

Library Feminism and Library Women's History: Activism and Scholarship, Equity and Culture

Suzanne Hildenbrand

This essay places the development of library women's history in the context of library feminism and American history. The equity or fairness orientation, evident in the earlier years, is today challenged by a cultural orientation in both library feminism and library women's history.

Women's history has its roots in feminist activism, and library women's history is similarly rooted in library feminist activism. While the national political context and its vagaries influence feminists and historians of women and their library counterparts, library feminists and library women's historians must also contend with the professional context of a female-intensive occupation. In that context it is conventional wisdom that women are responsible for the problems facing the profession, including low status and salaries. This view inhibits both feminist activism and scholarship on women.¹ An additional feature of the library context in recent years has been the threat of a takeover of librarianship by information science (IS), which may signal an end to historical studies. Despite these obstacles, library women's history flourishes, though it increasingly reflects the conservatism of the age.

This essay begins with a view of the relationship between the status of women and the place of women in library history during the earliest years of the half-century that the American Library History Round Table (ALHRT) celebrates in this issue. It will move on to a review of the links between library feminism from the equity orientation of the liberal 1960s to the cultural emphasis of the conservative 1990s. In addition, it will relate library women's history to professional or internal politics.

Consensus: The Aftermath of World War II and the Cold War

As the nation focused on the threat by actual or potential enemies from outside its borders, schisms within and tensions between internal groups were overlooked. Cold War culture is frequently described as one of complacency and conservatism, emphasizing traditional domestic

roles. Historians have given the label “consensus” to the history written during this period, reflecting the lack of conflict. While this period is undergoing reassessment among historians, two features significant to library feminism and to the writing of library women’s history can be noted. First, while educated American women were breaking records for births, they were also increasingly holding jobs outside the home both before and after marriage and motherhood. Most of the jobs held by the latter were part-time, some in libraries. Part-time employment for women, mothers especially, was a pressing need. Second, the role of the federal government, in expansion since the 1930s, grew ever more rapidly. The fifties and sixties, which some have called the “Golden Age” of librarianship, brought libraries a bonanza in federal support for construction and development. Libraries seemingly became more important, due primarily to the large youth population attending school and needing libraries. Calls for more men to enter the profession, particularly to fill administrative positions, became common.

A review of the library literature of the period reveals contradictory trends: a gradual accumulation of data documenting the second-class place of women in the profession and the growth of a library history oblivious to that place. Alice Bryan’s study clearly identified the position of women in the profession and exposed the “dual career structure,” with women in lower-level positions earning less than men.² This finding came to be cited often, although it was generally ignored by the reviewers of the study, most of whom were men. Scattered periodical articles also attacked the recruitment of men, especially for leadership roles. Boldest of these was Ralph Munn’s 1949 warning against the growing trend of hiring men, regardless of their qualifications.³ The gender imbalance among librarians in *Who’s Who in America* was even noted.⁴

Yet in the major library history monograph of this period, Sidney H. Ditzion congratulated librarianship for its inclusion of women “on an equal basis with men.”⁵ Employing a typical consensus approach, Ditzion ignored long-standing gender stratification in the profession justified by early leaders like Dewey. Instead, he stressed how the supposedly equal place of women in American libraries impressed travelers from abroad. That is, women’s place in librarianship became an occasion for professional and patriotic puffery.

There is only scattered historical literature on women, most of it biographical, in this period. Martha Boaz wrote a sentimental life of Althea Warren, director of the Los Angeles Public Library and her longtime friend.⁶ If there was a paucity of historical literature in the period on white women in the profession, the situation for women of color was generally worse. One notable, though brief, piece detailed the life of Sadie Delaney, an African-American librarian who developed bibliotherapy

while working with African-American veterans in a segregated Veterans Administration hospital.⁷

Approaching the crucible of the sixties, library women lacked an accurate place in professional history. Their role was misrepresented as evidence of professional egalitarianism. A meager foundation was available upon which to build a feminist consciousness that would demand a new library history.

