



# Alternative Perspectives in Library and Information Science

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## Issues of Race

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Since the 1970s, most disciplines and schools of professional studies have developed their areas of curriculum, research, and theory construction by including race and ethnic studies. At the same time, library and information studies has lagged in providing a broader understanding of race and librarianship. Although attempts have been made to fill the racial-understanding gap, most of the work is characterized as exceptional/pioneer biography, with little attention given to broader social constructs of race and racism. This article explores how library and information science education falls short in contributing to the literature on race and racism. The current multicultural movement in library science is to be addressed.

North American librarianship viewed through the lens of race results in a picture of conflict and cooperation. On the one hand, a picture emerges that mirrors the racism of the larger society. Segregation, discrimination, belief in racial superiority/inferiority, and the desire to maintain the racist *status quo* are evident in library history. On the other hand, a picture of integrative human relations, cooperation, racial uplift, and civil rights appears. Yet neither of these views is the full story of race and librarianship, nor have these stories been integrated into library historiography to give a sharper focus on the issue of race and racism in our profession. As Du Mont stated, "a lot of research yet needs to be done on the topic of 'race in librarianship.'"<sup>1</sup>

The purpose of this article is to explore and describe the racial conflict

and cooperation characterized by our profession. Emphasis will be placed upon the African-American experience with the hope that others will investigate the unique stories of Native Americans, Asian Americans, and Hispanics. The terms "African-American" and "black" will be used interchangeably in this article for no other reason than in my lifetime I have been termed "colored," "Negro," "Afro-American," "black," and "African-American." I prefer the term "black" because its use was common when I became politically aware.

In this article, conflict theory provides the framework for discussion of race and racism. Race in this article is acknowledged as a fluid, social construct devised as a form of social control. Race is not a scientific principle, and to make this distinction is impor-

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tant. The use of conflict theory and the distinction of race as a social construct are significant to make for several reasons:

1. Conflict theory states that whenever two or more individuals or groups come into contact with each other, the choice is made to be cooperative or conflictual.
2. If conflictual, power and dominance must be organized and articulated for social control.
3. Race and the categorization of differences can be used as a method of power, dominance, oppression, and social control.
4. Race has been abandoned by the scientific community as having no basis in biological fact; race has been recognized as a social construct with fluid meaning that changes over time. Yet the belief that race is a measurable and biological characteristic persists and shapes social functions such as law, policy, and customs.
5. Current categories of race in the United States (various nations have different definitions) are so broad that they only point out the meaninglessness of race as anything but a way to perpetuate oppressive stereotypes. There is the interchanging of ethnicity for race, which further muddles the terminology. For example, Native Americans (an ethnicity? the racial designation "red" is no longer used) are as diverse in language, culture, belief systems, and national characteristics as European nationals. The Cheyenne, Seneca,

Zuni, etc., are all distinct and very different peoples. Hispanic, which is recognized as an ethnicity, also has the racial color consciousness of black and white, although the Latin American brand of color racism is not as rigid as the North American variety. Also, the insistence that the Cuban, Mexican, Puerto Rican, etc., experience is somehow explained under the term "Hispanic" is naive and misleading. Asian Americans, once the yellow race, but now an ethnicity, represent many nations, languages, and way of entry into the United States, and using this term is as misleading as the use of "Hispanic" or "Native American." And for all groups, rarely in the race discussion is the fact of social class given attention. But how does a race become an ethnicity, and why is the distinction important? Because whites who desire to claim exotic roots can define themselves as part Native American or Hispanic or Asian; there is "otherness" but not distinction as a separate race. To articulate this is not to diminish the facts and shame of Native American genocide, miscegenation laws that prohibited white-Asian marriages as well as white-black marriages, Japanese-American concentration camps, quotas against Jews, or any of the atrocities committed against ethnic and religious groups in this country. It is further recognized that in different regions of the country, the variety of racism practiced against these groups differs in in-

tensity and evilness. As Hacker noted, "All persons deemed to be other than white can detail how they have suffered discrimination at the hands of white America. . . . Yet . . . members of all these 'intermediate' groups have been allowed to put a visible distance between themselves and black Americans."<sup>2</sup> The race/ethnicity, social control, oppression, discrimination story is a complex story of muddled terminology, euphemisms, and elasticity. Racial difference in this country is primarily black and white, and the racial categorizations of mixture (mulatto, quadroon, etc.) are no longer used, eliminating the idea of being part black/African-American, for one drop makes one black. Therefore, the story of each group needs to be told separately within the context of racialization theory before meaningful comparative work can be done in library science.

