

# BOOKWOMEN

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*Creating an Empire in Children's  
Book Publishing, 1919–1939*

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NOTES  
BIBLIOGRAPHY  
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# NOTES

## Abbreviations

ACMP	Anne Carroll Moore Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library
AMJC	Alice M. Jordan Collection (one box), Special Collections, Boston Public Library
HBR	Horn Book Records, MS 78, College Archives, Simmons College, Boston
LBP	Louise Seaman Bechtel Papers, Archives and Special Collections, Vassar College Libraries
LBUA	Louise Seaman Bechtel, unpublished autobiography, box 3, Manuscript Collections, Baldwin Library of Historical Children's Literature, Department of Special Collections, University of Florida George A. Smathers Libraries
NERTCL	New England Round Table of Children's Librarians (one box), Special Collections, Boston Public Library

## Introduction

1. Periodicals ran articles with such urgent titles as "Equality of Woman with Man: A Myth"; "Career or Maternity: The Dilemma of a College Girl"; "Spinster Factories: Why I Would Not Send a Daughter to College." But personal testimonies of women who had made the "proper" choice also ran: "I Gave Up My Law Books for a Cook Book"; "I Quit My Job"; "You May Have My Job: A Feminist Discovers Her Home."

2. See, for example, Jessie Bernard's study, *Academic Women*; William O'Neill, *Everyone Was Brave: The Rise and Fall of Feminism in America*; William Chafe, *The American Woman: Her Changing Social, Economic, and Political Roles, 1920–1970*; Mary Ryan, *Womanhood in America: From Colonial Times to the Present*; Rosalind Rosenberg, *Beyond Separate Spheres: Intellectual Roots of Modern Feminism*; Barbara Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women's Higher Education in America*; Dee Garrison, *Apostles of Culture: The Public Librarian and American Society*; Penina

Migdal Glazer and Miriam Slater, *Unequal Colleagues: The Entrance of Woman into the Professions, 1890–1940*; Joyce Antler, “The Educated Woman and Professionalization: The Struggle for a New Feminine Identity, 1890–1920.”

3. Hearne and Jenkins, “Sacred Texts,” 536–47. Hearne and Jenkins include Moore and Miller in their article and identify a canon that includes texts by three bookwomen in this study: *My Roads to Childhood: Views and Reviews of Children’s Books* by Anne Carroll Moore and *Realms of Gold* compiled by Bertha Mahony and Elinor Whitney.

4. Muncy, *Creating a Female Dominion in American Reform, 1890–1935*, xii.

5. Bush, “New England Women,” 719–35.

6. R. Smith, “Just Who Are These Women?” 161–70.

7. Vandergrift, “Female Advocacy and Harmonious Voices,” 718; Hannigan, “A Feminist Analysis,” 851–74.

8. James Daugherty to Bertha Mahony Miller, May 18, 1946, box 5, folder 1, HBR. Daugherty suggested that “a more analytical note might be sounded occasionally, without spoiling the atmosphere of rosy enthusiasm appropriate to this particular field. . . . I wonder if we haven’t come to the point when [literary criticism] can be given more serious attention.”

9. [Bertha Everett Mahony], “New Books,” *Horn Book* 2 (November 1925): 11.

10. J. Brown, *Definition of a Profession*, 13–14, 33.

11. Hearne and Jenkins, “Sacred Texts,” 537.

12. MacLeod, *American Childhood*, 179.

13. Children’s books during these years have been frequently criticized. In *Thursday’s Child*, Sheila A. Egoff, for example, argues that “any examination of children’s books of this period will show barely one-tenth of one percent to be of any enduring value” (9).

14. The editor was Laura Harris at Grosset and Dunlap.

15. Heilbrun, *Writing a Woman’s Life*, 46, 72. Heilbrun argues that women “have been seen to support one another in the crises of their lives, particularly in those family crises so central to a woman’s experience of marriage, birth, death, illness, isolation,” but friendship and “colleagueship” among women have seldom been recounted (98).

#### Chapter 1. Troublesome Womanhood and New Childhood

1. Bledstein, *Culture of Professionalism*, 70.

2. Pawley, *Reading on the Middle Border*, 7. In *Free to All*, Abigail Van Slyck notes that Carnegie’s gifts complicated the library’s role by creating decision-making dynamics that embraced both philanthropy and paternalism (79).

3. Carson, “Children’s Share,” 254.

4. Winston Churchill, “The Mission of the Public Library,” *Library Journal* 28 (March 1903): 115–16.

5. Kliebard, *Struggle for the American Curriculum*, 7.

6. Ditzion, *Arsenals of Democratic Culture*, 6.

7. Van Slyck, *Free to All*, 220.

8. Bledstein, *Culture of Professionalism*, 56.

9. *Ibid.*, 57, 79.

10. See Wiegand, “Structure of Librarianship,” 18–21.

11. For a discussion of Dewey, see Wiegand, *Irrepressible Reformer*.

12. Wiegand, “Structure of Librarianship,” 31.

13. The term “separate spheres” cannot be used uncritically, and its meaning has been debated by historians for several decades. For a historiographical essay on the subject, see Linda Kerber’s “Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman’s Place: The Rhetoric of Women’s History” in *Toward an Intellectual History of Women*.

14. Hawes, *Children between the Wars*, 2.

15. Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 16.

16. Bledstein, *Culture of Professionalism*, 56, 61–64.

17. Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 303.

18. An example of this concept can be found in Sanborn, “Books for Men,” 165. See also Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 50, and Douglas, *Feminization of American Culture*.

19. “The English Conference, Official Report of Proceedings,” *Library Journal* 2 (1878). By 1910, the percentage had risen to 78.5; by 1920, fully 90 percent of America’s librarians were women (Garrison, *Apostles of Culture*, 173).

20. Rubin, *Making of Middlebrow Culture*, 17. Rubin identified a genteel “ideology of culture,” which throughout the nineteenth century increasingly linked culture to character and moral stature rather than financial means or social status. The “democratization of gentility” had as its goal the greatest exposure of individuals to culture, “spreading the ‘best’ throughout society,” often by creating standards. In the library, this translated into what has been called “the library faith,” that is, getting the “best” books to the greatest number of people.

21. Moses, *Children’s Books*, 5.

22. Garrison, *Apostles of Culture*, 174.

23. Sanborn, “Books for Men,” 166–69. Christine Pawley’s study of library records of the Sage Library in Osage, Iowa, during the late nineteenth century revealed that fiction reading was much more equally distributed between men and women than librarians and publishers assumed. Publishers took it as a matter of course that reading taste was driven by gender. The lack of factual data to support this assumption did not deter publishers from targeting markets by gender as early as the mid-nineteenth century (*Reading on the Middle Border*, 106).

24. During the late seventeenth century, fiction and romance accounted for a mere 3 percent of print material available (Douglas, *Feminization of American Culture*, 108).

25. Gail Schmunk Murray, “Virtues for the New Republic, 1790–1850,” in *American Children’s Literature*. The perceived urgency for literate citizens resulted in a vigorous Sunday school movement beginning in the 1790s. But unlike the British version, the American movement evolved beyond literacy training and began offering literature primarily aimed at moral object lessons. Murray observed that Sunday school libraries were often the only source of reading material in many American towns.

26. Hundreds of books fell into this category. Examples include the Rollo series and the “Lucy” books by Jacob Abbott and the Peter Parley books by Samuel Goodrich. Sedgwick wrote domestic novels (*Morals of Manners; or, Hints for Our Young People*) that, according to Gail Schmunk Murray, reflected middle-class advice about “work habits, cleanliness, demeanor, and virtue” (*American Children’s Literature*, 34).

27. Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 2:24–26.

28. Lears, *No Place of Grace*, 104. As Alison Parker demonstrated in *Purifying America*, the library was not alone in its concern over America’s literary choices. Other

organizations, such as the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WTCU), were highly invested in guiding Americans' reading material.

29. Beginning with the list compiled by Hartford librarian Caroline Hewins, enough were added so that by 1909 the H. W. Wilson Company published a volume consisting of twenty-four lists (Hearne and Jenkins, "Sacred Texts," 548).

30. Dain, *New York Public Library*, 286. While rank-and-file librarians were often treated to antifiction rhetoric, they continued to place book orders for their libraries that included a significant amount of fiction. According to Dain, roughly one-third of NYPL's total circulating stock consisted of fiction titles by 1900. Librarians who actually did the book ordering in towns and cities across the nation responded to patrons by stocking books they knew would draw readers to the library. Pawley's findings reinforced the idea that librarians, often ignoring ALA recommendations, continued to stock fiction in large numbers, frequently to facilitate the absorption of middle-class values by immigrant and working-class populations. In *Reading the Romance*, Janice Radway suggested that fiction reading might be construed as oppositional or as a "female ritual" by which women "explore the consequences of their common social conditions" (212, 220). She contended that the explanation for increases in fiction consumption were technological as well as sociological; advances in print technology made mass book production possible (19–20).

31. Whitehill, *Boston Public Library*, 184–85.

32. Hawes, *Children between the Wars*, 21, although the phrase is Viviana Zelizer's in *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (New York: Basic Books, 1985).

33. Ronald D. Cohen, "Child-Saving and Progressivism, 1885–1915," in *American Childhood*, ed. Hawes and Hiner, 274.

34. Hamilton Cravens, "Child Saving in the Age of Professionalism," in *American Childhood*, ed. Hawes and Hiner, 415–16.

35. Cravens, "Child Saving," 416.

36. Kliebard, *Struggle*, 37.

37. *Ibid.*, 11, 12. See Dorothy Ross, *G. Stanley Hall: The Psychologist as Prophet* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972). Moore referred to Hall as "the great explorer of adolescence" in *Cross-Roads to Childhood*, 213.

