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Made Marian: Myth and Reality in the Redondo Beach Public Library, 1895-1924

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MADE MARIAN:
MYTH AND REALITY IN THE REDONDO BEACH PUBLIC LIBRARY,
1895-1924

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the School of Library and Information Science

San José State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Library and Information Science

by

Lisa Blank

May 2013

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The Designated Thesis Committee Approves the Thesis Titled

MADE MARIAN:
MYTH AND REALITY IN THE REDONDO BEACH PUBLIC LIBRARY, 1895-1924
by

Lisa Blank

APPROVED FOR THE SCHOOL OF LIBRARY AND INFORMATION SCIENCE

SAN JOSÉ STATE UNIVERSITY

May 2013

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ABSTRACT

MADE MARIAN: MYTH AND REALITY IN THE REDONDO BEACH PUBLIC LIBRARY, 1895-1924

by Lisa Blank

Librarians have been depicted in the literature as missionaries, apostles, and crusaders, militant maid Marians spreading the gospel of the library spirit. This thesis examines the historical depiction of the "typical" early librarian by posing two key questions. First, to what extent was the work of librarianship different or unique compared to that of other middle-class female occupations? And second, in what way was the librarian herself distinct from other middle-class women; that is, what defining characteristics or life events brought her to and kept her in librarianship?

Utilizing local newspapers, official reports, and census and vital statistics data, this study contrasts the lives of forty-one women who, between 1895 and 1924, worked in or took the six-month library training course at the Redondo Beach Public Library to those of other librarians as well as to the lives of their mothers, sisters, neighbors, fellow church members, and clubwomen. The conclusion reached is that librarianship was similar to other female-dominated work, and that librarians were not special or unique, were not self-sacrificing idealists, or missionary reformers, but simply middle-class women working in a middle-class occupation.

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Sanity requires that some outside activities be maintained. But the mind never strays far from the topic. So, to all my horse-back-riding, country-western-dancing, and just-plain-old friends and family, my many thanks for their inquiries on progress, and for allowing me to blather on, and on, about librarians and librarianship at the turn of the twentieth century. Special thanks in this regard must be given to Tori and Steve Thompson, who listened to me blather on and on; Professor Paul and Dr. Ellen Alkon, who not only listened to me blather on, and on, but also fed me delicious homemade teas and lunches; and to Walt and Kathy Ashford, who not only listened to me blather on, and on, and fed me wonderful homemade lunches and dinners, but also took me for carriage

rides and gave me driving lessons. My brain still works due to these many, patient, friends.

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Introduction

Marian and Other Librarians

Meredith Wilson set his story of Marian, that quintessential American librarian, in the small midwestern town of River City, Iowa, a stand-in for Wilson's own hometown of Mason City, Iowa, circa 1912. White, middle-class, educated, working at the library, and giving piano lessons to support her widowed mother and younger brother, Marian lives happily ever after when she at last finds her "someone," leaving the library to fulfill the American (woman's) dream of marriage and family. This description so informs the American psyche that one has merely to say the name to invoke the archetype.

The very first libraries fulfilled what were and still are considered the main functions of libraries ever since. First as repositories of information for laws and decrees, situation reports, statistics on rents owed and tithes received, libraries carefully stored and consistently organized information so that it could be reliably identified and retrieved when needed. Second, libraries served as guardians of public standards of culture and morals, where priests with specialized knowledge could place in the hands of the needy soul the correct book to meet the spiritual quest, the very earliest form of reader's advisory for moral uplift and improvement. As books moved into the secular world, they remained objects for the rich, those with the money to purchase and the houseroom to store such items. Libraries outside of church, school, or the wealthy home were initially confined to the use of those prosperous enough to at least purchase membership in the private clubs and societies that owned them. All this changed with the Industrial

Revolution, which brought about not only a radical transformation of the economy, but an accompanying change in the society as well.

The Industrial Revolution altered the concept of "manufacture" from the creation of goods in small, family-centered workshops to the mass production of goods in large factories using production-line techniques. Immigrants who lacked the economic means to purchase land and become farmers and emigrants, single men and women who previously had been a drain on the family income, flocked to the industrial centers that offered this new kind of independent job. Factories required concentrated pools of cheap labor, workers who could understand and communicate effectively and efficiently with one another regardless of social or geographic origin. In addition, the success of this new business model relied on an army of literate managers and clerks to oversee the workers and track the orders, purchases, and expenditures. Neither the moneyed manufacturing magnate nor the factory-floor worker, this new middle class consisted of professionals, bankers, merchants, lawyers, and doctors. These professionals were supported by an army of office workers: secretaries, receptionists, file clerks, typists, stenographers, and bookkeepers. Lumped under the title "clerical workers," they occupied a slightly lower rung on the social ladder.

In 1876, the year of the centennial of the nation's birth and the founding of the American Library Association, the Bureau of Education of the Department of the Interior published a comprehensive report on the history and status of the library in the United

States.¹ The report counted 3682 libraries in the United States, of which only about one-tenth, or 395, were considered "public libraries," that is, libraries that were tax-supported and open to all at no cost. Of these public libraries, fully two-thirds, or 282, were located in the northeast, 164 in Massachusetts alone.² It is no small wonder, then, that library scholars such as Amherst's librarian William I. Fletcher, writing in 1894, would present "library history" as the history of libraries in New England or those states "which were socially descended" from New England.³ Fletcher's libraries were almost entirely confined to the places of the social and political elite, the private libraries of wealthy men, the universities they attended, and the private clubs they founded and financed. These were non-public institutions open only to those with the right connections socially, economically, and even politically to make use of them. Libraries did not so much provide information as store and protect it, doling it out in small portions often a single volume at a time to the privileged few. Librarians during this period were the men in black, the bookmen-scholars. They acted as custodians and gatekeepers, amassing volumes and organizing collections largely for themselves and incidentally for the use of others and then only under carefully controlled conditions that would prevent damage or loss to the books.

¹ U.S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Education, *Public Libraries in the United States of America: Their History, Condition, and Management, Special Report, Part I* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1876; reprint Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1966).

² Jolie Valentine, "Our Community, Our Library: Women, Schools, and Popular Culture in the Public Library Movement," *Public Library Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (2005): 52-53.

William I. Fletcher, *Public Libraries in America*, Columbian Knowledge Series, no. 2 (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1894), 15.

But the Industrial Revolution, just as it created new jobs and a new social class, also created a new library user. Rural farmers new to the urban centers mixed with newly arrived immigrants, all of whom needed to work more or less harmoniously in the factories and foundries, the mill floor, and the sweatshops. Safety and efficiency required a common language on the factory floor or in the crowded sweatshop where faster, more powerful machines could remove an arm or pierce a hand if simple orders could not be followed. Similarly, radical movements such as communism, anarcho-syndicalism, and trade unionism could undermine the social and political stability upon which the new industries were being erected. Sidney Ditzion in his examination of library development during this period argues, "The class which held the reins of the economic system spared no effort, device or method in building up its conservative defense." Following the lead of the businessmen who helped finance the schools and libraries, American educators, Ditzion continued, felt that "education in all forms was the easiest and safest way to salve economic irritations of the classes."⁴ Education in the form of free public schools for the youth and free public libraries for the adults was marshaled in the effort to control and homogenize the disparate elements into a whole, which supported the beliefs of the dominant upper- and emerging middle-classes.

Initially social libraries filled this need. Essentially privately owned and operated, library members paid a subscription fee or purchased shares as in a joint-stock corporation. Collections were typically small, based on the purchasing power of the

⁴ Sidney Ditzion, *Arsenals of a Democratic Culture: A Social History of the American Public Library Movement in New England and the Middle States from 1850 to 1900* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1947), 133-34.

members, and usually focused on reading for self-improvement. Later social libraries, such as those established by the Young Men's Christian Society, often operated on a dual basis, requiring some form of paid membership in order to check out materials for home use, but maintaining a reading room which was open to all for onsite reading, perusing the newspapers, or playing chess and checkers. Businessmen and industrialists sponsored social libraries for their workers aimed at providing places of recreation away from the bars and brothels as well as some basic educational resources. If a few talented individuals were able to apply these resources to lift themselves from the shop-floor to the glass-walls of the managers' offices, so much the better, creating the impression that any fellow with enough hard work could do the same. For women, the social libraries filled a recreational need as well as provided access to resources on everything from current fashion to how to keep a sanitary house. As neighborhoods, cities, and towns grew, organizations and individuals were happy to turn over the costs of maintaining these libraries to civic authorities, which in turn found themselves in need of trained workers to replace the volunteers who previously had charge of the collections. Onto this stage stepped Melvil Dewey, the father of all things library in the United States.

Dewey was a man of broad vision, obsessed with detail. In addition to the popularization of libraries, he was devoted to the causes of metric measurement and spelling reform, the latter a source of great amusement to his library peers. He devoted pages and pages of his journal *Library Notes* to the minutiae of library management, such as the best way to store paste. As noted by historian Dee Garrison in her biographical sketch of Dewey, he wrote "four pages on the standard size of library cards, and showed

how to cut paper without waste, complete with diagrams." In another example of Dewey's obsessive attention to detail, Garrison cited "a nine-page discussion of library handwriting" in which Dewey described the exact spacing of the lines and the placement of the letters on the lines, giving the measurements in millimeters, a discussion which left Garrison to muse, "The length of 1 mm., in case anyone wanted to compute it, was about the width of six hairs. Perhaps it really is not possible to truly comprehend the intricacies of Melvil Dewey's mind."⁵ To provide a well-organized library, Dewey created a new, simple system for the classification and cataloging of library collections and then created the tools to use it, everything from catalog cards to circulation desks, which he produced and sold through his Library Bureau. To employ his methods and purchase his devices, Dewey created a new librarian, redefining librarianship from a job for fussy old men to one for dedicated young women.

Bursting, Athena-like, fully-formed from the fertile brain of Dewey, Marian, the librarian, was a product of her age, the Victorian era's "Cult of True Womanhood."⁶ In his speech, later published as a pamphlet, "Librarianship as a Profession for College-Bred Women,"⁷ Dewey defined librarianship as socially acceptable work, where Marian demonstrated the womanly virtues extolled in the popular culture: adherence to rules (classification and cataloging), helpfulness (reference), and mothering (book selection,

⁵ Dee Garrison, *Apostles of Culture: The Public Librarian and American Society, 1876-1920* (New York: The Free Press, 1979), 131.

⁶ Also referred to as the "cult of domesticity." Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1966): 151-74 is the seminal work on the subject.

⁷ Melvil Dewey, *Librarianship as a Profession for College-Bred Women* (Boston: Library Bureau, 1886).

circulation and children's services).⁸ Anxious to deflect criticism about low salaries, poor opportunities for advancement, and a work dominated by rules and routine, it was Dewey who created the myth of Marian and the "library spirit." "In library work, as in all other technical work," explained Dewey, "the 'spirit' is the all-important thing. If one has become filled with the spirit of the work, has grasped the broad ideas of how and why library work exists, has shared in the enthusiasm as to its future, the purely technical work will be mastered through this 'spirit.'"⁹ A modern-day Joan of Arc, maid Marian, the librarian, was a young woman who put aside her own personal fulfillment in home and family to engage in the great missionary work of librarianship.

By the turn of the 20th century the Victorian era's cult of domesticity gave way to the Progressive Era's municipal housekeeping, the true woman becoming the new one, engaged in sanitary reform, temperance, and woman's suffrage. Having survived the appalling carnage of a World War and the stunning losses of a pandemic; having emerged from their homes to raise money for the Red Cross, to work in government offices, to nurse the injured and then the ill; and with full legal rights guaranteed by the passage of the woman's suffrage amendment, women no longer need rely on polite fictions to define their place in the workforce, maid Marian was made militant. Yet for librarians the situation remained remarkably unchanged, with low salaries, poor opportunities for advancement, and a rigid adherence to rules and procedures. These were the librarians

⁸ Welter defines "four cardinal virtues" of the true woman "piety, purity, submissiveness and domesticity," "The Cult," 152.

⁹ Linda A. Eastman, quoting Dewey in "Aims and Personal Attitude in Library Work," *Papers and Proceedings of the Nineteenth General Meeting of the American Library Association* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1897), 80.

that Charles C. Williamson described in 1923, serious young women in skirts and waists, industrious and willing, but lacking the training or worldview to raise librarianship from mere clerical handwork to the level of a true profession.¹⁰

When Williamson, then head of the Division of Economics and Sociology at the New York Public Library,¹¹ published his attack, for it was nothing less, on *Training for Library Service*, the wonder is not that he abandoned the rhetoric of the "true library spirit" for a "scientific," or at least statistically based, study. The wonder is that he was not tarred, feathered and run out on a rail, except that the women librarians may have felt this was entirely too unladylike a response. The mostly male library leaders could make some, modest reforms to library schools, such as changing entry requirements to include a college degree and replacing retiring female with male heads of schools; but they could not support the demotion of 95 percent of their members to a non-professional status. Williamson's "remedies" for the low income, low status, low prospects, and lack of professional standing which characterized librarianship were largely ignored, when not outright rejected, not because so many Marians were, as the stereotype would have it,

¹⁰ Charles C. Williamson, *Training for Library Service* (New York: D. B. Updike, 1923).

¹¹ Williamson later became the Director of the Columbia University Libraries (1926 to 1943), and Dean of the Columbia School of Library Service, where, presumably, he applied his own recommendations. "Biographical Note, Charles C. Williamson papers, 1900-1965," *Columbia University Libraries, Archival Collections*, http://www.columbia.edu/cu/lweb/archival/collections/ldpd_4079481/.

"meek, mousy and colorless" old maids,¹² but because so many librarians were Marians, that is women.

The work of the new social historians in the mid-1940s did little to alter previous images of "the librarian," primarily because their focus was on the relation of the *institution* of the library with the society, and not on the women, and few men, who actually ran the libraries. To the extent the authors did comment on the librarians, it was to note their lack of importance in the development of their own field. Jesse H. Shera's *Foundations of the Public Library* covers the early colonial period through 1855, the period of the librarian-scholar.¹³ According to Shera, "The library movement did not generate 'great' leadership. It attracted the support of men who were distinguished in public life--Everett,¹⁴ Ticknor,¹⁵ the Quincys,¹⁶ Mann,¹⁷ Barnard,¹⁸--and it profited much

¹² Dee Garrison, "The Tender Technicians: The Feminization of Public Librarianship, 1876-1905," *Journal of Social History* 6, no. 2 (Winter 1972-1973): 152.

¹³ Jesse H. Shera, *Foundations of the Public Library: The Origins of the Public Library Movement in New England, 1629-1855*. (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1949; Hamden, Conn: The Shoe String Press, Inc., 1965, 1974).

¹⁴ Edward Everett entered Harvard University at the age of thirteen, was a member of the U. S. House of Representatives, the U.S. Senate, served as Governor of Massachusetts and Envoy to the Court of St. James. A professor of Greek literature at Harvard University from 1815 to 1826, he was a member of the Board of Overseers from 1827 to 1857, and president from 1846 to 1849. Herbert V. Vetter, ed. "Edward Everett (1846-1849)," *Harvard's Unitarian Presidents* (Cambridge: Harvard Square Library, 2006), *Harvard Square Library*, <http://www.harvardsquarelibrary.org/HVDpresidents/everett.phpbioguide.congress.gov>.

¹⁵ George Ticknor was another child prodigy, graduating Dartmouth College in 1807 at the age of about sixteen. He became a professor of languages at Harvard in 1819, resigning in 1835, later publishing "his premier scholarly achievement, the *History of Spanish Literature*" for which he used "the Spanish sections of his 14,000-volume personal library." "George Ticknor, 1791-1871," *The Ticknor Society*, 2009, <http://www.ticknor.org/George.shtml>.

from their efforts. But these men are remembered less because of what they did for the public library than for their achievements in other fields."¹⁹ Similarly, Sidney Ditzion, picking up the story in 1859 with his *Arsenals of a Democratic Culture* and carrying it forward to the end of the nineteenth century, believed that librarians "overemphasized the role played by the profession itself" in the development of the public library movement in the late nineteenth century.²⁰ As for the role of women in library development, Ditzion professes "one finds it difficult to accept the thesis that women's clubs constituted the 'push' of the movement." According to Ditzion, women's organizations were important only "in the small towns which were tardy in supporting a library, to stir up interest in slow states by lobbying for legislation, and to carry the movement to recently settled or educationally backward parts of the country," particularly in the "Middle and Far West" and the South.²¹

¹⁶ Josiah Quincy, III preceded Everett as president of Harvard, serving from 1829 to 1845. He later served as mayor of Boston from 1896-1899. "Josiah Quincy III," *Wikipedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Josiah_Quincy_III.

¹⁷ Horace Mann was a graduate of Brown University, best known for his work in promoting public education and the establishment of the normal school for teachers' training. "Horace Mann Biography," *Bio.true story, A & E Networks*, 2013, <http://www.biography.com/people/horace-mann-9397522>.

¹⁸ Frederick A. P. Barnard was a Yale graduate who variously taught mathematics, natural philosophy and history, chemistry, and even English literature. In 1864 he became the 10th president of Columbia College (now Columbia University), a position he held until his death in 1889. He was a supporter of women's education, and an early supporter of Dewey's School of Library Economy. "Frederick Augustus Porter Barnard," *Wikipedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frederick_Augustus_Porter_Barnard.

¹⁹ Shera, *Foundations*, 244.

²⁰ Ditzion, *Arsenals*, 172.

²¹ *Ibid*, 83.

In 1973 two articles appeared which challenged the essentially liberal model of the library as an institution of social betterment. The first was librarian Michael H. Harris's essay, published in *Library Journal* under the title "The Purpose of the American Public Library: a Revisionist Interpretation of History."²² The second was historian Dee Garrison's article "The Tender Technicians: The Feminization of Public Librarianship, 1876-1905," which received wider readership in 1979 when it appeared as the final third of her book *Apostles of Culture*.²³ Although Harris presented his work as a direct challenge to Shera and Ditzion, it was Garrison's which proved the more controversial.

While deeply researched and liberally documented, Harris's work is framed more as a philosophical than an historical essay. Harris divides the discussion of the librarian into four time periods. The first period from around 1850 to 1890 was of the great library philosophers, men like Everett and Ticknor, founders but not librarians of the Boston Public Library, who conceived of the library as a great engine of moral uplift, a means to bring the lower, uneducated classes in line with the political and social philosophies of the upper classes. The second was the technical phase, from about 1890 to 1920, when actual librarians like Justin Winsor,²⁴ William Frederick Poole,²⁵ and Melvil Dewey

²² Michael H. Harris, "The Purpose of the American Public Library: A Revisionist Interpretation of History," *Library Journal* 98 (September 1973): 2509-14. It was first published as *The Purpose of the American Public Library in Historical Perspective: A Revisionist Interpretation*. (Washington, D. C.: ERIC Clearinghouse on Library and Information Science, 1972). Quotations are from the ERIC publication.

²³ Dee Garrison, "Tender Technicians"; Garrison, *Apostles of Culture*. Quotations are from the article.

