the Index, two fairly separate institutions, as Stone points out, acting to constrain and "guide" cultural production. It is unlikely that Vico ever forgot what had happened to Giordano Bruno or Galileo. Yet those had happened elsewhere and both the Inquisition and the Index were more complex and more decentered institutions than is commonly believed. There were ways of getting around them, and the Neapolitan intellectuals were pretty good at it. Stone describes, among others, the way of changing the indicated place of publication: a book marked "Venice," though published in Naples, could more often than not escape the Neapolitan censorship. The organized effort of intellectuals to keep theological judgments from being applied to "scientific" works was fairly successful.

Vico's dependence on the ongoing organized cultural life of Naples—its libraries, publishers, journals, poets, music, even its street life—is demonstrated with considerable erudition and occasional wit by Stone. He was undoubtedly part of "The Production and Transmission of Ideas," part of a culture; he needed the librarians and booksellers, the learned travelers and the intense discussions and could not have been Vico without them. And yet, one might still well ask, what would all the rest of it be without Vico? Yes, we would still take pleasure in listening to Scarlatti and Pergolesi, and perhaps still wonder at Valetta's zeal for erudition. But what would Dublin be without Joyce?

Professor Stone does not belittle Vico by showing him as part of a system for producing and transmitting ideas; on the contrary, he renews and enlarges our sense of the system by demonstrating Vico's place in it.

Regretfully, this handsome, expensive book abounds in solecisms and typographical errors.

Sidney Monas, University of Texas at Austin

History of Books and Libraries in the Philippines, 1521–1900. By Vicente S. Hernandez. Manila: The National Commission for Culture and the Arts, 1996. xvi, 248 pp. ISBN 971-91500-1-7.

There is a dearth of materials and sources in and about the Philippines during the period 1521–1900, and existing ones are scattered about, while some of those in the country are in disarray, the author of this volume suggests. Years of colonial domination, wars and man-made disasters, political turmoil, as well as nat-

ural disasters, to be sure, contributed to this situation. Hence, it is impressive to now have this publication among the great volumes on the history of books and libraries in the world.

Hernandez's vigorous pursuit in gathering and researching sources on the history of books and libraries in the Philippines is made explicit in his long list of these sources and his provision of much detail in the description of them and their contents. This volume follows a chronological format, as in the chronology of activities relating to the history of books and libraries in the Philippines found in part one, titled "Historical Account." Part two is comprised of descriptions of sources on the history of books and libraries in the Philippines, including a chronological listing of sources which the author states would help "facilitate the citation of sources" (105). These are followed by an "index to the historical account" and an "index to the chronological list," which this reviewer found confusing and unnecessary.

Hernandez's reference above to a dearth of information about the history of books and libraries in the Philippines is a critical one, for it brings to the fore the situation in the Philippines at the time. The period 1521–1900 was a time of colonial domination of the Philippines by Spain, culminating in 1898, when at the end of the Spanish-American War Spain ceded its colonies, including the Philippines, Guam, and Puerto Rico, to the United States. Unfortunately, Hernandez downplays this political context and, consequently, the social and cultural backdrop as well, in his discussion of the history of books and libraries in the Philippines. The result is a simplistic and hegemonic account of the history of books and libraries in the Philippines.

Emphasizing a political, social, and cultural background would have made for a more captivating discussion, but even more importantly, it would have been a more encompassing one. Thus, Hernandez employs a simplistic approach, for example, when, in more than one instance, he points to statements by Spanish leaders that the lack of bibliophiles was a reason for the dearth of materials and sources in the Philippines. The political, social, and cultural reality of the Philippines during the period was more complex, and the dearth of materials and sources warrants further clarification. The Filipinos could not be at the forefront of library and intellectual development in their own land. Colonial control of the production and distribution of materials and sources in the Philippines, with the Catholic Church also officiating, was much too strong. There is much implied in this, but while Hernandez discusses it, he does not pay the particular attention that it warrants.

Researchers today attempt to encompass both "emic" and "etic" aspects of inquiry. In the case of the Philippines and other countries with a long history of colonization and a strong oral tradition, it is even more pressing that a book about the history of books and libraries reveal more about the political, cultural, and social components of that history. To be sure, Hernandez deserves some commendation, such as for recognizing the indigenous Filipino figures who have contributed to the history of books and libraries in the Philippines (i.e., Pedro Alejandro Paterno). And, as stated earlier, he has produced a volume that, while not massive, provides a good foundation and which will surely contribute to the list of scholarly materials on the history of books and libraries in the world. It is now hoped, however, that it will initiate further dialogue which will pay particular attention to other issues that emerge.

The Book Trade & Its Customers, 1450–1900: Historical Essays for Robin Myers. Edited by Arnold Hunt, Giles Mandelbrote, and Allison Shell. New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press; Winchester: St. Paul's Bibliographies, 1997. xviii, 316 pp. \$75.00. ISBN 1-884718-34-5.

This handsomely presented volume contains, beyond the usual liminary items (including an index) and an introduction by D. F. McKenzie, the following articles: Anna Greening, "A 16th-century stationer and his business connections: the Tottell family documents (1448–1719) at Stationers' Hall" (1–8); Elisabeth Leedham-Green, "Manasses Vautrollier in Cambridge" (9–21); David Pearson, "A binding with the arms of the Stationers' Company" (23–5); Arnold Hunt, "Book trade patents, 1603–1640" (27–54); Giles Mandelbrote, "Richard Bentley's copies: the ownership of copyrights in the late 17th century" (55–94), with 380 items listed at the end to which Mandelbrote has added Wing numbers and other information; Michael Harris, "Scratching the surface: engravers, printsellers and the London book trade in the mid-18th century" (95–114); Scott Mandelbrote, "John Baskett, the Dublin booksellers, and the printing of the Bible, 1710–1724" (115–31); James E. Tierney, "Dublin-London publishing relations in the 18th century: the case of George Faulkner" (133–40); Michael L. Turner, "A 'List of the Stockholders in the Worshipful Company of Stationers', 1785" (141–60); Esther Potter, "The changing role of the trade bookbinder, 1800–1900" (161–74); Christine Ferdinand, "Magdalen College and the book trade: the provision of books in Oxford, 1450–1550" (175–87); T. A. Birrell, "The library of Sir Edward Sherburne, 1616–1702" (189–204); Michael Treadwell, "Richard Laphorne and the London retail book trade, 1683–1697" (205–22); Alison Shell, "The antiquarian satirized: John Clubbe and the *Antiquities of Wheatfield*" (223–45); James Raven, "Gentlemen, pirates, and really respectable booksellers: some Charleston customers for Lackington, Allen & Co." (247–64); David J. Hall, "Francis Fry, a maker of chocolate and Bibles" (265–77); and Eiluned Rees, "Art and craft: book-bindings in the National Library of Wales" (279–96). This rich selection ends with some personal memoirs of the honoree and a bibliography of her published works.