6. How is African-American culture to be defined? If asked what is white culture, is the answer trailer parks, bowling, and tractor pulls? Certainly these are cultural commonalities of many white Americans but not commonalities embraced as the archetype. Cultural commonality of African-Americans (who are upper, middle, and working class, rural, urban, suburban, eastern, western, southern, northern, multigeneration American, recent immigrant, Muslim, Christian, atheist, and so white in color that racial distinction is ambiguous) is defined in this article as the ability to survive, and attempt to thrive, in a larger culture that hates you.

It is important to list these seemingly disparate ideas in order to shatter

stereotypes and falsehoods. Recent theory generation on the meaning of "whiteness" is helping to put the notion of race as having categorical meaning for social control into perspective. In order to reconstruct the meaning of race and racism in librarianship, the deconstruction of traditional uses of race terminology must be conducted.

This article will also highlight quotations and events from library history to illustrate the tension of racial conflict and cooperation. Work on racial achievement and racial discrimination remains fragmented and spotty in library literature. Although authors such as Gunn, Josey, Jenkins, Du Mont, Wiegand, and others are making contributions to the meaning of race in shaping library history, and providing the foundation for scholarship in this area to flourish, library science lags as a discipline in infusing vigor and rigor into its knowledge base with race studies. It cannot be said there is an absence of color in our scholarship, but our scholarship on race and race studies remains weak. Possible reasons for this will be addressed with solutions to infuse race and ethnic studies into the understanding of library science. Organization of the article is by individuals, black biography, the American Library Association, and multiculturalism, to illustrate the conflict and cooperation in our field.

## Individuals

### *John Cotton Dana*

If scholarship has shown that collective biography of leaders is useful for understanding a group, then it stands to reason that scrutiny of a revered leader is useful for understanding norms and values or "groupthink" of a profession. John Cotton Dana, eleventh president of the American Library Association

(1895–1896), is accepted as a library luminary—someone of whom the profession is proud. In his ALA-published biography, reprinted without annotation or an explanatory preface, a student of library history will encounter:

I am sorry I have not seen you to bid you goodbye and give you my good wishes. To be sure I do not approve of your mission. In the history of the world, animals and peoples have progressed—have become less inferior, but never in my observation because the superior people have helped them [letter to a friend going to the Philippines, May 1890].<sup>3</sup>

Not having heard from you I supposed of course you were either with the Rough Riders in Buffalo Bill's show or killing niggers with the eminent Funston, or else holding up the hands of Bill McKinley and assisting him in calling on the Lord [letter to Aaron Burt, July 12, 1899].<sup>4</sup>

Paternalism, imperialism, and racism are evident, but how these belief systems shaped American librarianship is rarely addressed. Reviews of this biography were not consulted, and I do not know how the work was received, but the 1972 reprinting without historical and contextual explanation leads me to believe that most were not shocked by its content and did not find it worthy of comment.

### **Louis Shores**

Fortunate enough to become director of Fisk University Library at the age of twenty-four, immediately after library school graduation in 1928, Louis Shores' life illustrates the racial conflict and cooperation within our profession. He was aware of and affected by racial conflict and made attempts at conciliation—this is a theme of his autobiography, race conflict and conciliation.<sup>5</sup>

Yet, at the same time, he never questioned his good fortune to lead and direct a major college library when many educated and experienced blacks could have and should have done this job. The fact is such positions were reserved for whites. As Van Jackson showed, in 1930, 210 blacks were employed in libraries, and library schools were graduating blacks; yet in 1930 only five of the more than fifty black college libraries were headed by blacks.<sup>6</sup> This lack of access and limited opportunity within the profession for blacks, even at their own institutions, failed to impress Shores enough to comment upon his color privilege. He writes of shock and disgust regarding the prejudice and discrimination he witnessed in Tennessee. Yet at the dedication of the new Fisk (Sterling Memorial) library, he conceded to white librarians and took white librarian Ernestine Rose—the conscience for race cooperation in librarianship—off of the dedication program. She was believed to be radical, militant, and meddling—these southern whites wanted no part of her message of racial cooperation and racial equality. And Shores relented. He writes of using the library and librarianship to put forth the cause of "ONE RACE" (his emphasis) and his efforts are admirable—as president of the Southeastern Librarian Association, he made sure blacks were invited to the meetings and attended. He worked with committees to develop strategies for having an integrated professional meeting in the South. He wrote in the area of black periodical literature and the collection development of black writing.<sup>7</sup> But his good fortune was the result of institutional, systematic color racism, and he did not acknowledge this. Louis Shores' life illustrates the dilemma of individual condemnation and public acceptance of the *status quo*, for in the private sphere, Shores could point to