²⁴ Justin Winsor was head of the Boston Public Library from 1868 to 1877 when he took over as librarian of Harvard University, a post he held until his death in 1897. He was also the first president of the ALA. Boston Public Library, "Board of Trustees--

imposed technical order and organization on the library. According to Harris these librarians lost touch with "the founders' visions of the library's purpose." They "thought less and less about theoretical questions--especially those dealing with philosophy--and spent more and more time dealing with organization matters."²⁶ The third period began around 1920 and lasted to the Second World War and was one of retrenchment and retreat. "Discouraged on the one hand by their inability to increase library use significantly, and on the other by their seeming failure to elevate those who did use the library" they abandoned the educational and reforming goals of the founders and redefined the processes so that providing recreational reading and information services became the ends rather than the means of library work.²⁷ Finally, after World War II came the "current," 1973 version: the librarian as custodian. The old made new again, the new philosophy reaffirmed the librarians' "deepseated, and often irrational faith in education--especially bookcentered informal education--as a panacea for society's ills," but "placed the responsibility for library use on the patron, and not the librarian."²⁸ According to Harris, "The emphasis was on the library as guardian of the information; very little attention was devoted to the dissemination of this information once acquired by

Former Trustees, Justin Winsor," *Boston Public Library*,
<http://www.bpl.org/general/trustees/winsor.htm>.

²⁵ William Frederick Poole was head of the Boston Athenaeum from 1856 to 1869. He then worked for four years as a traveling library organizer, before becoming the first head of the Chicago Public Library in 1873, going on to organize the Newberry Library in that same city, where he remained until his death in 1894. *In Memoriam, William Frederick Poole* (Chicago: Chicago Literary Club, 1894), <http://ia600202.us.archive.org/1/items/inmemoriamwillia00lawr/inmemoriamwillia00lawr.pdf>.

²⁶ Harris, "The Purpose," 29.

²⁷ *Ibid*, 37.

²⁸ *Ibid*, 42; 43.

the library." Harris argued that the "Librarians no longer need worry about their inability to interest large numbers of people in their services. All of their attention could be focused on acquiring, organizing, and preserving the library materials. This, of course, was simply more business as usual, but now librarians had a rationale for their action."²⁹ Ironically, although Harris presented his study as a stimulus to dialogue on the purpose of the public library "by emancipating [sic] the library profession, at least for the moment, from its dependency on an idealized history," his work did little to change the prevailing view of the librarian, whom Harris repeatedly describes as "passive," not to mention elitist.³⁰

Garrison's work, as the article title sets forth, deals with that overlap between the Victorian Era (1837-1901) and the Progressive Era (1890-1920), the intersection where women ventured, in ways calculated not to threaten their own status in society, from their homes into the world of work and civic participation. As Garrison explained, "Librarianship, when defined as self-denying and spiritual, offered women the opportunity not to change their status but to affirm it, not to fulfill their self but their self-image."³¹ According to Garrison, "Even if some librarians did not subscribe to the concept of woman's sphere, with all its connotations, they had to appear to do so in order not offend the many who did. Not to surrender to the Victorian mystique was to run the terrible risk of being judged deviants in their society, of being judged abnormal because

²⁹ Ibid, 43.

³⁰ Ibid, 47.

³¹ Garrison, "Tender Technicians," 141.

of a challenge to well-established norms,"³² norms which dictated that women in this period "most likely lacked scholarly ambitions or preparation, had no life-long vocational commitment and whose attitudes toward feminine sex roles led her to accept, and expect, administrative controls, low autonomy and subordination to clerical, routine tasks."³³

In fact, Garrison's deeply researched, carefully crafted, highly readable study did no more than put historical context and analytical gloss on Williamson's highly unpalatable contemporary observations, which probably accounts for the reception of Garrison's work by the librarians. Librarian Elaine Fain in critiquing Harris's and Garrison's works accused Garrison of expressing "contempt for the passivity and nonassertiveness of the entire profession."³⁴ Librarian-historian, and now novelist, Denise Sallee, writing about the career of California librarian Anne Hadden, whose colorful account of one of her organizing trips graced the pages of *News Notes of California Libraries*, states, "Garrison acknowledges the exploitation, without realizing the opportunities that librarianship opened up to women."³⁵ According to librarian-historian Joanne E. Passet in her account of western librarians, "Dee Garrison further obscures women's contributions to librarianship by suggesting that they stunted the

³² Ibid, 142.

³³ Ibid, 148.

³⁴ Elaine Fain, "Manners and Morals in the Public Library: A Glance at Some New History," *The Journal of Library History* 10, no. 2 (April 1975): 99.

³⁵ Denise Sallee, "Reconceptualizing Women's History: Anne Hadden and the California County Library System," *Libraries and Culture* 27, no. 4 (Fall 1992): 372.

development of librarianship as a profession and consequently shaped the inferior status of the public library as a cultural institution."³⁶

The best known criticism of Garrison comes from Suzanne Hildenbrand, now professor emeritus of Library and Information Studies at the State University of New York, Buffalo. Contributing editor to the 1996 *Reclaiming the American Library Past: Writing the Women In*, librarian Hildenbrand subjects historian Garrison and, in a quick barb, the late pioneer in women's history Gerda Lerner to the criticism that both authors "blamed women for the failures of public libraries."³⁷ Hildenbrand deprecatingly refers to Garrison as a "self-styled feminist," before going on to state that Garrison "accepted without question the view that women were responsible for the failure of the public library to develop vigorous clientele and an expansive future,"³⁸ later referring to "the exploited wretch of Dee Garrison's *Apostles of Culture*."³⁹ Hildenbrand links Garrison to sociologist Peter Rossi, who in 1962 reiterated Williamson's proposals that the only way to raise the status of librarianship was "masculinization, particularly at the top." But, for Hildenbrand the worst of Garrison's sins seems to be that "Garrison's version of library history and the role of women in it is widely accepted and has become the standard

³⁶ Joanne E. Passet, *Cultural Crusaders: Women Librarians in the American West, 1900-1917* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), xv.

³⁷ Suzanne Hildenbrand, "Women in Library History: From the Politics of Library History to the History of Library Politics," in *Reclaiming the American Library Past: Writing the Women*, ed. Suzanne Hildenbrand (Norwood, NJ: Ablex Publishing Company, 1996), 3.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 6.

³⁹ *Ibid*, 12.

history of the topic *for those outside the profession*" [emphasis added].⁴⁰ Thus Hildenbrand's main argument with Garrison, as reflected in her comment about Lerner, seems to be that Garrison was an historian not a librarian, as if no one outside of the profession could write about it with clarity or understanding.

Forty years later, Garrison's work is still a focus of the librarians' ire. For example, librarian Linda Esser found in her 2004 essay that "*Apostles of Culture* (1979) made public what was obvious to the library workforce--that the workforce was, and continues to be, dominated by women--and placed that dominance in a historical context." But, "Because of Garrison's work, feminized and feminization have become words with negative connotations, a condition to be avoided by moving toward the masculine model of a profession and the technological domain. Garrison's work seems to suggest that feminized and feminization are librarianship's dirty words."⁴¹ It is a distinction without a difference, still leaving Garrison to blame for blaming the women.

By the 1990s, with ethnic studies, women's studies, gender studies, and every other form of study and sub-group history staking out a piece of the territory, librarian-historians began to publish in force. Focused primarily on women--club women, library school heads, library organizers--outside of the Atlantic seaboard, library history as

⁴⁰ Suzanne, Hildenbrand, "Library Feminism and Library Women's History: Activism and Scholarship, Equity and Culture," *Libraries & Culture*, 35, no. 1 (Winter 2000): 55.

⁴¹ Linda Esser, "The View From the Intersection of School Library Women and Work," *Progressive Librarian* 24 (Winter 2004), accessed October 10, 2009 at http://libr.org/pl/24_Esser.html. Note: The current link for Issue 24, Winter 2004, http://www.progressivelibrariansguild.org/PL_Jnl/pdf/PL24_spring2004.pdf, actually opens Issue 23, Spring 2004.

written by librarians continues to invoke the myth of Marian, the missionary maid of the library spirit. Sallee describes Anne Hadden as one of the "new women," "one who believed strongly that, by benefiting others, the most benefit would be for oneself."⁴² Passet describes the early professional librarians of the West as pioneers, "cultivating the library spirit," transforming "passive repositories of books into dynamic cultural and educational institutions."⁴³ While Gary F Kurutz, History Librarian Emeritus of the California State Library, writing about the California State Library county library organizers speaks of their "evangelistic zeal" and "heroic commitment."⁴⁴ Christine Pawley profiles "advocate for access" Lutie Stearns, traveling librarian for the Wisconsin Free Library Commission, whose "personal philosophy" of library service "emphasized the rights of citizens to equal information access as a public good."⁴⁵ According to Pawley, Stearns believed that "managerial efficiency was not a goal in itself, and neither were the technologies and policies that facilitated the traveling libraries. Stearns traveled the state, politicked in back rooms, addressed Farmers Institutes, lobbied the post office, and kept her riveting reports flowing to the WFLC for one purpose: to make information accessible to everyone in Wisconsin."⁴⁶ Recounting the creation of the Portland (OR) library, Cheryl Gunselman describes Mary Isom as a woman of "vision," "exercising her

⁴² Sallee, "Reconceptualizing Women's History," 366.

⁴³ Passet, *Cultural Crusaders*, xv.

⁴⁴ Gary F. Kurutz, "'It's a Long Trip from Headquarters': An Exhibit Celebrating Early County Library Service in California," *California State Library Foundation Bulletin* 92 (2009): 13.

⁴⁵ Christine Pawley, "Advocate for Access: Lutie Stearns and the Traveling Libraries of the Wisconsin Free Library Commission, 1895-1914," *Libraries & Culture* 35, no. 3 (Summer 2000): 435.

⁴⁶ Pawley, "Advocate for Access," 454.

considerable energy and expertise to participate in the creation of a venerable and powerful community institution."⁴⁷ And Suzanne M. Stauffer in her profile of western library leader Mary E. Downey presents her as "active, assertive," a "proponent of the librarian as the expert who would guide and shape the community reading habits and, through them, American society and culture." Committed "to the public library as an educational center and a force for moral and social reform," Stauffer argues that Downey "used the socially approved role of guardian of morality and transmitter of culture to achieve public power and to promote the Progressive Era ideals of social unity, moral reform, and political democracy through the public library."⁴⁸ Pioneers, reformers, apostles of culture or cultural crusaders, one can hardly address the literature of librarianship without encountering the missionary vocabulary of the myth of Marian.

The question is to what extent do these presentations of the "typical" librarian reflect the lives and careers of the actual women who worked in libraries. To compare these ideal library types with their real-life sisters two questions must be answered. First, to what extent was the work of librarianship different or unique compared to that of other middle-class female occupations of the time? And, second, in what way was the librarian herself distinct from other middle-class women; that is what defining characteristics or life events brought her to and kept her in librarianship? This study looks at forty-one

⁴⁷ Cheryl Gunselman, "'Illumino' for All: Opening the Library Association of Portland to the Public, 1900-1903," *Libraries & Culture* 36, no. 3 (Summer 2001): 456-57.

⁴⁸ Suzanne M. Stauffer, "'She speaks as one having authority': Mary E. Downey's Use of Libraries as a Means to Public Power," *Libraries & Culture* 40, no. 1 (Winter 2005): 54, 56.

women, paid library employees or unpaid student-apprentices, who worked at California's Redondo Beach Public Library between 1895 and 1925, examining their personal lives and professional careers, holding them up to the model librarians for comparison and analysis. Because these women did not live in a vacuum either socially or professionally their stories are interlaced with those of their friends, families, and peers in Redondo Beach, as well as the stories of other librarians, primarily located in southern California but in other parts of the state as well, with whom they worked and interacted.

The study relies heavily on three primary sources: local newspapers available on microfilm at the Redondo Beach Public Library and the Carson Branch of the Los Angeles County Library; data collected from the United States Census accessed online through the portal of Ancestry.com; and reports of local librarians to the California State Library, which were then edited and published in the quarterly journal *News Notes of California Libraries* (1906-1956), made available through inter-library loan from UCLA.

For local history the richest source is the local newspaper, which allows individual people and events to be fixed in the larger community. Redondo Beach had two weekly newspapers, *The Redondo Reflex* (1905-1964) and *The Redondo Breeze* (1894 to the present, under various titles, currently published as a daily under the title *The Daily Breeze*). Both papers were devoted almost exclusively to news of the people and events of Redondo Beach, with slightly more expansive coverage in the *Reflex*. Even national events such as the debate over prohibition, or international events such as World War I or the Great Influenza were reported in terms of local impact and participation.

Thus, for example, news about World War I centered around letters and dispatches sent by local boys to the folks back home with little attention given to the major campaigns.

Reporting was largely a matter of attending local events, whether meetings of the city Board of Trustees or of the Women's Club, or printing notices and stories provided by the participants themselves. The papers actively solicited such contributions and the residents were, it seems, more than happy to oblige. The women of Redondo Beach may have been raised on the old adage that a proper lady's name should appear in the newspaper only three times, at her birth, her marriage and her death (and possibly the births, marriages and deaths of her immediate family); but the truth is that women of a certain social standing eagerly submitted contributions to the papers. In an age in which one fairly goggles at the me-centered media of twitter, Facebook, and the ubiquitous blog, it is instructive to read the social notes of the newspapers which include not only the expected notices of civic organizations, social clubs, and church groups, but the self-reporting of personal events, down to and including standings in the local bridge club, notes on vacations, and lists of the guests and the menu of the previous Sunday supper or birthday celebration.

The second major source of information on the women of Redondo Beach is the federal census. Most of the women in this study were born after 1880, by which time the census recorded the name, age, sex, place of birth, place of birth of both parents, and relationship to the head of the household of all the reported residents at a single address. Unfortunately, the 1890 census was destroyed by fire and subsequent water damage,

leaving a twenty-year gap before the next census of 1900. The 1900 census was the only enumeration to collect not just age but the actual month and year of birth. This census also introduced two vital questions, the number of years couples had been married, which yields approximate age at the time of the marriage; and the number of children (total and still living) born, which reveals a great deal about family size, birth order, and childhood mortality. Unfortunately, those questions were dropped after the 1910 census.

The census provides far more than the detail of an individual life, however. Census data provides a "back-story," tracing the migration of a family from Illinois or Ohio to California, sometimes by way of Hawaii or the Philippines; recording the changing occupation of a father; or the family history of a later spouse. Census data also provides a quick view of the future, snapshots of the status of individuals ten or twenty years after they have left the main stage of the drama. Most importantly, the examination of sequential enumerations reveals information about marriage and family which challenges commonly held beliefs about women's lives, for example, a higher prevalence of separation and divorce than simple counts suggest.

Overlaying this is a serious question regarding the accuracy of the information contained in the census, which, while important, is not so significant as to discount the data as completely unusable or unreliable. At a time when government documentation of personal events such as births and marriages was inconsistent at best, much of the data collected by the enumerators was a matter of memory. Ages, place of birth, even given names often change from one census to another. One of the frequent occurrences is for

first and middle names to change order, or for initials or shortened names to take the place of full names. Problems of proper identification are compounded by family traditions in which given names are repeated across generations. And this does not take into account differing spellings of both given and surnames, probably offered as frequently by the counted as the counter. Finally with regard to names, there is the problem of marriage, where taking on the surname of the husband or step-father can cause a woman or her children to effectively disappear from the record.

Similar inconsistencies occur in reporting place of birth and especially age. Although the 1900 census asked for the specific month and year of birth, rather than the less precise "age at last birthday" from which a year of birth can be extrapolated, the fact is that year, month and date of birth remain an approximate value. It is common for the "calculated age" or the "calculated year of birth" to vary by a year or two between censuses, but for some individuals the range can be as much as three or four years, and at times it is a legitimate question whether the respondent was simply unsure of the year of birth of a spouse or in-law, or whether there was a deliberate attempt to appear younger, older, or to close a significant age gap between husband and wife. Even government-issued documents such as passports or state death records rely on other, less trustworthy sources for birth information. In order to avoid tedious repetition, the reader is therefore advised to take it as a given that every statement of age could, and probably should, legitimately be accompanied by some qualifying modifier such as "about," "around," or "approximately."

Given these discrepancies, it was not uncommon to spend a good deal of time tracing an individual, only to conclude they were not the "Sally" or "James" of the story; and frequently more than a single data point was necessary in order to positively identify an individual. For example, records from the California Death Index, which are also available through Ancestry.com, will sometimes include the maiden name of the deceased's mother, information which is frequently so specific it can be used to positively identify a particular individual. City directories and voter registration rolls also serve to locate individuals in time and space, often providing additional information about occupation or the status of other family members. In addition, Ancestry.com encourages the creation of publicly accessible family trees. Information in these trees is not always documented by their creators, but it can be used as pointers to other data sources, and sometimes can be referenced as reliable, if not authoritative, when the information contained is consistent with other, verifiable sources.

A third vital source of information about librarians at large in the State of California is the *News Notes of California Libraries*, published from 1906-1956. It began as a monthly in 1906 but thereafter was produced as a quarterly by the California State Library in Sacramento. In addition to an annual report, each quarter librarians throughout the state submitted updates to the State Librarian, which were then published in *News Notes*. Primarily consisting of statistics about the size of the collections, number of cardholders, and circulation by type and borrower so detailed as to make an accountant swoon, the reports also contain a section wherein the librarian was asked to comment on anything of interest which had happened in their library since the last report. And it is in

these informal notes that the rich and diverse story of the librarians of California can be found. In almost every case the head librarians commented not only on the comings and goings of the staff, but on where they came from or were going to. Not merely the arrival but the previous position or training of a new member of staff was reported. Librarians did not simply resign to be married but resigned to become Mrs. James T. Smith, with new address duly noted. Departure due to illness, to take a vacation, to take another library position, or even to pursue another line of work entirely were all reported with appropriate detail as was a return when it happened. As well the comings and goings of the State Library staff and, after it was established, the graduates of the State Library School were also included in the journal. Thus the *News Notes* make it possible to trace career paths over time and geography, to establish changes of residency or work status, sometimes to the precise day.

The *News Notes* also provide insight into the professional issues of the day. Summaries of regional and state meetings of the California Library Association as well as reports on the proceedings of the semi-annual American Library Association meetings were given, sometimes with presentations printed in full. And each issue contained at least one article themed around a topic of general library interest. For example, in July of 1906 each individual library report included a description of the physical library as well as indicated whether it was a Carnegie-funded institution or not. An essay on the subject complete with photographs was part of that month's issue. At other times the librarians reported on the most popular titles circulated, or policies on the number and type of books a single patron was permitted to check out, or policies on allowing children to hold

library cards. Larger articles included suggestions on how to advertise one's library or what types of special events might be held in the library.

By combining these three sources, local newspaper reports, national census data, and state library records, and augmenting them with data drawn from high school yearbooks, local directories, and voter registration rolls it is possible to put together a portrait of the Redondo Beach library women that includes not only their own personal histories but fits them in to the histories of their neighbors in the city and their colleagues throughout the state. From these sources a picture of the women who "took up the work" emerges which challenges the stereotypes of women, work, and, most of all, the image of Marian, the missionary librarian, in the first quarter of the 20th century.

Chapter One

Imagining Marian:

Melvil Dewey and the Myth of Marian, the Librarian

The cult of true womanhood, also referred to as the cult of domesticity, emphasized women's role as protector of hearth and home, a model of sexual purity, religious piety, subservience, and submissiveness.¹ Put simply, "A woman's place was in the home," wherein she maintained a clean house, served wholesome food, provided preliminary education, and guarded the sanctity of marriage and the family. Outside the home, women were limited to performing "good works" such as nursing, teaching, and home visiting. Think of the March sisters as depicted in that paean to middle-class families, Louisa May Alcott's *Little Women*, first published in 1868. But as historian Sidney R. Bland states, "The woman's sphere that became highly elasticized during the Civil War never returned to its original confining dimensions."² The "true woman" of the 1820s to 1860s gave way to the "new woman" of the Progressive Era.

