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Black Public Libraries in the South in the Era of De Jure Segregation

Michael Fultz

The intent of this article is to present an overview and analysis of the development of public libraries for African Americans in the South during the era of de jure segregation and through the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Written from the perspective of an educational historian, the essay seeks to discern salient continuities and discontinuities in the growth and desegregation of both public libraries and public schools in the South and within this broadened context to push both fields beyond the topical blinders that have too often characterized their separate historical investigations.

In her 1945 University of Chicago dissertation Virginia Lacy Jones, later to become the second dean of Atlanta University's School of Library Science, made the particularly salient observation that "school library service and problems cannot be considered separately from the programs and problems of the school; thus, there must be an understanding of the framework in which the school and library operate."[1] This insight applies to more than just the institutionalization of school libraries for African Americans in the South, a neglected subject in its own right. Rather, Jones's comment provides an appropriate starting point to explore the history and development of black libraries within a broadened contextual framework.

The intent of this article is to present, through the eyes of an educational historian, an overview and analysis of the development of public libraries for African Americans in the South during the era of de jure segregation and through the civil rights movement of the 1960s. Eliza Atkins Gleason's 1941 volume, *The Southern Negro and the Public Library*, remains one of the very few efforts to present a scholarly synthesis on this topic.[2] But Gleason's groundbreaking work is now more than sixty years old, and the need to incorporate more contemporary perspectives and to discuss issues concerning the integration of public libraries looms large if we seek to produce more comprehensive histories and to generate additional inquiries. Moreover, recognition of salient continuities

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and discontinuities in the evolution and eventual desegregation of both public libraries and public schools in the South can only aid this effort, pushing both fields beyond the topical blinders that too often have characterized their separate historical investigations.

The Early Years

Public libraries for African Americans in the South were not introduced until the first decade of the twentieth century, and then only sporadically. The African American push for public library service was neither so pivotal nor so pronounced as had been the drive for schools in the aftermath of the Civil War, and, indeed, there was about a thirty- to fifty-year lag between the commencement of public schooling for African Americans in the South and the inception of public library service. The wait was only slightly less, though service was considerably more extensive, for urban whites and was often appreciably longer for rural residents of both races. Taking the state constitutional conventions of the late 1860s as a marker for when public schooling in the South was set in motion, with rare exceptions it was not until the 1890s that public libraries for whites in the South even modestly began to emerge.[3] Mary Edna Anders's investigation, for example, indicates that as late as 1895 there were still no public libraries in nine southeastern states.[4] As another study put it, by the turn of the century the public library situation in the South for both blacks and whites was "abysmal by any reckoning."[5] Numerous sources indicate a similar abject state of affairs for southern schools.[6]

Slowly, however, free public library facilities for whites in the South expanded. Although there was no heralded library movement to match the region's orchestrated "educational awakening" in the opening decades of the twentieth century, public libraries for whites were pushed by New South urban progressives. Public libraries emerged from an extant base of subscription libraries, reading rooms, and private collections for the well-to-do, stimulated by Carnegie philanthropy; by 1917 132 southern municipalities had received a total of 144 Carnegie grants for public library construction, the first going to the city of Atlanta, which opened its facility in 1902.[7] Especially influential were the widespread activities of women's groups, whose turn-of-the-century local organizing efforts and campaigns for traveling libraries stimulated library development generally and linked these drives with the school campaigns and other issues of social improvement.[8] Middle-class activism and Carnegie grants were also influential in the creation of public libraries for African Americans, but,

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Figure 1. Main desk, Western Colored Branch Library, Louisville, Kentucky, 1 February 1927. The silver-haired man standing to the left of the right-hand window is Thomas Blue. *Caufield & Shook Studio Collection, Special Collections: Photographic Archives, University of Louisville.*

at least as directed by titular civic leaders, progressive modernization was almost exclusively, as C. Vann Woodward has observed, "for whites only."[9]

Two of the first public libraries for African Americans followed formats of school-library combinations that predated the twentieth-century library drives and persisted throughout the de jure period.[10] In Memphis, Tennessee, in 1903 the city's Cossitt Library entered into an agreement with LeMoyne Institute, a black normal school run by the American Missionary Association, under which LeMoyne furnished available space and Cossitt provided a librarian and books. The new collection, expanding LeMoyne's preexisting facility, served as a school library and ostensibly was available to local black residents. In Galveston, Texas, in 1904 the Rosenberg Library built a branch for the city's African American population as a two-story addition to the local black high school.[11]

The four African American libraries that opened in 1905 exemplified, on the one hand, what became the common model, and on the other hand, administrative roads mostly not taken. The exemplary model was

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the Western Colored Branch in Louisville, Kentucky, first opened in September 1905 in three rented rooms in a private home. This in and of itself was not unusual or unprecedented; just as black schools from Reconstruction through the 1940s were often located in black churches and fraternal lodges, many black libraries prior to the 1960s were housed (at least initially and often for extended periods) in rented or converted private facilities.[12] The Western Colored Branch, however, became a milestone when in 1908 it became the first public library in the South for African Americans housed in a Carnegie-funded facility. (The several Carnegie libraries established at black colleges and universities, starting with one at Tuskegee Institute in 1901, were not considered "public" facilities, however much they may have shared their collections with local residents.)[13] The establishment of the Western Colored Branch also marked a new level of civic achievement by a relatively new group in American social history, the emerging, turn-of-the-century, southern black middle class.

One prominent characteristic of early-twentieth-century black middle-class and professional groups in the South as well as in the North was a determined effort to build positive community infrastructures for purposes of racial uplift.[14] In Louisville one of the leaders in these efforts was Albert Meyzeek, a black educator who over the years served as principal at several local schools. Not coincidentally, during his three-year tenure as principal at the segregated Central High School, Meyzeek led the campaign to establish a black library. Several years later Meyzeek also led the effort to establish a second African American facility, the Eastern Colored Branch, which opened in 1914 and, like its predecessor, was housed in a Carnegie-financed facility.