Equity Issues: The Sixties and Beyond

The sixties were a turbulent age, remembered for protests, riots, demonstrations, and assassinations. Demands from a wide variety of groups for equity, or justice and fairness, fueled the passage of numerous reforms. Betty Friedan's 1963 publication of *The Feminine Mystique* is generally thought of as marking a rebirth in feminism, often called the "second wave" to distinguish it from the first, which began in the nineteenth century.⁸

The rebirth of feminism stimulated a desire for greater academic study of women and for recognition that women were largely invisible or hidden in traditional history. Without a role in history, women were denied a vital tool for contemporary and future attainment. Historical studies were, therefore, linked to a reform agenda. Library feminism developed, but slowly, as library women were burdened with their supposed responsibility for the problems of the profession. Library feminists noted early how few of their predecessors had made it into biographical reference tools or histories of the field and related this to the state of contemporary library women.

The upsurge in library feminism in this period is attested to by the creation within the American Library Association (ALA) of the Feminist Task Force (FTF) in 1970, followed by the independent Women Library Workers (WLW) in 1975. The Committee on the Status of Women in Librarianship (COSWL) was formed in 1976. Professional journals devoted special issues to the status of women. In addition, ALA programs began to reflect a feminist influence; for example, Wilma Scott Heide of the National Organization for Women spoke at the 1973 annual conference. The declining status of women, due at least partially to the policy of recruiting men for top jobs, was noted. A news item in the *Library Journal* announced: "Losses in Directorships for Women Pegged."⁹ In addition, there were increasing protests about the unsatisfactory professional climate for women who had domestic responsibilities as wives and mothers.

At least two important works confronted the meaning of feminization squarely, one clearly historical and one drawing heavily on historical

background. Sharon B. Wells provided a historical study of feminization in her 1967 master's thesis at the University of Chicago.¹⁰ She offered a careful description of the process of feminization, noting that it accompanied rapid growth in the number and size of libraries. She detailed the inferior status of women in the profession during the period examined.

Anita Schiller showed that the case against women was so weak that it could be turned on its head.¹¹ That is, it was impossible to determine whether the low salaries were responsible for the presence of all the women or whether women were responsible for the low salaries, as had been claimed for so long. With more opportunities for employment, men generally refused to work for the salaries libraries could pay, and women, with fewer opportunities, took these jobs. In addition, she provided an overview of the research on her subject, going back to the first employment of women in libraries and stressing how little study had been done.

Kathleen Weibel and Kathleen Heim, feminist activists, edited a documentary history of women, primarily in American libraries, that illustrated well what women had faced within librarianship.¹² The publication of this collection provided a major boost to library women's history as it has served as the starting point for much subsequent research. It stimulated commitment to an ongoing bibliographic project that issues *On Account of Sex*, an annotated bibliography, every five years.¹³

Elfrieda B. McCauley's dissertation at the School of Library Service at Columbia University studied a group of mill girls and their role in the development of early New England libraries. Her approach would be influential even though, as with Wells's work, it was not published in book form.¹⁴

Not surprisingly, since leadership had been emphasized both by those insisting that male leaders would bring higher status and by feminists demanding more women leaders, biographies of women leaders in the past became a major subject of research. Laurel Grotzinger's study of Katharine Sharp, based on her dissertation at the University of Illinois, was an outstanding early work that remains a classic.¹⁵ It foreshadowed Grotzinger's further work in biography. "Women in the Past as Leaders" was the theme of the first ALHRT program on women's issues held in 1974 with Grotzinger and Patricia Brown Pond participating. Ina Coolbrith, California poet laureate and librarian, was described in the full-length work by Josephine deWitt Rhodehmel and Raymund Francis Wood.¹⁶

Some early library women sought collective solutions to professional problems. The topic of women and library unionization was explored by James T. Milden.¹⁷

Little was published on women in children's services or on women of color. A brief article by Margo Sasse noted some prominent pioneers in children's services, while a *School Library Journal* editorial entitled "A

Monumental Checkup” described some founders of children’s services.¹⁸ One collection contained brief memoirs by outstanding librarians of color, including Augusta Baker, who was known primarily for her work in children’s services and who was the first black administrator in the New York Public Library.¹⁹ Virginia Lacy Jones recalled the racism she encountered while pursuing her library degree in Illinois, while Jessie Carney Smith recalled the preference shown for male directors.²⁰ Among others are Binnie Tate, Louise Moses, and Vivian Davidson Hewitt.²¹

Yet it is important to remember that throughout this reform period, with feminism evidently flourishing and talk of “liberation” and “sisterhood” seemingly everywhere, library women continued to find themselves blamed for the low status, and consequent low salaries, of the profession.