There is a wealth of material tucked into the some three hundred pages of this festschrift dedicated to the archivist of the Stationers' Company. McKenzie reminds us that the book is centered on two aspects of the "histoire du livre": on the one hand, the book trade itself; on the other, its customers. Thus the collection is divided into two parts, reflecting the bi-polarity of its contents, a bi-polarity which is actually one centered on the book itself.

There is much to interest the reader, from the late Middle Ages to the turn of our own century. The focus is decidedly the Anglo-Saxon world, nearly exclusively Britain, with a foray into the New World presenting an interesting picture of Americans in the Carolinas and their thirst for books from the capital of their intellectual universe, London (Raven, "Gentlemen").

As can be expected in light of Myers's deep involvement with the Stationers' Company, there are numerous offerings that explore, largely in a "pointilliste" manner, aspects of copyright and the interrelationship between legal issues and the publishing industry. Indeed, the reader is informed that research for various studies contained in this book was carried out under the eyes of Myers herself, but that the secret of that purpose was jealously guarded and successfully kept.

In reviewing such a collection, ranging from the substantial, with important appendixes, to the note, it is impossible to be fair to everyone. I can only say that I found all of the articles of interest, not the least of which is the valuable criti-

cal apparatus included with the individual studies. I also enjoyed the judicious choice of illustrations, from the handsome Dicey shopbill depicting at the bottom a letter-press and a rolling-press, to the reproductions of nineteenth-century London bookbinders' tickets; from the binding with the arms of the Stationers' Company (on L. Bayly, *The Practise of pietie*, 1613), to the modern and quite lovely cover by John E. Bowen on the Bowen and Gresham *History of Merioneth*.

In conclusion: if you don't have \$75 to spend on this book, be sure a nearby library has it, for you are going to want to read it.

Robert L. Dawson, University of Texas at Austin

Speaking Pictures: English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture. By Michael Bath. London: Longman Medieval and Renaissance Library, 1994. xiv, 311 pp. £38.00. ISBN 0-582-06196-2.

In this erudite study of English emblem books, the first since Rosemary Freeman's 1948 monograph, the images take a back seat to the theories and texts floating about them. This is understandable given that the same images have been put to different uses at different times, as the author shows, but it can be disconcerting to the reader looking for a straightforward introduction. For the specialist, however, there is a wealth of information here on the bimodal genre that "was probably invented by accident in 1531, when Andrea Alciato's Augsburg publisher added illustrations to a collection of Latin epigrams which the author had chosen to entitle *Emblematum Liber*, 'A Book of Emblems'" (1). A good deal of Bath's book is devoted to theorizing the fluctuating terminology surrounding the illegitimately born genre that "presents us with an epigram which resolves the enigmatic relation between motto and picture by appealing to received meanings which its images have in established iconographical systems of Western culture" (74). *Impresa*, *enigma*, *enargeia*, *ekphrasis*, *hieroglyphics*, conventional and natural signs—all have their moments in the text as they are applied to specific emblem books and symbological philosophies. At times an argument gets bogged down in the transition from theory to praxis, a constant danger in our age of cut-and-paste writing. But more often than not distinctions are made clear by example, such as the one that the *impresa* is a personal statement by a member of the aristocracy, while the emblem *per se* has the edification of the public as its goal—"Both, however, involve the application of received topoi to the particular circumstances and situation of the individuals concerned" (19).

In this light, it is interesting that only six pages are devoted to the didactic applications of emblem books as tools for teaching Latin in grammar schools. One would have wished for more on the popular uses of this genre in broadsheets, etc.; perhaps they have been treated elsewhere. Generally, the world reflected in these analyses is that of the court and the cultural elite, notwithstanding the emblem's seemingly intrinsic appeal to a broader readership. Discussion revolves around, but is not limited to, emblem books; there are also interesting sections on architecture, royal devices, and military standards. In any case, popular culture finds little place in this study, which is at pains to restore a certain amount of status to its subject by demonstrating the emblem books' ties with the poetics of Milton, Jonson, Jones, Bacon, Donne, Sidney, and Spenser. Sometimes Bath achieves this goal admirably, particularly in his eloquent analysis of the emblems of Francis Quarles, where poetry and history come together convincingly.

As the author admits, his work makes for an “untidy” thesis, but his purpose is apparently more to survey and to problematize than to unify a genre, to locate each work in the critical context of its day, and, yes, to promote it to the first division of English art. Thus he finds in Henry Peacham’s *Minerva Brittanna* a parable of patronage in the early seventeenth century, and elsewhere he argues against the presence of a distinct Protestant ethic in English emblems, showing how they were adapted from Catholic sources as meditational aids: “our anxiety to identify an independent ‘English’ emblem tradition should not blind us to the evidence that so much English literature in this period was deeply implicated in European neo-Latin culture” (183). The ultimate proof of this is the *Parthenia Sacra* (1633) of the Jesuit Henry Hawkins, an encomium to the Virgin using classical tropes formerly applied to Helen, which Bath considers a crowning example of the tradition he traces.

Bath occasionally promises more than he delivers, as when he writes, “The extent to which emblem books are the truest heirs of the received traditions of the book as mirror, microcosm, *imago* is a question to which we shall continually be returning” (48). Unfortunately, this compelling and likely candidate for a thesis is not consistently or explicitly sustained—in fact, it is followed closely only once, with regard to George Wither and his attempt to guide the reader of his book. Still, it is refreshing to find that Bath never pretends to be the last word on his subject; he clearly loves emblems and wishes to motivate further studies in the field, leaving the door open for future research, particularly in the country where he teaches, Scotland. The book is adorned with thirty-two images, but one wishes for more, or perhaps for more discussion of the ones that *are* reproduced—this is a sure indication that the work has whetted one’s appetite for emblems.

Robert S. Stone, George Washington University

The Stationers’ Company and the Book Trade, 1550–1990. Edited by Robin Myers and Michael Harris. New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll, Press, 1997. xiii, 210 pp. \$39.95. ISBN 1-884718-45-0.