38. Kliebard, *Struggle*, 36, 43–45. Hall's theories constituted only one of four major viewpoints in educational reform of the late nineteenth century. The other streams of thought he identifies include humanists, efficiency educators, and social meliorists. For further discussion, see chapters 1 and 2 in *Struggle*.

39. K. Jones, *Taming the Troublesome Child*, 17. Jones argued that because doctors did not generally believe in the possibility of childhood insanity, they remained indifferent to children. She also noted that concern about middle-class children was readily available in advice manuals (36).

40. Cravens, "Child Saving," 421.

41. Lasch, *Haven in a Heartless World*, 15.

42. Hawes, *Children between the Wars*, 22.

43. *Ibid.*, 18.

44. K. Jones, *Taming the Troublesome Child*, 23, 38–43; also Horn, *Before It's Too Late*, 13.

45. K. Jones, *Taming the Troublesome Child*, 4.
46. Horn, *Before It's Too Late*, 15.
47. Carson, "Child's Share," 252.
48. Murray, *American Children's Literature*, 83.
49. In 1851, Charles C. Jewett, librarian of the Smithsonian Institute, included this information in an appendix to a report entitled "Notices of Public Libraries in the United States of America" (Whitehill, *Boston Public Library*, 1–2, 55–59).
50. Even in cramped quarters, BPL was one of the ten largest libraries in the nation. In 1885, BPL moved to Copley Square. Its branches, at the turn of the twentieth century, consisted of sixty-one outlying structures, including five reading rooms, thirteen delivery stations, twenty-two engine houses, a post office, five public schools, and various other public institutions. Together with ten official, but dilapidated, branches, these agencies struggled to supply books to the citizens of Boston. But by 1905, BPL had expanded dramatically to 201 branches, in part from patronage by children. See Whitehill, *Boston Public Library*, 55–59, 69, 73, 76–77, 103, 109, 164–65, 187–188, 195–96, 200.
51. *Ibid.*, 195–96.
52. Diane Farrell, notes, lecture delivered on May 24, 1889, p. 1, AMJC.
53. Whitehill, *Boston Public Library*, 164, 182.
54. Dain, *New York Public Library*, 335.
55. *Ibid.*, 24.
56. *Ibid.*, 21–23, 270–73, 288.
57. Frederick C. Hicks to R. R. Bowker, August 27, 1912, box 46, R. R. Bowker Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, NYPL.
58. Dain, *New York Public Library*, 270–72.
59. For the most part, departmental supervisors served in advisory capacities as Bostwick envisioned. Supervisors of children's services, however, developed an early reputation for maintaining strong personal control over their own departments (Dain, *New York Public Library*, 277).

## Chapter 2. Protecting Books

1. Franklin K. Mathiews, "Blowing Out the Boy's Brains," *Outlook* (November 1914): 652–54.
2. Henry Beston to Moore, November 24, 1924, box 1, ACMP; Gertrude Andrews to Moore, October 11, 1931, box 1, ACMP; Frederic Melcher to Moore, December 27, 1939, box 2, ACMP; Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 32.
3. Miscellaneous documents, box 5, ACMP.
4. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 139, 208. Moore was a member of the American Booksellers Association committee charged with organizing Book Week. Melcher chaired the committee; Mathiews served as vice chair (Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 3:267).
5. Carson, "Children's Share," 256.
6. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 152, 154, 208, 215.
7. Moore, *My Roads*, 8–57.
8. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 58.
9. Mahony, "Alice M. Jordan," 7 (originally printed, January–February 1941).

10. *Ibid.*, 7–8.
11. Barbara Holbrook, manuscript, “Alice Mabel Jordan,” AMJC.
12. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 41.
13. Hearne and Jenkins, “Sacred Texts,” 547–57. Other librarians who played critical roles in the early library movement were Minerva Saunders, Lutie Stearns, Alice Hazel-tine, Elva Smith, and Mary Root. These women influenced the development of chil-dren’s services by establishing children’s reading corners in their libraries and also by addressing the ALA about the need for children’s library services. Hewins, a par-ticularly important figure, pressed the issue before the ALA in a report she delivered to the organization in 1882, insisting that librarians had a responsibility to encourage chil-dren’s reading, which, she claimed, was not being taken seriously by the organization. At about the same time, Stearns, a librarian at Milwaukee Public Library, delivered a paper to the ALA sufficiently persuasive to convince the organization that age limita-tions for public libraries should be abolished. See also Hearne and Jenkins, “Sacred Texts,” for further discussion of the way language was utilized by Moore, Frances Clarke Sayers, Annis Duff, Ruth Hill Viguers, Bertha Mahony, and other bookwomen who con-sistently spoke of library work in religious terms.
14. Bostwick, *American Public Library*, 101. As one of those activities, reading ought to be preparatory for reality. In 1870, the editor Horace Scudder rejected literary age segregation and also voiced the prevalent assumption that “classic English literature” provided both desirable reading and a tool by which other books might be measured.
15. *Ibid.*, 90.
16. Wiegand, *Politics of an Emerging Profession*, 118.
17. Carson, “Children’s Share,” 253.
18. Jenkins, “Strength of the Inconspicuous,” 31.
19. Bostwick, *American Public Library*, 93.
20. Moore, “Reading Rooms for Children,” 130.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Hearne and Jenkins, “Sacred Texts,” 548. Organizing itself on the principles of a confederation of interest groups caused the ALA to resemble other organizations of the time, like the public school (Kliebard, *Struggle*, 7).
23. Sturges, “Pattern and Ideal,” 38.
24. The room opened on June 1, 1896. Within one year, Moore reported that eleven thousand children had visited the room (“Reading Rooms for Children,” 126). Although the children’s room at Pratt was not the first, Moore nonetheless later cast it in a pio-neering role, declaring that it was “the first . . . to be included in an architect’s plan . . . the first to be furnished with chairs and tables of varying height, the first to consider the right little children to enjoy books . . . the first library to make circulation of books subordinate to familiar acquaintance with books and pictures in a free library” (*Cross-Roads*, 127).
25. Moore, *Cross-Roads*, 127.
26. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 256.
27. Shedlock, *Art of the Story-Teller*, xvi, xvii.
28. Sawyer, *Way of the Storyteller*, 96.
29. Carson, “Children’s Share,” 256.
30. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 121; Tyler, “Library Reading Clubs,” 548. The refer-ence to Yeats is found in Moore’s *Roads to Childhood*, 121.

31. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 122–23. The value of pictures in children’s rooms was widely, but not universally, acknowledged. At the 1900 ALA conference in Montreal, a Newark librarian noted that “mounted scraps of paper are out of place as a decorative feature in a large and noble room.” Objections centered on issues of excessive cost and time to create such displays (“Picture Work in Children’s Libraries,” Report of Montreal Proceedings, *Library Journal* 24 [August ], 281).

32. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 117.

33. Melanie A. Kimball, “Youth Services,” 62.

34. Dain, *New York Public Library*, 296, 301, 303–4.

35. Long, *Book Clubs*, 10, 67–68.

36. Monthly report to Moore from Judith Karlson, librarian at George Bruce Branch, 1924, box 2, ACMP.

37. Moore segregated the clubs by sex, claiming that it was difficult to find stories suitable for mixed groups.

38. Carson, “Children’s Share,” 254.

39. Tyler, “Reading Clubs,” 547–50; Carson, “Children’s Share,” 254. Scholars have sometimes interpreted children’s rooms only as places of solitude. Sybille Jagusch claimed that children’s librarians “frowned upon too much entertainment” and encouraged literature that “brought moral direction,” but activities at NYPL suggest that Moore’s attitude toward the uses of the library was complex (“First among Equals,” 33).

40. Moore, “Reading Rooms,” 126.

41. Pawley, “Hegemony’s Handmaid?” 127–28.

42. Long, *Book Clubs*, 18.

43. Moore, *Cross-Roads*, 133.

44. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 67.

45. Gladys B. Hastings, meeting notes, December 1920, NERTCL.

46. Mahony, “Her Quiet Fame and Influence on the Future,” Alice Jordan Memorial Issue, *Horn Book* 37 (November 1961): 15.

47. Vandergrift, “Female Advocacy,” 711; Lundin, “Pedagogical Context,” 844.

48. Long, *Book Clubs*, 9–10.

49. Sturges, “Alice M. Jordan.” The organization later became a section of the Massachusetts Library Association and the New England Library Association.

50. *Ibid.*

51. Gladys B. Hastings, meeting minutes, September 1920, NERTCL.

52. Jennings, “Sticking to Our Last,” 614. For a discussion of attitudes about the entrance of large numbers of women in the library, see Jacalyn Eddy, “‘We Have Become Too Tender-Hearted’: Gender and the Language of Negotiation in the Public Library, 1880–1920,” in *Libraries as Agencies of Culture*, ed. Augst and Wiegand.

53. Walkley, “All in the Day’s Work,” 161.

54. Van Slyck, *Free to All*, 66.

55. Moore, *Cross-Roads*, 50.

56. Moore, *Roads to Childhood*, 37.

57. *Ibid.*, 37–39.

58. Dain, *New York Public Library*, 301; Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 122.

59. Elizabeth Shumway to Moore, October 10, 1931, box 3, ACMP.

60. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 120.

61. *Ibid.*, 120–28, 143. One of Moore’s successors at NYPL was Augusta Baker, an African American hired by Moore.

62. Dain, *New York Public Library*, 302. Several distinguished bookwomen who began their professional lives as NYPL librarians believed that Moore had provided them with a strong professional foundation, e.g., Margaret McElderry, Ruth Hill Viguers, Anna Cogswell Tyler, Mary Gould Davis, Marian Fiery, Eleanor Estes, Helen Forbes.

63. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 144.