Still Blaming Library Women

Library leaders interested in professionalizing librarianship organized a University of Chicago conference on the topic. Several sociologists of note took part, including Peter Rossi, who observed that “women depress the status of an occupation.” He recommended masculinization, particularly at the top.²² That is, further inequity or discrimination against women was offered as the solution to the problems of the profession during this reform age, and there appears to have been no protest in response.

The work of Rutgers University social historian Dee Garrison on librarianship and gender appeared during the 1970s. A 1973 journal article foreshadowed the thesis of her 1979 monograph *Apostles of Culture: The Public Librarian and American Society, 1876–1920*.²³ Garrison accepted unquestioningly the conventional wisdom regarding the low status of librarianship in the professional world. According to Garrison, “female dominance of librarianship did much to shape the inferior and precarious status of the public library as a cultural resource.”²⁴ The response in library literature was generally very positive. The reviewers in professional journals gave almost uniformly good reviews. Garrison was rewarded by being asked to participate in the 1976 centenary anniversary program and on the Committee on Accreditation.

Garrison’s version of library history and the role of women in it is widely accepted and has become the standard history of the topic for those outside the profession. Most recently, women librarians have been linked to “purity” crusades on the basis of her work.²⁵

Expansion and Evolution: The Eighties

As the eighties dawned both feminist activism and library women’s history flourished and expanded. Many projects begun earlier came to

fruition. Affirmative Action and pay equity were major issues. In response, the ALA produced a detailed statistical study entitled *The Racial, Ethnic, and Sexual Composition of Library Staff in Academic and Public Libraries* in 1981.²⁶ The first volume in the bibliographic series *On Account of Sex* appeared in 1984. The ALA Yearbook, from its first volume in 1976, carried articles on the status of women in the profession.²⁷ Data for the comparison of female and male earnings were increasingly available. The ALA Equality Award was established in 1984. Betty Jo Irvine's important study *Sex Segregation in Librarianship: Demographic and Career Patterns of Academic Library Administrators* illustrated the importance of Affirmative Action in improving women's representation in the administration of the Association of Research Libraries.²⁸ Blaming library women for the profession's woes was considerably muted.

Library women's history flourished; there were two ALHRT programs on women's library history. Their titles show the feminist roots of women's library history: "Women in Library History: Liberating Our Past" (1982) and "The Creation of the Patriarchy: Its Implications for Librarianship" (1988). The latter featured Gerda Lerner, the dean of women's historians. The comparative method, long important in women's studies, was featured in the former in a paper by Barbara Brand that compared librarianship with other female-intensive professions.²⁹ Grotzinger presented a paper on the consequences to women of their omission from biographical reference tools in librarianship.³⁰

Other important papers of the period included Brand's analysis of sex typing in occupations and Nancy O'Brien's examination of the policy of recruiting men following World War II.³¹ Mary Niles Maack, in a piece on women in library education, showed how reforms for the good of the profession had worked against women.³² Mary Biggs, perhaps stung by the Garrison thesis, analyzed the conservatism on women's issues that has characterized the profession.³³ I also presented a critique of the Garrison book.³⁴

Although biographical studies were still popular, a newer, more sophisticated methodology had emerged. Groups of librarians were examined using a common set of variables, permitting greater generalizations than does the study of a single life. James Carmichael examined Atlanta's public librarians, and Joanne Passet examined a group of midwestern women academic librarians.³⁵ Two autobiographies of leaders were published during this period. Mary Gaver's autobiography shed considerable light on the career of a prominent school librarian, and Martha Boaz, librarian and library educator, detailed her own life and career.³⁶ Lesbian life in librarianship has been difficult to study due to the subject's need for security. Edith Guerrier's autobiography, published years after her death, did little to illuminate the career or personal life of a lesbian but detailed instead her involvement in the cultural life of her times.³⁷

Library women were vulnerable, as were others in women's studies, to charges that they wrote primarily about middle-class white women. Lelia G. Rhodes reviewed her oral history research on outstanding African-American women librarians, including Eliza Gleason and Dorothy Porter.³⁸ Annette Phinazee edited the papers given at a colloquium on black librarians in the Southeast.³⁹ The papers offer brief identification of some noteworthy women. Work was begun in 1988 on an oral history of women of color in librarianship, although the collection was not published until 1999.⁴⁰

While scholarship on library women's history, firmly rooted in the equity tradition, continued to gain momentum, depth, and breadth during this period, changes in the political context fostered new challenges.