Antiquaries, Book Collectors and the Circles of Learning. Edited by Robin Myers and Michael Harris. New Castle, Del.: Oak Knoll Press, 1996. xv, 165 pp. \$39.95. ISBN 1-884718-24-8.

Both of these volumes are part of a series, started in 1981 and edited by Robin Myers and Michael Harris, of proceedings from annual conferences on book history. Like their predecessors, they reflect the preference for archival research, historical specificity, and material detail of most scholars of the book trade: there is little here in the way of literary or cultural criticism, but great riches of historical facts included in biographical narratives and institutional histories. Whereas other titles in the series, notably *Property of a Gentleman: The Formation, Organization and Dispersal of the Private Library, 1620–1920* (1991) and *Serials and their Readers, 1620–1914* (1993), provide more concentrated treatments of libraries, both of the volumes under review here, especially *Antiquaries, Book Collectors and the Circles of Learning*, offer valuable information on the organization of books into collections and on the social difficulties of legitimizing such collections.

The Stationers’ Company and the Book Trade, 1550–1990, the more specialized of the two, is an important historical advance in the study of publishing regulations, a

work aimed at experts. Most essays, plundering the newly accessible company archives, analyze the dynamics of power that determined the role of this historical center of book trade regulation. Several discover that its power over printing and publication was limited in complex ways by political, social, practical, and historical factors. Some are very specialized indeed, but usually these narrow studies include fascinating details. D. F. McKenzie's account of the editing history of Liber A, the company's ledger, for example, is leavened by tantalizing references to the company's cagey attempts to keep it private and to the historical decision to shut down Thomas Harper's presses following a licensing decree that produced Milton's *Areopagitica*. Jean Tsushima's essay on "Members of the Stationers' Company Who Served in the Artillery Company before the Civil War," despite its daunting title, is beautifully embellished with such gems as a plate depicting the global frontispiece of *The Marchants Mappe of Commerce*, a plan of cavaliers arranged in military formation, a canon to scale, three times larger than the man loading it from *The Compleat Cannoniers: or, The Gunners Guide*, and an illustration of dragon fire from *Pyrotechnia*. Several essays include very useful appendices, notably Robin Myers's extensive register of book and newspaper vendors, bookbinders, and the engravers who worked with George Hawkins, the treasurer of the valuable English Stock in the eighteenth century. In general there are few secondary references in the footnotes, which is simultaneously a virtue and a flaw. It indicates both the originality of the research and also its isolation from current, larger debates about the role of books in history. Three essays, however, do address a broader scope. Ian Gadd's examination of the way the seventeenth-century stationers forged a discourse that defined themselves as essential to the state, Warren McDougall's scrutiny of the Irish-Scottish copyright battles, and Philip Henry Jones's exploration of the ambiguous relationship of the company to Welsh publishers all contextualize the stationers within the contemporary debates over nationalism and culture. References to specific texts abound, but there is little evidence of the various readerships of these texts.

Antiquaries, Book Collectors and the Circles of Learning contains eight studies of particular collectors and collections of the last three hundred years, variously employing literary, architectural, and textual approaches. Witty, detailed, and organized in pairs in order to contrast opposing views, these essays offer a more suggestive perspective on cultural history than the earlier volume. They all engage the persistent tensions between the roles of scholar and accumulator, social participant and lone aesthete, in the history of book collecting; thus, they also address the double function of books as, on the one hand, cultural artifacts—collectible objects of scarcity and value—and, on the other, practical resources for scholarly research. David Pearson's scrutiny of the bindings in Oxford collections proposes that Tudor and early Stuart scholars regarded their books as texts, not aesthetic objects, yet he makes it clear that we do not know how early bookbinders really worked. In counterpoint, Mirjam M. Foot argues that early collectors seem not to read, nor readers to collect, even while she acknowledges such exceptions as Anne de Montmorency. In the following pair of studies of antiquarians, Robin Myers provides another exception in her thoroughgoing biography of the scholar-collector Dr. Andrew Coltée Ducarel, who accumulated both coins and books for his working library; T. A. Birrell, in emphasizing the similarly encyclopedic interests of the director of the Society of Antiquaries, John Gage, further implies that collectors were readers, at least in the eighteenth century. Arnold Hunt takes up Birrell's question of the sociability of collectors in a delightful study of the auction-addicted Richard Heber that illustrates the perennial

complaint against collectors for misusing wealth and misplacing value. Two other studies explore alternative social contexts by examining the ways in which English society in fact endorsed certain collectors' opinions: Janet Backhouse recounts the national saga surrounding the sale of the Luttrell Psalter, and Christopher de Hamel redefines Edmond de Rothschild as a collector by revealing the fate of his illuminated manuscript collection from its nineteenth-century origins, through the depredations of the Nazis, to the present. The final contribution by Bernard Nurse chronicles the history of the Society of Antiquaries' library as it moved from tavern to hall in search of space and status. Even while they present a wealth of new information, engagingly presented, these studies cry out for a wider contextualization that might redefine collecting itself, and explain its place and characteristics in the changing culture of three hundred years. Nonetheless, this lively and sweeping treatment of the book collection, whether defined as a research resource or a display of art, offers a great deal of suggestive information on the development of the library.

Several themes link these two volumes. Like the other collections in this series, they largely comprise examinations of the influence of individuals—publishers, politicians, and collectors—and approach history by way of biography, leaving unexplored many implied, wider themes. In both, contributors engage the issues of the social role of book collectors, and state control over literature, from censorship to licensing. Both collections also address the struggles of publishers, stationers, and collectors to socialize their habits or make their profits acceptable to society. Specific similarities between the problems and experiences of official institutions and private collectors are striking: both the Stationers' Company and antiquarian bibliophiles, for example, run into problems of space, since books take up a lot of room and space is at once a physical and a social concern. Despite the editors' deliberately factual approach, these essays hint provocatively that the immaterial and the material aspects of literate culture feed one another, but these hints leave open more questions than they answer. How, one might ask, do these institutions and individuals affect general social attitudes toward learning, acquisition, acquisitiveness, and the aestheticization or commodification of information? These volumes themselves are beautiful objects. Finely produced and illustrated, meticulously edited, and imaginatively compiled, their historical range and comprehensive scope is impressive. Still, one might hope for more attention to what ideas and words the books under study actually contained, what the effect of these collections and institutions was on reading and on the construction of public libraries, and perhaps some speculation about the influence of these texts as ideological vehicles on the history of the book trade and of British literate culture. These books supply much of the material to forge answers, but they leave open many major questions. Perhaps further volumes in the series will address some of them.