As Bland states, middle-class women's lives were "transformed" by a combination of urbanization, economic growth spurred on by new industries, and an increase in leisure time as the result of moving production from the home to the factory, as well as by the

¹ Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18, no. 2 (Summer 1966): 151-74.

² Sidney R. Bland, "Shaping the Life of the New Woman: The Crusading Years of the *Delineator*," *American Periodicals* 19, no. 2 (2009): 168.

introduction of new, labor-saving devices and products for home use.³ Canned and processed foods, like Quaker's new breakfast cereal and the Smucker family's jams and jellies; ready-made clothes sewn in factories like Max Blanck and Issac Harris's Triangle Waist Company; and new cleaning devices such as the hand-held vacuum cleaner and the mechanical washing machine reduced the time and labor need for the daily tasks of feeding and clothing one's family, and keeping a clean and healthful home.⁴

No stranger to the Protestant work ethic, middle-class women and girls sought to put this new leisure time to "use" in ways that did not conflict with the social mores of their class. The club movement (the General Federation of Women's Clubs was founded in New York City in 1890) provided a way for these women to become involved in addressing civic issues.⁵ Homemaking became "municipal housekeeping," expanding

³ Ibid, 168.

⁴ Quaker Oats was registered in 1877, "Quaker History," *Quaker Oats*, <http://www.quakeroats.com/about-quaker-oats/content/quaker-history.aspx>; Smucker's was founded in 1897, "History," *Smucker's*, http://www.smuckers.com/family_company/history/default.aspx. The Triangle Waist Company was organized in 1900, "Biography: Harris and Blanck," *American Experience*, *PBS: California*, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/biography/triangle-harris-blanck/>. James Spangler patented the first hand-held vacuum cleaner in 1907, Mary Bellis, "Invention and History of Vacuum Cleaners," *About.com, Inventors*, <http://inventors.about.com/od/uvstartinventions/a/Vacuum-Cleaners.htm>. Spangler sold his patent to William Hoover. F. L. Maytag introduced a wooden-tub washing machine in 1907. In 1908 the first electric washer, the Thor, was introduced, and then in 1911 came Whirlpool Corporation's machine. Mary Bellis, "History of Washing Machines," *About.com, Inventors*, <http://inventors.about.com/od/wstartinventions/a/washingmachines.htm>.

⁵ "History and Mission," *General Federation of Women's Clubs*, http://www.gfwc.org/gfwc/History_and_Mission.asp?SnID=2057954044; "Early History," *Women's Christian Temperance Union*, <http://www.wctu.org/earlyhistory.html>; "About Hull-House," *Jane Addams Hull-House Museum*,

women's role into the general community. Social reform and civic improvement organizations such as temperance (the Women's Christian Temperance Union was founded in Cleveland in 1874), public health and social work (Jane Addam's famous Hull House was established in Chicago in 1889), education (the Parent-Teacher Association was founded on February 17, 1897 during the National Congress of Mothers held in Washington, D. C.), and prison and asylum reform (Nellie Bly's famous expose of a New York madhouse was published in 1887) were all part of the new, public work of the middle-class woman. Civic-minded middle-class matrons at the turn of the century became the "ladies who lunched," before or after which they attended an educational or uplifting lecture, volunteered at a church-organized fundraising event, or otherwise engaged in some work of social or community betterment.

Their unmarried daughters, however, filled their hours not in good works but in good work, socially acceptable, paid occupations in which they engaged in the time between finishing school, usually high school but sometimes college, and their own marriage. These paid jobs came to be known as "white collar" work, a reference to the ubiquitous white, button-down-collared shirt which was the virtual uniform of the middle-class working man, as opposed to the work clothes or the uniforms of the lower classes. "White collar" work was defined by four important criteria. First, it required literacy and numeracy, that is, at least a high-school education. Second, it was inside

http://www.uic.edu/jaddams/hull/_learn/_about_hullhouse/about_hullhouse.html; "National PTA History," *National PTA*, <http://www.pta.org/about/content.cfm?ItemNumber=3465>; "People & Events: Nellie Bly," *American Experience*, *PBS*, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/world/peopleevents/pande01.html>.

work and generally done seated, in other words, not physically dangerous or overly strenuous. Third, it was primarily mental rather than physical labor. Although a white-collar worker might file, type, or operate a telephone exchange, this was not defined as manual labor in the way that operating machinery or doing laundry or cleaning would be. Creative handwork such as sewing or millinery work was also considered middle-class unless done in a factory setting. And fourth, interactions with the public were decorous and class-appropriate, meaning that while they might involve service they were not subservient or menial. Thus, for example, being a shopgirl in a department store was not an appropriate position for a middle-class girl, involving, as it did, standing all day and being in a subservient role to the customer.⁶

". . . this modern, missionary, library work": Dewey Creates the Myth of Marian

In 1886 Dewey delivered his famous, or perhaps more appropriately infamous, address, "Librarianship as a Profession for College-Bred Women,"⁷ to a gathering of the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, one of two precursor organizations, the other being the Southern Association of College Women, which merged in 1921 to form the American Association of University Women.⁸ This was exactly the right audience for

⁶ See Kim England and Kate Boyer, "Women's Work: The Feminization and Shifting Meanings of Clerical Work," *Journal of Social History* 43, no. 2 (Winter 2009): 307-40, for a discussion of "white collar" work as an expression of the middle-class.

⁷ Melvil Dewey, *Librarianship as a Profession for College-bred Women* (Boston: Library Bureau, 1886).

⁸ The ACA was founded in 1882 by 17 women who "met in Boston to establish the Association of Collegiate Alumnae, uniting college graduates for 'practical educational work.' Members of the first generation of college-educated women, they had struggled for an education only to find that society had no place for them and no interest

Dewey's great new endeavor, the recruitment of educated, middle-class women to the work of the public library. Later published by Dewey's Library Bureau, the address was pure Dewey in every way, combining his missionary zeal for libraries with his paternalistic, not to say patronizing, view of women's place in the library profession.

Dewey started his address with an immediate presentation of his key theme, the "broader view of the field" which, as college women "considering so important a question as a life work," they would want to know. "You must think of the library," he told them, "as an essential part of our system of education."⁹ Reviewing "the present machinery for general education," Dewey could hardly, and therefore did not, resist including his twin hobby-horses, the adoption of the metric system and spelling reform as measures which if only enacted would "easily gain something each year on illiteracy," so that even "the masses" could "look forward to a brightening future."¹⁰ Mere literacy, however, was not enough, said Dewey. "If we are to educate and elevate the masses and make their lives better worth living," then "we should in some way put in their hand the *best* reading."¹¹ From there Dewey proceeded to a lengthy discussion replete with even more lengthy quotations on the benefits of reading, which brought him to the subject of libraries and the importance of library work, by which he meant not work in a library but the

in utilizing their abilities. Through the new organization (ACA), they hoped to promote and raise standards for women's higher education." Sophia Smith Collection, "Association of Collegiate Alumnae Records, Finding Aid, Historical Note," *Five College Archives & Manuscript Collections*, http://asteria.fivecolleges.edu/findaids/sophiasmith/mnsss323_bioghist.html.

⁹ Dewey, *Librarianship*, 3.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 4.

¹¹ *Ibid*, 5.

establishment and support of libraries. Putting libraries on an equal footing with the church and the public school, libraries completed "the triangle of great educational work" which was the heart of his argument in support of libraries.¹²

Dewey then recounted the creation of the American Library Association, the beginnings of the *Library Journal*, and the creation of the Library Bureau, concluding that it was "no accident that brought these five interests [here he included the American Metric Bureau and the Spelling Reform Association with the ALA, *LJ* and the Library Bureau] into the same suite of rooms but that each was an essential part in a clearly defined scheme for meeting the demands of popular education."¹³ After spending additional time detailing the lack of adequate means to properly train librarians for this "modern, missionary, library work,"¹⁴ Dewey finally arrived at the point of his address, which was to recruit college-educated women to the new profession of librarianship.

Dewey stated explicitly that the new School of Library Economy, set to open at Columbia University in January 1887, had as its aim to provide "active instruction," by which Dewey meant hands-on, actual library work, to be performed "under the daily supervision of the teachers, whatever will do most to fit them for successful librarians, cataloguers or assistants."¹⁵ This distinction of the types of work is critical to understanding the myth of Marian, for the women were, decidedly, to be the "catalogers"

¹² Ibid, 9.

¹³ Ibid, 13.

¹⁴ Ibid, 9.

¹⁵ Ibid, 17.

and "assistants," and not, with only rare exception, the "librarians," a position he reserved for the men.

Dewey emphasized the "wholly practical" and "technical" nature this new study of library economy entailed. Thus the coursework at the school would not duplicate previous college courses "except as its bibliographical lectures discuss the side of each subject that the librarian most needs to know" in order to properly classify and catalogue the work.¹⁶ What Dewey did not state, but which might have been evident in the information pamphlet he urged his listeners to write away for, was that while the practical work was to be supervised by a group of women instructors hand-picked and trained by Dewey, the bibliographical lectures, which would deal with book selection as well as how to determine subject classification, would be given by an entirely specialist faculty composed exclusively of men. In fact, when Mary Salome Cutler Fairchild, instructor and de facto school director, had the independence to offer a highly popular course on book reviews, Dewey promptly quashed it, replacing it with a course in cataloging. Thus the female students (and almost all the library students were female) were to be taught "about the clerical work of large and small libraries and about many technical details,"¹⁷ but not the philosophical underpinnings of classification or how to design a cataloging system.

For the married woman interested in social reform and community betterment, Dewey offered "a large field of work for college-bred women in promoting the founding

¹⁶ Ibid, 17.

¹⁷ Ibid, 3.

of new libraries, infusing new life into old ones, or serving on committees or boards of trustees where their education and training will tell powerfully for the common good." This, of course, was unpaid work, similar in type and often undertaken by the same groups which engaged in other civic improvement projects. But it was in addressing the topic of "direct work for which salaries are paid" that Dewey's true impact on the formation of librarianship is made plain. "In every library," explained Dewey, "there is a class of mere routine work, physical and clerical, copying, covering books, pasting in labels, giving out and taking in books, replacing on shelves and a hundred details that may be well done by any intelligent and faithful clerk." Yet, because it was done in a library, even this "mere routine work, physical and clerical" became "one of the pleasantest avocations for a woman fond of books." Dewey placed women on an equal footing with men in the library, calling it an "unusually promising field for college girls," and claiming that with equal training and experience women could do as well as, or even better than their male counterparts. Yet, he maintained the highest levels of the profession as a male preserve.¹⁸

Citing the traditional arguments against the advancement of women in business or the professions, Dewey offered five reasons why women would never, truly, be the equal of men in librarianship. First was that "women have usually poorer health and as a result lose more time from illness and are more crippled by physical weakness when on duty." This, he maintained, was "a question of health, not of sex," although since he linked women's poor health directly to their sex, how he separated the two is not quite clear.

¹⁸ Ibid, 19.

Next Dewey cited women's "lack of business and executive training." Boys, he explained, "have been hearing business matters discussed and seeing business transacted from earliest childhood" while "girls were absorbed with their dolls," the financial acumen and management skills of purchasing food, providing clothing, managing a domestic staff which the mothers of these college-bred women would have possessed, demonstrated, and presumably taught to their daughters apparently notwithstanding. Next was "the probability or even the possibility that her position is only temporary and that she will soon leave it for home life," meaning marriage. Dewey made clear that any woman wishing to compete on the same level as a man had to "contrive to feel that she has chosen a profession for life and work accordingly." In other words, a woman who wished to move to the higher levels of librarianship needed to self-consciously chose to remain single, to be a "maid" in the most traditional sense of the word. Finally, Dewey offered the catch-all explanation for lower women's wages, which was simply that she was a woman, and that was the way it was. "With equal health, business training and permanence of plans, women will still usually have to accept something less than men because of the consideration which she exacts and deserves on account of her sex."¹⁹

Having properly defined women's role in the profession, Dewey then went on to describe the work the trained librarian, as opposed to the mere clerk, would do. Reference and loan work, according to Dewey, required "chiefly skill in meeting people, finding out exactly what they wish (or more often better what they need) [the beginning of the classic reference interview!] and tact and skill in answering their infinite variety of

¹⁹ Ibid, 20.

questions." This was work for the more social librarian. For the "quiet, shy women who would be simply worthless in meeting the public" was "the accession and catalogue departments where patient, scholarly accuracy and rapid, steady work are more important than tact and affability." While Dewey acknowledged that in smaller libraries "the successful candidate must combine the qualities needed" in both departments, he failed to further address the issue, thus side stepping the question of training for librarians not employed in the academic and large urban libraries that were still centered in his own eastern seaboard.

Dewey required a dizzying array of abilities in his ideal librarian: "college training to begin with if possible; the wider reading and study in addition the better." In a reference librarian he looked for a knowledge of German and French, with Italian, Spanish, Latin and Greek as "valuable but in most cases much less important than German. A general acquaintance with history and literature, [e]specially English and American, and with literary history, is essential and at least a smattering of the sciences is important." And, last, from the man who devoted pages of his own journal to detailed discussions of the proper height and spacing of letters and words on a catalog card, "trifling as it may seem, a very legible handwriting, free from flourishes, shading and fashionable 'individualities' is practically more important to most applicants for library positions than a half dozen sciences," although he allowed that "in most cases the library hand has to be acquired as part of the technical library education."

College-bred women were preferred as candidates for the library training program for a variety of reasons, among which was that a college education gave them a more cultured background and because finishing a four-year course attested to their "persistent purpose and mental and physical capacity for protracted intellectual work." Tellingly, Dewey felt that college-educated women were especially suited for library work "chiefly because we find that the training of the course enables the mind to work with a quick precision and steady application rarely found in one who has not had this thorough college drill."²⁰ In other words, college-bred women were of the right social class, had the right basic educational background, and, most importantly, were accustomed to following a strict course of instruction and set rules.

Having painted a picture of a profession in which women were highly unlikely to be paid the same as men, less likely to be promoted to the higher levels than men, and where salaries in general were low, "seldom more than \$500 and at present a few have grown to over \$1000, though here and there \$1,200 to \$1,500 are paid to women of experience,"²¹ Dewey closed by reminding his listeners of the compensatory benefits of librarianship as a job for middle-class women. That is that it was a great missionary work which could be performed in a physically and socially safe environment. Teaching had shorter hours, but library work, according to Dewey, was less "physically taxing," avoiding "much of the nervous strain and the wear and tear of the class room." "Compared with the work of the physician," an odd reference given that most medical

²⁰ Ibid, 21-22.

²¹ Ibid, 22.

fields except for nursing were almost entirely closed to women, Dewey found "the librarian avoids the night work and contact with suffering and misery which often exhausts the vital forces more than the direct professional duties." In what was perhaps an allusion to social work as well as teaching and nursing, the traditional forms of middle-class female employment, Dewey concluded, "There is hardly any occupation that is so free from annoying surroundings or that has so much in the character of the work and of the people which is grateful to a refined and educated woman" than librarianship.²² Finally, returning to his opening theme of "the triangle of great educational work," and comparing the librarian to the clergyman and the teacher, Dewey concluded that the librarian had the most important position of the three. "Is it not true that the ideal librarian fills a pulpit where there is service every day during all the waking hours, with a large proportion of the community frequently in the congregation? Has she not a school in which the classes graduate only with death?"²³

A Suitable Job for a Middle-class Girl: Librarianship and Its Competitors

But librarianship, as historian Dee Garrison has pointed out, had to compete with other lines of middle-class women's work. As each new job emerged as a source of women's employment "charming theories" were "developed by both sexes to explain why the feminine mind and nature were innately suited to the new occupation."²⁴ Because of the supposed educational mission of the library, librarianship was most commonly

²² Ibid, 23.

²³ Ibid, 24.

²⁴ Dee Garrison, "The Tender Technicians: The Feminization of Public Librarianship, 1876-1905," *Journal of Social History* 6, no. 2 (Winter 1972-1973): 134.

compared to teaching, although nursing and social work were also cited as appropriate callings for the middle-class women, mere steps outside the home occupations of wife and mother, where women were responsible for the keeping of a healthy family, both morally and physically. In Great Britain the Crimean War thrust Florence Nightingale into the limelight, and in July 1860 she opened the Nightingale Training School.²⁵ The Civil War served the same purpose in the United States where Linda Richards became the first enrollee and graduate of the first formal nurses' training program offered at the New England Hospital for Women and Children in about 1872.²⁶ The first state-sponsored normal school for the training of teachers was established in Massachusetts in 1839. By 1862 the first state normal school in California was established in San José, followed by Los Angeles in 1881, Chico in 1887, and San Diego in 1897.²⁷ Even Hawaii had a normal school, established in 1896, at which time only four library schools existed in the entire nation.

Early social work, meant to improve the well-being of those less fortunate than the workers themselves, was centered on the settlement house, sited primarily in the immigrant neighborhoods of the industrialized cities of the Northeast and Midwest. From these bases, adventurous young women of the educated middle-class made forays into the tenements, offering classes on home health and hygiene, including personal

²⁵ Marjie Bloy, "Florence Nightingale (1820-1910)," *The Victorian Web*, January 3, 2012, <http://www.victorianweb.org/history/crimea/florrie.html>.

²⁶ David A. Michaels, "Early History of Nursing Education, From Training to Education," *Nursing Education History*, <http://nursingeducationhistory.org/aboutus.html>.

²⁷ "California State Normal School," *Wikipedia*, August 22, 2012, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/California_State_Normal_School.

cleanliness and proper attire; home management, including maintaining sanitary conditions, proper food storage, and preparation; and providing lessons in American manners and social conventions.²⁸ While this model worked well for cities like New York, Boston, and Chicago, in California, which for the most part lacked industrialized cities with large-scale immigrant populations, settlement work focused more on straightforward poor relief. In Corona-Norco, for example, the settlement house was not founded until 1912, its mission "to provide aid to the itinerant farmers coming to Corona to work in the citrus groves."²⁹ In Los Angeles, the Toberman Neighborhood Center was founded in 1903 as the Homer Toberman Mission. Associated with the Methodist church, it provided an infirmary, a residence for single women, and youth services. It became a formal settlement house in 1917, moving in 1937 to San Pedro, where it still resides.³⁰

But, it was in office work that librarianship found its closest match, much to the dismay of the librarians, who tried, in vain, to distinguish between the professional librarian and the library clerk. Just as the Industrial Revolution changed the means of manufacturing, the introduction of new office equipment, machines such as typewriters (1873) and Dictaphones (1881), allowed the work of the formally male personal secretary to be broken up and broken down. According to professors of geography Kim England and Kate Boyer in their study of the feminization of clerical work, in 1890 only 154

²⁸ Louise Carroll Wade, "Settlement Houses," *The Electronic Encyclopedia of Chicago* (Chicago: Chicago Historical Society, 2005), <http://www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1135.html>.

²⁹ "Corona Norco Settlement House," *Corona/Norco Settlement House*, <http://settlementhouse.net/>.

³⁰ "Toberman Neighborhood Center, About Us," *Toberman Neighborhood Center*, <http://www.toberman.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/about1.png>.

people in the U.S. were classified as clerical workers, and only 4 percent (six), were women. By 1910 there were 112,600 typists and stenographers alone listed in the U. S. Census, of which 77 percent, or 86,702 were women.³¹ Similarly historian Carol Srole in her study of nineteenth century stenographers and court reporters found that "in 1870, women constituted 3.1 percent of all clerical workers; by 1900, their participation multiplied more than ninefold, to 29.3 percent, and it had nearly doubled to 49.6 percent twenty years later, in 1920." In real figures, the number of women in clerical jobs "multiplied eightfold between 1880 and 1900, from 30,344 to 245,517."³² More important than sheer numbers, however, are the remarkable similarities between librarianship's discussion of qualifications, expertise, and the role of women in the profession and that which Srole found in her study of the professional literature of the court reporters and stenographers of the same period.