The Ambiguous Nineties

The nineties presented many paradoxes and contrasts for women's studies in general and library women's history in particular. The conservative political climate was characterized by a turning away from equity issues, as evidenced by assaults on Affirmative Action and pay equity. There was a growing gap between academic women and activist women in the community as the former turned increasingly to theoretical studies. These theoretical studies often emphasized female-male difference and appeared to support a demand for recognition of traditional female roles rather than a reform agenda. This made them suitable in conservative times, when the role of government was increasingly challenged. In librarianship, the emphasis on IS has seemed to some members of the library history community to mean the end of historical study, yet IS has been developing its own history. This new IS history will have few women and almost no people of color in it, however. Feminist activism within librarianship, so crucial to the writing of library women's history, has seemed to be diminishing, as the declining activities of the COSWL and FTF attest.⁴¹ There has also been a decline in data needed to assess relative positions of men and women.⁴² In addition, there has been a reappearance of the old "blame the women" theme in the official organ of the ALA.⁴³ Much current writing on library women's history has a weak link at best to equity and emphasizes instead women's culture, celebrating ideas and modes of behavior that the authors clearly admire and that they attribute to women.

Yet despite the evidently negative context, an extensive and vibrant library women's history is being written today. The best works from both equity and culture streams will be noted, along with others less clearly aligned.

Undoubtedly, the outstanding work of the period is Passet's monograph on western women librarians from 1900 to 1917.⁴⁴ Passet, drawing

on a database she created that listed variables for the women, was able to make generalizations about age, education, and other factors. She added personal history material from letters and diaries to bring these women to life. Many of the women experienced a sharp contrast between the "library spirit" they had imbibed in training and the realities of their positions. The poor financial support for libraries meant low salaries and condemned many to lives of misery and disillusionment. A prolific writer, Passet has published several studies of interesting groups of early librarians.⁴⁵

Two other monographs of considerable interest, though not focused on women, offer much valuable information and analysis of library women's history. These are Deanna B. Marcum's study of the public library as a cultural force in Hagerstown, Maryland, from 1878 to 1920 and Abigail Van Slyck's study of Carnegie libraries from 1890 to 1920.⁴⁶ The former illustrates the struggles and eventual disillusionment of the librarian charged with running the Hagerstown library. In addition to discouragement over the role of libraries, she felt that newer professional standards repudiated women like herself who lacked academic degrees. Van Slyck, an architectural historian, illustrates the gender wars over the placement of Carnegie libraries and the ways women librarians reorganized the interior space of these libraries to defy the gender conventions adhered to by the architects and library boards.

Numerous brief articles detail the gendered nature of early modern librarianship. Among the best of these are Brand's analysis of the use of professionalism to handicap women, Cheryl Knott Malone's analysis of the use of unpaid labor in the library, and Catherine Shanley's study of the effort to improve the status of library women by unionization.⁴⁷ Rosalee McReynolds analyzes the view that women are too delicate for top slots in librarianship.⁴⁸ Christine Jenkins's study of the challenge to the literary choices of female children's librarians by a variety of men who used sexist arguments offers important insights into the history of women in children's services.⁴⁹ Jenkins has contributed several other pieces of note, including one on women librarians and intellectual freedom.⁵⁰ Carmichael's article on the impact of the University of Illinois on southern librarianship is of special interest because of its sensitivity to a range of issues, including not only sexism but racism.⁵¹

But if the foregoing works are in the enduring equity tradition, a growing number have appeared that stress the positive aspects of the culture and values that women librarians supposedly shared, emphasizing the superiority of such values as collaboration and nurturance, which are identified with women. Many of these authors emphasize that women display leadership differently from men. This leadership often goes unrecognized because it is exerted without titles and in a nonhierarchical

context; personal influence, not bureaucratic authority, characterizes many women. Many of the authors writing in this emerging tradition have based their writing on the not uncontroversial works of social scientists with no reference to the critics of those works. Others appear to be reacting to the equity-oriented literature that pictures women librarians as victims of discrimination. Works in this cultural tradition contain little on the salaries or working conditions of library women and men but much on the psychological return that service brings and the kind of power that comes from what may be conventionally labeled powerlessness.