Barbara M. Benedict, Trinity College, Connecticut

Of Making Many Books: A Hundred Years of Reading, Writing and Publishing. By Roger Burlingame. University Park, Penn.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996. xxxiv, 347 pp. \$50.00 (cloth); \$9.95 (paper). ISBN 0-271-01611-6.

Roger Burlingame's history of the publishing firm Charles Scribner's Sons, *Of Making Many Books*, has become an increasingly important source for scholars hoping to understand how publishing companies created their own reputation.

Burlingame originally wrote the book to celebrate the 100th year of Scribner's in 1946, and in 1996 Pennsylvania State University Press reprinted it to celebrate the company's 150th anniversary. To prepare the book, Burlingame combed the Scribner's archives at Princeton and used the correspondence and other materials he found there to explain what he called the "mystic factor" of publishing: the author (xxix). Today the book can serve as an introduction to the materials at Princeton, giving a sense of the range that can be found there, from publicity files to diaries of illustrators to correspondence between editors and authors to rejection notes written to the famous and not-so-famous. For the most part, however, Burlingame's selections show only part of the story of the relations between authors and publishers, a relation that has been covered more completely in collections of letters edited by scholars such as Matthew Bruccoli, James West, and John Kuehl.

Burlingame created *Of Making Many Books* for the general public of 1946, largely as a publicity piece for the Scribner's firm. There is very little in the book about the day-to-day workings of a publishing house, and Burlingame deliberately avoided writing a chronological history. Instead he chose to organize each of his chapters around a different concept—"The Lonely Art," "The Flesh of Print," and "Times and Morals." This scheme allowed him to focus on the continuity of the Scribner's imprint, "the eternity of publishing problems," and the firm's consistent dedication to the "gentler publishing tradition" (59). In 1946, after the confusion of World War II, Burlingame hoped to reassure book buyers that Scribner's was still a firm that they could count on for the best literature, chosen by editors who were searching for excellence in a text that would bring honor to their firm rather than high profits. While Burlingame never denies that the House of Scribner was a business, he also claims that its salesman's toe in the door "was the advance wedge of culture" (147).

Although they are not always the heroes of the anecdotes or exchanges of letters that Burlingame quotes, Scribner's staff members are nearly always shown adhering to a code of ethics that speaks well of their ability to judge and monitor taste. Scribner's commitment to the publishing values of one hundred years ago is evidenced, according to Burlingame, in the Scribner's offices, which "are just the same as the day some forty years ago, the building was opened . . . it is all the same, plain varnish and ground glass bare plaster." While the "sawed-off roll-top" desks may seem old-fashioned, neither the employees nor the owners have any desire to get rid of them. "The people who have known Scribner's for a long time are sure that when the new desks and paint come in something will go out" (246-7). This something is the commitment to excellence and tradition that Burlingame connects to Scribner's. In his last chapter, "The Next Hundred Years," Burlingame cements this connection by asserting that publishing "will continue to reward the man who decides to forgo the extra car to his garage" with the satisfaction of losing money on "a commodity that will glitter in the market of the few." Such publishers as Charles Scribner not only feel an obligation to lose money on these glittering commodities, they simply cannot help it. "The weakness was born in him or he would never have become a publisher on the highest level" (330). Whatever the truth of this assertion, it remains the vision of what Scribner's, and many other firms, hoped to be. In this way, *Of Making Many Books* shows much about how literary publishing firms have walked between commerce and culture as well as how these firms attempted to make themselves seem stable businesses and consistent taste makers.

The Popular Magazine in Britain and the United States, 1880–1960. By David Reed. Toronto, Ontario, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 1997. viii, 287 pp. \$75.00. ISBN 0-8020-4214-7.

"This is a mapping exercise," David Reed explains in the introduction of his illustrated history comparing British and American popular magazine publishing in nearly a century of developments (9); but this statement is an effacement of the work which proves to be an exaltation of scholarship. To his credit, Reed has recreated the complex nexus of cultural, technical, and commercial influences upon the British and American magazine industries in an historical narrative that is both impressive in its delineation of research methodology and entertaining for its detailed treatment of a popular-culture subject. Reed provides a decennial analysis, spanning eighty years of the publishing history of popular magazines and differentiating the cultural habits of English-speaking readers on the Atlantic. Additionally, he charts the further evolution of printing and traces the rise of modern publishing management. This is the first comparative analysis of the subject, and Reed has maximally exhausted his sources, noted in chapter endnotes and in a staggering bibliography.

The introductory chapters recount the transformation of the printing trade through the mechanization of papermaking and the press itself. The conversion of the paper trade from a rag to a wood base precipitated a price collapse that transformed the economic structure of publishing (44). The intricacies of color processing are exemplified in the color plates that are reproductions of illustrations from *The Illustrated London News*, *The Colored News*, *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly*, *Chums*, and *Collier's*. Color process evolved, beginning in 1855, from wood blocks to chromolithography to relief plates, but color illustrations were still an exception until the 1930s. The quality of black-and-white illustrations was refined equally arduously in the development of the halftone process. Reproductions of the world's first published halftones are included here, the first appearing in 1869 in the *Canadian Illustrated News*, depicting Queen Victoria's youngest son, Prince Arthur, followed ten years later by a comely drawing of Mrs. Lillie Langtry, published in the London weekly, *Life*. Competition for achievement in graphic design resulted in stunning designs, week after week, from *Collier's* and its rival, *The Saturday Evening Post*. With the appearance of the first photographic picture story in 1885 in Britain's *The Graphic*, entitled "An Amateur Photographer at the Zoo," the transformation to contemporary illustration layout had begun.

As Reed notes, the greatest advances in magazine publishing occurred in the final two decades of the nineteenth century and then ceased until the 1930s. Comparatively: the American magazine industry held back conservatively from accepting offset lithography until 1960, while its presence in Britain via Germany had begun in the 1920s. Statistical profiles of readers of popular magazines in this era prove them a faithful and demanding public on both sides of the Atlantic. From advertising practices in both countries the circulation figure emerged as a critical index for analysis. Reed also considers a moral aspect of print journalism; his observation of business is trenchant: "Advertising has always been a volatile industry, servicing those who are not responsible for its welfare" (161). The new occupations of art director and advertising manager sprang up beside the publisher, yet Reed is only able to tell the stories of a few remarkable men: Julius Elias, George Lorimer, and Alfred Harmsworth, later Lord Northcliffe, who demonstrated his awareness of the potential of popular journalism for social

progress. Harmsworth transformed himself into a colossus in both British and American publishing with the canniness he learned as the eldest son of a fatherless and impoverished Irish family. What did it matter that he relied on his bluff in a world of gentlemen publishers? Not every publisher had the prowess of a Harmsworth, while all wielded decisions with editors, publishers, advertising, and business managers in the ebb and flow of publishing trends which, Reed points out, were and are “seemingly beyond the reach of all but the most exceptional individual intervention” (230).