It was, however, primarily through the work of two other prominent members of Louisville's black middle class, Rev. Thomas Fountain Blue, the administrative head of the Western and Eastern Colored Branches, and Rachel Davis Harris, a children's library specialist and the chief assistant in charge of school and extension work, that Louisville's black libraries became regional models. From the start, replicating age-old patterns at black churches and black schools, Blue and Harris worked to establish the Western and Eastern Colored Branches as community social centers. In 1917, for example, 498 meetings were held at both branches, with close to 12,000 in attendance. By that same year more than forty classroom collections had been established in eleven African American city and county schools. At its peak, before Blue died in 1935, Louisville's Colored Department administered extension library services in or through two junior high schools, fifteen deposit stations, and eighty

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classroom collections. In addition, starting in 1912 and continuing through 1931, Blue organized an apprenticeship librarian class, the only opportunity for formal training for prospective black librarians in the South until the Hampton Library School opened in Virginia in 1925.[15]

Other black libraries initiated in 1905 included separate reading rooms for African Americans in Lexington, Kentucky, and in Jacksonville, Florida, and an independent facility, the Brevard Street Library in Charlotte, North Carolina.[16] In fact, the Brevard Street Library was one of at least three black public libraries in the South established before 1920 that were initially autonomous. (In the late 1940s there were fifteen to seventeen independent black libraries.)[17] The second opened in 1907 when the Colored Library Association in Savannah, Georgia, launched a small collection that remained independent even after it was transferred to a segregated Carnegie facility constructed in 1914. As was often the case with regard to educational and other "uplift" activities, the Savannah black community contributed substantially to the library effort, fully funding the initial facility and raising $3,000 through grassroots donations to buy the site where the Colored Carnegie Library was eventually located.[18]

The circumstances surrounding the opening of the third independent black library of the period, in Houston, Texas, paralleled in many ways the situation in Louisville, although in the Bayou City the outcome took a different twist. As in Louisville, African Americans in Houston were rebuffed in their attempts to use the city's only public facility at the time, the Houston Lyceum and Carnegie Library, which had opened in 1904. Subsequently, a group of prominent middle-class African American professionals began to solicit support for the establishment of a black branch facility, which opened in the local black high school in 1909. This arrangement, however, was not completely satisfactory for the black community, and four years later, in 1913, after extended and complex negotiations among a newly organized Colored Carnegie Library Association, local white civic leaders, Booker T. Washington, and representatives of the Carnegie Corporation, the black branch moved to a new Carnegie-funded facility, where it was "independent . . . in all respects." In 1921, confronted with ongoing hostility from the head librarian at the central white facility and with constant questions regarding funding, the city disbanded the black library's governing board, allowing the group to continue in an advisory capacity only, and demoted the facility back to branch status.[19]

Overall, this pattern of sporadic black library development continued throughout the period prior to the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education*

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Supreme Court decision. In what amounted to the first overview on the status of library service for African Americans in the South, former Louisville chief librarian William Yust listed fourteen service venues in his 1913 paper, "What of the Black and Yellow Races?"[20] By 1926 some forty-five libraries provided segregated services for African Americans, a threefold increase, but representing less than 10 percent of the library facilities in twelve states.[21]

Although histories of library development for African Americans are heavily concentrated on the early formative years, as these data indicate, this emphasis should not obscure the fact that through the mid-1920s growth was haphazard and mercurial. This same general tendency held for black schools, especially black high schools. In 1916, for example, there were only sixty-four public black high schools in the South.[22] Individual black secondary schools may have been educationally important and symbolically significant within their specific communities, but regionwide they were few in number. In this same sense, progressive southern modernizers may have institutionalized a few black libraries here and there, but erratic, strategic patronage should not be confused with sustained, equitable growth.

Over the next thirty years the total number of public libraries for African Americans in the South continued to increase, but comparatively the figures remained low, and accessibility was unevenly distributed. By 1935 Louis Round Wilson's authoritative *The Geography of Reading* listed seventy-five libraries in twelve southern states providing segregated service to African Americans. While the percentage of the African American population with accessible library service within these states increased from 10.5 percent in 1926 to 18.4 percent in 1935, these 75 African American libraries represented only about 15 percent of a total of 491 service units.[23] Eliza Atkin Gleason's work, in turn, listed ninety-nine units providing library service to African Americans in 1939, a gain of twenty-four service units since 1935 but a drop to 13 percent of the total number of libraries in these states. Overall, in the late 1930s about 21.4 percent of southern African Americans had public library service, about half the white level of 42.7 percent.[24] Seven years later, in the immediate postwar years of 1946–47, just under one third of the public library systems in the Southeast reported some form of service to African Americans (188 of 597), making library service available to about 34.2 percent of the black populations of these states.[25] This level of accessibility remained virtually unchanged through 1953.[26]

The limitations that constrained the development of library service for African Americans in the South as a result of de jure segregation, limited

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Figure 2. Dunbar High School Library branch, Lynchburg, Virginia, 1924. *Negative 2464 in the Papers and Photographs of Jackson Davis, MSS 3072, Special Collections, University of Virginia Library.*

funding, and dominant social attitudes meant that extension services were an ongoing necessity. A number of avenues were utilized to fill the breach.[27] Gleason's research, for example, revealed that, of seventy-six public and private black colleges and universities in the South in the late 1930s from which she could obtain relevant information, fifty-three offered local communities and/or county residents free access to their libraries, three offered access for a fee, while twenty offered no services. Similarly, of thirty-five private black secondary schools in the South, eighteen provided some form of free access, one provided paid services, and sixteen provided no services.[28] In fact, both Yust's 1913 report and a comprehensive 1917 survey of African American education in the South indicated that this type of resource sharing by black secondary and higher educational institutions was a long-standing practice.[29]

Another form of extension services was provided by black libraries themselves, with Blue's pioneering Colored Department in Louisville providing what seems to have been a common model. Although specific information is sketchy, black branch libraries often established "deposit stations" and classroom collections at various locations in the cities where they were located and/or in surrounding counties. A 1941 review of selected activities in Tennessee, for example, found that black branches in three of the state's four largest urban areas provided extensive outreach. The main black library in Memphis, the Vance Avenue Branch, opened

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in 1939. In addition to its permanent collection of approximately 4,500 books, some 2,800 books formed a separate pool for classroom use in local African American schools within the city; a small subbranch was established in Dixie Homes, a unit of the Memphis public housing authority; another subbranch of 2,200 books was placed in the city's black high school and had recently been taken over by the Memphis school board; three county high school libraries were supplied; and six deposit stations were maintained in county elementary schools. The black branch in Chattanooga maintained four branches within city primary schools, one within the high school, and four county branches in schools. The Knoxville black branch provided deposit stations for classroom use in ten county elementary schools. The black branch in Nashville offered no extension services, although black teachers in Davidson County were allowed to take home up to twenty books for one-month periods.[30]

These types of extension activities point to a particularly significant characteristic of the growth of public libraries in the United States and in the South in particular: service was unevenly distributed, and, as with public schools, rural areas were critically underserved. The disparities for African Americans were especially large. In the early 1940s, for example, the staff of the Atlanta University Library School reported that while 25.2 percent of the African American population in thirteen southern states had library services, only about 7.7 percent of rural blacks had access, compared with 58.8 percent of African Americans living in urban areas.[31]