Seeking to place themselves squarely in the ranks of the middle-class, Srole found that stenographers and court reporters tried to differentiate and elevate their work from that of the clerks, typewriters (literally one who wrote using a typewriting machine), or shorthand writers through definitions of education, technical expertise, and professional standards. In 1890 Thomas S. Lewis, president of the Kings County Shorthand Society of Brooklyn, New York, in a list Dewey would have approved of for his librarians, called for "a wide course of reading, a general familiarity with many subjects," as well as a

³¹England and Boyer, "Women's Work," 312.

³² Carol Srole, *Transcribing Class and Gender: Masculinity and Femininity in Nineteenth-Century Courts and Offices* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2010), 64.

knowledge of "some language other than English, particularly French and Latin" as the prerequisites for the court reporter. According to Srole, Lewis was not alone in trying to "set a standard for court reporters as lettered men who read and wrote in French, Latin, or German and studied rules of civil procedure, *Gray's Anatomy*, and legal chemistry, along with a wide variety of subjects."³³

Further, just as the librarian was to master the highly specialized rules of cataloging and classification, stenographers and court reporters distinguished themselves through expertise in "both practical craft techniques and theoretical knowledge." The "official stenographer of the Surrogates' Court" of New York, Edward F. Underhill, delineated the many intricate skills of the court reporter: "they must know the proper ink to use and must have a copying press, with tank and tablets and dryers and ink and chemicals, and the skill to use them to make one, two, and even three press copies." Just as the librarians used the professional journals such as Dewey's *Library Journal* to exchange advice on the best methods of cataloging or the most efficient arrangement of the circulation desk, so Srole found that "legal stenographers advised each other on how to increase their speed by choosing the 'best' dialect, hand position, types of paper, and writing implements, as well as by rubbing their hands and joints with pomatum or Vaseline every night."³⁴

³³ Srole, *Transcribing*, 110.

³⁴ As quoted in Srole, *Transcribing*, 97. The description of Underhill comes from his obituary, "Edward F. Underhill Dead," *New York Times*, June 19, 1898. Interestingly, his work as a stenographer merits barely a mention in the biography posted by the National Park Service, Anne Derosie, "Edward Fitch Underhill," *Women's Rights*

And while the contemporary library literature described library work in such a way as to conform to the female roles of solicitous wife and guiding mother, Srole recounts how female "traits" such as caring, neatness, and orderliness were redefined in the stenographic press into "feminine sign[s] of business professionalism," loyalty, and professional service.³⁵ "In one didactic story" recounted by Srole, the first woman stenographer in an office where the desks were "strewn with books and papers, dusty and disorderly" begins her work there by cleaning and tidying, washing the ink stands, and putting fresh pens in the penholders. The new employee garners the notice and earns the gratitude of her new employer, the storyteller concluding with a note of approval, "There was now a place for everything."³⁶

However, caring, nurturing, loyalty, and service could, as in librarianship, take the women only so far. As Srole notes, most of the women stenographers "remained in low-level office positions," observing that, "at times, even business schools, the shorthand press, and stenographers themselves acknowledged the expectation that women could only rise to a certain level."³⁷ Again in words which could have been copied directly from Dewey, Srole cites an 1883 article in *Browne's Phonographic Monthly* that "blamed women's meekness for their low wages, concluding that they needed instead the 'good judgment and business disposition' that men possessed."³⁸ But perhaps the most

National Historical Park, New York, *National Park Service*,
<http://www.nps.gov/wori/historyculture/edward-fitch-underhill.htm>.

³⁵ Srole, *Transcribing*, 186.

³⁶ *Ibid*, 185.

³⁷ *Ibid*, 175-76.

³⁸ *Ibid*, 145.

revealing comparison between librarianship and stenography comes in the way in which stenography addressed the ultimate problem of women in the work, which was that they were not men. Benjamin Pitman, brother of Sir Isaac, inventor of the Pitman shorthand system, summarized the situation in a widely quoted line first published in the *Boston Herald*. "Stenographers," said Pitman, "like poets," or, indeed, as librarians would come to proclaim, librarians, "are born not made."³⁹ Born male.

³⁹ Srole, *Transcribing*, 120.

Chapter Two

A Library in our Midst:

From Reading Room to Public Library, 1893-1909

In May 1893 under the title "Woman's World," the *Redondo Beach Compass*, the city's first newspaper, published an article about "Books as Furniture." As professor of library science Lisa Lindell explains in her study of print culture in the West, for "cultural aspirants in Victorian America, reverence for books as objects and status symbols was a common response."¹ That was certainly the viewpoint of the article in the *Compass*. Whether "marshaled in rows" in bookcases "tall and stately" or "low and cozy," whether displayed "lying about on tables or placed in quaint carved racks," books, the article advised, were an "amazingly cheap" addition to home decor, taking away "from the bareness of a room" and imparting "a stamp of cultivation and refinement."² This was the public expression of the value of the book in Redondo Beach when, in 1893, the ladies of the local chapter of the Women's Christian Temperance Union ran a notice in the *Compass* that "The W.C.T.U. meets in the free reading room at 3 o'clock, p.m., on the first Wednesday of the month. All are invited."³

¹ Lisa Lindell, "Bringing Books to a 'Book-Hungry Land': Print Culture on the Dakota Prairie," *Book History* 7 (2004): 216.

² "Woman's World," *Redondo Beach Compass*, May ?, 1893 (the date is not legible).

³ *Redondo Compass*, March 11, 1893.

Because so much of the writing on library history has followed in the path laid out by Sidney Ditzion in his *Arsenals of a Democratic Culture*,⁴ the development of public libraries has often been pictured as an almost seamless transition from the library as a private men's club as the Boston's famous Athenaeum founded in 1807,⁵ to sponsored libraries such those developed for the railroad workers or the mill girls, to public libraries like the Boston Public Library founded in 1848 and opened to the public in its own building on March 20, 1854.⁶

In tracing library development from 1859 to 1900, Ditzion recognizes two recurring arguments invoked to convince city governments and local businessmen to establish and maintain public libraries. First is the humanistic or missionary argument. Books were "the machinery which could produce more intelligent, better informed, useful and respectable citizens. The product would be a people markedly elevated in tastes, morals, and manners."⁷ However, "all was not lofty, humane, and intellectual with library promoters and their audiences," observed Ditzion, who found the second major argument used to advance the cause of libraries was rather more pragmatic, namely that libraries would promote a more educated workforce, not only literate but schooled in the values of the middle class. In this argument libraries became inextricably linked to

⁴ Sidney Ditzion, *Arsenals of a Democratic Culture: A Social History of the American Public Library Movement in New England and the Middle States from 1859 to 1900* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1947).

⁵ "History of the Boston Athenaeum," *Boston Athenaeum*, <http://www.bostonathenaeum.org/node/38>.

⁶ "Boston Public Library, A Brief History and Description," *The Boston Public Library*, <http://www.bpl.org/general/history.htm>.

⁷ Ditzion, *Arsenals*, 23.

economic prosperity through the creation of an educated workforce. "How much more efficient," ran the argument as presented in the press and public lectures, "would be the farmer, the mechanic, merchant and mariner when they had access to the best books on agriculture, mechanical arts, descriptive geography, the laws of trade and the sources of wealth?"⁸ In this model libraries were founded as an act of benevolent self-interest, what Ditzion terms "democratic paternalism," on the part of the political, economic, and social elite, with support from the middle class. Again using Boston as the example, Ditzion sums up the argument:

Their general attitude appears to have been: Provide this institution for the masses in order to forestall any notion the said masses might get to invade the reading rooms of the chosen few. The attitude of many Athenaeum users, revealed during the discussions of the absorption of the Athenaeum by the public library, was that they wanted the people to have library facilities but were horrified that the noisy, irreverent, uncouth mob would be permitted to spoil the quiet comfort of their preserve.⁹

With his view focused on library development in New England and the mid-Atlantic states prior to the turn of the twentieth century, it was easy for Ditzion to dismiss the role of women's groups in library development. However, it was exactly in those areas Ditzion labeled as "tardy in supporting a library," the "Middle and Far West and the

⁸Ditzion, *Arsenals*, 24.

⁹ *Ibid*, 28.

South,"¹⁰ to which Ditzion had relegated the women, that women's influence in libraries was most felt. If, however, one takes as a starting point the statement of Sophonisba Breckenridge of the General Federation of Women's Clubs, who in 1933 claimed that the American Library Association credited "women's clubs with the responsibility for initiating 75 per cent of the public libraries now in existence in the United States,"¹¹ then the emergence of public libraries in the United States takes on an entirely different nature.

According to Paula D. Watson in her study "Founding Mothers: The Contribution of Women's Organizations to Public Library Development in the United States," the establishment of community libraries was one of the first interests of club women.¹² Whether formed for purposes of self-improvement through reading and study, focused on social reforms such as temperance, or concerned with civic improvement, women's clubs were, almost by definition, reform-minded. In this movement for civic improvement California library historian Ray E. Held discovered a third argument for the founding of municipal libraries. Especially popular in new and/or small cities and towns this

¹⁰ Ibid, 83.

¹¹ Sophonisba Breckinridge, *Women in the Twentieth Century: A Study of Their Political, Social and Economic Activities* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1933), 93.

¹² 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): 235. It is Watson who has noted that, unfortunately, Breckinridge's widely quoted statement has yet to be authenticated. "Breckinridge gives no specific source for ALA's report on the number of libraries formed by women. [Executive secretary of the ALA G. B.] Utley's report of a figure consistent with the later Breckinridge statement implies that ALA was in fact keeping track, but the actual ALA record has thus far remained elusive." 235-36.

"promotional attitude," as Held called it, drew support for any activities or "civic institutions that would attract more prospective settlers."¹³ This was the philosophy expressed in the sixth annual report of the librarian of the Los Angeles Public Library who, in making a plea for more funds, stated, "The Library has been a paying investment for the city, as a means of education and recreation to the citizens, and as an attraction to the tourist population."¹⁴ Alongside schools, right after a constabulary and street maintenance, and before a city park, came the public library, the physical manifestation of civic maturity, an advertisement to the "right kind" of people. Although all three arguments would make their way into the local newspapers and library reports, it was this third argument which was the most frequently expressed when discussions about the library arose in the city of Redondo Beach, California.

In 1890 in southern California there were eleven free public libraries, meaning tax-supported institutions, open to all, at no cost. Of those, only one, the Los Angeles Public Library, was located in a city of over fifty thousand people.¹⁵ The smallest southern California municipality to have a library was Santa Monica, with a population of

¹³ Ray E. Held, *The Rise of the Public Library In California* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1973), 32.

¹⁴ Los Angeles Public Library, *Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Los Angeles Public Library and Report of the Librarian, 1893-94* (Los Angeles: n.p., 1894), 7.

¹⁵ Held, *Rise*, 35.

1,580. It charged \$.25 a month for borrowing privileges, although use of the reading room was free.¹⁶ Redondo Beach had a population of 668.¹⁷

"There was absolutely nothing here": A Profile of Redondo Beach

Formally incorporated in April of 1892 by a vote of 177 to 10, the city had its origins in a 1784 Spanish land-grant of over 40,000 acres. Manuel Dominguez, a distant relative of the original grantee, sold the land surrounding a salt lake to Henry Allenson and William Jackson in 1854. Local legend holds that part of the purchase agreement resulted in a number of streets--Anita, Benita, Catalina, Elena, Francisca, Gertruda and Guadalupe, Helberta, Irena, Juanita, Lucia and Maria--being named for Manuel's daughters. By 1862 the Pacific Salt Works, Redondo's only pretension to industry, had gone bankrupt. But, in 1888 lumber magnates and real estate developers W. R. Thompson and "Captain" J. C. Ainsworth decided to build a railway in order to move their lumber, cut in Oregon and shipped to Redondo, to the bustling construction sites of Los Angeles. Frank L. Perry, whose family was among the first Anglo settlers in the city, remembered his first view of Redondo Beach in 1888. "There was absolutely nothing here," he recalled, "except the train and car tracks, lunch tables, one well, two bents of a wharf under construction, a lumber schooner in the harbor floating pilings ashore for the

¹⁶ "History of the Santa Monica Public Library," *Santa Monica Public Library*, http://smpl.org/Library_History.aspx.

¹⁷ U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Table 12, Population of the 100 Largest Urban Places: 1890," *U.S. Bureau of the Census*, June 15, 1998, <http://www.census.gov/population/www/documentation/twps0027/tab12.txt>.

new wharf."¹⁸ By 1890 the city had a school, a number of churches, a Chautauqua Assembly, and its famous resort, the Hotel Redondo.¹⁹

"[T]he countryside and hills were covered with grass and flowers,"²⁰ Perry reminisced, but it was the beach which drew the crowds. Tourism ultimately became the economic mainstay of the city, with city improvements and developments keyed to attracting the "transients" as the visitors were called. The meetings of the city Board of Trustees focused on issues such as grading the streets, granting business licenses, ensuring adequate "rest stations" (public toilets), and determining how much to spend on things such as a publicity man or the summer band concerts. The city also provided services for the "Tent City," which supplied relatively cheap housing to the middle- and working-class tourists for whom the Hotel Redondo, with its 225 rooms, a bathroom located on every floor, tennis courts, and gardens, was financially out of reach. In a "Special Edition" in January 1910, the *Redondo Breeze* described the attractions of the Tent City. It was "provided with perfect sewerage, water piped throughout the grounds, electric lights in the park and tents, and gas furnished for cooking. The management of this feature of life at Redondo Beach provides tents of all sizes, including kitchen tents and accessories for the use of those desiring to do their own cooking."²¹ More than a decade later the Tent City remained essentially unchanged, consisting now of 130 tents

¹⁸ Ken Johnson, "Fun, Frustration and Fulfillment, An Historical Study of the City of Redondo Beach" (typescript, 1965), 189.

¹⁹ City of Redondo Beach, "The History of Redondo Beach: Interactive Timeline," *City of Redondo Beach*, <http://www.redondo.org/mm/timeline/timeline.htm>

²⁰ Johnson, "Fun, Frustration," 190, again quoting Perry.

²¹ *Redondo Breeze*, Special Edition, January 1910.

and 10 cottages. "Tents for two or four or eight or ten" could be reserved, all completely furnished. "Stoves and dishes, electric lights and plenty of fresh linen add to the comfort of the citizens of the city. There is a community kitchen close by," and in an arrangement doubtless meant to appeal to the lady campers, "a sink arranged for fish cleaning exclusively."²² The citizens of the town were constantly importuned to rent out any empty rooms they might have, and real estate development of every variety but especially of hotels and apartments was a major economic enterprise.

Redondo hosted a variety of public amusements, one of the most popular being the Plunge. Opened in 1909, it was billed as "the largest indoor saltwater heated pool in the world," with a capacity for more than 1000 people, and featuring a water slide, a diving pool, and a wading pool.²³ Unions, clubs, and organizations of every stripe held gatherings at the beach. For example, the front page of the September 9, 1909 issue of the *Reflex* reported on the Fraternal Brotherhood of Southern California, which held its annual picnic in Redondo featuring "a program of sports and a baby show" as well as dancing and bathing. The "Vermont Societies of Southern California" held a "town meeting" and picnic the same week.²⁴ In June 1911 the *Reflex* reported on the opening of a new, private dining room in the Heburn & Terry, a popular restaurant which hosted private dinners and club meetings as well as on the third annual picnic of the Sierra

²² "Tent City Citizens," *Redondo Reflex*, August 10, 1923.

²³ City of Redondo Beach, "Redondo Beach Historical Museum," *City of Redondo Beach*,
http://www.redondo.org/depts/recreation/facilities/rb_historical_museum/historical_information.asp.

²⁴ "Fraternal Brotherhood Annual Outing and Picnic," and "Vermonters Hold Town Meeting," *Redondo Reflex*, September 9, 1909.

Madre Board of Trade, noting that the previous two picnics had also been held in Redondo.²⁵ In August "four hundred members of the International Typographical Union, with their wives and children" spent the day in Redondo, while in September it was "about two thousand members of the Woodmen of the World and Women of Woodcraft and their families" attending the "annual outing and picnic."²⁶ In 1913 the Moose were coming, "10,000 strong," attending a "combined picnic, several lodges participating in the event."²⁷ During the summer there were band concerts, and dances were held on Wednesday and Saturdays, limited to Saturdays during the winter months. There were several live theaters, the Orpheum, the Grand Opera House, and the Burbank Theater, which gave way to movie houses.²⁸ Prominent personages the likes of "the divine Sarah Bernhardt," "Miss Julia Heinrich, prima donna of the Metropolitan Grand Opera and Miss Mary Pickford, America's Sweetheart," and Rudolph Valentino made appearances in town.²⁹

Moreover, Redondo was only a short distance from Los Angeles and other local destinations such as Mt. Lowe and Lake Arrowhead, popular as hiking and camping resorts. The Pacific Electric Railway, known as the Red Car, ran between Redondo and

²⁵ "New Dining Room" and "Sierra Madre Picnic," *Redondo Reflex*, June 29, 1911.

²⁶ "The International Typographical Union Entertained Here," *Redondo Reflex*, August 24, 1911; "W.O.W. Picnic Brings Large Crowd Saturday," *Redondo Reflex*, September 14, 1911.

²⁷ "Moose Are Coming," *Redondo Reflex*, June 27, 1913.

²⁸ The April 24, 1909 issue of the *Redondo Breeze* carried advertisements for motion pictures.

²⁹ "Divine Sarah Coming," *Redondo Reflex*, February 21, 1913; "Society, Woman's Club Honors Guests," *Redondo Breeze*, August 17, 1917; *Redondo Reflex*, September 8, 1922.

Los Angeles every fifteen minutes, and the ride took only fifty minutes to complete, faster than most modern-day commuters can drive it.³⁰ Consequently, it was not uncommon for residents to take day or weekend visits to Los Angeles for business or pleasure, including attendance at evening performances and lectures. D.W. Griffith's *The Clansman* had so many local residents going to Los Angeles to see it that an enterprising theatre owner eventually paid the cost to have a copy of the film brought to Redondo for local showing.

The first grammar school was established in 1890, but the first high school graduation, a class of two, was not until 1906, and it was a decade more before the senior class was consistently over twenty pupils.³¹ Churches of almost every Christian denomination, and even a Jewish temple, established themselves in the city. The first newspaper to publish, *The Compass*, lasted only a brief period, from 1892 to August 1894. *The Redondo Breeze* began in 1894, just as the *Compass* went out of circulation, and has published continuously since then. Finally, there was *The Redondo Reflex*, which began publication in 1905 and stopped in 1964.

As noted previously, local newspapers provide a public record of the otherwise private lives of a city's people, recording activities and entertainments centered on the family and on the social and religious groups of which one was a member. Marriages, births, and deaths were front page news, especially if the individual or family was well known. Photographs almost never appeared, a rare exception being proud papa S. D.

³⁰ *Redondo Reflex*, October 3, 1913.

³¹ Redondo Union High School, *The Pilot*, vol. I (1915), 39-40.