64. Deutsch, *Women and the City*, 105, 110.

65. Whitehill, *Boston Public Library*, 191. On the other hand, all branch custodians were women with salaries fixed at \$1,000 per year (215).

66. Dain, *New York Public Library*, 316; Whitehill, *Boston Public Library*, 201. Initiating pensions was also difficult. Repeated calls for retirement benefits at BPL met with persistent inaction on the part of the city. Civil War veterans with ten years of service could retire on half pay, but otherwise no retirement plan existed for employees of the library as for other municipal employees. BPL employees did not receive pensions until the Massachusetts legislature passed the pension bill in 1922 (210). Libraries typically granted liberal vacation time, however, ranging from three to six weeks’ paid leave.

67. Dain, *New York Public Library*, 315.

68. “Hearing on Salary Question in New York,” *Library Journal* 42 (October 1917): 812. This percentage represented fifty-two individuals. The highest paid staff librarian was the branch librarian with a salary range of \$1,020–1,500 (average paid was \$1,283). Second highest was the children’s librarian with a salary range of \$780–1,200 (average paid \$926), followed by first assistant librarians, senior assistant librarians, and junior assistant librarians. See additional discussion, “New York Librarians Ask for More Pay,” *Library Journal* 42 (April 1917): 302–3.

69. *Library Journal* 42 (March 1917): 191.

70. “New York Librarians Ask for More Pay,” 302–3.

71. James W. Mildren, “Women, Public Libraries, and Library Unions: The Formative Years,” *Journal of Library History* 12 (Spring 1977): 151–53.

72. Professional Training Section, *Library Journal* 43 (August 1918): 606.

73. Mildren, “Women, Public Libraries,” 152–55.

74. *Library Journal* 43 (June 1918): 411.

75. Mildren, “Women, Public Libraries,” 155–56. The vote before the ALA was 121–1. By the early 1920s, all public library unions had died. Unions reemerged in the 1930s, but these were male dominated and did not take up sex discrimination issues.

76. Between its inception in 1895 and Doran’s assumption of the periodical in 1918, the *Bookman* had been published by Dodd, Mead. Moore’s early essays were signed “Annie Carroll Moore,” but this was changed to avoid confusion with another woman of the same name, who taught at Teachers College.

77. R. R. Bowker to Moore, February 13, 1912, box 42, R. R. Bowker Papers, NYPL.

78. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 211, 215.

79. Annie Carroll Moore, “Some Recent Books for Children,” *Bookman* 48 (November 1918): 329, 345–49. In this particular review, Moore uses Poe, Kipling, and Bret Harte as measurements of “good” books.

80. Moore, *Roads to Childhood*, 77.

81. Wiegand, “Structure of Librarianship,” 27.

## Chapter 3. Selling Books

1. Mahony's personal recollection (1927), box 24, folder 9, 7, HBR. See also Frances Darling, "The Book Caravan—Chapters from Horn Book History," *Horn Book* 39 (April 1963): 208.

2. Mahony was not the only individual to conceive of the caravan as a bookselling venture, though she may have been the first. J. W. Hiltman, president of D. Appleton and Company, sent out a similar vehicle, with an eight-hundred-book capacity, to the Long Island area in the summer of 1921. See Tebbel, *Between Covers*, 209.

3. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 8–23.

4. Deutsch, *Women and the City*, 6. The composition of most, though not all, helping agencies was Anglo Saxon and Protestant. Ethnic agencies existed as well, like the League of Catholic Women, the United Hebrew Benevolent Association, and Federation of Jewish Charities. As Deutsch points out, ethnic agencies were often more likely to offer cash assistance than their Protestant counterparts (39–40).

5. By 1890, several other women's organizations took up this issue. The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) worked with the Knights of Labor. In Chicago, some twenty independent women's organizations, including the Woman's Club and the Trades and Labor Assembly, allied to address working conditions for women in sweatshops. In surveys conducted by the General Federation of Women's Clubs at the end of the nineteenth century, club women overwhelmingly identified economics as the root of their problems.

6. The Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), founded in 1903, provides a good example. Operating under the auspices of the American Federation of Labor, the WTUL brought together women active in the trade union movement as well as women from middle-class voluntary organizations. Their combined efforts contributed to early protective legislation on behalf of women and children.

7. Addams, *Spirit of Youth*, 67–68.

8. Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*, 165.

9. Addams, *Spirit of Youth*, 14.

10. Peiss, *Cheap Amusements*, 165.

11. Typical leisure activities included lectures about natural history and travel, musical performances, games, singing or painting lessons, and flower making. Union facilities often contained small libraries for member use.

12. This was the description of union facilities opened in Auburn, New York, in 1907. The building contained parlors, bedrooms, and spaces for communal eating (*Auburn Daily Advertiser*, May 7, 1907).

13. Deutsch, *Women and the City*, 145–46.

14. In *Women and the City*, Deutsch discusses the spectrum of women's organizations in Boston at this time, including the Fragment Society, Denison House, and the WEIU. Of the three, Deutsch claims, the union exhibited the most aggressive political style.

15. Deutsch, *Women and the City*, 397.

16. Quandt, *From the Small Town*. Quotes are from chapter 10, "Politics and the Small-Town Fetish."

17. Deutsch, *Women and the City*, 147.

18. *Ibid.*, 119–20, 286–87. Mahony was far from the only college woman in the organization. Many Wellesley students were WEIU members (104). See especially “Moral Geography” in *Women and the City*.

19. Bertha Mahony, manuscript, box 24, folder 9, p. G-3, HBR.

20. Scott, *Natural Allies*, 37.

21. Antler, “Educated Woman,” 204; Scott, *Natural Allies*, 25.

22. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 36–37.

23. Barnes, “New Profession”; Ross, *Spirited Life*, 39.

24. Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 3:277. Of 396 bookshops nationwide studied by *Publishers Weekly*, only 3 percent were opened by women before 1919. The number of woman-owned businesses rose dramatically thereafter to roughly 40 percent by the late 1920s.

25. Deutsch, *Women and the City*, 115, 117, 130. Businesses run by men survived at roughly twice the rate of women-run businesses.

26. *Ibid.*, 133. Women who sold groceries, Deutsch points out, reminded the public of women in a kitchen. Milliners and dressmakers, likewise, offered services that would not necessarily alarm the public. See “Business of Women” in *Women and the City*.

27. Bertha Mahony, manuscript, H-2, box 24, folder 9, p. G-4, HBR.

28. Bertha Mahony, manuscript, H-2, box 24, folder 9, HBR.

29. Kroch, *Great Bookstore*, 7–8.

30. *Publishers Weekly* 53 (March 19, 1898): 553–54.

31. Reprinted in *Publishers Weekly* 53 (March 19, 1898): 555.

32. Kroch, *Great Bookstore*, 2, 14.

33. W. Darling, *Private Papers*, 40.

34. Kroch, *Great Bookstore*, 9, 19.

35. Barnes, “New Profession,” 225.

36. *Ibid.*, 228–33.

37. Mary Mowbray-Clarke, “The Sunwise Turn Bookshop,” *Publishers Weekly* 91 (May 26, 1917): 1704.

38. Barnes, “New Profession,” 223–34.

39. *Horn Book* 38 (April 1962): 192–93.

40. Bertha Mahony, “The Bookshop for Boys and Girls—Boston,” *Publishers Weekly* 91 (May 26, 1917): 1702; Ross, *Spirited Life*, 49–56.

41. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 49–56.

42. Anne Carroll Moore, “The Bookshop for Boys and Girls,” *ALA Bulletin* 11 (June 1917): 168–69.

43. Mahony, “Bookshop for Boys and Girls—Boston,” 1701.

44. *Ibid.*, 1703.

45. Ward Macauley, presidential address to the ABA, *Publishers Weekly* 91 (May 26, 1917): 1679–81.

46. Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 2:176–77.

47. Passet, *Cultural Crusaders*, 84, 89. Bookmobile history has received relatively little attention. In 1961 *Library Trends* devoted its entire January issue to “Current Trends in Bookmobiles.” More recently, Passet’s *Cultural Crusaders* provides information about transportation of books throughout the West during the nineteenth century (see especially chapter 5, “Bringing Books and People Together”). See also Deanna B. Marcum,

“The Rural Public Library in America at the Turn of the Century,” *Libraries and Culture* 26, no. 1 (Winter 1991): 87–99. There is also a brief but informative background of traveling libraries in Marcum’s *Good Books*.

48. Gladys B. Hastings, meeting minutes, February 1922, NERTCL.

49. Frances Darling, “The Book Caravan,” *Horn Book* 39 (April 1963): 208–10.

50. Mahony, “Bookshop for Boys and Girls—Boston,” 1702.

51. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 66–67.

#### Chapter 4. Making Books

1. Bechtel, “The Cold World Turns Kind,” 6, LBUA. Brett transferred Seaman after reading some of Seaman’s poetry, which circulated at Macmillan.

2. Sheehan, *This Was Publishing*, 36. Sheehan describes Macmillan as a “halfway” house in this regard.

3. Macmillan, *Author’s Book*, preface and dedication. Many examples of the importance of personal relationships between publisher and author exist, frequently in publishers’ memoirs. See, for example, Doubleday, *Memoirs of a Publisher*.

4. Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 2:4, 11, 13.

5. *Ibid.*, 2:5, 6. Despite a chronic shortage of capital, publishing growth during the nineteenth century was dramatic. The total value of American books in 1820 was \$2.5 million; by 1840, \$5.5 million; and on the eve of the Civil War, an astonishing \$16 million, with New York alone claiming nearly a third of the total. The increase in book production was correspondingly impressive. In 1840, approximately 100 book titles issued from American publishers; by 1853 the number had risen to 879; by 1855, the total was 1,092; by 1860, 1,350 new titles. See Hall, *Cultures of Print*, 43–44; Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 1:219–22.