Undoubtedly, the most extreme example of this position is a small book by Sydney Chambers and Carolynne Myall based on a presentation before a library group.⁵² The authors celebrate the selfless service of women in founding and staffing libraries and propose the library service orientation as a model for other professions such as medicine. Similarly, Maack, in a paper on women as change agents, urged the study of the “nonpositional” leaders in librarianship. Such women, with their service orientation, owe their leadership to persuasion and commitment.⁵³ Grotzinger, reacting to a history in which library women are “faceless and exploited nonentities,” analyzed the informal bonds through which women exercised their influence in an essay on the network of women who contributed to the development of modern librarianship at the turn of the century.⁵⁴

Several biographies also reflect an equity or a culture commitment, although many others do not. Clare Beck examined Adelaide Hasse’s career, and her essay clearly shows the problems that a “new woman” faced in a bureaucracy run by men who favor the status quo.⁵⁵ A cultural position is taken by Denise Sallee in another biography. Clearly stung by those who based their studies of women in library history on “inequity” suffered or exploitation, Sallee emphasized instead the satisfaction library work brought to many in her study of Anne Hadden, who enjoyed a career in the California county library system.⁵⁶ An ALHRT program in 1996 revisited the question of women and leadership, stressing women’s special qualities. Helen Astin, a psychologist, spoke on “women’s power as empowerment.” Dorothy J. Anderson gave a paper on Mildred Batchelder, Maack on identifying leaders, and Jenkins on leadership among children’s librarians.

Many other biographies that have enriched the literature on library women’s history show no clear alignment. Several of these examine figures prominent in children’s services: Ann D. Carlson wrote on Zena Sutherland, Karen Patricia Smith described the contributions of Virginia Haviland, and Anne Lundin examined the career of Anne Carroll Moore.⁵⁷ Several articles examine women librarians in the West. Georgia Higley contributed a collective study of women librarians in the land

grant colleges of the West, while Clara Sitter described the career of Fannie Elizabeth Ratchford of the University of Texas.⁵⁸ Linda Lewis analyzed the role of Julia Brown Asplund in the growth of New Mexico library service.⁵⁹ Jane Anne Hannigan offers a kind of history of young adult services through the careers of six outstanding women who developed the field, and Kay Vandergrift provides a similar piece for children's services.⁶⁰ While both cite social scientists who emphasize women's "harmonious" nature, the articles stress achievements more than attitudes. Mary Mallory assessed the career of Mary Utopia Rothrock at the Tennessee Valley Authority.⁶¹ The autobiography of Zoia Horn, intellectual freedom activist, details her numerous struggles.⁶²

The nineties produced a richer literature on women of color. For these women, the struggle to achieve professional status and a decent salary was intimately bound up with the struggle of their people for a life of dignity. Glendora Johnson-Cooper describes Jean Blackwell Hutson's life, emphasizing her role in the development of the Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, a major American repository for the study of the culture of people of African descent.⁶³ Betty Jenkins's work on the white librarian Ernestine Rose, longtime Schomburg librarian, presents a different perspective on that collection and its services.⁶⁴ Jessie Carney Smith offers brief biographical sketches of some important women.⁶⁵ Helen H. Britton describes the life and contributions of Dorothy Porter Wesley, longtime bibliographer and curator at Howard University.⁶⁶ Annie L. McPheeters's autobiography offers excellent material on service to African-Americans in the segregated South, along with a vivid account of her life and career.⁶⁷ Julio Hernandez-Delgado describes the life and contributions of Pura Teresa Belpre, a pioneer Puerto Rican librarian in the New York Public Library.⁶⁸ Belpre's name lives on in the award named for her.

Regardless of emerging divisions, the nineties have seen a rich outpouring of library women's history that will endure.

Future Prospects

Several scenarios suggest themselves for future development. There may indeed be no more library history, or there may be a replacement history in which few women librarians appear. There may be the triumph of the cultural approach, mimicking the traditional library history with "sheroes" who join the heroes in the professional pantheon and an extension of the largely uncritical acceptance of our professional past to the women in library history. Perhaps two parallel traditions, one based on "male values," one on "female values," will co-exist.