Barkley's front page publication of daughter Adelaide's wedding photo.³² The papers' readership was regularly solicited to contribute news. "When you have house guests, entertain, go on motor trips, know of any new arrivals, receive letters from the Redondo boys overseas, in fact anything that has news value, just call up the 'Breeze' . . . and tell us about it. Don't be modest."³³ And the readers responded in kind. The editor of the *Reflex* summed it up nicely in this slightly tongue-in-cheek reply to a subscriber's complaint:

At the same time, we are afraid we will have to go right ahead mentioning the people whom we have been mentioning with such frequency. They have the habit of boosting the board of trade, helping the church, and mixing in politics and getting up parades, and financing the baseball team, and running the lodges, and a lot of other things. Come to think of it, that isn't news about them so much as it is news about the town. For it is such things as these that are making the town life and the town progress; and if we left their names out, we would pretty nearly have to leave out the name of the town.³⁴

Newspapers are an especially rich source for women's history primarily because this was a public venue in which women's activities were regularly reported. Prominent women active in social clubs, civic, or church affairs could expect to have their name

³² *Redondo Breeze*, July 1, 1911.

³³ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Breeze*, July 19, 1918.

³⁴ "Print No Names, Stop Newspaper," *Redondo Reflex*, December 4, 1914.

appear in print several times a month, often more than once in a single issue. And an active woman could easily fill at least part of every weekday with a meeting of some variety, whether an edifying lecture, a church activity, or a purely social gathering to play cards or engage in a favorite hobby. "Ladies who lunched" was a literal evocation, as lectures attended were usually followed by luncheon, both the content of the lecture and the menu of the meal being reported in detail. Whist, 500, and later bridge were popular card games, and meetings of card clubs were regularly reported, including scores, menu, and decor. For example Mrs. N. L. Bryant, a summer resident, entertained "a company of forty ladies, members of the Holly Whist club of Los Angeles. Shasta daisies were the favored decorations at the tables, where the guests were served a one o'clock luncheon."³⁵ Or Mr. and Mrs. J.P. Erickson "entertained the members of the Wednesday Club, their husbands and a few other friends." The guests "whiled away" the hours playing 500, after which "a daintily prepared supper was served."³⁶

The arrival or departure of relatives, friends traveling, or really almost any occasion was marked with receptions, dinners, and teas in honor of, all of which were then served up in the social columns of the city's papers. When Mrs. Jane Hibbard, wife of George G. Hibbard, owner of Hibbard's Hardware and Furniture Company, went on vacation thirty ladies attended the farewell party. Places at the table were marked with "a bouquet of purple sweet peas with the place cards tied with ribbon of the same shade."³⁷ Similarly, when Miss Victoria Chrisman, eighteen years old and the daughter of the

³⁵ "Entertain at Whist Party," *Redondo Reflex*, June 27, 1913.

³⁶ "Entertains at Five Hundred," *Redondo Reflex*, January 7, 1909.

³⁷ "Farewell for Mrs. Jane Hibbard," *Redondo Breeze*, June 27, 1913.

owner of a grocery store, gave a Halloween party it was front page material. "A burning candle graced each guest's place at the table and the place-cards represented pumpkins. Each guest was given a nut shell containing a slip of paper on which was written his or her fortune."³⁸

The activities of the church ladies were also prominently featured in the papers. For example, when Susie Venable, wife of building contractor and frequent member of the city's Board of Trustees Percy S. Venable, entertained seventy-five women of the Ladies' Aid Society of the M. E. (Methodist Episcopal) Church with a "musical and literary program" after which refreshments were served, it was duly reported.³⁹ When the Ladies' Aid Society of the Congregational Church had a tea at the home of Mrs. A.R. Hopkins the *Breeze* provided a detailed report. "Red and white carnations and asparagus plumosis [sic] formed the decorations." The ladies amused themselves with "various guessing contests" which "taxed the wits of those present," and then were served "refreshments of ice cream and cake," after which "a short program of music and recitations was furnished."⁴⁰

Engagements were generally short, often only a few weeks and seldom more than a few months, and the progress from announcement to wedding was all covered in the social notes of the papers. The wedding of Miss Gertrude Moore, "a graduate from the Training School for Nurses of St. Luke's Hospital, Chicago," to Mr. Elmer Voris

³⁸ "Guests of Miss Chrisman," *Redondo Reflex*, November 5, 1908.

³⁹ "Ladies' Aid Gives Social," *Redondo Reflex*, October 18, 1909.

⁴⁰ "Aid Tea at Hopkins Home," *Redondo Breeze*, June 24, 1911.

Chambers, "a Pullman conductor on the Golden State Limited, running between Los Angeles and Chicago," was announced by the bride's parents in the April 23, 1908 issue of the *Reflex*.⁴¹ Just two days before the wedding Moore was honored with a handkerchief shower, at which she "sang several selections and Mrs. Meacham [the hostess] rendered instrumental music and various novel games were enjoyed." Following this

the bride-elect was then given a yellow heart to which was attached a string and requested to discover the other end of the string. At the end of the cord, which wound about chandeliers, into dark corners and about various articles in the room, Miss Moore discovered another heart lying on top of numerous packages, the result of the handkerchief shower from her friends. A daintily appointed luncheon was served.⁴²

When the wedding finally took place readers were treated to a front-page, several inches-long report of the festivities, including a description of the "daintily gowned" bridesmaids with acknowledgements given by name to the women who decorated both the church and the apartments where the reception was held.⁴³ On the same day Moore's wedding was reported, the engagement of Miss Amy Anna McConnell and Dwight Fox Towne was announced at an "informal affair" hosted by her sister, Mrs. H. D. Simpson.⁴⁴

⁴¹ "Engagement of Popular Young Woman Announced," *Redondo Reflex*, April 23, 1908.

⁴² "Showered With Handkerchiefs," *Redondo Reflex*, September 10, 1908.

⁴³ "Wedding at High Noon," *Redondo Reflex*, September 10, 1908.

⁴⁴ "Announcement Party," *Redondo Reflex*, September 10, 1908.

This was followed by a "china shower" given by Alice (Mrs. Lucius F.) Wells, where guests played "The Floral Wedding," a game apparently devised by Mrs. and Judge Wells, who provided the consolation prize, a package of his sweet pea seeds, after which "an elaborate luncheon was served at small tables."⁴⁵ Not infrequently, however, there was no engagement at all and instead an elopement was reported, as the "surprise" marriage of Miss Bertha Shaffer, "the sister of Mrs. Louis Culler," wife of Louis Culler, owner of the store where Shaffer was employed, and Harry C. Lindee, "a motorman on the Los Angeles Pacific railway."⁴⁶ The couple "were expected to be married some time in the winter," but instead surprised their relatives and friends by marrying "at the parsonage of the First Congregational church in Los Angeles."⁴⁷

"The W.C.T. U. Meets": The Redondo Beach Free Reading Room, 1893-1895

Although never mentioned in connection with the well-known writings of Harris and Garrison, Ray E. Held's work on library development in California could well be considered a revisionist history. Held's two books, written in an effort to "fill one of the many, many voids in the literature concerning American library history," focus attention

⁴⁵ "China Shower Party," *Redondo Reflex*, October 22, 1908.

⁴⁶ The surname consistently appears as "Linda" in the censuses, as well as Linda's World War I draft registration.

⁴⁷ "Surprised Their Friends," *Redondo Reflex*, September 10, 1908. Bertha was about 37 and Harry 32 when they married. It appears to have been a second marriage for Harry, although what happened to his first wife is not known. Census records indicate Harry and Bertha had no children, but were still married at the time of the 1940 census.

away from the eastern seaboard.⁴⁸ According to Held, one-time professor of library and information science at the University of California, Berkeley, the "typical development" of a public library in southern California involved a "relatively brief period of existence for a social library, leading directly to the creation of a city institution."⁴⁹ The founding of the Redondo Free Reading Room as a social library, its transition to a city-owned public library, lapsing due to a combination of lack of public interest and the more pressing needs of the local economy, only to rise again as a fully fledged free public library, certainly follows the trajectory described by Held.

Although histories of the founding of local libraries abound in small volumes, articles in local papers, pamphlets, or online, produced by local historical societies, friends of the libraries, or even librarians writing about their own institutions, the actual facts of the early years of any given library can be difficult to ascertain as they often rely as much upon old memories and local lore as on documentary evidence. A case in which documentary evidence does exist is that of the Pomona Public Library, where the minutes of the Pomona Library and Floral Association serve to verify the founding of the society and the opening of the library, consisting of 400 books, located in a room rented for \$6 a

⁴⁸ Held, *The Rise*, x. In the "Preface" Held stated his intention was to publish a three-volume series, but only the first two were completed, the other being *Public Libraries in California, 1849-1878* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963).

⁴⁹ Held, *The Rise*, 33.

month, staffed from 2:00 to 5:00 p.m. two days a week by the president of the society, Mrs. E. P. Bartlett.⁵⁰

More typical is the history of the San Diego Public Library, where much reliance is placed on the memory of Herbert C. Hensley, "a prolific and accurate source of information on early San Diego." An article "extracted from his typewritten memoirs" tells the story of the library from 1869, when Alonzo E. Horton, referred to as "Father" Horton, purposed to donate his personal collection of 1000 books, which he valued at \$2000, to the San Diego Library Association. According to Hensley's memoir, Horton and the association had a falling-out over financial arrangements--apparently Horton preferred to be paid at least for half the stated value for the books--and it was not until 1873 that Horton ultimately decided to donate his collection to the newly revitalized association.⁵¹ Lucy Kortum, who "conducted a survey of the Carnegie Libraries in California for the California State Office of Historic Preservation and in partial fulfillment of the requirements for a degree of Master of Arts in History at Sonoma State University," states it was Horton's wife, Lydia Horton, who, acting in her capacity as president of the women's Wednesday Club, ultimately succeeded in obtaining an actual library building for San Diego, soliciting funds from Andrew Carnegie's Foundation in

⁵⁰ Jolie Valentine, "Our Community, Our Library: Women, Schools, and Popular Culture in the Public Library Movement," *Public Library Quarterly* 24, no. 4 (2005): 55; "The Pomona Public Library: A Centennial Chronology," *Pomona Public Library*, <http://www1.youseemore.cm/pomona/about.asp>.

⁵¹ Herbert D. Hensley, "Early Days of the Public Library," *Journal of San Diego History* 4, no. 3 (July, 1958), edited by Jerry MacMullen, <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/58july/library.htm>.

1897.⁵² But no mention is made of Horton or the Wednesday Morning club in Richard Crawford's recounting of the early days of the library, published as a series of three articles in the pages of the *San Diego Union-Tribune* in 2009.⁵³

Kortum, who created brief sketches of the 142 California Carnegie libraries, provides a history of the Santa Monica City public library which references two libraries, one established in 1876 by a single women which failed, and a subscription library founded in 1884 which was turned over to the W.C.T.U. in 1888, which then donated the library to the city in 1890 when maintenance costs proved too high for the ladies. Yet the library's own, unsourced timeline of the "History of the Santa Monica Public Library," which starts with the official founding of the town in July 1875, goes seamlessly from the formation of the "first Library Association" in 1876 to the reading room being turned over to the "newly formed" chapter of the W.C.T.U. in 1888, with no mention of single ladies or failed libraries of any kind.⁵⁴

In California, according to Held, the Women's Christian Temperance Union played a particularly prominent role in the establishment of reading rooms which subsequently became city libraries.⁵⁵ Nationally W.C.T.U. members were encouraged to establish libraries and to then offer those libraries to the municipalities, using the

⁵² Lucy Kortum, "San Diego," *Carnegie Libraries of California*, <http://www.carnegie-libraries.org>.

⁵³ Richard Crawford, "Library Provided Literary Oasis for San Diego," *San Diego Union-Tribune*, June 6, 2009. Also available as "San Diego's First Public Library," *San Diego Public Library*, <http://www.sandiego.gov/public-library/pdf/firstlibrary.pdf>.

⁵⁴ "History of the Santa Monica Public Library," *Santa Monica Public Library*, http://www.smpl.org/Library_History.aspx.

⁵⁵ Held, *The Rise*, 24-26.

donation as a means of maintaining some control over the collection itself.⁵⁶ Kortum also credits the W.C.T.U. with the founding of the Long Beach Public Library, stating that "the books of an early W.C.T.U. library became the nucleus of the Long Beach Library Association in 1895." This is supported by Catherine Outten, who cites Walter H. Case's 1927 *History of Long Beach and Vicinity* as her source.⁵⁷

The first description of the early days of the Redondo Beach Reading Room is provided by its last librarian, Alice J. Jenks, given in a 1906 report to the California State Librarian and reprinted in the *News Notes of California Libraries*. In a somewhat contradictory statement, Jenks wrote that the library was located on wharf one in a building "which was donated by Redondo Railroad Company," the company owned by Ainsworth. At the same time, however, she stated that the building "which cost \$500" was "built in 1895" and "paid for with money raised by W.C.T.U."⁵⁸ The next recounting of the library's origins appeared in 1917 in the pages of the *Redondo Reflex*. Written by Lola E. Gitt, then serving one of her numerous terms as a member of the library's board of trustees, this account dropped both the participation of the W.C.T.U. and the donation

⁵⁶ Mildred Andrews, "Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Western Washington," *The Free Online Encyclopedia of Washington State History*, sponsored by the King County Library, December 2, 1998, revised May 8, 2003, http://www.historylink.org/index.cfm?DisplayPage=output.cfm&file_id=407; Held, *The Rise*, 25. Interestingly, Paula D. Watson in her article "Founding Mothers", a very thorough analysis of the role of women's voluntary associations in library development, does not mention the W.C.T.U. even once in its entire text.

⁵⁷ Catherine Outten, "Long Beach Public Library: Inception, 1895-1917 (paper, UCLA Graduate School of Education and Information Studies, Spring, 2004), 10, pages.gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/maack/Documents/FinalPaper.doc.

⁵⁸ *News Notes of California Libraries* 1, no. 3 (July 1906): 117. Hereafter cited as "News Notes."

of the building, but added the much repeated statement that “the library had its inception in a reading room established for the benefit of the sailors in 1895 on old pier No. 1.”⁵⁹

In 1919 librarian Lola A. Clegg tried her hand at library history. Once again the "little reading room for sailors on the old wharf No. 1" was presented as "the beginning of the public library." Eight years in to her fourteen-year tenure as head of the library, Clegg must have heard often and at length about the role of Mrs. Jane C. Perry in the founding of the library, and Clegg's account did much to cement that portion of the legend into the history. It was "through the efforts of Mrs. Jane C. Perry, mother of the late L. J. Perry," Clegg wrote, that "an ordinance was passed in 1903 establishing a free public library." Clegg went on to embellish the Perry story, stating that "Mrs. Perry, although blind, was an active worker in arousing interest and in raising money necessary to start the new project. Her little granddaughters led 'Mother Perry' from house to house soliciting money and books. In this way the first \$150 was raised."⁶⁰ The widow Perry, seventy-six years old and living with a forty year-old bachelor nephew, was still in Redondo Beach in 1900,⁶¹ but that was five years after the reading room had been given over to the city, making her alleged rounds with her "little granddaughters," presumably the daughters of Lorin J. Perry, at least fanciful, if not an outright fabrication. Moreover, the original library ordinance was passed in February 1907, so where Clegg got the 1903 date is a mystery.

⁵⁹ Lola E. Gitt, "Redondo Beach Public Library," *Redondo Reflex*, August 17, 1917.

⁶⁰ *Redondo Reflex*, Victory Edition, May 16, 1919.

⁶¹ U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1900. Hereafter cited as "U.S. Census."

Later versions of the origins of the library rely heavily on the recollections of Perry's grandchild, Frank L. Perry, who served many years as the city attorney. C. J. (Christian John) Schaeffer, owner of a local department store and, in 1927, a member of the Redondo Beach Board of Trustees,⁶² credited Frank L. Perry "for much of the information contained" in his own 1934 account, *Early History of Redondo Beach*.⁶³ Using Perry's recollections almost exclusively as his source, Schaeffer repeated the story of the sailor's reading room on pier one, giving the founding date as "about 1889." Schaeffer described how Mrs. Jane Perry "subscribed for one Los Angeles newspaper and purchased a few books, donated others and solicited books from friends. Public spirited women of the town acted as custodians on the days that the reading room was open."⁶⁴

Subsequent histories of Redondo Beach, however, credited Ainsworth and the W.C.T.U. with the creation of the reading room. An "Historic Context Statement" done in 1994 by Jeanette A. McKenna and an article published in the newsletter of the Friends of the Redondo Beach Public Library in 1996 both reference the W.C.T.U. in discussing the founding of the reading room. However, the Friends place the date as 1892, while McKenna gives it as 1893.⁶⁵ The library's own website states that the first library was

⁶² *Kaasen's Redondo, Hermosa and Manhattan Beaches City Directory, 1927* (Los Angeles: Kaasen Directory Company, 1927), 96.

⁶³ C. J. Schaeffer, "Preface," *Early History of Redondo Beach* (unpublished manuscript, 1934).

⁶⁴ Schaeffer, *Early History*, 69-70.

⁶⁵ Friends of the Redondo Beach Public Library, "Library Roots II, 1909-1930," *Newsletter* (June 1998) n.p.; Jeanette A. McKenna, with Sally Schacht and Karen Bennett, "An Historic Context Statement and Updated Historic Resources Survey for the City of Redondo Beach, Los Angeles County, California" (unpublished manuscript: 1996), 21.

established "in 1895 as a sailors' reading room in a donated building on Wharf No. 1,"⁶⁶ a donation which the McKenna report attributes specifically to J. C. Ainsworth. One particularly confusing account, produced for the 1992 centennial celebration of Redondo Beach, states that the W.C.T.U. opened a free reading room at the entrance to wharf one, which was replaced in 1895 by a donated room on wharf two.⁶⁷

From this welter of information, and misinformation, several facts can be extracted. First, in 1889 J. C. Ainsworth owned wharf one.⁶⁸ Second, in 1893 the W.C.T.U. was celebrating the third anniversary of its founding in Redondo Beach, meaning it had originally been organized around 1890.⁶⁹ Third, in 1893 Mrs. Jane Perry, the purported moving-force behind the reading room, was serving as president of the W.C.T.U., which at least establishes a link between Perry and the W.C.T.U.⁷⁰ And then there is the large, gold-embossed volume "Library Record, 1894-1897" held in the city archives. Stamped "Redondo Beach Free Reading Room Assn." on its inside cover, it contains hand-written circulation entries starting February 7, 1894, meaning the reading room was operating at least from that date forward.⁷¹ And, finally, one further fact can be documented: in November 1895 the Redondo Free Reading Room Association offered

⁶⁶ "The Library's History: The Redondo Beach Public Library, 114 Years of Service," *City of Redondo Beach*, <http://www.redondo.org/depts/library/history.asp>. Each year the website updates the number of years of service.

⁶⁷ John F. Elliot, *Centennial Tribute: Redondo Beach, 1892-1992* (Costa Mesa, CA: Historic Publications, 1993), 37.

⁶⁸ Michael H. McCandless, *Well, At Least We Tried: The Seaport of Redondo Beach from 1888 to 1912* (San Diego, California: n.p., 2000), 14.

⁶⁹ *Compass*, June 3, 1893.

⁷⁰ *Compass*, June 3, 1893.

⁷¹ City of Redondo Beach, Archives, Box 57, "Library Record, 1894-1897," Office of the City Clerk.

to donate the reading room, located on wharf one, and all its contents to the city of Redondo Beach.