Reed completed his doctorate on the popular magazine at the Courtauld Institute of Art in London. His analysis is rigorous; he writes with élan. This single-volume history is requisite to printing, publishing, and advertising collections.

Renée Boensch, University of Texas at Austin

Cora Wilson Stewart: Crusader against Illiteracy. By Willie Nelms. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Co., 1997. v, 233 pp. \$38.50. ISBN 0-7864-0334-9.

Willie Nelms offers an interesting picture of the emerging public school system in early twentieth-century Kentucky through the achievements of Cora Wilson Stewart (1875-1958). Dedicating her life to the promotion of public education, Stewart became a major figure in the battle against illiteracy. In the first few pages, Nelms successfully sets the political, economic, and family contexts which shaped Stewart's personality. This setting allows the reader to follow Stewart's steps as if with her, giving the text a novel-like quality. Yet *Cora Wilson Stewart: Crusader against Illiteracy* possesses the strength of a documentary. The author's closeness with Stewart, a character he studied for over twenty years, creates a welcome sense of personal interaction for the reader. This closeness reveals itself at times in Nelms's own assumptions of Stewart's feelings or reactions. The style is sober, while numerous anecdotes contribute to the lively tone of the biography/story.

The book contains sixteen chapters of ten to fifteen pages each, in addition to preliminary and concluding sections. The titles of these chapters reflect the ups and downs of Stewart's life—"Public Acclaim, Private Sorrow," "Fame and Frustration," "Growing Pains," "The Great Depression and Moral Rearmament"—and demonstrate the author's attempt to provide a complete picture of his subject. A selected bibliography is organized into several categories such as: by subject: "Personal Interviews," "Manuscripts," "Newspapers," etc. The index is comprehensive, including themes, proper names, and much else.

After a brief introduction which sums up the achievements of Cora Wilson Stewart, the account starts in 1838 with the presentation of her ancestors. Nelms gives a realistic and vivid picture of the state of Kentucky and of one family's everyday life. In this mainly rural mountain community, politics shaped relationships between people to a great extent: Stewart grew up listening to stories about the "Rowan County War," a conflict between two families which grew out of proportion. Unlike many other children, Stewart had parents who valued education highly, which turned out to be a major factor in her destiny.

The epilogue presents an objective assessment of Stewart's work within the social and educational contexts of her time. It allows the reader to close the book

with a clear understanding of Cora Wilson Stewart's personality and professional involvements. At the same time, one learns about the development of public education in the United States.

Besides the obvious interest in discovering a pioneer of public education, the author presents a portrait of an early female leader. Cora Wilson Stewart not only took charge of her own life at a time when male leadership was dominant, but she also embraced prominent public roles, becoming a school superintendent at age twenty-six. Although three times divorced, Cora Wilson Stewart did not fear her responsibilities which often put her in the front line.

When Willie Nelms connects Cora Wilson Stewart's life and actions with events related to historical events, he creates an excellent perspective of history through the story of a particular individual. This book will prove useful to those interested in either early twentieth-century history, specifically that of Kentucky, or issues concerning various aspects of education, such as adult learning.

Stéphanie H. Pellet, University of Texas at Austin

American Library Catalogues, 1801–1875: A National Bibliography. By Robert Singerman. Champaign, Ill.: Occasional Papers (203–4), Graduate School of Library and Information Science, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996. ix, 242 pp. \$19.50. ISBN 0-87845-098-X.

Russell Baker's recent homage to the demise of the card catalogue in the age of on-line access addresses only one period of change for library access tools. Before catalogue cards, the nineteenth-century American municipal or subscription library often sold printed catalogues of its holdings to members. These catalogues—fixed inventories of American reading—are archeological tools for historians exploring the origins of American librarianship, publishing, and reading.

Singerman, Judaica bibliographer at the University of Florida, examined several sources, including the National Union Catalogue (NUC) and the catalogues of major research libraries (e.g., the American Antiquarian Society) to compile a list of 3,355 social, college, public, and even asylum library printed catalogues. The checklist includes 1,500 citations that pioneering library historian Haynes McMullen gave to Singerman in 1988. Singerman also searched a variety of contemporary bibliographic databases, including RLIN, OCLC, and the shelf-list of the Boston Public Library. In the process, he discovered many catalogues not listed in Joseph Sabin's *Bibliotheca Americana* (New York, 1868–1936; 29 vols.) and other standard references.

All entries, arranged by state and city, are indexed by chronology, proprietor, and type of library. These three indexes make Singerman's work a more useful reference tool to cover the period between Robert B. Winans's *A Descriptive Checklist of Book Catalogues Separately Printed in America, 1693–1800* (Worcester, Mass.: American Antiquarian Society, 1981) and the U.S. Bureau of Education's 1876 *Public Libraries in the United States of America: Their History Condition and Management*, which includes listings of published catalogues.

Each entry contains appropriate bibliographic information (institution name, catalogue title, publication date, and number of pages) as well as a holdings statement using NUC symbols, (e.g., "NNC" for Columbia University). Although use of these symbols saves space, not all are in the two pages listing major depos-

itories. Others must be looked up in *NUC Pre-1956 Imprints*, Vol. 754. Unfortunately the entries do not contain codes revealing the citations' origins, thus making it hard to determine if the catalogue still exists in a collection.

This work is also graced by an insightful introduction by Harvard's Kenneth E. Carpenter, who suggests possible research topics for scholars equipped with this checklist—examining the differences in collections between regions, analyzing types of libraries in terms of gender-based reading patterns, or focusing on categories of reading and readers (e.g., children's or secular books). For American library and print culture historians Singerman has created a tool which will be almost as valued as his excellent *Judaica Americana* (New York: Greenwood, 1990) is for Jewish American history.