But it may be too soon to write off the equity-oriented approach. Recent publications from other disciplines point to a revival of interest in

the inequities women face in their professional and personal lives.⁶⁹ A new generation of library women, facing the new, harsher economic and political realities of the twenty-first century, may turn again to activism. This will lead to a rebirth of equity-oriented history as the origins of inequity are sought.

An alternate future, however, can be imagined for our common past, one that draws from the best of traditional history and from the work on women, African-Americans, other racial and ethnic groups as well as the lesbian community. Before such a history can emerge, however, a new and better way of conceptualizing these socially constructed aspects of our identity is needed. In any given setting one may take precedence over the others, though none is ever totally submerged. And each of us must find his or her place in life, professionally and personally, in already existing, though continually evolving, social structures in which difference has traditionally resulted in dominance and subordination. Gerda Lerner offers the example of the pyramid of dominance in the antebellum South.⁷⁰ Only a small group of white male planters owned slaves, yet most members of white society supported the pyramid, though most found themselves in subordinate positions based on gender or class. White women of the planter class had few rights but had considerable power over the slaves and access to their husband's wealth or class and race privileges. Poorer white men and women, with little land and no slaves, enjoyed race privileges.

How would a history of librarianship look if the interrelatedness of these socially constructed categories became central? It might help to explain the experiences of Annie L. McPheeters, who, as a small child, was ejected from a whites-only library by a truculent white woman librarian who was undoubtedly underpaid and overworked and possibly even nurturing and compassionate—to some. It might help to explain what motivated Edwin Anderson to report Adelaide Hasse to the Secret Service as disloyal in the frenzied wartime atmosphere of 1918 and why she is remembered as “difficult.” What elements of class, race, and gender privilege were at work in these interactions? And how were they supported by the traditional structures of libraries and library education? This approach offers a way to move beyond celebration and toward explanation. It also offers a way to move beyond separate studies of women, people of color, and lesbians in library history and toward a greater synthesis.

At the hundredth anniversary of the ALHRT we'll find out which scenario was played out!

Notes

1. When experts argue that women depress the status of a profession, it is difficult for the women practitioners in it to argue for a better place within the

profession or for higher wages. The threat of masculinization has a chilling effect on women's organizing in female-intensive professions.

2. Alice I. Bryan, *The Public Librarian: A Report of the Public Library Inquiry of the Social Science Research Council* (New York: Columbia University, 1952).

3. Ralph Munn, "It's a Mistake to Recruit Men," *Library Journal* 74 (November 1949): 1639-40.

4. J. Labb, "Librarians in *Who's Who in America*," *Wilson Library Bulletin* 25 (September 1950): 54-56.

5. Sidney H. Ditzion, *Arsenals of a Democratic Culture: A Social History of the American Public Library in New England and the Middle States from 1850 to 1900* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1947).

6. Martha Boaz, *Fervent and Full of Gifts: The Life of Althea Warren* (New York: Scarecrow, 1961).

7. Clyde H. Cantrell, "Sadie P. Delaney: Bibliotherapist and Librarian," *Southeastern Libraries* 6 (Fall 1956): 105-9.

8. Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Norton, 1963).

9. "Losses in Directorships for Women Pegged," *Library Journal* 101 (February 1976): 573.

10. Sharon B. Wells, "The Feminization of the American Library Profession, 1876 to 1923" (M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1967).

11. Anita R. Schiller, "Women in Librarianship," in *Advances in Librarianship* (New York: Academic, 1974), 104-47.

12. Kathleen Weibel and Kathleen M. Heim, eds., with Dianne J. Ellsworth, *Women in Librarianship, 1876-1976: The Entry, Advancement and Struggle for Equalization in One Profession* (Phoenix: Oryx, 1979).

13. Kathleen Heim and Katharine Phoenix, eds., for the Committee on the Status of Women in Librarianship, *On Account of Sex: An Annotated Bibliography on the Status of Women in Librarianship, 1977-1981* (Chicago: ALA, 1984).

14. Elfrieda B. McCauley, "The New England Mill Girls: Feminine Influence in the Development of Public Libraries in New England, 1820-1860" (D.L.S. diss., Columbia University, 1971).

15. Laurel A. Grotzinger, *The Power and the Dignity: Librarianship and Katharine Sharp* (New York: Scarecrow, 1966).

16. Josephine deWitt Rhodehmel and Raymund Francis Wood, *Ina Coolbrith: Librarian and Laureate of California* (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, 1973).