"That certain frame building situate": The Redondo Beach Free Reading Room, 1895-1907

But the acceptance of the donation was by no means a foregone conclusion. At the November 4, 1895, meeting of the Board of Trustees, members of the Redondo Free Reading Room Association inquired if the city would take over the operations of the reading room. The board evidently had some concerns about accepting the donation, laying the discussion over until the November 11 meeting,⁷² at which time they took "no action" on a request from the Association "to be appointed officers & Trustees" of the reading room once it was under the jurisdiction of the city. The board did, however, at that November 11 meeting agree by a vote of three to two that "the present Librarian be retained at a monthly salary of \$6.00 per month."⁷³ Apparently having satisfied themselves as to control of the library, the following week the board unanimously voted to accept the gift of the reading room.⁷⁴ On November 23, 1895, Mrs. M. P. Brunson, president and Mrs. Mary C. Gibson, secretary of the Redondo Free Reading Room Association signed over to the trustees of the City of Redondo Beach, "that certain frame building situate and being on the South Side and adjoining the Redondo Beach

⁷² City of Redondo Beach Board of Trustees Minutes, November 4, 1895. City of Redondo Beach, Office of the City Clerk. <http://www.redondo.org/default.asp>. Hereafter cited as "Minutes."

⁷³ Minutes, November 11, 1895.

⁷⁴ Minutes, November 20, 1895.

Company's Old Wharf and known as the Redondo Free Reading Room together with all the books, book cases, furniture and appurtenances thereunto belonging or in any wise pertaining . . . for the purpose of maintaining and conducting a free reading room."⁷⁵

According to American architecture historian Abigail A. Van Slyck, "Between 1884 and 1897, at least one third of the forty-four American library buildings pictured in the *Library Journal* included ladies' reading rooms."⁷⁶ However, by the beginning of the twentieth century this design had given way to floor plans which emphasized public service and open access to the stacks.⁷⁷ And, in any case, most early California libraries lacked the funds or the space to engage in such social niceties. There were a few libraries like that of nearby Torrance, where the collection was "located in the cosy home of Mrs. Henderson," described as "a most quiet, restful place to read with plenty of comfortable chairs."⁷⁸ But most libraries had to squeeze into a rental space in a store or commercial building, or some unused corner of a post office or city hall. The San Diego Public Library shared space with a dentist "on the second floor of the Commercial Bank."⁷⁹ The Pomona Public Library opened September 10, 1887 located "in a single room, rented for

⁷⁵ City of Redondo Beach, Archives, Box 99, "Deeds and Contracts Ledger, 1892-1908," Office of the City Clerk. The "Deeds and Contracts Ledger" is a typewritten, indexed ledger done sometime in the 1930s.

⁷⁶ Abigail A. Van Slyck, "The Lady and the Library Loafer: Gender and Public Space in Victorian America," *Winterthur Portfolio* 31, no. 4 (Winter 1996): 230.

⁷⁷ Van Slyck, "The Lady and the Loafer," 239.

⁷⁸ "Doings In and Around Torrance," *Redondo Reflex*, August 17, 1917.

⁷⁹ Richard Crawford, "Library Provided"; Clara E. Breed, "'Two Reading Rooms--One for Each Sex': San Diego Public Library Beginnings, 1880-1890," *San Diego Historical Society Quarterly* 28, no. 3 (Summer 1982), n. p.
<http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/82summer/library.htm>.

\$6 a month in the Ruth Building."⁸⁰ The original library in Long Beach opened on January 1, 1896 in a "small, one-story frame building,"⁸¹ while the reading room in Santa Monica was located in "a room adjoining Dr. Fred C. McKinnie's drug store" when it first opened in 1884.⁸² Even the venerable Los Angeles Public Library started out in 1872 in two rooms in the Downey Block, described as "one of the principal office buildings of that time," and which happened to be owned by the new president of the library's Board of Trustees, Governor John G. Downey.⁸³ In 1876, after discovering that the ladies were regularly using the membership cards of their husbands and sons to access the library, it was officially opened to their use, and a ladies reading room was added.⁸⁴

Like its neighbors, the reading room of Redondo Beach occupied a humble home. Constructed of pine, it consisted of one story divided into two rooms. One room was used for the library, while the other room was used as a restaurant.⁸⁵ Although in California the Rogers Act of 1878, revised in 1880, granted the authority to municipal governments to establish and maintain public libraries, including the authority to raise

⁸⁰ Frank Parkhurst Brackett, *History of Pomona Valley, California...* (Los Angeles: Historic Record Company, 1920), 169-170; "The Pomona Public Library: A Centennial Chronology".

⁸¹ Abstract, "Soft Tones of Parchment Yellow: Cora Matthews, Mrs. M. R. Spangler, Miss Lila Castle," *Historical Vignettes of Long Beach Women* (Long Beach: Women's History Month Committee, 1987).

⁸² "History of the Santa Monica Public Library".

⁸³ Faith Holmes Hyers, "Brief History of the Los Angeles Public Library," in Los Angeles Public Library, *Forty-Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Library Commissioners of the Los Angeles Public Library, For the Year Ending June 30, 1936*, (Los Angeles: n.p., 1936), 32.

⁸⁴ Hyers, "Brief History," 35-36.

⁸⁵ *News Notes* 1, no. 3 (July 1906): 118.

taxes in order to do so,⁸⁶ the reading room in Redondo functioned as a subscription library. However, even with a raise in fees from a paltry ten cents a quarter to a still low rate of ten cents a month,⁸⁷ with overdue fines of a stiff ten cents per week, it is clear the library could never hope to cover even the librarian's meager salary of \$6 per month, much less the cost of cleaning at \$1 per month, supplies, repairs, and, of course, the actual purchase of books, magazines, and newspapers. Thus it is quite likely the city Board of Trustees would never have agreed to take over the reading room had it not been for the revenue generated by the restaurant.

Variouly described as a stand adjacent to or adjoining the reading room, the "Library annex" and even "the restaurant part of the library building,"⁸⁸ it is clear that income from the restaurant, most usually described as a fish restaurant, supported the reading room. In March 1896, only four months after the city took over the reading room, the restaurant was leased for \$70 a year,⁸⁹ an amount still not sufficient to cover the salary of the librarian. That rose to \$75 in January 1899.⁹⁰ In 1900 John A. Eppinger, who described himself as a "restaurant keeper" in the 1900 census, applied to rent the entire building. The board, however, declined to consider the offer, "it being the sense of the Board that it would be a violation of the spirit of the donation to do so."⁹¹ The board must have been sorely tempted, however, when Eppinger returned in May with a

⁸⁶ Held, *The Rise*, 57.

⁸⁷ Minutes, April 27, 1886.

⁸⁸ Minutes, March 16, 1896; Minutes, February 14, 1898; Minutes, January 16, 1899; Minutes, January 21, 1902.

⁸⁹ Minutes, March 15, 1896.

⁹⁰ Minutes, January 16, 1899.

⁹¹ Minutes, March 7, 1900.

proposal to pay "\$100 in advance in addition to the present rental of \$75.00, will paint and insure the building and will donate 50.00 in money for the purchase of books for the library."⁹² But the board held fast, and the restaurant continued to be leased out for \$75 a year until 1905, when it was rented for \$102.85.⁹³

The business of the library came before the city's Board of Trustees only infrequently and, aside from the rental of the restaurant property, discussion seems to have been centered more on the building than its contents. The purchase of books was left in the hands of the library committee, composed of anywhere from one to three members of the Board of Trustees, thus completely removing any input from the community at large, and especially the ladies. Small sums of money were authorized for minor upgrades, repairs, and maintenance, for example an authorization in May 1897 for the marshal to purchase a lock for the contribution box, or in June of the same year for the purchase of two lights, "the cost to be not more than 80c a light."⁹⁴ Apparently at times the management of the library posed certain difficulties which had to be addressed by the board. For example, in January 1898 the board instructed the city marshal "to have the library cleaned and notify the Librarian to keep it clean."⁹⁵ It also appears that, occasionally, proper etiquette was not maintained, as, for example, in May 1898 when the marshal was "instructed to have notices printed for the library regarding order & decorum

⁹² Minutes, May 14, 1900.

⁹³ Minutes, March 20, 1905.

⁹⁴ Minutes, May 10, 1897; Minutes June 20, 1897.

⁹⁵ Minutes, January 11, 1898.

also that a new lock be purchased for the library."⁹⁶ Similarly, in August 1899, after having authorized some money for "repairs made in the Public Library,"⁹⁷ the board voted "that hereafter permission to use the library building for any purpose whatever except as a reading room shall not be granted."⁹⁸

Ray Held stated that "when a new city library was based upon a subscription association, it sometimes inherited the librarian along with the book collection, with the librarian continuing to enjoy a long tenure in office." Alternatively, he found that "some libraries suffered a frequent turnover of librarians." As Held explained, with "no personnel standards," little to offer in the way of salary, and cities being in "no position to lure a librarian from the East," library positions were "given to worthy local people."⁹⁹ Writing in 1917, Milton J. Ferguson, then assistant librarian of the California State Library, offered this description of what had, until recently, been the "firmly established notion that the essential requirements for the position of keeper of the printed books were, to be the widow of a popular public character, a beautiful woman who finds it necessary to work and has had no particular training, or a worthy but helpless individual, of either sex, upon whom the municipality out of the kindness of its heart would like to bestow a pension."¹⁰⁰ Historian Joanne Passet stated that candidates for the position of

⁹⁶ Minutes, May 9, 1918.

⁹⁷ Minutes, August 14 and 16, 1899.

⁹⁸ Minutes, August 28, 1899.

⁹⁹ Held, *The Rise*, 14.

¹⁰⁰ Milton J. Ferguson, "The California State Library School," *News Notes* 12, no. 2 (April 1917): 355.

city librarian "frequently included poor women, widows anxious to earn a living for themselves and their children, or elderly men."¹⁰¹

Certainly many public libraries in southern California followed that pattern. When the city of Santa Monica took over the W.C.T.U. library in 1890, for example, twenty-three year old Elfie A. Mosse, untrained and living with her twice-widowed mother and a sister, came right along with it.¹⁰² In Pomona the library opened with Mrs. E. P. Bartlett, a widow and the president of the Library and Floral Association, as the first librarian.¹⁰³ In Long Beach Cora Matthews operated the reading room for a salary of \$10 a month. Apparently Matthews's tenure was brief, as she "abruptly closed the facility one evening after some youths created a disturbance." The library was reopened "in late 1896 or early 1897" by Mrs. M. R. Spangler, a widow in her late fifties, who continued at the same salary.¹⁰⁴ According to the local history, Spangler's tenure was also brief, and she was replaced by Lila Castle, twenty-seven years old and living with her widowed mother.¹⁰⁵

The honors for "least likely" first librarian may go to San Diego, where Archibald Hooker "who was also the janitor" was in charge of the books when the library "opened

¹⁰¹ Joanne E. Passet, *Cultural Crusaders: Women Librarians in the American West, 1900-1917* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 101.

¹⁰² "History of the Santa Monica Public Library"; U. S. Census, 1900.

¹⁰³ "The Pomona Public Library: A Centennial Chronology". In the directory she is listed as "Bartlett, E. P. Mrs. (widow)". *Los Angeles City and County Directory, 1884-1885*, (Los Angeles: Atwood & Ernst, 1885), 556.

¹⁰⁴ R. Winston Tucker, "One-Story Shack Houses Library," *Long Beach Independent and Long Beach Press Telegram*, February 7, 1961; U.S. Census, 1900.

¹⁰⁵ Abstract, "Soft Tones"; U. S. Census, 1900.

its doors on Saturday evening, July 15, 1882."¹⁰⁶ In August 1884, Augustus Wooster, a forty-four year old local attorney, became San Diego's first official librarian. Starting at a salary of \$10 a month, his salary was raised to \$15 a month in December of 1884 and then to \$25 a month two years later. In 1887 he was replaced by Lulu Younkin, who was paid the rather princely, or perhaps more accurately princessly, sum of \$75 per month. Younkin, thirty, was a graduate of the University of Iowa and may have taught school before coming to San Diego.¹⁰⁷ In November 1894 she married Horace G. Anderson in Arapahoe County, Colorado,¹⁰⁸ and her place at the San Diego library was taken by her assistant, Mary E. Walker.¹⁰⁹

Once again, Redondo Beach mirrored its neighbors in the selection of librarians for the reading room. Mary Murray, usually referred to as May Murray, was the first woman to be paid by the city as the librarian. Her father, John Murray, immigrated from Ireland in 1866. He married Bridget, an 1867 immigrant from Ireland, in 1870. In Redondo Beach John Murray worked as the clerk of the Hotel Redondo. May was one of seven children, five of whom survived. Born in Rhode Island in May 1874,¹¹⁰ she was twenty-one when she started to work for the city at a salary of \$6 a month. Given the

¹⁰⁶ Breed, "Two Reading Rooms", n.p.; Crawford, "Library Provided Oasis".

¹⁰⁷ Lulu Younkin is listed as a graduate of the class of 1880 in the *Catalogue of Officers and Alumni of the State University of Iowa, 1847 to 1885* (Iowa City: Republican Publishing Co., 1885), 26. In the Iowa State Census of 1885 she appears living with her parents in Iowa City, working as a teacher in Johnson County. However, the same state census also lists a Lulu Younkin as an inmate of the Iowa Lunatic Asylum in Mount Pleasant, Iowa, assigned to "domestic duties."

¹⁰⁸ Colorado Marriages, 1859-1900.

¹⁰⁹ Breed, "Two Reading Rooms", n.p.; Richard Crawford, "Library Provided Literary Oasis".

¹¹⁰ U.S. Census, 1900.

salaries noted above, her salary was low, but not disproportionate to the size of the city or the reading room's collection. On April 2, 1900 Murray tendered her resignation, which was accepted by the Board of Trustees on April 4.¹¹¹ Murray may simply have tired of her work in the reading room, but it seems more likely she found a better job opportunity, as she took a position as an operator with the new telephone company.

In what may have been a first and last for the library, two women, Rose A. Murray, May's younger sister, and Mrs. E. Longstreet, submitted applications for the library position. Though only seventeen, Rose Ann Murray received the appointment.¹¹² But within nine months she resigned, following her sister to the telephone exchange. The Murray sisters remained in Redondo Beach, living with two of their three brothers, in the home purchased by their father.¹¹³ May remained at the telephone company, where she became the manager, retiring sometime between 1920 and 1930 to keep house for her siblings. After a short stint as an operator at the phone company, Rose took a position in the post office, where she still worked in 1940. Rose Murray died June 12, 1945 just short of her sixty-third birthday.¹¹⁴

On January 24, 1901 the city Board of Trustees appointed Eliza Longstreet as the new librarian.¹¹⁵ Born in Ohio on January 9, 1846, she married Sylvester Longstreet, a

¹¹¹ Minutes. April 2, 1900 and April 4, 1900.

¹¹² Minutes, April 9, 1900.

¹¹³ U.S. Census, 1900.

¹¹⁴ U.S. Census, 1910; 1920; 1930; 1940; California Death Index, 1940-1977.

¹¹⁵ Minutes, January 24, 1901.

carpenter and cabinet-maker, moving to Redondo Beach in about 1890.¹¹⁶ The couple had no children, and Sylvester died December 30, 1896.¹¹⁷ Longstreet continued at the library for five years, resigning in October 1905,¹¹⁸ by which time the salary of the librarian had risen to \$10 per month.

When the salary increase was approved is not clear. The Board of Trustees had in May 1901 considered a proposal from the library committee to raise the salary from \$6 to \$10 for six hours per day of work, excluding Sundays.¹¹⁹ But when it came to a vote before the entire Board of Trustees it was tied at two to two with one member absent.¹²⁰ Evidently the members of the library committee did not feel strongly enough to raise the issue again. However, an entry in the minutes of August 8, 1904 shows approval of a demand for payment in the amount of \$10.00 for Longstreet,¹²¹ after which that amount appeared for monthly payments in the name of the librarian, but whether August 1904 was the first time that amount was paid, or whether there was a rate increase between 1901 and 1904 has yet to be established. After resigning from the library in 1905, Longstreet may have found an alternative means to support herself by taking in renters,

¹¹⁶ "Silent Call to Pioneer Citizen," *Redondo Reflex*, March 15, 1915.

¹¹⁷ U.S. Census, 1900; headstone for Sylvester and Eliza Longstreet, California, Find a Grave, Index, 1775-2012, *Find A Grave*, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=LON&GSpartial=1&GSbyrel=all&GSst=6&GSentry=4&GSs r=5161&GRid>.

¹¹⁸ Minutes, October 16, 1905.

¹¹⁹ Minutes, May 7, 1901.

¹²⁰ Minutes, May 21, 1901.

¹²¹ Minutes, August 8, 1904.

as a note in the *Reflex* for April 21, 1910, reported that two ladies had "taken apartments in one of Mrs. Longstreet's cottages."¹²²

Alice Jenks was fifty-three years old when she started work at the library on November 1, 1905. She was the last person to serve as librarian for the reading room. Born in May 1852, Alice was fifty-three years old and lived with her widowed mother, Alvira H. Jenks, then about seventy-eight. Alvira H. Lucus married William J. Jenks on March 24, 1849 in Ogle County, Illinois. She was twenty-three and he was twenty-eight.¹²³ Alvira later stated that she had borne nine children, of whom five survived: Susan born in 1850, Alice born in 1851 or 1852, Ella (probably Mary E.) in 1853 or 1854, Carrie J. in 1857, and Eudelia born in 1859 or 1860.¹²⁴ Between 1850 and 1860 the growing family moved from Illinois to the bloodiest part of "bloody Kansas," Lawrence, where in 1860 father William worked as a carpenter.¹²⁵ But by 1870 the family had hit on hard times. William Jenks was dead, and Alvira, at age forty-four, was working as a chambermaid in a hotel in Atchison, Kansas, where her youngest daughter, eleven-year old Eudelia, was also employed as a dining room girl. The other girls had dispersed. Susan, the eldest was living with a Jenks cousin in White Rock, Illinois; Carrie, only thirteen, was working as a domestic servant in a private home, also in Atchison; while Alice, eighteen years old, may have been serving in the same capacity in yet another

¹²² *Redondo Reflex*, April 21, 1910.

¹²³ Illinois Marriages to 1850.

¹²⁴ U.S. Census, 1910.

¹²⁵ U.S. Census, 1860.

private household.¹²⁶ By 1875, however, Alice Jenks was boarding with a family in Atchison and working as a teacher.¹²⁷ In 1880 the Atchison, Kansas city directory listed Alice Jenks as a school teacher, living with her widowed mother and her sister Ella, who advertised as dressmaker.¹²⁸

According to her obituary, Alice J. Jenks came to Redondo Beach in 1900,¹²⁹ and by 1910 the entire extended family had moved west. Susie and her husband Andrew Brace, with two of their three surviving children, took up residence in Reno, Nevada. Eudelia, her husband Willis and one of their two surviving sons settled in Sparks, Nevada. Matriarch Alvira took up residence with Alice in Redondo Beach where, in 1912, Redondo Beach residents Ella, married to Mordecai Holmes, and Carrie, with her husband Charles McGonagle and their daughter, Charlie, hosted a birthday party for Alice.¹³⁰

All of the Jenks women were active members of Redondo's female society. Alice and Alvira both held office in the local chapter of the W.C.T.U., and in January 1912, at the age of eighty-five, Alvira H. Jenks had the distinction of becoming the first woman to register to vote in Redondo.¹³¹ On July 7, 1916 the *Reflex* reported the death of Alice J. Jenks, due to "a severe attack of peritonitis." The article took note of her "seventeen

¹²⁶ U.S. Census, 1870.

¹²⁷ Kansans State Census, 1875.