himself as one of the good guys who hates racism and does what he can on an individual basis; but in the public realm, Shores profits from the structural, institutional workings of racism. Shores' life of color and gender privilege would make for a provocative and interesting sociological biography and contribute to the understanding of the salience of race in American librarianship.

### **Ernestine Rose**

Race and librarianship cannot be studied without seeing the name Ernestine Rose. Jenkins provides a biography of this remarkable woman, and her impact on race and race cooperation is firmly stated.<sup>8</sup> But what do we know of the frustrations during her life? How did she persist? What sustained her? How did she express her moments of despair; how did she manage her feelings of disgust, anger, frustration, when her profession did not behave in the progressive and moral way she knew to be right? Just as biographers and historians are giving voice to the pain of Lillian Smith and Katharine Du Pre Lumpkin, by putting into context how these women wrote of, understood, and were transformed by analyzing racial hierarchy and gender stratification, library historians need to reconstruct the lives of whites such as Rose and how they rejected the notion of white supremacy to truly understand race in our profession. At the same time, less than flattering information is available about Ernestine Rose and is part of literary criticism scholarship but not library science scholarship. Martin, in *Literary Garveyism*, documents a controversy between Rose and *Negro World* editors who took offense at her "Books and the Color Line" article in the April 15, 1922, journal *Survey*.<sup>9</sup> Rose wrote:

It might reward the interested observer, standing on the corner of 135 Street and Lenox Avenue in New York, to watch the varieties of black folk who stream into the library building which serves the book needs of that colored section of the city—black and yellow, stately Hindoo, proud West Indian, mulatto American, little black pickaninny, turbanned mammy, porter, college professor, nurse-aid, student.<sup>10</sup>

The editors of *Negro World*, also users of the 135th Street branch, remarked that they had never seen a "pickaninny" in the library and questioned the use of the term.<sup>11</sup> Rose apologized, but the fact remains that she used racially offensive language in a public forum while describing her work.

### **Black Biography**

Biographies of black pioneers in librarianship exist, but most of these biographies are "hero" historiography—adequate but not complete in telling the full story. The concentration on the few who "made" it distorts the picture by not illuminating the stories of those who attempted but were denied. The history of library education for blacks in the United States is a history of admission denials because housing could not be secured (blacks were not allowed on many campuses, particularly in the North, to live in dorms, eat in the dining halls, etc.), trustees did not want their university known as one that readily accepted blacks, and the racist practices of denying educated blacks jobs they were qualified for was supported by the status quo belief that their future employment was unlikely, so why give access to education? The American Library Association conducted surveys from time to time on the admission of black students to accred-

ited schools of library science. In 1943 ALA sent letters to the accredited schools asking:

Is your library school permitted to enroll Negro students? If so is their admission affected by local conditions or by policies which have grown out of your experience with Negro students? For example, living conditions in the university community may be unsuitable for well educated Negroes; the placement of Negro librarians may be extremely difficult; the academic education of Negro students in the past may have been unsatisfactory. The demand for Negro librarians in Army camp libraries has, of course, been greater than the supply. In your opinion are opportunities increasing for service of other types? Are applications from prospective Negro students increasing or decreasing?<sup>12</sup>

The responses document practiced discrimination.