6. Tebbel, *Between Covers*, 80. Two hundred American publishing firms established before the Civil War continued into the twentieth century. According to Tebbel, in 1950 fifty-three (27 percent) of these firms continued to be controlled by their founding families.

7. A wide variety of “cheap” books were produced during the nineteenth century, including inexpensively produced editions of “classics,” typically costing from twenty-five cents to two dollars. Munro’s inexpensive editions sold well and were important because they provided Americans with the possibility of private ownership of classic literature by making it affordable. The notorious dime novels, descendants of story sheets earlier in the century, were another form of cheap books available during the second half of the nineteenth century, and it was to this genre in particular that established publishing houses objected. Dime novels covered such topics as detectives, the circus, mystery, sports, westerns, get-rich-quick schemes on Wall Street, sea adventures, and science fiction. A third genre of cheap books was sentimental fiction. Emma Dorothy Eliza Nevitte (E.D.E.N.) Southworth was only one of the authors—though perhaps the most obvious—who represent this genre.

8. Madison, *Book Publishing*, 53.

9. Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 2:8.

10. Madison, *Book Publishing*, 51; Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 2:8.

11. *Publishers Weekly* 53 (June 18, 1898): 960.

12. Reprinted in *Publishers Weekly* 53 (March 19, 1898): 554.

13. It is a mistake to regard publishers as “Victorian prudes masquerading as publishers” (Sheehan, *This Was Publishing*, 110) or to view them as hampering the evolution of literature in America. While publishers like Brett tried to hold the line against merely sensational writing or writing that, to their minds, amounted to religious heresy, room existed for free thought, particularly if tied to artistic expression. Publishers produced and even defended work they did not personally support. For example, Macmillan published Veblen’s *Theory of the Leisure Class* and Beard’s *Economic Interpretation of the Constitution of the United States*. Harper published Henry Demarest Lloyd’s *Wealth against Commonwealth*; Scribner, *Das Kapital*; D. Appleton, the work of Charles Darwin.

14. Tebbel, *Between Covers*, 217, 222; Bechtel, WNBA speech notes, LBP. Among Macmillan’s adult British authors were Rudyard Kipling, C. S. Lewis, W. B. Yeats, H. G. Wells, Thomas Hardy, and George William Russell. Its American authors included Henry James, Hamlin Garland, Sara Teasdale, Zona Gale, Edgar Lee Masters, Ida Tarbell, Owen Wister, Jack London, Conrad Aiken, and Rachel Field.

15. Kate Stephens’s title was children’s editor at Macmillan, but her letter book of 1898 (located at NYPL) suggests that her role was limited.

16. Sheehan, *This Was Publishing*, 126. The specialization required to support claims of expertise was already evident at Macmillan. Brett had created an education department in 1894, followed by a college division department, the first in the nation, in 1906, and a medical department in 1913. Brett allowed these departments, together with three trade departments, to function with a high degree of autonomy, so long as his employees were generally successful in surpassing competitors. Shortly before he created the children’s department, Brett had added a department of religious books.

17. Arbuthnot, *Children and Books*, 41; Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 1:47. In America, the most popular children’s book of the seventeenth century, for example, was James Janeway’s *A Token for Children*, in which no fewer than thirteen children died. First printed in 1671, the book remained in print until the early nineteenth century.

18. Avery, *Behold the Child*, 2.

19. The conceptual model of golden ages dominates the history of publishing and of children’s literature, including periodical literature. For example, see Ellis, *History of Children’s Reading*, Egoff, *Thursday’s Child*, and Townsend, *Written for Children*. Townsend claimed that the first golden age extended from 1860 until 1914; the second commenced in 1965. Gail Schmunck Murray, in *American Children’s Literature*, considered the demise of the first golden age the result of such things as the influence of Stratemeyer, the existence of self-appointed individuals who assumed dictatorial power over children’s publishing, or the inability of authors to escape the Victorian ethos. More recently, Anne Scott MacLeod has written about the demise of the golden age in *American Childhood*.

20. Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 3:266.

21. Edward T. Le Blanc, “A Brief History of Dime Novels: Formats and Contents, 1860–1933,” in *Pioneers, Passionate Ladies, and Private Eyes*, ed. Sullivan and Schurman, 16. Characters like Deadwood Dick, Buffalo Bill, Nick Carter, and Jesse James became stock for such novels, published (in addition to Beadle) by Frank Tousey, George Munro, Norman Munro, and the firm of Street and Smith. Another useful book is Diedre Johnson’s *Edward Stratemeyer and the Stratemeyer Syndicate*.

22. *The Oxford Companion to Children's Literature* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).

23. *Publishers Weekly* 36 (December 21, 1889): 959–60.

24. Tebbel, *American Magazine*, 64, 105. Among these were *Parley's Magazine* (1831), *Merry's Museum for Boys and Girls* (1841), *The Youth's Companion* (1827), *Our Young Folks* (1865), *Oliver Optic's Magazine* (1867), and *The Riverside Magazine for Young People* (1867). Between 1870 and 1900, over one hundred new periodicals made their debut, including *Harper's Young People* in 1879. Securing contributions from well-known authors, some of these periodicals represented a trend toward more imaginative writing. The largest audience for such periodicals came from a self-defined genteel class eager to expose their children to the messages of these magazines. L. Feliz Ranlett, "The Youth's Companion" (1951 Hewins Lecture), in *The Hewins Lectures, 1947–1962*, ed. Andrews, 89; Murray, *American Children's Literature*, 76, 78; Madison, *Book Publishing*, 67.

25. Murray, *American Children's Literature*, 78.

26. *St. Nicholas* authors included such notables as William Dean Howells, George Washington Cable, Joel Chandler Harris, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Sarah Orne Jewett, Hamlin Garland, Laura Richards, Louisa May Alcott, Kate Douglas Wiggin, Ringgold Lardner, Babette Deutsch, Bret Harte, William Cullen Bryant, James Baldwin, John Townsend Trowbridge, Eudora Welty, Henry Steele Commager, Howard Pyle, Abby Morton Diaz, and Edna St. Vincent Millay. It should be noted that many women who later became authors/editors during the time under investigation in this study won prizes for contributions to *St. Nicholas*, including Rachel Field, Anne Parrish, Helen Dean Fish, Helen Sewell, Mary Gould Davis, Babette Deutsch, and Dorothy Canfield Fisher.

27. Florence Stanley Sturges, "St. Nicholas" (1959 Hewins Lecture), in *The Hewins Lectures*, ed. Andrews, 267–70.

28. *Oxford Companion to Children's Literature*, 466–67.

29. Reprinted in *Publishers Weekly* 95 (June 21, 1919): 1670.

30. Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 2:28, 3:681 (appendix A, "An Economic Review of Book Publishing, 1915–1945").

31. Tebbel, *Between Covers*, 272.

32. Examples are Knopf, Simon and Schuster, Viking, and Harcourt, Brace.

33. Tebbel, *Between Covers*, 151, 216. Macmillan also established an office in Australia (1904) and Canada (1905). Morgan, *House of Macmillan*, 165–66.

34. Morgan, *House of Macmillan*, 163.

35. Recalling her early years at Macmillan, Bechtel stated that "everyone who learned publishing from [Brett] knew that he considered it a great profession as well as a business; that he cared greatly about publishing *great* books; that he obviously believed books could influence the course of events in the world. As to children's books, they should above all shape character, and introduce [children] to great writing of the past, aside from educating them." (WNBA speech notes, LBP).

36. Tebbel, *Between Covers*, 152, 216–17.

37. Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 2:176–77. Between 1914 and 1920, wages rose overall for both men and women. Men's wages in publishing increased from 64 to 87.5 percent during this period while women's wages increased from 86 to 110 percent, depending on the job. Workers in binderies, for example, received pay increases at the

low end of the scale, while workers in composing rooms received greater increases. See Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 3:675.

38. Bechtel, "Cold World," 5.
39. R. Smith, "Just Who Are These Women?" 162; Bechtel, "At the Turn of the Century," 7, LBUA.
40. Bechtel, "Scholar or Editor," 4, LBUA.
41. Ibid.
42. This correspondence can be found in LBP. Seaman clearly cherished Coatsworth's letters about her worldwide travel experiences, which often included hand-drawn figures of individuals Coatsworth encountered.
43. Wright, "Women in Publishing," 318. See also Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women*, especially chapter 8, "After College, What?" Solomon discussed the complex attitudes toward college-educated women during the years 1870–1920. Since life was no longer "predetermined as a simple transition from daughter to wife to mother," Solomon observed, many women, like Seaman, seemed to "drift while deferring long-range decisions." Seaman and several other bookwomen accepted temporary professional situations, often representing a "significant interval," before settling into a "permanent pattern." Undergraduate education had augmented a sense of independence among young women while long-term cultural expectations had not changed. Seaman's three years of teaching and desire to become a printer before settling into editorship supports Solomon's conclusions.
44. Bechtel, "Cold World," 1, LBUA.
45. Quotes taken from Bechtel, "Cold World," 2–12.
46. Bertha Mahony, "The First Children's Department in Book Publishing," *Horn Book* 4 (August 1928): 5.
47. Bechtel, "To Be Released On . . .," 11, LBUA.
48. Quotes taken from Bechtel, "Cold World," 7–11.
49. Bechtel, "Books on the Ladder of Time," in *Books in Search of Children*, 243. Seaman continued to be responsible for trade book publicity for two years until she went to the children's department on a full-time basis.
50. Bechtel, "Cold World," 7.
51. Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 3:536.
52. Quotes taken from Bechtel, "Cold World," 7–11.
53. Bechtel, unpagged entry, LBUA.
54. Quotes taken from Bechtel, "To Be Released On . . .," 1–11.