¹²⁸ *Atchison City Directory for 1880* (Atchison, Kansas: W. H. Haskell & Son, 1880), 144; U.S. Census, 1880. Kansas State Census, 1885

¹²⁹ "Alice M. Jenks," *Redondo Reflex*, July 7, 1916.

¹³⁰ U.S. Census, 1910; "Pleasantly Surprised," *Redondo Breeze*, May 4, 1912.

¹³¹ *Redondo Reflex*, January 18, 1912.

years in the city schools of Atchison, Kansas," and then, incorrectly, identified her as "the first librarian on the pier established by the Women's Christian Temperance Union."¹³²

". . . to formally open the library": Razing the Reading Room, Raising the Library: 1907-1909

In February 1907 the reading room underwent a radical change. It closed. The books and magazines were removed and stored, the librarian was let go, and the building was razed to the ground. The decision was entirely an economical one. According to Jenks, as of January 1, 1906 the library had nineteen subscribers and owned about 500 volumes, of which 50 were in need of binding. In her one-page, handwritten report, the only surviving report from the librarian, Jenks noted that, "There is no kind of dictionary or encyclopedia [sic] in the library," concluding, "By far the greatest need of the library is books."¹³³ Between May and December 1906, which covered the period of the first volume of the new publication of the California State Library, *News Notes of California Libraries*, the average number of cardholders for the library was twelve. The size of the collection remained about the same throughout the year, standing at 519 volumes in May but 557 in December, some books being returned from the bindery and a few received as gifts. The library was open from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m. seven days a week, but the librarian was only present to check out books between 2 p.m. and 4 p.m., Sundays and holidays excluded. Peak circulation was reached in September, when 97 volumes were issued "for

¹³² "Alice M. Jenks," *Redondo Reflex*, July 7, 1916.

¹³³ City of Redondo Beach, Archives, Box 2, "Redondo Beach History," Office of the City Clerk.

home use," but the monthly average was fifty-five.¹³⁴ The library was, to put it bluntly, not a going concern, attracting little patronage to offset its costs. Thus when "the Redondo Improvement Company served notice on the board that space occupied by the city library building was needed for the new pavilion," the Board of Trustees had no hesitation in authorizing "the necessary arrangements to vacate the land."¹³⁵

Ironically, no sooner had the doors of the reading room been closed than Redondo Beach received a visit from Miss Bertha Kumli. Kumli, along with Mable Prentiss, late of the Pomona Library, was one of two county library organizers hired in 1905 by State Librarian James Gillis "to assist small towns with their local libraries."¹³⁶ While Gillis did not invent the concept of the library organizer, he may have been unique in that, unlike county organizers Mary E. Downey in Utah, Mabel Wilkinson in Wyoming, or Ida Kidder in Washington and Oregon, "Gillis's Girls" were recruited from within California, and were not graduates of any formal library school.¹³⁷ California's county organizers had multiple responsibilities: they approached local notables, soliciting interest and support in establishing community libraries; they assisted in the process of making applications for Carnegie grants for construction of libraries; they offered advice on

¹³⁴ *News Notes* 1, nos. 1-8 (May - December 1906).

¹³⁵ "Doings of Trustees," *Redondo Reflex*, February 28, 1907.

¹³⁶ Debra Gold Hansen, "Depoliticizing the California State Library: The Political and Professional Transformation of James Gillis, 1899-1917," *Information and Culture* 48, no.1 (2013): 83.

¹³⁷ Harriet G. Eddy, probably the most well known of the county organizers, joined the team in 1909. By 1914 Prentiss had resigned to marry, while Kumli had taken another library position. She too eventually married. In 1915 May (Mary) Dexter Henshall, who had married in 1910 at the age of thirty-seven, joined Eddy, who in turn resigned in 1918, about a year after the death of Gillis. By 1930 Henshall reported no employment in the Census.

collection development; and they taught in the Berkeley summer school, at regional meetings of the California Library Association, and in traveling seminars of one to two weeks duration, focusing on the practicalities of library management, such as basic cataloguing and book-binding.

When Kumli came to Redondo Beach in late March 1907, she busied herself with visits to former librarian Jenks, who then introduced her to city notables such as the editor of the *Reflex* and the members of the city's Board of Trustees.¹³⁸ Kumli's message was that under the Rogers Act the city was not only allowed to raise taxes to support a library, but, more importantly, under the terms of the 1901 revision, city officials were *required* to establish a library using municipal tax funds if they were presented with a petition signed by 25 percent of the city's voters.¹³⁹ Doing the math, the *Reflex* calculated that the allowed tax "would give \$1500.00 annually to be devoted to this purpose, an amount which probably would be augmented by some of our public spirited citizens, but even if not so increased, would still provide a very respectable little library."¹⁴⁰

Kumli's visit clearly had the desired effect, as on April 22 the trustees were presented with "a petition to establish and maintain a Public Library in the city of Redondo Beach, with the required number of signatures thereon." Ordinance 249 "to establish and maintain a Public Library in the City of Redondo" was duly introduced, approved and adopted by a unanimous vote of the trustees.¹⁴¹ A board of trustees for the

¹³⁸ "Public Library Organizer Visits Redondo," *Redondo Reflex*, March 28, 1907.

¹³⁹ Held, *The Rise*, 58-59 for a history of the Rogers Act.

¹⁴⁰ "Public Library Organizer Visits Redondo," *Redondo Reflex*, March 28, 1907.

¹⁴¹ Minutes, April 22, 1907.

newly established Redondo Beach Public Library was appointed on May 13. On the same day the city engineer presented his most current estimate for the construction of a municipal building to “contain quarters for the City officials, room for fire house, Library and City Jail.” The cost came in at \$30,000,¹⁴² up five thousand dollars from his previous estimate in September of 1906.¹⁴³ With this information in hand the trustees again moved quickly and passed a resolution calling for the construction of a city hall to be financed with a fifteen-year bond issue of \$30,000.¹⁴⁴ On August 5, 1907 a special election was held, and the bond passed by an overwhelming majority, 186 votes for and 17 against.¹⁴⁵ In September the annual property tax allocation included 1 cent of every 90 cents that was collected per 100 dollars of valuation for the Library Fund, and it seemed the future of a public library for the city of Redondo Beach was assured. However, having assembled all the necessary accoutrements of a public library--a city ordinance, a budget, and even a library board--the city failed over the next two years to acquire that most necessary of elements, a space for the library. For when the plans for the new City Hall were finally unveiled in October 1907 no library was included in the drawings.¹⁴⁶ Evidently in an effort to bring the project in within budget a few architectural flourishes, and the entire library, had been eliminated from the plans.

Editorials in the *Reflex* tried to shame the city fathers in to action. Noting that South Pasadena was to join the ranks of nearby cities getting a Carnegie library, the

¹⁴² Minutes, May 13, 1907.

¹⁴³ Minutes, September 24, 1906.

¹⁴⁴ Minutes, May 20, 1907.

¹⁴⁵ Minutes, August 5, 1907.

¹⁴⁶ "Public Library Not Materializing," *Redondo Reflex*, October 7, 1907.

editorial asked, "Will some one of our library board kindly wake up and tell us what we are doing, thinking of doing, or even dreaming of doing for Redondo in the way of securing a public library."¹⁴⁷ There was brief interest in establishing a coffee club to be "opened through the co-operation of the churches and philanthropic citizens, with a reading room attached, that would furnish a counter attraction to that offered by the saloon element."¹⁴⁸ But no coffee club was opened, and no Carnegie application was made. In fact, the Library Board of Trustees appointed that day in May 1907 apparently never met at all.¹⁴⁹ So, when city officials, with the permission of the contractor, moved into the still incomplete City Hall on April 2, 1908 the city was still without a place to house its library.¹⁵⁰

Exactly what motivated the city trustees to restore the library to its former place in the plans for the City Hall is not known. Perhaps it was pressure to fulfill their legal obligation under the Rogers Act to provide a library which prompted the Board of Trustees to task the city clerk with "gathering data regarding the state laws governing libraries."¹⁵¹ Perhaps it was the editorials in the papers, such as the one in the January 16, 1908 edition of the *Reflex*, which stated, "Next to good schools a good public library will do most toward attracting desirable citizens."¹⁵² Or perhaps it was simply that a room

¹⁴⁷ *Redondo Reflex*, September 19, 1907.

¹⁴⁸ "Coffee Club and Reading Room Suggested," *Redondo Reflex*, March 28, 1907.

¹⁴⁹ *Redondo Reflex*, January 16, 1908.

¹⁵⁰ "Moving Day," *Redondo Reflex*, April 2, 1908.

¹⁵¹ "Plans for New Library," *Redondo Reflex*, October 22, 1908.

¹⁵² "Wanted--The Library Board to Get Busy," *Redondo Reflex*, January 16, 1908.

appropriate for the purpose which was not designated in the plans for the City Hall for any other use was available.

Whatever the reason, on November 23, 1908, thirteen years to the day from the transfer of the Free Reading Room to the city, Ordinance Number 294 was promulgated. Where Ordinance 249, the 1907 response to the citizens' petition, had simply stated, "A public library is hereby established in and for the said City of Redondo Beach,"¹⁵³ Ordinance 294 set out the means to establish, maintain, and govern the library. Adding eight sections to the 1907 ordinance, the new order mandated the creation of a board of trustees specifically for the governance of the library and delineated their power, including hiring and firing of library personnel, purchase of library materials, and the establishment of rules and regulations for the library.¹⁵⁴

On December 10, 1908, the formation of a new library board of trustees was announced, along with plans for a special "reception to be held the second week in January to formally open the library." Hosted by the city, the reception was designed, to quote the *Reflex*, "for the purpose of interesting the townspeople in the library and their co-operation will be requested by donations of books and money for the purchase of books. Each one attending will be requested to contribute a book or a silver offering."¹⁵⁵ The program for the evening included a tour of the "handsome building" from 7:30 to

¹⁵³ City of Redondo Beach, Ordinance 249.

¹⁵⁴ City of Redondo Beach, Ordinance 294; "Doings of Trustees," *Redondo Reflex*, November 5, 1908.

¹⁵⁵ "Will Hold Reception," *Redondo Reflex*, December 10, 1908.

8:00, followed by an hour-long entertainment including various vocal and instrumental pieces as well as two dramatic readings.¹⁵⁶

About a month after the "brilliant reception," at which some 200 books were donated,¹⁵⁷ the newly formed Woman's Club held a tea "to raise funds for the purchase of books for the city library." The *Reflex* reported that "the sudden change in the weather" from wind and rain to sunshine boosted attendance, and \$25.55 was raised by selling "chances on a large wedding cake which was donated by J. T. Martin."¹⁵⁸ Interestingly, the funds were not given directly to the library. Rather the club appointed a three-member committee "to select a list of books to be purchased for the City Library from the funds raised." According to a report covering the Woman's Club meeting, "It was decided that books pertaining to California history, romance or the works of California poets be purchased."¹⁵⁹ Works by Bret Harte, John Muir, California philosopher Josiah Royce, as well as several works by poet Joaquin Miller, nicknamed "the poet of the Sierras," appeared on the approved list of thirteen volumes purchased and donated to the library. Probably not coincidentally the same Joaquin Miller was the focus of "a splendid paper" delivered at the same meeting of the Woman's Club that chose the books for donation.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁶ "Library Reception Tonight," *Redondo Reflex*, January 7, 1909.

¹⁵⁷ "Brilliant Reception," *Redondo Reflex*, January 14, 1909.

¹⁵⁸ "Library Tea A Success," *Redondo Reflex*, February 11, 1909.

¹⁵⁹ "Woman's Club," *Redondo Reflex*, February 25, 1909.

¹⁶⁰ "Books for Public Library," *Redondo Reflex*, March 11, 1909.

Not to be outdone by the ladies, in March the Redondo Beach chapter of the Benevolent and Protective Order of Elks donated twenty-nine volumes of "late fiction." In addition the local B.P.O.E. promised to donate current issues of the *Review of Reviews*, *The American*, *Little Journeys* and *The Philistine* every month.¹⁶¹ It was an interesting mix of traditional and radical reading. The *Review of Reviews* was the American version of the English publication, founded and primarily authored by W. T. Stead. The journal was noted for scathing character sketches, carrying articles with such provocative titles as "Baby-killing as an Investment." The journal lost vitality and was eventually sold after Stead went down on the Titanic in 1917.¹⁶² *The American Magazine* was founded in 1906 as a continuation of the Leslie's magazines, which had published under various titles since 1876. Started in the muckraking school, it changed editorial style when it changed editors in 1915, focusing on human interest stories and fiction. It ceased publication in 1956.¹⁶³ Perhaps the most interesting of the titles were *Little Journeys* and *The Philistine*, *A Periodical of Protest*, both the product of Elbert Hubbard. Hubbard was a combination of astute salesman and advocate of the Arts and Crafts, or Mission style, Movement, which promoted individual craftsmanship in place of shoddy manufactured goods. Eccentric, flamboyant, and popular, *The Philistine* became the voice of Hubbard, who used it to "speak his mind on business, politics, taxes, religion, education, medicine, and labor," as well as to market the products of the Roycroft Shop, an artisan community

¹⁶¹ "Late Fiction and Current Magazines Given to Library," *Redondo Reflex*, March 11, 1909.

¹⁶² Owen Mulpetre, "W.T. Stead & The Review of Review," *The W.T. Stead Resource Site*, 2012, <http://www.attackingthedevil.co.uk/#sthash.euTDyfMy.dpbs>.

¹⁶³ John Mark Ockerbloom, "Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly / American Magazine," <http://onlinebooks.library.upenn.edu/webbin/serial?id=flpmonth>.

which he founded.¹⁶⁴ *Little Journeys to the Homes of Good Men and Great*, another Hubbard product, was issued monthly from 1895 to 1910, nearly 170 appearing in print. These were basically picture albums, with biographical sketches, used for promotional purposes. Hubbard attracted public attention when his wife filed for divorce on the grounds of adultery, revealing Hubbard's fifteen-year love affair with Alice Moore, whom he met when Moore, a school teacher, boarded in the Hubbard house.¹⁶⁵ According to one biographer, "To the principled Victorian world, Hubbard represented a rogue, . . . but his devotees had found in him a champion against 'Victorian imprisonment.'"¹⁶⁶ Hubbard and Moore, who married after his divorce, died when the *Lusitania* was sunk by German U-boats May 7, 1915.

The new library had shorter hours than the old reading room, "1 to 5 o'clock each afternoon and 6:30 to 9 each evening; Sundays and holidays 2 until 5 o'clock, p.m." but the librarian was expected to be in attendance whenever the library was open.¹⁶⁷ For this the new librarian, Mrs. N. F. Allison, would be paid \$25 a month. Exactly how Mrs. Allison was chosen for the post is not known, but it seems likely it was through the intervention of her husband, who did odd jobs for the city. Nothing more about the personal background of Mrs. Allison has so far been discovered, even her given name

¹⁶⁴ "Elbert Hubbard: An American Original," <http://www.pbs.org/wned/elbert-hubbard/index.php>.

¹⁶⁵ Sue, "Alice (Moore) Hubbard's Birthday, June 7th," *Roycroft Campus Corporation* (blog), June 7, 2010, http://roycroftcampuscorporation.typepad.com/roycroftcampuscorporation/alice_moore_hubbard/.

¹⁶⁶ "Elbert Hubbard."

¹⁶⁷ "Brilliant Reception," *Redondo Reflex*, January 14, 1909.

remains an unknown. What can be said is that she was clearly the wrong woman for the job.

Commencing her duties in January 1909, by March she had already offered to resign. The issue, it seems, were the lights. According to Mrs. Allison's account, one evening she arrived at the library alone and found that the lights had not been turned on for the evening. She went into a nearby store which housed a telephone exchange and called Mr. Charles J. Creller, the city clerk and president of the library's board of trustees, at his home, asking what she should do about this. Upon being informed that she should "turn them on" she told him that she "was alone and afraid to go into those dark corridors to turn them on and it was not my place to do so." Creller then advised her to search out the night watchman and have him turn on the lights, but, in her own words, she "refused to do this and told him I would wait awhile and if they were not turned on I would go home."¹⁶⁸ Eventually the lights were turned on when a "young lady" in the telephone office, one presumably less afraid of the dark than Mrs. Allison, went herself in search of the night watchman, who then turned on the lights. But, thereafter Mrs. Allison's husband accompanied her to the library in the evenings to turn the lights on for her.

The problem did not end there, however. For, just as turning on the lights in the library was not her "place," so too Mrs. Allison felt that dusting the library, or dealing with the janitor, were not part of her duties.¹⁶⁹ The janitor, according to Allison, would turn "the damper of the hot air pipe, and when I would question him about it he would

¹⁶⁸ "Mrs. Allison's Side of the Case," *Redondo Reflex*. August 19, 1909.

¹⁶⁹ Mrs. N. F. Allison to Dr. E. S. Metzger, Sec. Library Board of Trustees, Redondo Beach Public Library, dated July 15, 1909, printed in the *Redondo Reflex*, August 19, 1909.

say he was not authorized or paid to keep the Library heated." Allison expected Creller to resolve the issue, while Creller, in his turn, evidently expected the librarian to solve such problems without need of his intervention.¹⁷⁰

By July the situation had so deteriorated that Allison and Creller were trading insults in an exchange of letters, copies of which, along with her letter of resignation, Allison submitted to the *Reflex* for publication. On July 10 Allison wrote to Creller, "A few more little petty offices and your head will be so swelled that not even the City Hall will be able to hold you."¹⁷¹ To which Creller responded that her charges were "so unjust and without any foundation that no justification or defence [sic] is needed."¹⁷² In the end, when Allison opened the door, declaring "I am accustomed to being treated as a lady, and will not submit to your insults any more, and if you can get a librarian who will, you have my permission to do so," the library's Board of Trustees pushed her through it, instructing her to tender her resignation.¹⁷³ Allison delayed submitting her resignation, taking the time to solicit signatures to a "statement of satisfaction" with her work, which she also had published in the *Reflex*.¹⁷⁴

The real reason for Allison's resignation was probably buried in the personal antagonism between Creller and Allison--money. At \$25 a month, Allison's salary was at

¹⁷⁰ "Mrs. Allison's Side of the Case."

¹⁷¹ Mrs. N. F. Allison to Mr. C. J. Creller, July 10, 1909, printed in the *Redondo Reflex*, August 19, 1909.

¹⁷² Chas. J. Creller to Mrs. N. F. Allison, July 13, 1909, printed in the *Redondo Reflex*, August 19, 1909.

¹⁷³ Allison to Creller, July 10, 1909; "Library Meeting," *Redondo Breeze*, August 7, 1909.

¹⁷⁴ "We, the undersigned . . .," July 6, 1909, printed in the *Redondo Reflex*, August 19, 1909.

the lower end of the scale. From that, she complained, she had to "pay a substitute . . . whenever I was sick or away, even on Library business, and have defrayed my own expenses when I have gone anywhere on Library business."¹⁷⁵ Moreover, she accused Creller of delaying her warrants, the official request which had to be presented to the city treasurer in order to receive payment. As a result, she claimed that Mr. Cate, the city treasurer, had had to advance her the money "nearly every month."¹⁷⁶ While the public record does not reflect it, Allison had also apparently requested a raise in salary which was refused "on the ground that there was not money in the fund."¹⁷⁷ In the end, Allison's resignation was duly accepted and "Miss McKinley was appointed to fill the vacancy at a salary of \$45.00 per month."¹⁷⁸

Not quite the lame old men or the deserving widows and orphans described by Ferguson and Passet, the early librarians of the Redondo Beach reading room and of the libraries of the surrounding communities were very much the "worthy local people" of Held's portrait of first librarians in California. Lacking in any formal library training, these women, and the few men, were without doubt conscientious in their duties. The Library Ledger of the Redondo Beach Free Reading Room Association shows careful entries, not only keeping track of circulation, but also recording dues and fines collected, and transfers made to the city treasurer. However, as the tenure of Mrs. Allison made apparent, larger collections and longer hours called for more capable service, and cities

¹⁷⁵ "Mrs. Allison's Side of the Case".