Andrew B. Wertheimer, University of Wisconsin-Madison

Surveying the Library Landscape: The Inspection Visits of the University of Illinois Library School. By Thomas D. Walker. Champaign, Ill.: Occasional Papers (206), Graduate School of Library and Information Science, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1996. 49 pp. \$13.00. ISSN 0276-1769.

A cursory glance at the "Education for Librarianship" chapter of Donald G. Davis Jr. and John Mark Tucker's *American Library History: A Comprehensive Guide to the Literature* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 1989) demonstrates that library and information science (LIS) education is among the most explored areas of library history. To this literature Walker has added a brief study of the relatively unexplored aspect of the the University of Illinois Library School inspection visits, a major part of the required curriculum at many major schools in the early part of this century (and one of the few aspects Charles C. Williamson found useful in his instrumental 1923 Carnegie Report on library education).

The University of Illinois Library School's inspection visits began two years after Katherine Sharp founded the school at Chicago's Armour Institute in 1893, and lasted until 1948. The author discusses expeditions conducted by other library schools, including the New York State Library School, but does not say if Sharp took this idea from Albany. He demonstrates that these visits were not leisurely outings, but essential parts of the curriculum that became subjects for students' reports and offered a "unifying perspective of the field, a movement toward an acculturation or socialization into the profession" (1). No doubt they also led to good relations and placement opportunities for the library school. On visits students were exposed to library practices and current library technology through this comparative approach. Visits to one library originally took place one day a week, with discussion on a later day. Some visits, however, extended to two weeks and transformed the library school office into a travel agency.

Over half the work consists of references and statistical tabulations on time spent at and locations of various types of libraries explored. For example, 451 of the estimated 1,467 total "unit visits" were in the Chicago area (25, 27). Appendix D reproduces library school assistant director E. W. McDiarmid's 1943 letter addressing transportation problems caused by World War II and suggesting alternatives to the visits.

Because the actions of Williamson and others led to the naissance of graduate library education, with its emphasis on degrees and published research rather

than practical training, inspection visits were eventually phased out of the regular curriculum. Walker does not emphasize this point, but only suggests it as one possible rationale among a list of factors which led to the end of the visits.

Walker does not make the visits come to life nearly as well as Kathryn Luther Henderson did in her essay in *Ideals and Standards: The History of the University of Illinois Graduate School of Library and Information Science, 1893–1993* (Allen, Walter C., and Robert F. Delzell, eds. [Urbana: UI-SLIS, 1992], 98–103). He also does not explore sufficiently what meanings these visits might have had in student placement and relations with the libraries visited.

Although Walker utilizes the archival holdings mostly from the University of Illinois and select catalogs from other library schools, he might have examined other sources, such as an informal survey in the *1928 Proceedings of the American Association of Library Schools* (9–10). The latter shows how unique the Illinois program was at the time. Walker, a University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee LIS faculty member and Illinois Ph.D., ends his work with a call for faculty to re-examine the potential use of visits in today's changing library environment.

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Banned in the U.S.A.: A Reference Guide to Book Censorship in Schools and Public Libraries. By Herbert N. Foerstel. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994. xxiii, 231 pp. \$45.00. ISBN 0-313-28517-9.

As we pass inevitably into globalization and the “information age” which marks the advent of the twenty-first century, it would seem that our youth and our communities have more access than ever to the written word, that we have become more open to critical thought and cultural diversity as a result of increased exposure to the world and to new ideas. Ironically, the opposite may be true with regard to our schools and public libraries. According to Herbert Foerstel's *Banned in the U.S.A.: A Reference Guide to Book Censorship in Schools and Public Libraries*, the 1990s have in fact seen an increase in book-banning in American schools and libraries. In this informative and engaging book, Mr. Foerstel first addresses the history of book-banning, succinctly tracing it from the advent of Johannes Gutenberg's printing press in 1455, to the most recent American court cases. Citing Arthur Schlesinger Jr.'s assertion that authority, “fortified by the highest religious and philosophical texts, has righteously invoked censorship to stifle expression” (xi), the author aptly reminds us that the variety of book censorship that prevails in America today stems largely from our particularly Puritan past. He goes on to support this position through his survey of major American book-banning incidents, which is followed by a thorough look at the constitutional and legal history of American book censorship. Mr. Foerstel concludes his analysis with a brief survey of the fifty most banned books in the 1990s and interviews with several frequently banned authors that give us a rare glimpse at their personal perspectives on the censorship of their works.

While reading this “Reference Guide,” the reader becomes painfully aware that some of the most quintessential American literary masterpieces—such as Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and J. D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye*—continue to be withheld from the very audiences for which their mean-

ing and impact are so educationally important. One finds that this institutional form of censorship is largely guided by the reactionary, even fanatical, religious views of a decided minority of parents and/or school officials, combined with ignorance of the essential significance of the texts in question (i.e., many of the censors had never actually read the books; rather, they scanned them for "objectionable content."). It seems that, ultimately, the First Amendment right to free speech and a free press—and therefore the right to receive information and ideas (covered here in chapter 2)—is increasingly in peril. This is ostensibly the result of misinformed school-board decisions and arbitrary legislation that seem often to be determined by the high moral rhetoric of a few vigilant religious/political groups rather than by an objective concern for the educational enrichment of our youth.

The purpose of this book is primarily to inform the reader of the current state of institutional book censorship in this country. Mr. Foerstel presents his information in a clear, objective manner, leaving the facts to convince the reader that, in the case of book censorship, Americans are by no means free from the threat to our First Amendment rights. His analysis is both comprehensive and compelling, yet the author makes no attempts to incite his audience to action or reaction. Indeed, awareness must precede action in the educational and cultural enrichment of our communities, and this text is an excellent resource for anyone who wishes to broaden his/her knowledge of the critical issue of American book censorship.

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Désherber en bibliothèque: Manuel pratique de révision des collections. By Françoise Gaudet and Claudine Lieber. Paris: Électre-Éditions du Cercle de la Librairie, 1996. 262 pp. 195 FF. ISBN 2-7654-0632-4.

Until the publication of *Désherber en bibliothèque*, librarians in France did not have a comprehensive guide in French to help them decide how to judiciously revise their collections. This much-needed manual was written by the Chief Conservator of the Bibliothèque Publique d'Information (BPI), Françoise Gaudet, and the Inspector General of Libraries, Claudine Lieber. They had previously collaborated on a similar work in the mid-1980s and later traveled to the United States to study the practice of weeding in order to apply it to the BPI, the first large public library in France to concentrate primarily on lending to the public. This work provides the reader with the theoretical and practical aspects of weeding as it applies to French libraries.