Responding to these concerns, a third avenue of aid was organized philanthropy. Although library support was far less wide-ranging than other programmatic activities focused on black education, some aspects of philanthropic involvement in libraries were no less controversial.[32]

Linked to ongoing work in the schools, much of the philanthropic work on behalf of black libraries was straightforward and was developed in the aftermath of a March 1927 conference held at Hampton Institute in Virginia. Later that year the Julius Rosenwald Fund, which had initiated its highly regarded school-building program in the early 1910s, began a small pilot program for the distribution of sets of 120 books to black elementary schools in 14 southern states. In 1928 more primary schools were added, and in 1929 the aid was extended to county high schools. By the late 1930s several thousand of these "small libraries" had been distributed.[33] Also starting in the late 1920s and continuing through the late 1930s, the Rosenwald Fund and the General Education Board financed a number of small-scale institutes and summer programs at various black colleges, providing academic and professional training for black librarians and teacher-librarians.[34]

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In addition, the Rosenwald Fund initiated two somewhat more ambitious programs. The first and arguably the most successful of the philanthropic initiatives was intended to improve reading instruction in African American schools by stimulating the growth of libraries within black colleges and universities. Initially, five black teacher-training facilities were selected to receive grants of up to $2,500 per institution to hire a trained librarian, modernize their library facilities, and expand their collections. Books on children's literature were expected to make up at least one third of the new additions, thus enhancing the abilities of prospective teachers to correlate library use with classroom teaching while also strengthening the training schools often located on campus. By 1935 forty-three black colleges and universities had participated in this program.[35] The second initiative was a five-year county library demonstration program initiated in 1929 and eventually conducted in eleven counties in seven southern states. The central goal of the demonstration program was to provide locally determined extension services for previously underserved black and white rural communities. Controlled by the counties, however, library service for African Americans was minimal and was largely funneled through modest deposit stations set up within local schools.[36]

The most controversial aspect of philanthropic involvement involved the founding of the Hampton Library School in 1925, the first academic training facility for the professional education of African American librarians. As described by S. L. Smith, the longtime southern director of the Rosenwald Fund, the founding of the Hampton Library School was the outcome of well-meaning philanthropic largesse coordinated by the Rosenwald Fund, the General Education Board, officials of the American Library Association (ALA), and the Carnegie Corporation, which substantially underwrote the project.[37] Smith's account, however, failed to note a number of revealing aspects to the story. In fact, in preliminary discussions Tuskegee Institute, Howard University, and Fisk University all vied with Hampton as the favored site for the black library school. Louis Round Wilson, the South's leading white academic on library issues, then at the University of North Carolina, was called in to add his recommendations to the group's collective judgment. Howard, the premier black university, was fairly quickly eliminated as too far north and too expensive. Fisk, the premier black liberal arts institution, was in the midst of an unprecedented student strike, and Wilson worried that the school might "be apt to follow the lead of [W. E. B.] DuBois," the acerbic NAACP leader who had sharply criticized the General Education Board in the past for supporting industrial education more fully

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than black higher education.[38] Between Hampton and Tuskegee, Wilson favored Hampton for a variety of reasons, noting particularly that "as the principal and heads of the various schools are white, it has had at all times the advantage of white managerial intelligence." This paternalistic perspective ruled the day. Ultimately, the Hampton Library School remained the only ALA-accredited institution for African Americans in the South until it closed in 1939 due to financial considerations, having graduated 183 librarians. In 1941 another ALA-accredited library school for African Americans was opened at Atlanta University.[39]

Desegregation

For educational historians accustomed to depicting and analyzing the seemingly "immutable" forms of de jure school segregation that characterized the pre-*Brown* period, the desegregation of library services presents a variety of intriguing complexities. On the one hand, the integration of southern libraries clearly involved many of the same characteristics of the broader civil rights movement: sit-ins, beatings, overcoming southern white resistance expressed in ways both hegemonic and petty. The brutal beating of two black ministers in Anniston, Alabama, in 1963 for attempting to desegregate the city's library represented one point along the continuum; "vertical integration," whereby libraries were desegregated but all chairs and tables were removed from the facilities, represented another.[40] As with battles over school integration, initial, forthright support within the professional librarian community was distinctly lacking as well.[41] On the other hand, the integration of libraries generally proceeded more quickly than did the movement to desegregate other southern public institutions, especially schools and their teachers, indicating a unique place for libraries within the southern social imagination.

Even before the *Brown* decision there were indications that the desegregation of southern libraries would be somewhat unusual. Gleason's data, for example, revealed that in the late 1930s African Americans received some form of services at the main library in sixteen southern cities, including "full privileges" in four or five localities. As she commented in a pointed understatement, "That full privileges are extended to Negroes anywhere in the southern region is a most interesting development."[42]

Equally "interesting," perhaps more so, were the results of a 1953 Southern Regional Council survey of chief librarians in 172 cities and towns in 13 southern states: eighteen months *before* the *Brown* decision, African Americans in 59 localities had "free use/full service" of the

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main public library; 24 more communities provided African Americans with some degree of "limited service" at the central library; and 11 had one or more branches that served patrons regardless of race. Integrated service was by no means evenly distributed across or within states: thirty-nine of the fifty-nine cities and towns offering "free use" were in Kentucky or Texas; in more than forty of the fifty-nine the black population made up less than 20 percent of the total population. On the other hand, eleven of these communities with integrated main libraries had black populations between 21 and 44 percent, including cities such as Miami, Florida; Little Rock, Arkansas; Lexington and Louisville, Kentucky; Chattanooga and Nashville, Tennessee; Houston, Texas; and Richmond, Norfolk, and Roanoke, Virginia.[43]

The ALA's 1963 *Access to Libraries* research report documented ongoing progress in desegregating southern library service post-*Brown*. Data indicated at least 271 instances of integrated service, representing approximately 24–26 percent of the main city and town libraries in the 11 states of the Civil War Confederacy. Even Mississippi, South Carolina, and Alabama had a few integrated facilities. By way of contrast, during the 1963–64 school year these same eleven states averaged a mere 1.12 percent of their African American student populations attending schools with whites; there was no student integration at all in Mississippi; and seven states (including the three mentioned above) still had completely segregated teaching staffs.[44]

Two points should be noted. First, the terms "integration," "free use," and "full service" should not be equated with a lack of bias. Certain "secondary forms of discrimination," as the ALA report characterized it, marred service at some of these facilities; the line between "full" and "limited" was not distinctly drawn. In some cases limitations were placed on borrowing books and reference materials, on the use of periodical collections, and on where African Americans might sit; some libraries maintained separate restrooms, separate checkout desks, and/or separate entrances; age restrictions were sometimes differentially imposed upon black youth. Segregation in branch libraries and in bookmobile service remained high.[45] Thus, problems did not end overnight. Nevertheless, continuing obstacles should not blind us to the real advances that had been made by the early 1960s.