#### Chapter 5. Becoming Experts and Friends

1. Jordan, "Ideal Book," 9, 11.
2. Moore, *Roads to Childhood*, 27.
3. Saxton to Moore, July 14, 1920, box 3, ACMP.
4. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 219.
5. *Library Journal* 45 (December 1, 1920): 964.
6. Moore, *Roads to Childhood*, 129. Others noted the very personal connection Moore made to her own childhood as well. In 1928, Constance Lindsay Skinner wrote a poem about Moore that reads, in part, "Neath the high windows! / There she walks

and weaves / Spells for the child, magic for lad and lass, / From her own childhood she has not let pass.” “Portrait Sketch,” *Horn Book* 18 (January–February 1942): 18, 43.

7. Moore, *Roads to Childhood*, 61.

8. Jordan, “Ideal Book,” 9–11.

9. Quoted in Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 2:10.

10. Moses, *Children’s Books*, 125. Moses dedicated this book, among others, to Anne Carroll Moore, who, he claimed, assisted with its writing. It is important, therefore, since presumably Moses’s reflections mirror Moore’s.

11. Hearne and Jenkins, “Sacred Texts,” 538.

12. Moore, *Roads to Childhood*, 26, 29.

13. Dorothy Beekin to Moore, February 1920, branch library reports, 1919–30, box 2, ACMP. Moore’s notion of shortage was reinforced when, in 1920, the American ambassador to Brazil asked her to select five or six hundred books to serve as the nucleus of a library in Rio de Janeiro. Distressed, Moore discovered that many of the titles she wanted to recommend were no longer in print. Moore’s complaint about too few books tapped into a longstanding controversy in the book industry concerning the proper number of books to be published. Publishers, frequently assuming an inverse relationship existed between the quality and quantity of books published, had debated the presumed overabundance of them since about 1875.

14. Beekin to Moore, February and March 1920, branch library reports, 1919–30, box 2, ACMP. *Publishers Weekly* acknowledged a particular shortage of books for girls “since no one has risen to take the place of Louisa Alcott.” See “What’s Wrong with the Writers of Juveniles?” *Publishers Weekly* 95 (June 21, 1919): 1670.

15. Moore, *Cross-Roads*, 55; “A Discussion on Children’s Books, the Concluding Lecture in the New York Public Library Course,” *Publishers Weekly* 97 (April 3, 1920): 1093.

16. Moore, *Roads to Childhood*, 27, 78, 79.

17. *Ibid.*, 108.

18. *Ibid.*, 27, 28, 44.

19. *Ibid.*, 48–49.

20. William Heylinger to Moore, December 12, 1920, box 2, ACMP.

21. Margaret Evans to Moore, January 14 (no year), box 2, ACMP.

22. R. Darling, *Rise of Children’s Book Reviewing*, 63.

23. Minnich, *Transforming Knowledge*, 161.

24. See, for example, Daniels, “Americanization,” 871–76.

25. Moore, *Roads to Childhood*, 74, 85.

26. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 218.

27. Moore, “Children’s Libraries in France,” 831–32.

28. Alexandra Sanford, secretary, meeting notes, April 1925, NERTCL.

29. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 200.

30. Hugh Lofting, “World Friendship and Children’s Literature,” *Elementary English Review* 1 (1924): 205–7.

31. Levstik, “From the Outside In,” 334.

32. Gladys B. Hastings, secretary, meeting minutes, September 29, 1920, NERTCL.

33. Beekin to Moore, February 1920, branch library reports, 1919–30, box 2, ACMP.

34. Josephine M. White to Moore, November 1922, branch library reports, 1919–30, box 2, ACMP.

35. Beekin to Moore, January and June 1920, branch library reports, 1919–30, box 2, ACMP.

36. Beekin to Moore, February 1920, branch library reports, 1919–30, box 2, ACMP.

37. Beekin to Moore, February 1921, branch library reports, 1919–30, box 2, ACMP.

38. Beekin to Moore, February 1920 and January 1922, branch library reports, 1919–30, box 2, ACMP.

39. Karlson to Moore, December 1924, and Beekin to Moore, January 1922, branch library reports, 1919–30, box 2, ACMP.

40. Wright, “Women in Publishing,” 320.

41. Eaton, *Reading with Children*, 332.

42. Editorial, *Horn Book* 11 (May–June 1935): 133.

43. Shedlock, *Story-Teller*, xiii, xiv.

44. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 62; Sawyer, *Storyteller*, 111.

45. Sawyer, *Storyteller*, 92; Ross, *Spirited Life*, 62. Other storytellers at NYPL included Claire Huchet Bishop, known for her stories *Five Chinese Brothers* and *The Ferryman*; Pura Belpre’ for *Perez and Martina*, and Ruth Sawyer, *The Juggler of Notre Dame*, *The Peddler of Ballaghadereen*, *Wee Meg Barnileg and the Fairies* (Sawyer, *Storyteller*, 111). Stories frequently had an international focus.

46. Louis Untermeyer to Moore, undated letter, box 3, ACMP. Also, Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 140, 141.

47. “Children’s Book Week in the Libraries,” *Library Journal* 45 (October 15, 1920): 836–37. Women’s clubs participated in Book Week advertising. Children’s reading was frequently the subject of discussion, and Book Week became especially popular with clubs. Mary L. Titcomb, librarian of Hagerstown, Maryland, and chair of the library extension committee of the General Federation of Women’s Clubs, prepared and sent out programs to state headquarters for the federation and to individual clubs. See “Women’s Clubs and Children’s Reading,” *Publishers Weekly* 102 (October 21, 1922): 1454.

48. “Book Week Activity Everywhere,” *Publishers Weekly* 108 (October 17, 1925): 1416.

49. “Children’s Books and Radio,” *Publishers Weekly* 102 (October 21, 1922): 1455.

50. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 194.

51. Meigs to Moore, November 15, 1919, ACMP.

52. Melcher, “Thirty Years,” 5.

53. In gross numbers, Effie Power and Clara Whitehill Hunt reported that there were now 196 full-time and 496 part-time children’s librarians, who accounted for between 4 and 9 percent of the total ALA membership, depending on whether they devoted all or only part of their time to children. I. Smith, *History of Newbery and Caldecott Medals*, 31, 32.

54. *Ibid.*, 36.

55. Hunt to Moore, June 17, 1941, box 2, ACMP. In the letter, Hunt remarked that “librarianship is not merely a pleasant way of earning one’s living but is a calling to which one can thankfully dedicate all one’s powers, believing that in so doing one is helping to bring the kingdom of God on earth.”

56. Diane Farrell, lecture notes, 5, delivered May 24, 1989, AMJC.

57. I. Smith, *History*, 36, 47.

58. The medal was designed by René Paul Chambellan, who also later designed the Caldecott.

59. I. Smith, *History*, 40, 41, 44, 46. Given the fact that *Story* was not necessarily intended for children, it was an interesting choice, revealing continued ambivalence about the separation of adult books from those of children. Van Loon had written the book for his two sons, declaring in the introduction that “history is the mighty Tower of Experience, which Time has built amidst the endless fields of bygone ages. It is no easy task to reach the top of this ancient structure and get the benefit of the full view. There is no elevator, but young feet are strong and it can be done.” Shades of romanticism are evident that privilege metaphors of uplift and emulate the past.

60. Andersen, “Training for Library Service,” 464; Moses, *Children’s Books*, 3.

61. Downey, “Relation of the Public Schools,” 885.

62. *Ibid.*, 883, 884.

63. Florence Adams to Moore, branch library reports, 1919–1930, box 2, ACMP.

64. Beekin to Moore, March 1921, branch library reports, box 2, ACMP.

65. Mildred Nutter, secretary, meeting notes, April 1926; Dorothea K. Wetherell, meeting notes, April 1928, NERTCL.

66. New York concluded a prolonged printers’ strike in January 1920; a strike in Boston in April 1921, when wage reductions were announced, affected 80 percent of the city’s twenty-five hundred printers.

67. Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 3:338–39. George Brett believed that books should reflect the higher cost of manufacturing, arguing that quality should not be sacrificed merely to keep prices down. He accused publishers of abandoning old quality titles in favor of bestsellers that would make up the difference in sales. But as cost of living increased about 120 percent during this decade, the public frequently complained that books were too expensive (Tebbel, *Between Covers*, 274–75).

68. Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 3:341.

69. Bechtel, “The Giant in Children,” in *Books*, 141.

70. Bechtel, “Books in Search of Children,” in *Books*, 214.

71. Bechtel, “Ladder of Time,” in *Books*, 245; Haviland, introduction, in Bechtel, *Books*, xiv.

72. Bechtel, “Books in Search of Children,” in *Books*, 207–8.

73. Bechtel, WNBA speech notes, 6, LBP.

74. Bechtel, “The Art of Illustrating Books for Younger Readers,” in *Books*, 42.

75. Bechtel, “When a Publisher Makes a Catalog,” in *Books*, 14–16.

76. The date of the first broadcast was January 7, 1924. Seaman used the fifteen-minute program to tell stories and to talk about writers and artists, to encourage children to “set their sights higher.” Broadcast notes for January 14, 1924, are in box 45, folder 685, LBP.

77. For ages four to six, Little Library offered *A Child’s Garden of Verses*, *Little Jack Rabbit*, *A Visit from St. Nicholas*, *The Little Wooden Doll*, *The Baby’s Life of Jesus Christ*, and the poems of Christina Rossetti; Macmillan’s Children’s Classics offered *The Fables of Aesop*, *English Fairy Tales*, *Mother Goose’s Nursery Rhymes*. For ages six to eight, Little Library included *The Little Lame Prince*, *The Magic Forest*, *The Light Princess*, *The Cat and the Captain*, and *Memoirs of a London Doll*; Macmillan Classics included *Household Tales*. For ages eight to ten, Little Library offered *The Good Natured Bear*, *The Rose and the Ring*, *King Penguin: A Legend of the South Seas*; Macmillan Classics had *Fairy Tales and Stories*, *Granny’s Wonderful Chair*, *Alice’s Adventures in Wonderland*, *The Iliad*. The

Happy Hour books were five and one-quarter inches square, Singer sewn, with full color jackets, and sold for fifty cents. The Happy Hour books were quite successful, selling over a half million copies (Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 3:269).