Letter from Pittsburgh, dated July 22, 1943:

... on the admission of Negro students to Carnegie Library School, I will have to ask you not to list this school as one that admits Negroes. There has been a long standing trustees' policy against it; the faculty, I might add, have not agreed with this policy. Mr. Munn just secured permission recently, to accept a Negro for next year. . . . Although we look at this experiment as an opening wedge, we would be embarrassed if we appeared at the moment to have opened the doors unreservedly.<sup>13</sup>

Letter from Syracuse, dated July 8, 1943:

The attitude toward the admission of negroes [*sic*] at Syracuse has not changed. It is based entirely on living conditions. Colored men are accepted freely as far as I know for we always seem to have several around, but colored

girls are not encouraged to enter because it is almost impossible to find suitable living places for them. As the School of Library Science is a graduate school, its students are not required to live in dormitories . . . the girls, must live in houses approved by the Dean of Women. It is up to the householder, therefore, to say whether or not she will take a negro. They prefer to avoid possible difficulties by refusing them.<sup>14</sup>

These examples of structural racism with analysis rarely appear in library biography, leaving an impression that blacks are wholly responsible for their limited representation in American professions. Library science would benefit from biographies such as Davis' work on Harlem Renaissance novelist and librarian Nella Larsen.<sup>15</sup> Larsen started as an assistant at the New York Public Library in January 1922 after having volunteered there for several months. She was marked as a candidate for the New York Public Library school of library training, which although established in 1911 had not admitted blacks into the certificate and diploma programs. At the first annual meeting of the Work with Negroes Round Table and the reporting of its survey on library work with blacks, Ernestine Rose announced that the NYPL "expects to have one of its colored assistants in its library school next year."<sup>16</sup> In 1923, Rose reported Larsen's (although Rose did not mention Larsen specifically) appointment as significant, for Larsen was accepted on the same terms as whites, and all the facilities offered by the school were made available to her.<sup>17</sup>

But what of the discrimination? How many qualified black applicants were turned away from library schools because of prevailing prejudices? How did black organizations respond, and what were the strategies of black leaders to increase the numbers of blacks in

librarianship? What attention has been given to library services during the time of segregated armed services? ALA was presumably surveying library schools because the World War II effort saw a large-scale mobilization of African-Americans into service, and the segregated conditions of the armed services had a ripple effect on civilian employment. Certainly there is meaning to be uncovered in the words "The demand for Negro librarians in Army camp libraries." Library science needs sophisticated, analytical biographies, particularly of African-Americans, in order to understand the profession in a racial context.

## The American Library Association

### Controversies

Unlike most American professional associations, the ALA has never been deliberately segregated. For example, the National Bar Association exists because black lawyers were not permitted in the American Bar Association until 1943. The National Medical Association was the black association parallel to the American Medical Association. Parallel associations in education, home economics, nursing, and a variety of professions and occupations (farming, barbering, etc.) existed because racial segregation was a fact of American life, whether by law or custom. This lack of a deliberately segregated history enhances the librarian image as being racially progressive.<sup>18</sup> But before librarianship congratulates itself for having a progressive, integrated national association, some unflattering facts need to be addressed.

What are some possible reasons that ALA never closed membership by race? A theory of library marginalization may explain this. Libraries are vol-

untary institutions; use of libraries is not legislated. Contrast librarianship with education, where there is the importance of compulsory participation up to a legislated age, and issues of social control and social hierarchy emerge. Law concerns property and money; medicine concerns the body. Contrasting these professions with a small one that has little influence on significant areas of private and public importance suggests that protection from race mixing was not a priority. A more practical explanation is that in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century, approximately 10 percent of the black population lived in the North, where the library movement flourished. Entry into library schools was limited, so the number of blacks in librarianship was small. A "separate but equal" ethos was part of librarian attitudes, especially after the South developed libraries and founded black library schools. The opinion of many northerners and southerners was that blacks could and should go to black library schools and work in black libraries with black patrons.<sup>19</sup> Another practical reason is that membership and participation in the ALA are not mandatory for practice of the profession, so the number of blacks would be further diminished with a lack of motivation to join the association.

But blacks did belong to and participate in ALA, and the association's position on integration and race relations was often tested. Thomison documents some of the race problems in his *History of the American Library Association 1876-1972*.<sup>20</sup> For example, in 1936, the Richmond, Virginia, conference site posed a special problem. State law required black and white separation, and blacks could not stay in hotels or eat meals where whites did. Some white librarians protested once they learned of these conditions, and angry

letters were published in *Library Journal*. ALA Council passed a resolution that was weak and avoided the larger issue of racial discrimination. It was stated that the general social problem of racial discrimination was not the responsibility of the association to solve. Attempts to skirt the issue were achieved by holding conferences in the North.<sup>21</sup>