17. James T. Milden, "Women, Public Libraries and Library Unions: The Formative Years," *Journal of Library History* 12 (Spring 1977): 150-58.

18. Margo Sasse, "Invisible Women: The Children's Librarian in America," *School Library Journal* 19 (January 1973): 213-17; Lillian N. Gerhardt, "Needed: A Monumental Checkup," *School Library Journal* 22 (January 1976): 5.

19. Augusta Baker, "My Years As a Children's Librarian," in E. J. Josey, ed., *The Black Librarian in America* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow, 1970), 117-29.

20. Virginia Lacy Jones, "A Dean's Career," and Jessie Carney Smith, "The Four Cultures," both in *ibid.*, 19-49, 191-204.

21. Binnie Tate, "Traffic on the Drawbridge," Louise J. Moses, "The Black Librarian: Untapped Resource," and Vivian Davidson Hewitt, "A Special Librarian by Design," all in *ibid.*, 124-29, 137-41, 253-71.

22. Peter H. Rossi, "Discussion," in Philip H. Ennis and Howard W. Winger, eds., *Seven Questions about the Profession of Librarianship* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 82-83.

23. Dee Garrison, "Tender Technicians: The Feminization of Public Librarianship, 1876–1905," *Journal of Social History* 6 (Winter 1972–73): 131–59, and *Apostles of Culture: The Public Librarian and American Society, 1876–1920* (New York: Free Press, 1979).

24. Garrison, *Apostles of Culture*, 84.

25. Alison M. Parker, *Purifying America: Women, Cultural Reform and Pro-Censorship Activism, 1873–1933* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997).

26. *The Racial, Ethnic, and Sexual Composition of Library Staff in Academic and Public Libraries* (Chicago: ALA, 1981).

27. *The ALA Yearbook* (Chicago: ALA, 1976–83).

28. Betty Jo Irvine, *Sex Segregation in Librarianship: Demographic and Career Patterns of Academic Library Administrators* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1985).

29. Barbara Brand, "Librarianship and Other Female-Intensive Professions," *Journal of Library History, Philosophy, and Comparative Librarianship* 18 (Fall 1983): 391–406.

30. Laural A. Grotzinger, "Biographical Research: Recognition Denied," *Journal of Library History, Philosophy, and Comparative Librarianship* 18 (Fall 1983): 372–81.

31. Barbara Brand, "Sex-Typing in Education for Librarianship: 1870–1920," and Nancy Patricia O'Brien, "The Recruitment of Men into Librarianship Following World War II," both in Kathleen M. Heim, ed., *The Status of Women in Librarianship: Historical, Sociological and Economic Issues* (New York: Neal-Schuman, 1983), 29–49, 51–66.

32. Mary Niles Maack, "Women in Library Education: Down the Up Staircase," *Library Trends* 34 (Winter 1986): 401–32.

33. Mary Biggs, "Librarians and the 'Woman Question': An Inquiry into Conservatism," *Journal of Library History* 17 (Fall 1982): 408–28.

34. Suzanne Hildenbrand, "Revision versus Reality: Women in the History of the Public Library Movement, 1876–1920," in Heim, ed., *The Status of Women*, 7–27.

35. James V. Carmichael, "Atlanta's Female Librarians, 1883–1915," *Journal of Library History, Philosophy, and Comparative Librarianship* 21 (Spring 1986): 376–99; Joanne Passet, "'The Rule Rather Than the Exception': Midwest Women as Librarians, 1875–1900," *Journal of Library History, Philosophy, and Comparative Librarianship* 21 (Fall 1986): 673–92.

36. Virginia Mary Gaver, *A Braided Cord: Memoirs of a School Librarian* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow, 1988); Martha Boaz, *Librarian/Library Educator: An Autobiography and Planning for the Future* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow, 1987).

37. Edith Guerrier, *An Independent Woman: The Autobiography of Edith Guerrier* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992).

38. Lelia Gaston Rhodes, "Profiles of the Careers of Selected Black Female Librarians," in Heim, ed., *The Status of Women*, 191–205.

39. Annette L. Phinazee, *The Black Librarian in the Southeast: Reminiscences, Activities, Challenges* (Durham: North Carolina Central University School of Library Science, 1980).

40. Kathleen de la Pena McCook, ed., *Women of Color in Librarianship: An Oral History* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1999).

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