78. Bechtel, "Cold World," 11.

79. Bechtel, WNBA speech notes, 6, LBP. She mentions *Pinocchio* in particular.

80. Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 3:269. Periodicals did not eliminate illustration. In fact, serial fictions were more highly illustrated than ever. And increased advertising accentuated attention to the importance of pictures. Publishers were sometimes concerned that periodicals were edging them out in this area (Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 3:376).

81. Jordan, "Ideal Book," 10.

82. Seaman, *Books*, 44.

83. Margaret Pinckney King, "The Person Makes the Publisher—Louise Seaman," *Horn Book* 4 (August 1928): 30.

84. Haviland's introduction in Bechtel, *Books*, xv.

85. I. Smith, *History*, 30. Seaman was interested in illustration for personal reasons as well. Her mother and sister were both artists and frequently wrote articles about art and served on art juries.

86. Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 3:341, 376–77; Wright, "Women in Publishing," 319.

87. Bechtel, WNBA speech notes, 3, LBP. In the speech, Bechtel acknowledges that "sales alone as a criterion seldom produced books that lived on, whatever their immediate success."

88. After receiving Seaman's letters, Mahony became curious enough about the new editor to meet Seaman on her next trip to New York. Mahony, personal recollections, box 24, folder 9, 6, HBR.

89. Bechtel, "Good Morning, Miss Seaman, Pray Be Seated," 6, LBUA.

90. Bechtel, WNBA speech notes, 5, LBP.

91. R. Smith, "Just Who Are These Women?" 164.

92. Bechtel, "All Those Speeches," 4, LBUA.

93. May Masee, "An Editor's Notebook," May Masee Tribute Issue, *Horn Book* 12 (July–August 1936): 218.

94. Louise Seaman Bechtel, "May Masee, Publisher," May Masee Tribute Issue, *Horn Book* 12 (July–August 1936): 208–11.

95. Wiegand, "Tunnel Vision and Blind Spots," 6.

96. Frederic Melcher, "May Masee, as Seen by the Booksellers," May Masee Tribute Issue, *Horn Book* 12 (July–August 1936): 246.

97. Bechtel, "May Masee, Publisher," 211, 213.

98. *Ibid.*, 216.

99. Hodowanec, *May Masee Collection*, x.

100. Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 3:341.

101. Bechtel, "May Masee, Publisher," 213.

102. Gertrude Andrus, "May Masee, as Seen by the Booksellers," May Masee Tribute Issue, *Horn Book* 12 (July–August 1936): 247.

103. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 64, 267.

104. Alice Mabel Jordan Tribute Issue, *Horn Book* 37 (November 1961): 29.

105. Bechtel, "Cold World," 8.
106. *Publishers Weekly* 96 (September 6, 1919): 596.
107. Melcher, "Thirty Years," 6; Mahony, recollections, 1927, typescript by E. S. Ross, box 24, folder 9, G-9, HBR.
108. Mahony, recollections, box 24, folder 9, G-7, G-9, H-1, HBR. Until the eve of World War II, Mahony continued to document financial records on pieces of cardboard.
109. The degree to which Jordan viewed administrative duties as a secondary role was made clear in an obituary, which reported that in fifty years of employment, Jordan never had a private office (Sturges, "Alice M. Jordan").
110. Elinor Whitney Field, "Chapters from Horn Book History—III," *Horn Book* 38 (August 1962): 401–2. Darling later owned the Bay Colony Bookshop in Boston.
111. Lillian Gillig, "Members of the Staff of the Bookshop for Boys and Girls," chapters from Horn Book History—IV, *Horn Book* 38 (August 1962): 510–11.
112. Mahony, recollections, box 24, folder 9, G-11, HBR.
113. Rury, *Education and Women's Work*, 93; Weiner, *From Working Girl to Working Mother*, 84, 101. Only one in five women had a high school diploma by 1920.
114. Scharf, *To Work and to Wed*, 60–62; Weiner, *Working Girl*, 101, 104. As Weiner noted, leaving the workforce was, in some instances, welcomed by women themselves.
115. Deutsch, *Women and the City*, 236.
116. Weiner, *Working Girl*, 133. A WEIU study of Radcliffe graduates married and employed in 1927 showed that more than half of the 243 women surveyed chose not to have children (85, 104).
117. Scharf, *To Work*, 62.
118. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 71–73.
119. Mahony, recollections, box 24, folder 9, G-7, HBR. The last stop of the Caravan in 1920 was the ALA meeting at Lake Placid, where it was displayed for examination by delegates. During the following winter, it went on display in several places in Boston, for which the Bookshop had to obtain a license from the Health Department listing the driver as a "Pedler [*sic*] and a Hawker" (Ross, *Spirited Life*, 71–75).
120. Mahony, recollections, box 24, folder 9, G-8, G-9, HBR.
121. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 8, 83, 91.
122. *Publishers Weekly* 100 (October 29, 1921): 1469. At about this time, *Publishers Weekly* inaugurated a regular feature entitled "Women and Booksellers: A Monthly Department of News and Theory," edited by Virginia Smith Cowper.
123. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 62–62.
124. Fass, *Damned and the Beautiful*, 13.
125. Hawes, *Children*, 4–7, 67.
126. Horn, *Before It's Too Late*, 10.
127. At the same time, division of labor protected the distinct professional identities of team members and delineated boundaries by creating rituals—in this case, the process of diagnosis. Psychiatrists conducted examinations; social workers monitored and weighed the influence of environmental factors, including subjective interpretations of client qualities, primarily "character." Psychologists, the most narrowly defined of the professionals involved, were responsible for the mental testing on which investigation of the relationship between intelligence and delinquency was based (K. Jones,

*Taming*, 62, 63, 100). See also the introduction to Elizabeth Lunbeck's *Psychiatric Persuasion*.

128. Guidance advocates wrote advice pamphlets for the U.S. Children's Bureau, and popular magazines routinely reprinted articles about child management from *Mental Hygiene*, the professional journal of child guidance (K. Jones, *Taming*, 102).

129. Guiders' success with creating alliances was mixed. Some medical schools responded to child guidance overtures by introducing psychiatry in their pediatric training. But pediatricians, also relatively new "experts" in public opinion, were themselves struggling for professional identity, no doubt as eager as guiders to establish jurisdiction over the health of children. For this reason, ties between child guidance and the medical profession remained weaker than those with the legal system throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Child guiders also established a strong connection with lay organizations like the Child Study Association of America (CSAA), which became a critical mouthpiece for child guidance, including weekly broadcasts over the NBC network beginning in 1925. See K. Jones, "Building the Child Guidance Team," "Popularizing Child Guidance," and "The Problem Behavior of the Everyday Child" in *Taming the Troublesome Child*.

130. K. Jones, *Taming*, 99. Intelligence testing became the central, quantitative measurement of children and was a commercial enterprise by 1922. By the middle of the decade about four million children were tested annually. Intelligence testing was criticized by some, like Walter Lippmann, but the authority of guidance was so firmly established that such criticism had little immediate effect. See Brown, *Definition of a Profession*, 136, 138.

131. K. Jones, *Taming*, 116; see also the chapter "The Critique of Motherhood."

132. As Brown notes, "An occupation will have difficulty claiming the monopoly of skill essential to professionalism if its technical base consists of a vocabulary that sounds familiar to everyone" (*Definition of a Profession*, 21).

133. Helen T. Woolley, *Concerning Parents* (New York: New Republic, 1929), 49–70.

134. As the guidance movement consolidated its authority, old alliances like those with the CSAA seemed more dispensable; indeed, by the end of the decade, child guiders questioned the suitability of lay people to speak for them at all. A cleavage between guiders and old-style reformers became increasingly evident as well. But while the ideological divide between environmentalism and the individual seemed well defined, child guiders subsumed what tenets they considered valuable under the banner of child guidance without ever abandoning environmentalism altogether. See K. Jones, *Taming*, 107–8.

135. Eaton, *Reading with Children*, 27.

136. Gruenberg, *Guidance of Childhood*, 147, 149.

137. *Ibid.*, 149–50. While guiders claimed that theirs was the "modern" point of view, their dislike for fairy tales was remarkably reminiscent of Puritan objections. The misrepresentation of reality (and the potential consequence for shirking adult responsibilities later on) had also concerned Puritans, as already noted. Guiders had substituted a concern over *mental* health for the older concern over *spiritual* health, but the result, insofar as children's reading was concerned, was identical: fairy tales were dangerous. Moreover, they were dangerous for many of the same reasons, including a failure to assume one's assigned place in the social scheme of things.

138. Clara Whitehill Hunt, "Recruiting for Children's Librarians," *Library Journal* 47 (December 15, 1922): 1070.
139. Charles Joseph Finger, "On Writing for Children," *Publishers Weekly* 108 (October 17, 1925): 1408–9.
140. Sawyer, *Storyteller*, 33–34.
141. Moore, *Cross-Roads*, 20–21.
142. Jenkins, "Women of the ALA," 819–20.
143. MacLeod, "Censorship and Children's Literature," in *American Childhood*, 181–82.
144. Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct*, 59–76.
145. The cove in which the Knolls was situated amounted to a sort of summer colony for literary and artistic folks, including Willa Cather, who lived next door to Jordan and her sister. See Helen Clark Fernald, "Alice Jordan at Grand Manan," Alice Jordan Memorial Issue, *Horn Book* 37 (November 1961): 18–21.
146. Mahony, "Anne Carroll Moore," 14.
147. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 130, 174.
148. *Ibid.*, 172–73.
149. Seaman to Moore, October 17, 1923, box 3, ACMP.
150. Mahony, "Anne Carroll Moore," 15.
151. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 176, 184–85.
152. The story, as Kirkus related it to Ursula Nordstrom, was recounted by Bader in "Only the Best," 525.
153. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 130, 171–72, 193–94.
154. Hearne and Jenkins, "Sacred Texts," 544.