As stated by Michel Melot, author of the preface, weeding a library's collection is an Anglo-Saxon practice, one that is in opposition to the traditional French idea of the library as a repository of the nation's cultural heritage. The accumulation of books, rather than the desire to augment the number of library patrons, is the customary way in which French libraries measure their success (9). However, as more public and university libraries follow the lead of the Bibliothèque Publique d'Information and begin to focus on the patron rather than on the book, updating, revising, and renewing library collections will become a very important part of the French librarian's job. Knowing how to weed properly will be critical to the success of France's libraries.

The authors of *Désherber en bibliothèque* begin with an explanation of what weeding is, why it is needed in French lending libraries, and how it should be applied. They assert that acquisition, weeding, and conservation are essential and complementary elements of good library management, and continue with a detailed plan of how librarians should proceed with the implementation of a weeding program, drawing upon *Weeding Library Collections—III* (3d rev. ed., Libraries Unlimited, 1989) by S. J. Slote and *The Logistics of a Public Library Bookstock* (Association of Assistant Librarians, 1978) by A. W. McClellan.

Four of the eleven chapters are written by other experts in the library field, each dealing with a different issue surrounding the implications and ramifications of weeding policies. Hubert Dupuy writes about central depository libraries and the possible need for increased interlibrary loan services. Jean-Marie Arnould discusses the conservation and substitution of original documents that may be slated for weeding because of their bad physical condition. Henri Compte treats the legal aspects of weeding, including what is considered public domain and whether documents of this nature should be eliminated from a library's collection. Viviane Ezratty and Françoise Lévêque comment upon the particular nature of weeding in collections that include children's literature.

This practical guide is helping to usher in a new era of library practice in France. No longer are books and their infinite accumulation the ultimate concern of French libraries. The notion of the library collection, its proper upkeep, and the manner in which it will serve the patrons are ideas that are becoming more important and widespread. *Désherber en bibliothèque* is merely the first step in bringing about broad-based change in the way librarians in France's lending libraries maintain their collections.

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International Book Publishing: An Encyclopedia. Edited by Philip G. Altbach and Edith S. Hoshino. New York: Garland Publishing, 1995. xxvi, 736 pp. \$95.00. ISBN 08153-0786-1.

After Gutenberg's invention was turned into an industry by the Industrial Revolution, book publishing witnessed a second revolution with the advent of computers and state-of-the-art technologies. *International Book Publishing: An Encyclopedia* is the first reference work on this topic and surveys the evolution of book production and distribution worldwide. The entries are in essay form, authored by a group of twenty experts in the field, including a number of prominent publishers from different countries.

The first part of the work, "Topics in Publishing," consists of thirty-four essays and explores the major issues specific to different types of publishing, such as scholarly, school and college textbooks, children's books, reference materials, paperbacks, university presses, and small presses. The topics are discussed from a historical perspective, with a forecast for the next century, and cover different parts of the world. However, six essays are dedicated exclusively to the United States, and the others devote large subchapters to this country, completely ignoring other nations.

Other issues are treated from sociological and political perspectives, including copyright, freedom of the press and censorship, feminist publishing, libraries and

publishers, and aspects of publishing in the Third World. Economic factors are also analyzed from a national and international standpoint: book marketing, bookselling, mergers and acquisitions in the book industry, subsidies for book publishing, and multinational publishing. Technical aspects related to book production, such as book design, illustration, editing, and education for publishing, receive consideration.

The second part, "Regions and Countries," has six chapters, each of them dealing with a specific part of the world: Africa, Asia, Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and North America. The coverage is far from balanced. The chapter on Asia stretches over one hundred pages (424–530), while Europe occupies only forty-four pages (531–74). The selection for country-level treatment seems to have been arbitrary.

The work provides insight on three African countries (Kenya, Nigeria, and South Africa), thirteen Asian countries (Bangladesh, Burma, Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, China, India, Indonesia, Japan, the Philippines, Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Thailand), four European countries (France, Germany, Russia and the former USSR, and the United Kingdom), three Latin American countries (Argentina, Brazil, and Mexico), two Middle Eastern countries (Egypt and Israel), and two North American countries (the United States and Canada). Each chapter, except for those on Europe and North America, begins with an overview of the region. One wonders why countries with long printing and publishing traditions, such as Italy, have been left out and are only sporadically mentioned. Central and Eastern Europe are represented only by Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The statistical tables for the period 1970–1992 are based on the UNESCO *Statistical Yearbook*. The tables include references to countries which are not covered in the essays. Had the tables been indexed, it would have been a great addition to the subject/name index of the book, and it would probably have given some of those countries an indication that they are part of the international book publishing arena.

In spite of its shortcomings, *International Book Publishing: An Encyclopedia* is a valuable reference work for authors, editors, publishers, booksellers, librarians, scholars, and library science students. It inspires and encourages further research in the field.

Hermina G. B. Anghelescu, University of Texas at Austin

Dahl's History of the Book, (3d ed.). Edited by Bill Katz. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1995. xv, 309 pp. \$39.50. ISBN 0-8108-2852-9.

As stated in the preface, this is a revision "loosely based upon the 1968 second edition of Sven Dahl's history," and its target audience are laypersons and students. Furthermore, the editor states that "there are major additions and deletions which make this a new approach rather than a limited rewritten work" (xi).

A glance at the very detailed table of contents reveals that the book is a traditional chronological approach to the history of writing in various media in different parts of the world (chapters 1 through 3), from the cave wall images in southern France, to ancient Egypt, Greece, and Rome. Chapter 4 examines the "dark ages," and the rise of monastic libraries, development of scriptoria, and publication and transmission of texts. Chapter 5 introduces the Middle Ages,

with the rise of the university and illuminated manuscripts, the beginning of book publishing and binding, as well as an emerging reading public.

The illustrious names of Renaissance printing are presented in chapter 6, along with aspects of book distribution and literacy. Chapter 7 examines printing and publishing during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, focusing on the age of encyclopedias, the development of private presses, the emergence of periodicals and commercial publishers, and colonial printing. The changes in printing and the illustration process brought about by the Industrial Revolution led to the growth of the reading public during the nineteenth century (chapter 8), while the advent of the computer has revolutionized book production (chapter 9).