Second, by no means should the implication be drawn that progress in the desegregation of southern libraries was achieved without struggle. As with the civil rights movement generally, both lawsuits and direct action protests, largely in the form of sit-ins ("read-ins," as they were sometimes called), had direct and indirect effects. Pre-*Brown*, a 1939

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sit-in at the whites-only Queen Street Library in Alexandria, Virginia, can lay claim to being one of the first black-led demonstrations targeting library services, although its only tangible result was the construction of a new segregated facility. Over the next decade and a half more subtle but persistent pressures from black communities were factors in desegregating libraries in several southern cities, including Richmond, Virginia, in 1947, Louisville, Kentucky, in 1948, Chattanooga, Tennessee, in 1949, and Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1951.[46]

Post-*Brown*, and especially after the famous February 1960 sit-in at the Woolworth counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, read-ins and lawsuits moved to center stage. Desegregation of public libraries may not have been a major priority within the civil rights movement, but given their location in the central downtown areas of southern cities, libraries were prime symbolic targets. Indeed, within a few months after Greensboro, in the summer of 1960, libraries in Memphis, Tennessee, in Petersburg and Danville, Virginia, and in Lenoir, North Carolina, were the scenes of sit-in actions.[47] Not coincidentally, the first sit-in in the state of Mississippi was a protest at the Jackson Public Library in 1961.[48]

Strategically, civil rights activists seem to have calculated that white attitudes about library integration were somewhat less strident than those concerning the integration of other public institutions and that breakthroughs cracking the walls of segregation were more likely to be achieved. The 1963 *Access* report documented that by the early 1960s the integration of libraries had made substantial inroads in the central cities and metropolitan areas of the South, even the cities of the Deep South, and that, when compared with schools, swimming pools, and public buses, libraries were far more likely to be integrated than other public facilities. Of seventy-six southern cities with a population of fifty thousand or more in 1963, seventy-one had integrated main library facilities; sixteen of the twenty-one largest Deep South cities had integrated main libraries, although only two had integrated schools.[49]

From the perspective of urban white southerners, several considerations seem to have contributed to the unique progress of library integration. On the one hand, the impersonality of larger cities was a mitigating factor; a civic detachment existed in cities distinct from more strictly race-based social deference demanded in small towns. Although certainly not universal, a general "etiquette" among some white southerners during this period held that racial interactions encountered in libraries were less threatening than the possibilities of social contact among children in schools or even, seemingly, among strangers on buses. As one librarian noted, "Libraries can be desegregated more easily than

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the schools for a lot of obvious reasons. People get all up in arms when their children have personal contact with children of another race. . . . We have shopped all our lives with Negroes—in the library you shop for a book; in the schools you have social contact."[50]

These issues of social mingling had class and cultural elements as well. Some had roots in changing midcentury attitudes revealed, for example, in this response to a 1948 survey conducted by the director of the Birmingham Public Library:

> I have come to the conclusion that it would be much better for all concerned if we removed segregation laws in libraries, universities, and other cultural institutions. Only the more educated Negroes would be involved, and their numbers would be too small to endanger the status quo. I am a Southerner, but I am also Scot, so it hurts me to see vast amounts of money spent in the South, where funds for education are already so low, to duplicate services just to satisfy the law.[51]

Several themes can be discerned from this letter that offer tentative explanations for the pre-*Brown* progress in integrating library service and that also provide conceptual links for understanding the trends in the early 1960s. One point, certainly, focused on the "type of person" who typically used libraries. As one respondent to the 1963 *Access* survey explained, "The class of Negroes who want to use the library is pretty high class. Just like the whites. . . . The rough class of either race doesn't go to the library."[52]

Another central theme in the 1948 response was the provisional acceptance of the notion that eliminating segregation laws in certain "cultural institutions" would not overly threaten the racial status quo and that there would be financial advantages in doing so. As John Egerton has noted in *Speak Now Against the Day*, this perspective was not uncommon among an eclectic, generally well educated assortment of "liberal" southern whites slowly growing during the interwar years and through the early 1950s. These individuals combined pragmatic views on the prospects of segregation's continuing role in southern society (including cognizance of the many and various lawsuits the NAACP was winning with regard to higher education, teacher salaries, white primaries, and interstate travel) along with an awareness of the inescapable hardships it imposed on both African Americans and the southern region in general. Either as a concession to the legal trends, or as a way to ward off even worse eventualities, or as a provisional step

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in what was considered the right thing to do, accommodations on both the "separate" and "equal" parts of the puzzle were sometimes possible before the deafening bombast of "massive resistance" in the mid-1950s.[53] By the early to mid-1960s a less philosophic, more calculated strategy of moderation began to grow, particularly with regard to school integration, and it appears that library integration was one of the first arenas where such experiments took place.[54]

Conclusion

It should not be surprising that the history of public libraries for African Americans in the South parallels, in broad strokes, the history of segregated schooling. Both, after all, were public services provided begrudgingly within a social context marked by hostility, disdain, and not-so-benign neglect. Public services of all types—health, sanitation, transportation, police protection, education—were only minimally provided to black communities in the opening decades of the twentieth century, and if these services improved over the next generation or so, racial discrepancies still loomed large.[55]

For library and educational historians a particularly interesting line of future inquiry surrounds the role of black high schools generally and black high school principals particularly in black library development. From Galveston, Texas, in 1904 to Greenwood and Corinth, Mississippi, in the early 1950s, it was not uncommon to find small black branch libraries—or even smaller library deposit stations—housed in black high schools.[56] Moreover, in a number of localities from Louisville, Kentucky, to Birmingham, Alabama, to Wichita Falls, Texas, and likely in countless other instances, black high school principals were often leading members of the African American community organizations involved in the often delicate negotiations attempting to push for the provision of library services.[57]

In part, William Yust offered one explanation in 1913 regarding the use of high schools as branch libraries by noting that one of the innumerable difficulties in establishing facilities for African Americans was the need "to find a central location for a colored library where white people do not object." He added that one city with which he was familiar considered placement of the library in the black high school "an easy way out of a difficult situation."[58]