#### Chapter 6. Building Professional Culture

1. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 231.
2. McGregor to Moore, February 21, 1925, box 2, ACMP.
3. Dorothy Canfield Fisher to Moore, December 8, 1924, box 2, ACMP.
4. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 232.
5. "Children's Book Week in the Magazines," *Publishers Weekly* 102 (October 21, 1922): 1450. Jessie Wilcox Smith (1863–1935) was a widely acclaimed illustrator of children's books during the first thirty years of the twentieth century. She studied art with Howard Pyle at Drexel, becoming one of Pyle's most successful students. Among her best known works are illustrations for *A Child's Garden of Verses* by R. L. Stevenson (1905), *The Seven Ages of Childhood* (1909, text by Carolyn Wells), *The Little Mother Goose* (1915), *Little Women* (1915), *The Water Babies* (1916), and several books of stories and poetry for young children during the early 1920s. From 1918 until 1933, her illustrations appeared monthly on the cover of *Good Housekeeping*.
6. Oran C. Miller, "Just the Right Book," *Publishers Weekly* 108 (October 17, 1925): 1405; Rowe Wright, "The Camp Fire Girls and Children's Book Week," *Publishers Weekly* 108 (October 17, 1925): 1415.
7. "Children's Book Week in New York City," *Publishers Weekly* 102 (October 21, 1922): 1449.
8. Melcher, "Thirty Years," 7, 9.
9. Moore, *My Roads*, 333.

10. Moore, *Cross-Roads*, 164, 179.
11. Bertha Everett Mahony, "'A Quick Ear for Silver Bells': Crossroads to Childhood, Books for Middle-Aged Children' by Anne Carroll Moore," *Horn Book* 3 (February 1927): 16–19.
12. Rose Dobbs, "Ten Years of Publishing Children's Books," *Horn Book* 14 (September 1938): 317. Juveniles were subject to differences in discounts and frequently carried heavy advance editorial costs, including translation fees and royalties.
13. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 231–32.
14. Henry Beston to Moore, November 24, 1924, box 1, ACMP.
15. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 233–34; Field to Moore, October 18, 1924, box 2, ACMP.
16. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 232, 237.
17. Mahony and Whitney, comps., *Realms of Gold*, 684–85.
18. Sandburg to Moore, October 5, 1923, and October 20, 1922, box 3, ACMP.
19. Goldsmith, "Spare the Book and Spoil the Child," 428.
20. Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 3:277.
21. *Publishers Weekly* 114 (October 13, 1928): 1552. In 1919, women opened 3 percent of new shops; within one year, the number had risen to 16 percent; to 36 percent by 1928.
22. Bader, "Realms of Gold and Granite," 528.
23. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 177.
24. As Heilbrun wrote: "What became essential was for women to see themselves collectively, not individually. . . . As long as women are isolated one from the other, not allowed to offer other women the most personal accounts of their lives, they will not be part of any narrative of their own. . . . There will be narratives of female lives only when women no longer live their lives isolated in the houses and the stories of men" (*Writing a Woman's Life*, 46–47).
25. Bertha Mahony, notes, 1927, box 24, folder 9, G-9, HBR.
26. Bertha Mahony, "Statement of Purpose and Policy," *Horn Book* 1 (October 1924): 1 (emphasis added).
27. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 121; Mahoney, "Statement of Purpose and Policy," 1.
28. Seaman to Mahony, November 15, 1924, box 1, folder 23, HBR.
29. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 114, 116.
30. Elinor Whitney Field, "Chapters from Horn Book History—VII," *Horn Book* 39 (June 1963): 328.
31. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 117. A table of contents was added to the magazine in 1926.
32. Bertha Mahony, *Horn Book* 5 (1929): 51.
33. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 97.
34. Pauline A. O'Melia to Bertha Mahony Miller, 1943, box 15, folder 7, HBR.
35. Frances Sturges, interview notes, May 4 and September 8, 1979, oral history project, box 2, folder 3, p. 14, NERTCL.
36. Goldsmith, "Spare the Book," 428.
37. Moore, *My Roads*, 201.
38. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 116, 117.
39. Bertha Mahony, "The Hunt Breakfast," *Horn Book* 10 (1934): 66.
40. *Horn Book* 2 (November 1926): 53.
41. Mahony, "Hunt Breakfast," 66.

42. Elinor Field, "Chapters from Horn Book History—VI," *Horn Book* 39 (February 1963): 92–93.
43. Elinor Field, "Chapters from Horn Book History—VIII," *Horn Book* 39 (June 1963): 329.
44. Mahony and Whitney, *Realms of Gold*, 1.
45. *Ibid.*, 409, 413.
46. Eaton, *Reading with Children*, 37.
47. Moore, *My Roads*, 5.
48. Mahony and Whitney, *Realms of Gold*, 727.
49. Alice Jordan, "Realms of Gold," in "The Three Owls," *New York Herald Tribune*, May 12, 1929.
50. May Lamberton Becker, "Realms of Gold," *Horn Book* 5 (May 1929): 14.
51. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 85, 86, 126.
52. Cornelia Meigs, *The Trade Wind* (New York: Little, Brown, 1927), v.
53. Tebbel, *Between Covers*, 217, 231, 254, 273. Viking formed in 1925; the Doubleday-Doran merger occurred in 1927.
54. R. Smith, "Just Who Are These Women?" 164.
55. Haviland, introduction, in Bechtel, *Books*, xiii, xv. Blake later went on to head children's departments at Oxford University Press and Lippincott; Bechtel, undated notes, box 5, folder 66, LBP.
56. Mahony, "Other Children's Book Departments," 74–76.
57. Goldsmith, "Spare the Book," 428.
58. Mahony, "Other Children's Book Departments," 76.
59. Mahony Miller, "Children's Books in America Today," 207.
60. Bechtel, "Finding New Books for Boys and Girls," in *Books*, 7.
61. Bechtel, "Elizabeth Coatsworth: Poet and Writer," in *Books*, 74–75.
62. Haviland, introduction, in Bechtel, *Books*, x.
63. Bechtel, "Rachel's Gifts," 230.
64. Bechtel, "Finding New Books," in *Books*, 5.
65. Field wrote thirteen juvenile novels, *Hitty* being the best known. She also wrote children's plays before writing adult fiction, including *All This and Heaven Too*.
66. Josiah Titzell, "Rachel Field, 1894–1942," *Horn Book* 18 (July 1942): 219–20.
67. Bader, "Macmillan Children's Books," 555.
68. *Dictionary of Literary Biography* (Detroit: Gale Research Co., 1981), 22:172.
69. Field to Seaman, undated letter, box 21, folder 278, LBP.
70. Bechtel, "Finding New Books," in *Books*, 5.
71. Alice Barrett, "Hitty in the Bookshop," *Horn Book* 6 (February 1930): 31.
72. Haviland, introduction, in Bechtel, *Books*, xv.
73. Coward published subsequent editions in 1928 and 1931 as well as the Newbery honor book *Millions of Cats* by Wanda Gag. Macmillan was well represented in the Newbery awards of the 1920s. In 1922 it published three of the five honor books: *The Old Tobacco Shop* by William Bowen, *The Golden Fleece* by Padraic Colum, and *The Windy Hill* by Cornelia Meigs; in 1925, one of the two honor books, *The Dream Coach* by Anne and Dillwyn Parrish; in 1926, the honor book, *The Voyagers* by Colum; in 1929, the Newbery Medal for *The Trumpeter of Krakow* by Eric Kelly, and one honor book, *Tod of the Fens* by Elinor Whitney.

74. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 106.
75. Bader, "Macmillan Children's Books," 550.
76. Bechtel, "The Children's Librarian," in *Books*, 234.
77. Tebbel, *Between Covers*, 318–29. As a result of an intense wave of censorship after World War I, organizations such as the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, the National Americanism Commission of the American Legion, the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, and Watch and Ward in Boston scrutinized book content both for violations of the Comstock law and for political sentiments deemed out of step with current, powerful pro-American sentiment. Such watchdog organizations directly affected writing for the young because they focused on textbooks, which were often revised in response to intense pressure.
78. Bertha Mahony, "The Hunt Breakfast," *Horn Book* 10 (March 1934): 66.
79. Meigs to Seaman, March 20, 1929, box 31, folder 437, LBP.
80. Stricker, "Cookbooks and Law Books," 9.
81. Scharf, *To Work*, 17.
82. Tebbel, *Between Covers*, 275.