But northern conferences presented special problems, too. Certain hotels in northern cities did not permit blacks to stay, and many northern restaurants did not seat blacks. For example, the Palmer House and the Drake Hotel of Chicago did not house blacks, but this did not stop the ALA from holding meetings there, and this left southern librarians to question northern shock at racial separation.<sup>22</sup> In 1940, the conference in Cincinnati posed problems in that Cincinnati is a city of southern attitude in a northern location. Also, the 1936 toothless resolution on discrimination was being reconsidered. A special committee was charged to determine whether any southern hotels or conventions could meet the ALA's contract, which protected members from racial discrimination. This announcement in the March 1940 *ALA Bulletin* set off an exchange of letters by the membership. Those who thought the 1936 resolution reconsideration unnecessary cited racial discrimination as inevitable and the customs of the South legitimate and not the concern of the membership:

[I] wonder that one can become so excited over a condition which has existed, does exist, and doubtless will exist so long as there are different racial characteristics. . . . Are accommodations for the colored members cited at headquarters? The way the type is set it reads that they will find accommodations three miles

away from the headquarters and the auditorium.<sup>23</sup>

Dissenters were astonished that there was to be any reconsideration of the 1936 resolution and suggested that the membership subscribe to the 1939 conference themes of democracy and freedom. Ann Arbor (Michigan) librarians organized and signed petitions opposed to discrimination. One librarian strongly stated that there was to be no pro or con about this matter—that "there is only one, central, indisputable fact. Namely, that every single member of the Association has the unarguable, incontestable . . . right to equal treatment in every aspect of his or her membership in the ALA."<sup>24</sup> Those who thought that the resolution was unfair to southern cities mentioned how other associations were held in the South without problem, but they failed to recognize that these were segregated associations (American Bar Association, American Medical Association, American Nursing Association, etc.).

Racial discrimination persisted in ALA, and instances of discrimination certainly do not end with these two examples. A statement on individual and institutional membership as well as chapter status was adopted by ALA in 1962, but it was so flimsy and ineffectual that segregation in southern chapters remained an issue. This statement circumvented striking down the notion of segregated chapters by placing emphasis on personal conduct for racial harmony.<sup>25</sup> The controversy with segregated state associations and ALA's allowance of these segregated chapters continued through 1965, a year after passage of the Civil Rights Act. A *Library Journal* editorial on the first integrated meeting of the Alabama Library Association and the good news that "the Georgia Library Association had admitted a Negro librarian, Mr. E. J. Josey, to



membership" served to suggest ALA's liberal position on civil rights.<sup>26</sup> But at the same time, editor Eric Moon questioned the wisdom of Eli Oboler putting forth a constitutional change of ALA institutional memberships. The Oboler motion on institutional membership would prohibit segregated chapters from being part of ALA. Moon put forth the position that this reversed ALA's open-door policy. "Whatever can be done to eliminate discrimination by libraries, we are for, but we are not at all sure that discrimination in ALA membership is the way to bring it about."<sup>27</sup> The reluctance to take on a national issue and hide behind the reason that it is beyond the scope of the association is a common theme in ALA. It too must be noted that E. J. Josey's admittance into the Georgia Library Association was the result of a political, uncomfortable, and persistent fight by Mr. Josey.<sup>28</sup>

The American Library Association has the honor of being a professional organization that was never segregated, but at the same time it did not take a stance against prevailing segregationist practices. Racial conflict is part of ALA's story and one that remains to be fully told.

### ***Work with Negroes Round Table***

Convened by Ernestine Rose in 1921, the Work with Negroes Round Table was conceived to exchange ideas regarding library service to blacks. The idea was to have a way to share information and programs similar to the Work with Foreign Born Round Table. The round table lasted only three years, unlike the long-standing round table on immigrant work. Most librarians found the "Negro problem" to be sectional, and not of national concern. Therefore, discriminatory practices were preserved by the status quo belief in white supremacy and black inferiority. As

Rose attempted to have librarians consider and improve library services to black populations by discussing their presence in a community, she encountered attitudes such as this: "Eliza G. Browning, assistant librarian, Public Library, Indianapolis, said that the early settlers of Indiana brought their negroes with them."<sup>29</sup> It must have been disheartening for Rose to see the ALA participate in the status quo of discrimination and injustice for blacks as she watched the Work with Negroes Round Table end.