It is not hard to believe that these considerations persisted over the course of the pre-*Brown* period, but more study is in order. Progressive modernizers (and their civic descendants) in select southern cities may

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have, on occasion, accommodated African American overtures for library services, but, as Patterson Toby Graham has noted, white support for black libraries in Alabama was "conditional" at best, provided if at all through inexpensive, small, segregated collections. What better way to keep expenses down than to house the African American branch in a preexisting black facility already receiving some city funding? Moreover, these placements allowed black demands to be minimally accommodated in additional ways. First, black high schools often needed libraries. Second, the high schools were typically centrally located in the "better" black sections of town, out of sight from scornful whites but perceived as civic and educational improvements by temporarily placated African American communities. Third, the resentments and stigma of adults utilizing schools as public libraries—not unknown among whites but more common among blacks—may have been a bit less intense if high schools rather than elementary schools were used.[59]

Further, as noted earlier, in 1916 there were only approximately sixty-four public black high schools in the entire South, and only fourteen or fifteen black public libraries. Black high schools, however, expanded far more rapidly than did black libraries, with more than thirteen hundred public black high schools by the early 1930s but fewer than seventy-five black public libraries. How are these disparate growth patterns to be reconciled? Both black high schools and black libraries were concentrated in urban areas, but over the course of a mere fifteen years or so the ratio of the two went from around 1:4 to 1:17. What does this tell us about the changing politics and priorities of southern municipal development—and the competing demands for various forms of social services, including libraries—at various points in time?[60]

The extent to which black high school principals seem to have been vitally active in drives for library services also highlights the need for more in-depth narratives on southern municipal development, especially post-1930, and of black community uplift initiatives in both rural and urban areas. Black clergymen are somewhat conspicuous in their absence in the limited chronicles of black library development. So too are black women, a distinction as compared with white women's groups that library historian Cheryl Knott Malone has noted.[61] Did black high school principals remain in the forefront of these and other initiatives, or was their influence particularly concentrated in the period prior to the 1920s, before the number of individuals in these positions expanded? Was their influence as significant in rural areas as in more urban locales? There are other questions to be explored: Why does it seem as if the black women's club movement, which maintained a

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broad and comprehensive social agenda, was not as actively involved in spurring library development as were southern white women's clubs? This distinction differs from trends in the promotion of kindergartens and around health care issues, where black and white women generally demonstrated broadly similar initiatives.[62]

The "interesting" story of the integration of library service both pre- and post-*Brown*, as has been noted, forces civil rights and educational historians to reconsider and reconceptualize monolithic conceptualizations of segregation. The general rule of complete and rigid segregation—in an extreme example, in Birmingham, Alabama, policy mandated that if in an unforeseen emergency a book was interchanged between the Central Library and the black branch it would have to be replaced, not returned—should not obscure scattered vagaries in the color line. Indeed, as the data indicate, pre-*Brown* exceptions to the rule grew dramatically over the 1940s and early 1950s. (As Gleason remarked, the pre-1940s exceptions demonstrated that "the pattern of complete segregation of the races is not an inexorable formula forever closing the case," undoubtedly an uplifting perspective for then contemporary advocates of social justice.)[63] Rather than generalize from school segregation and from the intense resistance to school desegregation, historians might investigate the significance of more variegated patterns of integration that parallel those found in some southern libraries. Michael Klarman's "backlash thesis" may be a bit overstated insofar as it diminishes the fundamental importance of the *Brown* decision, but library history demonstrates both institutional and organizational trends for interracial change that outraged reaction to *Brown* summarily squashed.[64]

Ultimately, the narrow frameworks that have characterized the many fine investigations that form the basis of our extant histories need to be broadened to include a wider array of service and institutional considerations, placing libraries and schools within an expanded "educational" context and within an expanded municipal context as well.

Notes

1. Virginia Lacy Jones, "Problems of Negro Public High School Libraries in Selected Southern Cities," Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1945, 187.

2. Eliza Atkins Gleason, *The Southern Negro and the Public Library: A Study of the Government and Administration of Public Library Service to Negroes in the South* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941).

3. David Tyack and Robert Lowe, "The Constitutional Moment: Reconstruction and Black Education in the South, 1867–1954," in *Law and the Shaping of*

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Public Education, 1785–1954, ed. David Tyack, Thomas James, and Aaron Benavot (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1987), 133–53.

4. Mary Edna Anders, "The Development of Public Library Service in the Southeastern States, 1895–1950," Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1958, 44–51. In her study the southeastern states included Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

5. Donald G. Davis and Ronald C. Stone, "Poverty of Mind and Lack of Municipal Spirit: Rejection of Carnegie Public Library Buildings by Seven Southern Communities," in *Carnegie Denied: Communities Rejecting Carnegie Library Construction Grants, 1898–1925*, ed. Robert Sidney Martin (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1999), 139.

6. James D. Anderson, *The Education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1988); Lewis Harlan, *Separate and Unequal* (New York: Athenaeum, 1969); William A. Link, *A Hard Country and a Lonely Place* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1986).

7. Patterson Toby Graham, *A Right to Read: Segregation and Civil Rights in Alabama's Public Libraries, 1900–1965* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002), 6–8; William Link, *The Paradox of Southern Progressivism, 1880–1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); Dewey Grantham, *Southern Progressivism: The Reconciliation of Progress and Tradition* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983); Don Doyle, *New Men, New Cities, New South: Atlanta, Nashville, Charleston, Mobile, 1860–1910* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990); Anders, "The Development of Public Library Service," 32–34, 49–50, 66; George S. Bobinski, *Carnegie Libraries: The History and Impact on American Public Library Development* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1969), 80–81; Davis and Stone, "Poverty of Mind," 139.

8. Paula D. Watson, "Founding Mothers: The Contribution of Women's Organizations to Public Library Development in the United States," *Library Quarterly* 64, no. 3 (July 1994): 233–69; Anders, "The Development of Public Library Service," 50–61, 66–68; Cheryl Knott Malone, "Accommodating Access: 'Colored' Carnegie Libraries, 1905–1925," Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1996, 29–34.

9. See C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877–1913* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), esp. chap. 14, "Progressivism—For Whites Only." See also J. Morgan Kousser, "Progressivism—For Middle-Class Whites Only: North Carolina Education, 1880–1910," *Journal of Southern History* 46, no. 2 (May 1980): 169–94.

10. For example, a quasi-public library was opened in the Slater School, a four-grade primary school in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1898. Teachers at the school had free use of the library, which was only open for six hours a week, but the general public was charged a two-dollar fee. See Lynne Feldman, *A Sense of Place: Birmingham's Black Middle-Class Community, 1890–1930* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2000), 116, 247; Graham, *A Right to Read*, 11.