#### Chapter 7. Triumph and Transition

1. Pruette, *Women Workers*, 51. In New York, unemployment figures among women rose from 13 percent in January 1931 to 23 percent by the early months of 1934, and then to 29 percent before New Deal programs stanchd the hemorrhage of women out of the work force (20–22).
2. Scharf, *To Work*, 50, 82–83. As Scharf points out, women's professional status declined during the 1930s. Women in virtually all professions were hard hit. In addition to wage reductions, for example, teachers in New York were requested to donate 5 percent of their salaries for lunches, shoes, and clothing for their students, about 20 percent of whom were malnourished. In this way, expectations continued for women professionals to maintain their usual service ethos, despite severe financial hardship.
3. After surveying 1,350 women, Lorine Pruette concluded that unemployed women spent an average of sixteen months finding work, and reemployment, when found, frequently represented permanent loss of employment status. The claim was based partly on salary figures: in 1931, the median annual income among salaried female workers was \$3,035. By 1934, this figure had fallen to \$2,428.
4. Tebbel, *Between Covers*, 299.
5. Scharf, *To Work*, 87.
6. Mertie E. Whitlock, secretary, meeting minutes, May 1933, NERTCL.
7. Scharf, *To Work*, 87, 125.
8. Attempts at unionization in publishing, which might have provided recourse, were relatively unsuccessful. Unionism seemed inimical to the work of publishing, despite the fact that it was the most poorly compensated occupation in communications. Labor conflicts within the industry started in 1934 at Macaulay Company. A year later, about a hundred professionals held a meeting in New York to discuss the possibility of creating a union that looked more like a professional organization than a trade union (Tebbel, *Between Covers*, 283).
9. Sara Teasdale to Moore, October 11, 1931, box 1, ACMP.

10. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 251–52.
11. Teasdale to Moore, October 14, 1931, box 2, ACMP.
12. Adams to Moore, October 10, 1931, box 1, ACMP.
13. Becker, undated memorandum, box 1, ACMP.
14. Moses to Moore, undated letter, box 2, ACMP.
15. Bertha Mahony, 1931 draft, “The Three Owls,” box 24, folder 2, p. 3, HBR.
16. Sayers, *Anne Carroll Moore*, 291. The former children’s room was converted to a seminar room of the library school at Pratt and named the Anne Carroll Moore Room. See Mahony, “Anne Carroll Moore,” 9.
17. Tebbel, *Between Covers*, 276–300.
18. *Ibid.*, 299.
19. Tebbel, *History of Book Publishing*, 3:535–36. Macmillan’s strong-willed and conservative president stepped down in September 1931, leaving his son, George Brett Jr., in charge of the firm.
20. Bechtel, “Ladder of Time,” in *Books*, 245–46.
21. Hodowanec, *May Masee Collection*, viii.
22. Bechtel to Miller, 1934, box 1, folder 23, HBR. Bechtel’s successor, Doris Patee, was a Wellesley graduate, a teacher, and a librarian before joining Macmillan in 1932. She began work in the children’s department in 1933 (Muriel Fuller series, *Publishers Weekly*, August 29, 1936).
23. Anne Eaton to Miller, January 24, 1935, box 5, folder 16, HBR.
24. Field to Bechtel, January 13, 1934, box 21, folder 279, LBP; Moore to Bechtel, January 10, 1934, box 468, folder 468, LBP.
25. The assistant was Margaret Lesser (1899–1979). In 1927, she worked for Masee as the juvenile publicity director at Doubleday and became the juvenile editor at Doubleday in 1934 (Muriel Fuller series, *Publishers Weekly*, August 8, 1936). Another of Masee’s assistants, Dorothy Bryan, became the children’s editor at Dodd, Mead in 1934 (Muriel Fuller series, *Publishers Weekly*, February 8, 1936).
26. Masee to Miller, undated letter, box 11, folder 2, HBR.
27. I. Smith, *History*, 53.
28. Miller to Masee, May 19, 1938, box 11, folder 21, HBR; I. Smith, *History*, 55–60.
29. Jenkins, “Of Nightingales,” 827.
30. I. Smith, *History*, 58–62.
31. Bechtel, “Children’s Librarian,” in *Books*, 230.
32. When Houghton Mifflin invited the Round Table to visit their firm, Jordan readily accepted. It was the first time that many librarians had visited a publishing house (Mertie E. Whitlock, meeting notes, December 1932, NERTCL).
33. Moore to Miller, March 5, 1935, box 12, folder 10, HBR.
34. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 84.
35. Miller to Bechtel, December 19, 1934, box 1, folder 23, HBR.
36. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 146.
37. Miller told her grandniece in 1960 that even after twenty-eight years, she considered Ashburnham to be Celena’s home. Ross notes that “consciously [Miller] adapted it to accommodate her peculiar needs as a professional woman; unconsciously she modified it by the gentleness of her personality” (*Spirited Life*, 150).
38. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 99, 145–49.

39. Financial records (1932–33), box 38, folder 9, HBR.
40. Folmsbee to Miller, March 21, 1934, box 38, folder 10, HBR.
41. Catherine Van Horn, “Turning Child Readers into Consumers,” in Lundin and Wiegand, eds., *Defining Print Culture for Youth*, 121, 133.
42. Financial records (1932–33), box 38, folder 9, HBR.
43. Scrapbook 6, box 40, p. 78, HBR.
44. Bertha Mahony, editorial, *Horn Book* 9 (November 1933): 173; “From Good Friends,” *Horn Book* 5 (November 1929): 101.
45. Van Horn, “Child Readers,” 122–23.
46. Miller to Bechtel, December 19, 1934, box 1, folder 23, HBR; Ross, *Spirited Life*, 177.
47. The *Horn Book* budget also allowed three hundred dollars for annual space rental and ten dollars for each contributor. Financial records, 1934, box 39, folder 3, HBR.
48. Bechtel to Miller, 1939, box 1, folder 24, HBR; Miller to Bechtel, May 27, 1941, box 1, folder 24, HBR.
49. Bechtel to Miller, 1933, box 1, folder 23, HBR.
50. Folmsbee to Miller, March 21, 1934, box 38, folder 10, HBR.
51. Helen Smith to Miller, March 7, 1930, scrapbooks, box 40, HBR; scrapbook, 1934–35, box 40, p. 3, HBR.
52. Eleanor Jewett to Miller, May 29, 1947, box 9, folder 1, HBR.
53. Miller to Bechtel, December 19, 1934, box 1, folder 23, HBR; Miller to Bechtel, April 10, 1941, box 1, folder 24, HBR.
54. Masee to Miller, February 18, 1935, box 11, folder 21, HBR.
55. Bianco, advertisement in *Horn Book* 25 (September 1949): 425–26. Becker, book jacket, 1949 reissue of *Trigger John*. Despite the failure of Miller to review the book, *Trigger John* ultimately became a Junior Literary Guild selection.
56. Miller to Helen Dean Fish, February 5, 1935, box 6, folder 20, HBR; Mahony to Masee, February 20, 1925, box 6, folder 20, HBR.
57. Miller to Bechtel, 1935, box 1 folder 23, HBR.
58. Bechtel to Miller, December 19, 1934, box 1, folder 23, HBR.
59. Miller to Bechtel, 1935, box 1, folder 23, HBR.
60. Miller, editorial policy statement, *Horn Book* 10 (1934): 336.
61. Jenkins, “Strength of the Inconspicuous,” 74–78.
62. Scrapbook, 1934–35, box 40, p. 1, HBR.
63. Scrapbook, 1934–35, box 40, p. 3, HBR.
64. Whitney to Miller, January 31, 1935, box 6, folder 14, HBR.
65. Mahony and Whitney, comps., *Five Years of Children’s Books*, viii, 1, 3.
66. Miller to Bechtel, December 19, 1934, box 1, folder 23, HBR.
67. Whitney to Miller, January 3, 1935, HBR.
68. Bechtel to Miller, 1934, box 1, folder 23, HBR.
69. Miller to Melcher, January 25, 1934, box 11, folder 29, HBR.
70. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 100.
71. Jordan to Miller, May 24, 1936, box 8, folder 7, HBR.
72. Miller to Hunt, July 28, 1936, box 8, folder 7, HBR.
73. Elinor Whitney Field, “Chapters from Horn Book History—VIII,” *Horn Book* 39 (June 1963): 330.

74. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 120–21; Miller to Jordan, May 27, 1941, box 9, folder 6, HBR.
75. Moore to Miller, October 12, 1936, box 12, folder 10, HBR.
76. Moore to Miller, August 27, 1936, box 12, folder 10, HBR. Circulation for 1936 was 2,291; by the end of 1937 it reached 2,866, with an annual increase thereafter (excepting 1940) of approximately 15 percent. Financial records, box 37, folder 1, HBR.
77. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 181.
78. Moore to Miller, March 23, 1938, box 12, folder 10, HBR.
79. Moore to Miller, February 9, 1937, box 12, folder 10, HBR.
80. Miller to Moore, May 16, 1939, box 12, folder 11, HBR.
81. Fish to Miller, February 11, 1938, box 11 folder 38, HBR.
82. Miller to Massee, May 19, 1938, box 11 folder 21, HBR.
83. Folmsbee oversaw *Horn Book* productions such as *A Little History of the Horn-Book* (written by Folmsbee), *Books, Children, and Men* by Paul Hazard, and *Illustrators of Children's books, 1744–1945*, compiled by Mahony, Latimer, and Folmsbee. See “Chapters of Horn Book History—VIII,” *Horn Book* 39 (1963): 330.
84. Jordan to Miller, May 17, 1939, box 9, folder 6, HBR.
85. Moore to Miller, 1939, box 12, folder 11, HBR.
86. Bechtel, “Children’s Librarian,” in *Books*, 227–28.

### Epilogue

1. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 201–40.
2. The award is given to “a distinguished living bookwoman for her extraordinary contribution to the world of books and through books to the society in which we live.” Now known as the Women’s National Book Association Award, it is awarded annually by the WNBA.
3. Bechtel, “Ladder of Time,” in *Books*, 252–53.
4. Bechtel, “In Search of Children,” in *Books*, 189.
5. Scharf, *To Work*, 93. According to Scharf, this trend could also be seen in higher education where the number of female faculty members fell precipitously. At Vassar, for example, female faculty fell from 83 percent to 70 percent between 1924 and 1934 (92). See the chapter “He Wants My Job” in *To Work and to Wed*.
6. *Ibid.*, 96–97.
7. Vandergrift, “Female Advocacy,” 709.
8. Ross, *Spirited Life*, 126.