This last chapter comprises the major addition to Dahl's book dating from 1968. Katz analyzes the author/publisher relationship, trends and changes in the publishing industry as well as in business, and copyright issues, and he concludes with the controversial debate on the death of the book, which seems to engender polarized opinions between groups of book-lovers and technology-oriented groups. "The differences between print and electronic orientations are challenged by others as being more theoretical than real, i.e. most computers still rely on printouts and/or the user reading material from the screen" (266).

Throughout the volume the evolution of book and archival material repositories is illustrated with examples of significant libraries from different historical periods and geographical regions. Within this context the librarian of the electronic age is seen as a person who "will continue to serve as a mediator between the user and the vastly increased amount of information. The librarian not only will quickly locate what is needed, but will evaluate its worth for a specific type of user. Beyond that no one can really say, and certainly no one in the mid 1990s can be certain when and if the printed book will be a museum piece" (266).

The list of "Added Reading" (269–83) consists of fifty annotated pre-1992 "basic titles" with references to other significant works. A very in-depth index (285–309) provides quick access to the book. *Dahl's History of the Book* can be used as a practical reference source by those looking for a nutshell treatment of topics concerning the stages in the development of the written and printed word.

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Preserving Library Materials: A Manual (2d ed.). By Susan G. Swartzburg. Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1995. x, 503 pp. \$59.95. ISBN 0-8108-2855-3.

Preservation of library materials is one of the younger fields of library science that cannot boast of a rich body of literature, which is mostly in article form. Although preservation has been practiced for a long time by custodians of books and archival materials, it started growing into a field *per se* only three decades ago. Not only does *Preserving Library Materials: A Manual* seem to be the first monograph on this topic to have reached its second edition, but it is also published both as a hardcover with integral text (\$59.95) and as a paperback with abridged text (\$29.50). The first edition was published in 1980 by the same publisher.

This is a handbook which examines "various aspects of collection management and preservation," offering "some practical guidelines" (vi) to librarians and archivists to help them prepare preservation programs to meet the particular needs of their institutions. The book provides practical advice on the major issues

that libraries and archives are confronted with, such as environmental control, enemies of books, brittle paper, protection and care of various media (e.g., motion pictures, sound recordings, and videotape), disaster planning, and reformatting (microforms and facsimile).

The fifteen years that separate the two editions witnessed an evolution of the field toward a more intense use of the new technologies and equipment, from monitoring temperature and relative humidity to designing less harmful copiers, from microfilming to electronic publishing. Some of the new trends are reflected throughout the book. However, digital technologies and issues stemming from the digitization process are not taken into consideration when reformatting for preservation is discussed (217–35). The bibliography (349–493) does not include entries on literature pertaining to digitization either, although it lists post-1971 titles. The glossary (250–307) includes a few computer-related terms such as “bit,” “byte,” “electronic imaging,” “electronic publishing,” and “resolution”; however, terms like “scanning,” “DPI,” or “migration” are omitted.

The two appendices—“Organizations” (308–40) and “Selective List of Periodical Publications” (341–8)—represent valuable sources of information for librarians and archivists who take a proactive stance towards preserving their collections. Those interested in promoting preservation awareness and implementing user and staff education programs, along with introducing new preservation techniques and strategies, ought to weigh this book against similar works before spending \$59.95 of their acquisition budgets.

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Modern British History: A Guide to Study and Research. Edited by Larry Butler and Anthony Gorst. London: I. B. Tauris, 1998. x, 310 pp. \$19.95. ISBN 1-86064-208-X.

As a Ph.D. in history who remembers a first-semester graduate student’s impression that mountains of information were descending on him, most of it useless for the purpose of familiarizing him with his chosen profession or guiding his initial research efforts, I would like to thank, on behalf of those who will come after me, each of the British historians who edited and contributed to this volume.

The book serves a dual purpose. At one level, it offers a basic introduction to research methods in modern British history. From that perspective, it will appeal both to professionals and to the legions of amateur historians and genealogists. But the authors also attempt to introduce, advise, and warn new graduate students about the state of the historical profession in Britain. Since most academics recognize no distinction between “history” and the historical *profession*, these two purposes are not made explicit. Nevertheless, prospective readers should be aware of them. The point becomes all the more important because the two are treated with quite different degrees of success.

As a source of basic information about how to go about the business of historical research, the book is commendable. The articles are concise, to the point, and, for the most part, free of jargon, and they address the most pressing questions of novice historians, such as the organization and use of the Public Records Office, the creation of electronic databases, and the strengths and limitations of the Internet. The authors are sensitive to the needs of their audience

for information about both traditional archival sources and the most recent information technologies. The articles on these topics in the first half of the book will save amateurs and aspiring professionals a great deal of the time often wasted struggling to locate roadmaps to the sources. Furthermore, the chapters dealing with the various subdisciplines, from political and diplomatic to social and gender histories, often contain valuable introductions to the secondary literature.

If the authors had contented themselves with providing these sorts of roadmaps, their efforts would merit universal approbation. However, the book is more ambitious, and this gives rise to serious problems. It wants to provide an introduction, not just to the sources but to the profession itself. But the articles intended for that purpose are not adequate. The chapters on theoretical issues do little more than illustrate the traditional British discomfort over dealing with theoretical issues, and they are for the most part too brief and too banal. The bibliographies are more valuable than the chapters themselves. The sections on the British academic establishment possess limited interest for American readers.

But even from the perspective of the intended readership—current and prospective British graduate students—these sections read more like caveats than incentives to proceed. The contributors depict a profession short on cash, confidence, and ideas. References to cutbacks in government funding for higher education run like Wagnerian *leitmotifs* throughout the articles. Several leave readers with the impression that these cutbacks are responsible for the hard times now facing historians. However, it is obvious that more fundamental problems exist. The chapters on the subdisciplines read like obituaries for gods that failed. The picture is consistent and depressing. “Most historians remain committed to traditional British empiricism. Nevertheless, despite its past accomplishments and present numerical strength, the empiricists perceive themselves as on the defensive in an ongoing battle with more theoretical perspectives, ranging from Marxism to postmodernism. For a time these perspectives arouse timid speculation about impending revolution, but in the end do no more than contribute to a multiplication of small resentful dronelike subdisciplines—all of them competing for limited funds and huddled around the bloated mass of the ‘queen’—the mainstream historical establishment, which remains committed to a defensive—and therefore demoralizing—defense of its empiricist traditions.” Despite the best efforts of the authors, one senses a distinct reluctance to look students in the eyes and a disturbing lack of confidence in the future of the profession itself.

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