11. See William Yust, "What of the Black and Yellow Races?" *Papers and Proceedings of the Thirty-Fifth Annual Meeting of the American Library Association* (June 1913): 162; Gleason, *The Southern Negro*, 19–20, 28; A. J. Steele, "LeMoyne Normal Institute," *American Missionary* 54, no. 4 (October 1900): 149–55. Neither the Cossitt nor the Rosenberg main facilities, both now converted from private to public collections, were open to their respective city's black populations.

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12. According to a 1919 U.S. Bureau of Education report, 65.1 percent of the black schools in Alabama and 22.2 percent of the white schools were housed in privately owned facilities. See U.S. Bureau of Education, *An Educational Study of Alabama,* Bulletin 41 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1919), 181.

13. Malone, "Accommodating Access," 5; American Libraries Online, "Timeline in Library Development for African Americans," http://www.ala.org/ala/alonline/selectedarticles/aframtimeline.htm, accessed 3 November 2005.

14. See, for example, August Meier, "Negro Class Structure and Ideology in the Age of Booker T. Washington," *Phylon 23,* no. 3 (Fall 1962): 258–66.

15. Malone, "Accommodating Access," 75–102; Cheryl Knott Malone, "Books for Black Children: Public Library Collections in Louisville and Nashville, 1915–1925," *Library Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (April 2000): 179–200; Reinette F. Jones, *Library Service to African Americans in Kentucky* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, 2002), 50–57; Lillian Wright, "Thomas Fountain Blue, Pioneer Librarian, 1866–1935," master's thesis, Atlanta University, 1955; John Wilkins, "Blue's 'Colored' Branch," *American Libraries* 7, no. 5 (May 1976): 256–57; Rachel D. Harris, "The Advantages of Colored Branch Libraries," *Southern Workman* 44, no. 7 (July 1915): 385–91; George C. Wright, *Life Behind a Veil: Blacks in Louisville, Kentucky, 1865–1930* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1985).

16. Jones, *Library Service,* 50; Gleason, *The Southern Negro,* 57–58, 122–26; e-mail communication with librarian, Jacksonville Public Library, Florida Collection, 13 May 2004. In Lexington no black branch was opened until 1949, and the segregated room continued to function through 1951. It is not clear how long this arrangement continued in Jacksonville, but it had been discontinued by the late 1930s. See Gleason, *The Southern Negro,* 20–22; Yust, "What of the Black and Yellow Races?" 162; "Work with Negroes Round Table," *Papers and Proceedings of the Forty-Fourth Annual Meeting of the American Library Association* (June–July 1922): 363; "The Charlotte-Mecklenburg Story," http://www.cmstory.org/exhibit/plcmc/3.htm, accessed 2 November 2005. The Brevard Street facility remained independent until 1929, when its autonomy was abrogated and it was redesignated as a branch facility.

17. Louis R. Wilson and Marion A. Milczewski, eds., *Libraries of the Southeast: A Report of the Southeastern States Cooperative Library Survey, 1946–1947* (Chapel Hill, published for the Southeastern Library Association by the University of North Carolina Press, 1949), 256–58; Florence Murray, ed., *The Negro Handbook, 1946–1947* (New York: Current Books, 1947), 149–51.

18. "History of the Savannah Public Chatham-Effingham-Liberty Regional and Carnegie Libraries, 1903–1963," http://www.liveoakpl.org/PDF/History.pdf, accessed 23 January 2005; W. Todd Groce, "A Bulwark Against Tyranny: The Founding of the Savannah Public Library," www.liveoakpl.org/PDF/Library100thanniversaryspeech.pdf, accessed 23 January 2005.

19. Cheryl Knott Malone, "Autonomy and Accommodation: Houston's Colored Carnegie Library, 1907–1922," *Libraries & Culture* 34, no. 2 (Spring 1999): 95–112, quote on 105; Malone, "Accommodating Access," 107–58. The attitude of the head librarian in Houston was not unusual. Neither Yust nor the white librarian in Savannah looked favorably on independent black libraries. See Yust, "What of the Black and Yellow Races?" 162; "Work with Negroes Round Table," 363. It was not coincidental that Booker T. Washington was involved in the Houston negotiations or that the facility at Tuskegee was actually the first

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Carnegie Library opened in the South. Although Washington's relationship with Andrew Carnegie is well documented, the Tuskegeean's full role and rationale in promoting black library development in the South remains shrouded. Evidence within his correspondence indicates Washington's ongoing interest in this area and the variety of public and private strategies he employed. See Louis Harlan, *Booker T. Washington: The Wizard of Tuskegee, 1901–1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 137–39. See also, for example, the 9 April 1906 letter from Booker T. Washington to Andrew Carnegie in Booker T. Washington Papers Online, referencing vol. 8, 1904–6, 572, http://www.historycooperative.org/btw/vol.8/html/572.html, accessed 3 November 2005.

20. Yust, "What of the Black and Yellow Races?" 161–64.

21. Louis R. Wilson, *The Geography of Reading: A Study of the Distribution and Status of Libraries in the United States* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), 33, provides a figure of forty-five public libraries "serving Negroes" in twelve states. This latter figure is repeated in Wilson and Milczewski, *Libraries of the Southeast*, 255–56. On the other hand, *A Study of the Library School Situation in Southern States* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1931) estimated that African Americans received service at 53 of the 611 public libraries in 13 southern states. Included among the black libraries initiated between 1913 and 1926 were facilities in Nashville, Little Rock, and Durham, opened in 1916; Birmingham in 1918; and Atlanta in 1921. See Malone, "Accommodating Access," 86, 160–78; Virginia Lacy Jones, "How Long? Oh, How Long?" *Library Journal* 87, no. 22 (15 December 1962): 4505; Jessica Harland-Jacobs, "The History of Public Library Service in Durham, 1897–1997," http://www.durhamcountylibrary.org/ncc/dclhist/00main.htm, accessed 3 November 2005; Graham, *A Right to Read*, 9–17; Annie L. McPheeters, ed., *Library Service in Black and White: Some Personal Recollections, 1921–1980* (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1988), 19–22.

22. Thomas J. Jones, in U.S. Bureau of Education, *Negro Education: Private and Higher Schools for Colored People in the U.S.*, Bulletin 38 (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1917), 1:41–42; Robert Margo, *Race and Schooling in the South, 1880–1950: An Economic History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990).