### ***Segregation and Scholarship***

Another question worthy of exploration for librarians is, How did segregated libraries affect the work of black scholars? Eminent historian John Hope Franklin recounts the challenge and logistics of being a scholar in the Jim Crow South and how the state archivist of Louisiana sneaked him into the segregated archives during the V-J Day celebration.<sup>30</sup> Whites were so busy celebrating the triumph of democracy that it was possible on that day to sneak a black American historian into the archives to which he would normally not have access. How did other black scholars, citizens of a nation that preached democracy and human rights, circumvent segregated practices in order to conduct research? What were the specific barriers, and how did librarians either construct or destroy these barriers? Here is a story of racial conflict and cooperation that needs exploration.

### ***Multiculturalism***

The latest controversy in librarianship is the notion of multiculturalism. Obscuring issues of equity and contributing little of worth regarding research, "Multiculturalism" was added as a

ject heading to *Library Literature* in 1993 and has since clogged our literature primarily with the mantra "Everyone is different, and isn't that special?" In 1993, thirty-three references were listed under "Multiculturalism"; in 1994, sixty-four entries; and in 1995 thirty-nine entries appeared. Most of the work is without a political, historical, or sociological framework. It accepts the public relations statistic of "one-third of nation," as if the statistic in itself were meaningful. This "statistic" was selected by a blue-ribbon commission to echo Franklin D. Roosevelt's second inaugural address, "I see one-third of a nation ill-housed, ill-clad, ill-nourished." This address is a model statement of government as an instrument for social responsibility, and evoking its spirit is not unusual. Its deep ethical principles and expression of Americans as interconnected strikes a chord that many wish to keep resonant.<sup>31</sup> The truth is, there is conflicting demographic evidence that by the year 2000 the nation will be 33 $\frac{1}{3}$  percent minority. And even if it is, what of it? History shows that it is not numbers that dictate the distribution of resources and power. Multiculturalism obscures equity issues, and for librarianship the multicultural movement has the following significance:

1. Discussions of race and ethnicity are dismissed as being "politically correct" and not worthy of discussion. Saracevic criticizes the ALA Committee on Accreditation (COA) for identifying multiculturalism in the LIS curriculum and not making clear if it is the approach of race and ethnic studies that is a problem or perhaps that race studies altogether are unnecessary in LIS.<sup>32</sup> How then does the LIS culture feel about race and ethnic studies and the contributions they can make to library science?

2. What of the regulatory power of affirmative action? As attempts to achieve equity are eroded, how does multiculturalism contribute to the continued oppression of minorities; how are the recruitment and retention of minority librarians affected?

In response to a request for syllabi regarding courses on multiculturalism or special populations, more than ten LIS schools sent a variety of syllabi that covered everything from services to the handicapped to the literature of African-Americans. What is this multiculturalism about? Our institutions by their collections should be represented by many opinions, languages, nations, cultures—what are we embracing with this term "multicultural," and what are we teaching future librarians?<sup>33</sup>

Is librarianship serious about studying race and racism in its profession? Although there has been scholarship in the area of race and racism, it has not been given the serious attention it deserves. Where is a school of library and information science that has an expert devoted to the theory generation and data collection of race and racism in our field? We persist in electing the newest African American. If the profession is serious about understanding race and racism as they relate specifically to librarianship, we would push them from the margins and into the center. Race studies would be accorded the respect for intellectual expertise we award to other areas, and not dismissed as a subject area that emanates from personal characteristic and experience. But acknowledging race studies, not as personal experience, but as the domain of scholars, where scholarly inquiry, intellectual rigor, integrity, and authority are assumed as the ability to be an expert, is a threat because this would supplant the white experience as *the* experience worthy of scholarship. It is

this arrogance, as well as ignorance, that hinders race studies from flourishing in librarianship. If we were serious about race and librarianship, we would recognize the opportunity for growth and new knowledge by devoting scholarship to this topic. We would fund research and provide the time to produce deep, analytical, groundbreaking work. We would stop doing library use surveys of African-Americans without putting a face on the statistics; we would research and understand the neighborhood library branches frequented by African-Americans in order to understand the *factors* that explain use or nonuse (transportation, hours of availability, crime, freedom from police harassment, etc.). We would infuse our curriculum and research with race, gender, and social class and not leave these as asides and then define the limited work done as that of cranky whiners. We would bring historians, sociologists, and political scientists into our work to provide the content missing from so many of our discussions on race. Until then, library and information science will continue to be caught in the crossfire of racial conflict, for we will have no theory and no history to consult.

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