23. Wilson, *The Geography of Reading*, 14–15, 18, 33. Wilson's data also noted that the percentages of African Americans "with service" ranged from highs of 47.2 and 40.1 percent in Tennessee and Kentucky to lows of 4.1 and 4.7 percent in Arkansas and Mississippi.

24. Gleason, *The Southern Negro*, 90, table 7.

25. Wilson and Milczewski, *Libraries of the Southeast*, 256–58. See also *Libraries, Librarians, and the Negro: A Report by the Staff of the Atlanta University's School of Library Service* (Atlanta: Atlanta University, 1944), 17, which states that 121 public libraries in 13 southern states were providing service to their African American populations in the early 1940s and estimates that about 25.2 percent of the total black population in these states were provided library services. Together, these two studies indicate that service for African Americans generally improved during the World War II years.

26. *1961 Commission on Civil Rights Report*, vol. 2, *Education* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights), 139.

27. In 1913 only Delaware and Kentucky were reported as having traveling libraries that served African Americans; in Delaware the service was coordinated by the state's black land-grant college, and in Kentucky the state library commission

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sponsored two fifty-volume traveling collections. By 1926 an American Library Association survey indicated that the states of Kentucky, North Carolina, and Texas had small traveling libraries for African Americans. Earlier, around 1910, a privately sponsored extension service was coordinated by Atlanta University. See Yust, "What of the Black and Yellow Races?" 165; Gleason, *The Southern Negro*, 26; Jones, *Library Service*, 71; and G. S. Dickerman, "The Marblehead Libraries," *Southern Workman* 39 (September 1910): 490–500.

28. Gleason, *The Southern Negro*, 168–82.

29. Yust, "What of the Black and Yellow Races?" 159–60; Jones, *Negro Education*, 173.

30. Ernest Miller, "Library Service for Negroes in Tennessee," *Journal of Negro Education* 10, no. 4 (October 1941): 636–47; "History of the Cornelia Crenshaw Branch Library," http://www.memphislibrary.org/about/libraries/crenhistory.htm, accessed 3 November 2005.

31. *Libraries, Librarians, and the Negro*, 17. Similarly, Gleason reported that in 1939, of the 21.4 percent of African Americans in thirteen southern states having accessible library service, about 56.2 percent were in urban areas, while only 5.4 percent were rural (*The Southern Negro*, 94–97).

32. For example, between 1917, when it was incorporated, and 1936 the Julius Rosenwald Fund listed expenditures of $8.81 million for African American school-related activities and $663,118 in the area of library service. See Edwin Embree, *Julius Rosenwald Fund: Review of Two Decades, 1917–1936* (Chicago: Rosenwald Fund, 1936).

33. S. L. Smith, "The Passing of the Hampton Library School," *Journal of Negro Education* 9, no. 1 (January 1940): 56–58; Louis Shores, "Library Service and the Negro," *Journal of Negro Education* 1, nos. 3–4 (October 1932): 380; Jones, "Problems of Negro Public High School Libraries," 9–10; Miller, "Library Service for Negroes," 639; S. L. Smith, "Library Facilities in Negro Secondary Schools," *Journal of Negro Education* 9, no. 3 (July 1940): 506. Initially, the schools that received the small libraries had to be under the auspices of supervisors, experienced black teachers hired by southern counties through matching monies from the Anna T. Jeanes Fund. "Small libraries" were also distributed to rural black communities through the Faith Cabin library movement, an independent grassroots campaign organized in the early 1930s through the efforts of a white South Carolina textile worker. See Dan L. Lee, "Faith Cabin Libraries: A Study of an Alternative Library Service in the Segregated South, 1932–1960," *Libraries & Culture* 26, no. 1 (Winter 1991): 169–82.

34. Smith, "The Passing of the Hampton Library School," 53; Miller, "Library Service for Negroes," 638; Anders, "The Development of Public Library Service," 110–12.

35. Smith, "The Passing of the Hampton Library School," 56–57; Smith, "Library Facilities," 507; Jones, "Problems of Negro Public High School Libraries," 11.

36. Louis R. Wilson and Edward A. Wight, *County Library Service in the South: A Study of the Rosenwald County Library Demonstration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935). Their evaluation of the program concluded that, at best, "the provision of books for Negroes in the demonstration counties, while far from satisfactory, represents a distinct improvement over conditions prior to the period of co-operation with the Fund" (87); Dan R. Lee, "From Segregation to

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Integration: Library Services for Blacks in South Carolina, 1923–1962," in *Untold Stories: Civil Rights, Libraries, and Black Librarianship*, ed. John Mark Tucker (Champaign, Ill.: Publications Office, Graduate School of Library and Information Science, 1998), 93–109; Graham, *A Right to Read*, 27–32.

37. Smith, "The Passing of the Hampton Library School," 51–53. See also Florence Rising Curtis, "Librarianship as a Field for Negroes," *Journal of Negro Education* 4, no. 1 (January 1935): 94–98. Curtis was the director of the Hampton Library School.

38. See, for example, W. E. B. Du Bois, "Negro Education," *Crisis* 15, no. 4 (February 1918): 173–78; Anderson, *The Education of Blacks*.

39. Robert Sidney Martin and Orvin Lee Shiflett, "Hampton, Fisk, and Atlanta: The Foundations, the American Library Association, and Library Education for Blacks, 1925–1941," *Libraries & Culture* 31, no. 2 (Spring 1996): 304; Smith, "The Passing of the Hampton Library School," 51–58. In his review of Arthur Gunn's dissertation on this topic James Carmichael provides an excellent overview of relevant research questions that still need to be addressed when investigating the closing of Hampton's Library School and the opening of the Atlanta University School. As Carmichael notes, "The history of education for Black librarians in the United States warrants major reevaluation." See *Library and Information Science Research* 10 (1988): 109–14.

40. "Vertical integration" seems to have been initiated in Danville, Virginia, in response to a 1960 sit-in at the city's segregated library and subsequent federal court decisions. Similar practices also took place in Montgomery and Selma, Alabama. See Stephen Cresswell, "The Last Days of Jim Crow in Southern Libraries," *Libraries & Culture* 31, nos. 3–4 (Summer–Fall 1996): 557–73; 1961 *Commission on Civil Rights Report*, vol. 2, *Education* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Commission on Civil Rights), 140–42; Graham, *A Right to Read*, 78, 117.

41. As black library activist E. J. Josey has remarked, aside from a 1936 resolution pledging not to hold meetings in cities that practiced racial segregation, "the national association [ALA] did everything possible to avoid dealing with the issue of discrimination until the 1960s." See Josey, "The Civil Rights Movement and American Librarianship: The Opening Round," in *Activism in American Librarianship, 1962–1973*, ed. Mary Lee Bundy and Frederick J. Stielow (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987), 15; "Segregation in Libraries: Negro Librarians Give Their Views," *Wilson Library Bulletin* 35, no. 6 (May 1961): 707–8; Steven Harris, "Civil Rights and the Louisiana Library Association: Stumbling toward Integration," *Libraries & Culture* 38, no. 3 (Fall 2003): 322–41; Graham, *A Right to Read*, 120–26. Similarly, prior to the mid-1960s the National Education Association was criticized for its "serious abdication of professional responsibility" in its lack of public support for the *Brown* decision and school integration, and its failure to take a stand on southern displacement of black educators despite calls to do so made as early as its 1955 and 1956 annual conventions. See Michael John Schultz, *The National Education Association and the Black Teacher: The Integration of a Professional Organization* (Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press, 1970), 73; Myron Lieberman, "Segregation's Challenge to the NEA," *School and Society* 81 (28 May 1955): 167–68; Myron Lieberman, "Civil Rights for the NEA," *School and Society* 85 (11 May 1957): 166–69; Lloyd P. Jorgenson, "The Social and Economic Orientation of the NEA," *Progressive Education* 34 (July 1959): 98–101.

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42. Gleason, *The Southern Negro*, 83–85, quote on 83. Petersburg, Virginia, should probably be eliminated from the list of sixteen, since "service" to African Americans consisted of a segregated branch/reading room housed in the basement of the main library. Books were not allowed to circulate between the white and black collections.

43. Anne Holden, "The Color Line in Southern Libraries," *New South* 9, no. 1 (January 1954): 1–4, 11.

44. *Access to Public Libraries* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1963), 26–27, 34–35, 126–32; Southern Education Reporting Service, *Statistical Summary of School Segregation-Desegregation in the Southern and Border Area from 1954 to the Present*, 13th ed. (Nashville: Published by the author, 1963–64), cover figure; "Ten Years in Review," *Southern School News* 10, no. 11 (May 1964): 2-b. A 1963 Atlanta University master's thesis, Bernice Lloyd Bell, "Integration in Public Library Service in Thirteen Southern States, 1954–1962," estimated that 290 cities offered integrated service at their main libraries, although specific distributions differ from those presented in the *Access* report.

45. "Segregation in Libraries: Negro Librarians Give Their Views," 707; *Access to Public Libraries*, 36–37, 42–45; Bell, "Integration in Public Library Service," 117. The libraries with age restrictions included, at least, the cities of Little Rock, Nashville, Richmond, and Knoxville. In Little Rock, for example, the main library was opened in 1951 to African Americans over age sixteen or students who had reached the seventh grade (20 May 2004 e-mail communication with Butler Center for Arkansas Studies, Central Arkansas Library System); Holden, "The Color Line," 2; *Richmond News Leader*, 28 May 1947; *Richmond Afro-American*, 7 June 1947.

46. L. D. Reddick, "Where Can a Southern Negro Read a Book?" *New South* 9, no. 1 (January 1954): 5–11.

47. *1961 Commission on Civil Rights Report*, 140–43.

48. Cresswell, "The Last Days of Jim Crow," 560.

49. *Access to Public Libraries*, 28, 34–35, 126–30.

50. Ibid., 28–39, quote on 30.

51. Emily Miller Danton, "South Does Less Restricting," *Library Journal* 73, no. 13 (July 1948): 990.

52. *Access to Public Libraries*, 29.

53. John Egerton, *Speak Now Against the Day: The Generation Before the Civil Rights Movement in the South* (New York: Knopf, 1994); Numan Bartley, *The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South During the 1950's* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969, 1997).

54. Davison Douglas, "The Rhetoric of Moderation: Desegregating the South During the Decade After *Brown*," *Northwestern Law Review* 89, no. 92 (1994): 92–139.

55. The literature on the provision of municipal services to African Americans in southern cities is meager. One of the better, more comprehensive texts is Ronald Bayor, *Race and the Shaping of 20th Century Atlanta* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

56. See Yust, "What of the Black and Yellow Races?" 162; Gleason, *The Southern Negro*, 28; Malone, "Autonomy and Accommodation," 105; "Work with Negroes Round Table," 362; Wilson and Wight, *County Library Service*, 30, 33; Miller, "Library Service for Negroes," 636–37; Dorothy McAllister, "Library Service

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in Mississippi," *Library Journal* 86, no. 5 (1 March 1955): 536; Jones, *Library Service*, 73. Gleason found that 23 of the 75 black libraries operating in 1936 (31 percent) were located in schools, though she did not make a distinction between elementary and high schools (135). It was not uncommon for a black high school to combine primary grade students in the same building.

57. Malone, "Accommodating Access," 75–102, 107–58; Malone, "Autonomy and Accommodation," 95–112; Andrea Holland, "A History of the Holland Public Library, Wichita Falls, Texas, 1934–1968," in *Untold Stories: Civil Rights, Libraries, and Black Librarianship*, 62–77; Graham, *A Right to Read*, 12.

58. Yust, "What of the Black and Yellow Races?" 160.

59. Gleason, *The Southern Negro*, 135; Lee, "From Segregation to Integration," 98. Restrictions placed on after-school use of facilities would also deter library use by adults.

60. Jones, *Negro Education*, 41–42.

61. Malone's argument is not simply a comparison but suggests that white women's promotion of library service displayed a complex mix of race and gender calculations in the context of early-twentieth-century southern society ("Accommodating Access," 29–34). Gleason does not contradict this assessment but suggests that the "efforts of crusading Negro women" might account for the few library services found in rural areas (*The Southern Negro*, 107). No specific documentation, however, is provided.

62. On the broad agenda of the African American women's club movement see Dorothy Salem, *To Better Our World: Black Women in Organized Reform, 1980–1920* (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Carlson Publishing, 1990); see also Jacqueline Anne Rouse, *Eugenia Burns Hope, Black Southern Reformer* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1989).

63. Gleason, *The Southern Negro*, 188.

64. Michael Klarman, "How *Brown* Changed Race Relations: The Backlash Thesis," *Journal of American History* 81, no. 1 (June 1994): 81–118. On movements to integrate professional library organizations pre-*Brown see* Harris, "Civil Rights," 322–41; Kayla Barrett and Barbara Bishop, "Integration and the Alabama Library Association: Not So Black and White," *Libraries & Culture* 33, no. 2 (Spring 1998): 141–61; "Professional Groups Drop Race," *New South* 9, no. 12 (December 1954): 49–51.

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