¹⁷⁶ "Mrs. Allison's Side of the Case"; Allison to Creller, July 10, 1909.

¹⁷⁷ "The Library Troubles," *Redondo Reflex*, August 19, 1909.

¹⁷⁸ *Redondo Breeze*, August 14, 1909.

and towns went in search of that in the form of the professional or, as the literature of the time referred to them, the "trained" librarian.

Chapter Three

Finding Marian:

The "Trained Librarians" of the Redondo Beach Public Library, 1909-1911

In a brief article appearing first in the December 1897 issue of *Public Libraries* and later reprinted as an equally short chapter in John Cotton Dana's 1903 *A Library Primer*, Julia A. Hopkins, then working as the reference librarian at the Reynolds Library in Rochester, New York, provided a description of the characteristics of the "trained librarian."¹ A trained librarian could be distinguished by his knowledge of the "distinctly professional duties, such as ordering, classifying and cataloging books," while "it is precisely these professional duties of which the person untrained in library work is in most cases woefully [sic] ignorant." The trained librarian, for example, would already know "that there is some perfectly well-known and adopted system of classification . . . than the one he has been struggling to evolve." Not only was trained service "always of greater value than untrained service," claimed Hopkins, but it saved wasted time and unnecessary expense, "and one of the most important things which a small library has to consider is economy."² Yet, with only four formal library programs in place by 1900,

¹ John William Leonard, ed., *Woman's Who's Who of America: A Biographical Dictionary of Contemporary Women of the United States and Canada, 1914-1915*. (New York: The American Commonwealth Company, 1914), 402.

² Julia A. Hopkins, "The Trained Librarian in a Small Library," in *A Library Primer*, ed. John Cotton Dana, 3rd ed. (Chicago: Library Bureau, 1903), 23-25. Ironically, in September 1908 Hopkins resigned from her position as head of the Madison (Wisconsin) Public Library, which she had held since 1902, complaining that she was "loaded down with petty details of clerical work" which were preventing her from doing her real job. As quoted in Bob Kann, "All Their Ways are Helping Ways: Stories from

and none of those south of the Mason-Dixon line or west of the Mississippi, how was the average city or town to obtain this scarce but necessary commodity?³

In California Tessa Kelso, head of the Los Angeles Public Library from 1889 to 1895, recognized the problem, and in 1891 she took steps to address it by initiating the first library training program in California. As Kelso explained in her annual report to the LAPL Board of Directors, "The entrance examination to the class, three hours service per day for six months without pay, a final examination with an average of 70 per cent., entitles the examinee to a certificate, and makes her eligible for employment in the ratio of her percentage."⁴ In 1893, just two years after starting the training school, Kelso estimated that "since the inauguration of the training classes the library has had 20,742 hours of gratuitous service from pupils."⁵ As Harriet Child Wadleigh, LAPL director from 1897 to 1900, described it in 1897, "Los Angeles does not offer to pupils a course as extensive as that of a library school, but conducts what the name signifies, a training class, aiming to give a thorough grounding in the principles of library education."⁶

the History of the Madison Public Library," *Madison Public Library*, 2001, <http://www.madisonpubliclibrary.org/all-their-ways/3>.

³ Pratt Institute in New York (1890), Drexel University in Philadelphia (1892), and the Armour Institute (1893) which became the State Library School at the University of Illinois (1897).

⁴ Los Angeles Public Library, *Fourth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Los Angeles Public Library and Report of the Librarian*, (Los Angeles: Evening Express Company, 1892), 27.

⁵ Los Angeles Public Library, *Fifth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Los Angeles Public Library and Report of the Librarian* (Los Angeles: n.p., 1893), 27.

⁶ Los Angeles Public Library, *Annual Report, Board of Directors, Los Angeles Public Library and Report of Librarian for the Year 1897* (Los Angeles: n. p., 1897), 15.

While library boards typically did not fire incumbents, the death or resignation of a librarian often provided the opening to hire a trained, or at least experienced, replacement. However, since most small cities did not have a local candidate who fit that description, and since, as Held noted, small libraries were equally unable to offer the enticements of salaries or professional opportunities that might attract the graduate of an eastern library school, library administrators often turned to neighboring institutions, hiring away some woman interested in heading her own library, or perhaps just wanting a change of scene or different social surroundings. Thus the LAPL became the "go to" location for such poaching, so that by the time Mary L. Jones took over the directorship of the LAPL in 1900 she had reason to both praise and complain of the success of Kelso's endeavor, for "other libraries frequently call upon our Library for assistance and request the occasional and sometimes the permanent services of our graduates."⁷ The effect was that of the pebble in the pond, as women moved out from the LAPL to other libraries and then recruited colleagues and classmates to their new library homes.

Nellie M. Russ, for example, "who had be [sic] a valued worker for several years," left the LAPL in January of 1898 to head the Pasadena Public Library.⁸ She was joined there in March by Mabel B. Prentiss, a member of the LAPL's 1895 training

⁷ Los Angeles Public Library, *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Los Angeles Public Library and Report of Librarian, 1900-1901* (Los Angeles: n.p., 1901), 6.

⁸ She worked at the LAPL from February 1890 to January 1898. Los Angeles Public Library, *Annual Report of the Board of Directors and Librarian, 1898-1899* (Los Angeles: Commercial Printing House, 1900), 20.

class.⁹ Prentiss moved on to become head of the Pomona Public Library in 1902. When Prentiss took a position as one of "Gillis's Girls" at the California State Library, Pomona reached out to the LAPL, securing the services of Sarah M. Jacobus. A graduate of the ninth training class in December 1897, Jacobus worked as an attendant in the LAPL starting in April of 1898.¹⁰ But she resigned in September 1901 "to accept the position of librarian in the Kamehameha Schools of Hawaii."¹¹ By 1905 Jacobus was back at the LAPL, but in 1906 she left for Pomona.¹² Jacobus remained at the Pomona Public Library until 1946, when she retired at the age of seventy-seven.

Victoria Ellis and Ida G. Munson were members of the eleventh training class, graduating in March 1899.¹³ By 1907 both women were at the Long Beach Public Library, where Ellis had been hired as the new head of the library in December of 1903,¹⁴ and Munson came on as head cataloger in 1907.¹⁵ Like Prentiss, Munson migrated to the

⁹ Los Angeles Public Library, *Annual Report of the Board of Directors and Report of the Librarian for the Year 1898* (Los Angeles: n.p., 1898.), 11.

¹⁰ LAPL, *Annual Report . . . 1898*, 17; 21.

¹¹ LAPL, *Annual Report . . . 1901*, 25.

¹² Los Angeles Public Library, *Annual Report Los Angeles Public Library for the Year Ending November 30, 1905* (Los Angeles: Baumgardt Publishing Co., 1906), 28; Los Angeles Public Library, *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Los Angeles Public Library for the Year Ending November 30, 1906* (Los Angeles: Times-Mirror Printing and Binding House, 1907), 46

¹³ LAPL, *Annual Report...1898-1899*, 22.

¹⁴ Los Angeles Public Library, *Annual Report of the Library Department of the City of Los Angeles California, for the Year Ending November 30, 1904* (Los Angeles: Southern California Printing Co., 1904), 20.

¹⁵ Los Angeles Public Library, *Nineteenth Annual Report, Los Angeles Public Library for the Year Ending November 30, 1907* (Los Angeles: Commercial Printing House, 1908), 72.

California State Library, where she worked in the catalog department from 1911 until about 1938.¹⁶

Not only did the LAPL provide librarians, however, it also provided a model for library training. Ellis established a training program at Long Beach at least as early as 1908,¹⁷ and Jacobus established one in Pomona in 1909.¹⁸ Both Jacobus and Ellis had a hand in training Mary L. McKinley, the "stranger" who came to take charge of the Redondo Beach Public Library in August 1909, and who would, in her turn, establish a library training program at the Redondo Beach Public Library that would last for fifteen years.

". . . took the library training course": Mary L. McKinley, 1909-1911

In his presidential address to the American Library Association at its annual meeting, held in Pasadena in May 1911, the director of the New York State Library James I. Wyer, Jr. reflected on the still difficult task of convincing communities of "the splendid work" which public libraries could do "in the hands of carefully chosen staff of trained and experienced people." "Let a vacancy occur," he said, and "insistent and very earnest citizens will instantly appear to urge certain candidacies on every ground except

¹⁶ *News Notes of California Libraries* 6, no. 2 (April 1911): 185 reports Munson accepted "a position in the catalog department of the State Library." Hereafter cited as "*News Notes*." The 1938 city directory for Sacramento lists Munson as a librarian with the State Library, but in the Census of 1940 employment information was left blank. *Sacramento Directory Co's Sacramento City Directory, 1938* (Sacramento: Sacramento Directory Co., 1938), 498.

¹⁷ "Miss Florence Whyte, who has been in the Long Beach training class . . ." *News Notes*, 4, no. 1 (January 1909): 37.

¹⁸ "Miss Jacobus will open in the near future a training class." *News Notes* 4, no. 1 (January 1909): 51.

that of fitness as shown by temperament, training or experience." Trustees too often gave in, lamented Wyer, appointing some "local candidate or one who needs the money and will work for very little, or somebody's sister, cousin or aunt, upon grounds wholly irrelevant and immaterial." What could a community expect in the way of library service, bemoaned Wyer, when library administrators in considering the qualifications for the position of librarian assumed "either that a candidate's need is a sufficient measure of ability or that all the talent needed to manage a library in the best way surely exists under the local vine and fig tree."¹⁹

Registering dismay if not outrage at the firing of Mrs. Allison, the *Redondo Reflex* was particularly upset that the new librarian, Mary L. McKinley, was being given the raise which Allison had been denied. Reflecting exactly the preference for a home-grown librarian described by Wyer above, the newspaper's editorial went on to object to the appointment of McKinley based not on her qualifications, but because she was "a stranger, when home people of undoubted ability might have been secured for the place."²⁰

Born in Illinois sometime between 1875 and 1878, Mary L., for Laura, McKinley, her mother Nancy, and her younger brother William G., moved to Hawaii in 1884, where they joined Mary's father Thomas F. McKinley, who had immigrated there the previous year. Like most of the immigrants from the mainland, Thomas became a planter, in this

¹⁹ James I. Wyer, Jr., "What the Community Owes the Library," *Papers and Proceedings of the Thirty-third Annual Meeting of the American Library Association* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1911), 56.

²⁰ "The Library Troubles," *Redondo Reflex*, August 19, 1909.

case of sugar cane. At the age of twenty-four, the 1900 census recorded Mary working as a teacher, although it is not clear if she had attended the Honolulu Normal and Training School, founded in 1896.²¹ Whether McKinley met the aforementioned Sarah M. Jacobus during the latter's time in Hawaii is also unknown. But, McKinley certainly knew Jacobus in Pomona, where in 1908 Thomas McKinley was growing walnuts while Mary worked as a substitute librarian in the Pomona Public Library. In early October 1908 McKinley attended a one-week course in Library Methods in Colton, California.²² Interestingly, she paid all her own expenses for the course, the only one of the twelve attendees to do so.²³

The course was one of four, two-week long, tuition-free "Library Institutes" sponsored that year by the California State Library and taught by the library organizers. At the time these courses were virtually the only "professional" training available in California, as Mary L. Jones had closed the LAPL course to anyone not resident in that city, a policy which was followed by her successor, Charles F. Lummis, director from 1905 to 1910. The University of California, then composed solely of the Berkeley campus, was only a sporadic provider of library education. Berkeley's summer course in library methods, "the first training class of the sort west of Iowa," referring to its location

²¹ U. S Census, 1900. "In 1888, Principal Marion Scott began offering informal classes in pedagogy at Honolulu High School. In 1895, James Dumas, a graduate of Oswego Normal School, was hired to head the teacher training department of the high school, which became the Honolulu Normal and Training School a year later." Robert E. Potter, "History of the College," *University of Hawai'i at Manoa, College of Education*, updated 2008 by Rebecca Meeder, <https://coe.hawaii.edu/about/mission-history>.

²² *News Notes* 3, no. 4 (October 1908): 342.

²³ California State Archives, F3613, Library Organizer's Files, Reports 1907-1908. California State Archives, Sacramento, CA. Courtesy of Dr. Debra Gold Hansen.

on a university campus, was first given in 1902.²⁴ According to Mary L. Sutliff, head of the Catalog Department of the California State Library, in her report on "Library Training in California," delivered to the professional training section of the American Library Association at its annual meeting in 1911, enrollment in the Berkeley course was limited to "librarians or persons under an appointment to a library position."²⁵ Moreover the course was not given again until the summer of 1906 and then repeated in 1907. Sutliff noted that "all three sessions of the summer school were highly successful from every point of view except the financial one" owing to which "the University did not feel justified in continuing the course."²⁶ Therefore, the course was not offered again until 1912, after which it was offered each year, except 1916, until 1918 when an undergraduate Department of Library Science was organized, offering a one-year program leading to a certificate in librarianship.²⁷

The state-run "Library Institutes" such as the one McKinley took in Colton, were designed as a sort of crash or condensed course. An announcement in the *News Notes of California Libraries* outlined the program:

Instruction in general library methods will be given, and the work will be planned especially for librarians of newly established and quite small

²⁴ *News Notes* 1, no. 3 (July 1906): 131.

²⁵ Mary L. Sutliff, "Library Training in California," *Papers and Proceedings of the . . . American Library Association*, 264.

²⁶ *Ibid*, 265.

²⁷ "School of Librarianship," *University of California History Digital Archives*, http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/~ucalhist/general_history/campuses/ucb/colleges.html#librarianship.

libraries. Book selection and purchase will be included in the course, also book repairing and the question of replacing and rebinding. A briefer course in cataloging will be given, with special attention to work for beginners.²⁸

The emphasis for the sessions was on the practical. For example, at an institute given that same year in Red Bluff "each librarian was supplied with a sewing bench and was required to rebind at least one book."²⁹

The choice of Colton for the class location was not as quixotic as it might appear, for the second meeting of 1908 of the Sixth District of the California Library Association (CLA) was held there on October 19, immediately following the course. The CLA was founded in 1895 as the Library Association of Central California, becoming the Library Association of California before adopting its current name in 1906.³⁰ Divided into geographic districts, Redondo Beach fell in to the sixth district, which included Los Angeles, Long Beach, San Pedro and Pomona. District as well as statewide annual meetings were held, and while the state and the national library association meetings often lasted a week, the regional meetings typically took place in a day, so that librarians from small libraries often attended the local gatherings but not the larger ones. The annual state meetings typically included an "institute" of one week to ten days of

²⁸ *News Notes* 3, no. 3 (July 1908): 281.

²⁹ *News Notes* 4, no. 1 (January 1909): 97.

³⁰ Cindy Mediavilla, "A Brief History of the California Library Association," *California Library Association*, August 2009, <http://www.cla-net.org/displaycommon.cfm?an=1&subarticlenbr=29>.

intensive instruction. For example, in 1910 the institute was held in Long Beach from April 11-23, prior to the CLA's general meeting on April 25-27. The program consisted of two sections, Course A, "Ten lectures by Miss Anna McC. Beckley, Principal Reference Department, Los Angeles Public Library" and Course B, twenty lectures given by Sutliff, assisted by Kumli and "Miss Sarah S. Oddie," also of the State Library.³¹ Clearly the intention of these courses was to provide a convenient and economical means of training for local librarians in the two most basic features which distinguished the trained librarian from the untrained assistant--reference and cataloging.

There is no indication that McKinley attended the meeting of the CLA which followed the Colton training session, but she did attend the district meeting held in San Pedro on March 3, 1909, by which time she had a position on the staff of the Long Beach Public Library.³² Sometime after joining the Long Beach staff McKinley transferred, perhaps temporarily, to the Glendale Public Library, where it was reported that "the library has recently been recataloged [sic] by Miss Mary L. McKinley, who as of August 16, became librarian of the Redondo Public Library."³³

Immediately upon arriving in Redondo Beach McKinley demonstrated the difference between hiring a "home person" and a "trained librarian," introducing a host of new library services which had already become standard elsewhere. In September she

³¹ California Library Association, *Handbook and Proceedings of the Annual Meeting* (Sacramento: Publications of the California Library Association Number 11, 1910), 19.

³² *News Notes* 4, no. 2 (April 1909): 173.

³³ *News Notes* 4, no. 4 (October 1909): 460-61.

initiated an interlibrary loan program with the Los Angeles library.³⁴ She allowed books to be placed on reserve for a fee of two cents to "cover cost of notification,"³⁵ and eliminated the age barrier to library membership, allowing children under the age of ten to have borrowing privileges so long as "the parents or guardian" would vouch for the child.³⁶ She saw to the installation of a telephone so that patrons could renew or reserve a book by phone,³⁷ and solicited and received the donation of a table "to be used in the juvenile department of the library," absent the space for an actual room for the children's collection.³⁸ In addition she kept the library in the public eye, submitting weekly reports to the two city newspapers covering the arrival of new books to the library and frequently contributing articles in which she drew attention to the library as a source for reading on some topic of interest. One notable example appeared in the June 30, 1910 issue of the *Reflex*. Probably timed to the end of the school term, the piece comments on the "pleasant pastime" of swimming, and then segues into a discussion of books available in the library about swimming.³⁹

But by far the most important change made by McKinley, that which truly distinguished her as a "trained" librarian was this: "A modern system of cataloging has

³⁴ "Library Notes," *Redondo Reflex*, September 30, 1909. As the Los Angeles County Library was not established until 1912, presumably this referred to the LAPL.

³⁵ "New Books at Public Library," *Redondo Reflex*, October 28, 1909.

³⁶ "Children Under Ten May Now Have Library Books," *Redondo Reflex*, January 27, 1910.

³⁷ *Redondo Reflex*, June 9, 1910.

³⁸ "Anybody Got A Table to Spare," *Redondo Reflex*, June 16, 1910; *Redondo Reflex*, June 23, 1910; "Report of Librarian," *Redondo Reflex*, July 7, 1910; *Redondo Breeze*, June 18, 1910; *Redondo Breeze*, June 25, 1910.

³⁹ "Library Notes," *Redondo Reflex*, June 30, 1910.

been inaugurated and all books received since Miss McKinley has taken charge are classified according to this system."⁴⁰ In her annual report to the library trustees for the year ending June 30, 1910 McKinley noted that during the previous year "an effort has been made to re-accession the old books of the Library, and as the book is accessioned to classify [it] according to the Dewey-Cutter system."⁴¹ In order to accomplish all of this and still attend to the "general routine work" McKinley needed help, and so, following the examples of Jacobus and Ellis, McKinley established her own apprenticeship program, and on March 3, 1910 the *Redondo Reflex* noted that the "Misses Jeannette Kindig and Maud Welton, two High School students are spending their spare hours learning library work under the supervision of Miss McKinley."⁴²

Jeanette Kindig and Maud Welton, both born in 1893, were members of the Redondo Union High School (RUHS) class of 1910. The class of 1910 was only the third graduating class, the first in 1907 and the second in 1909 each consisting of one boy and one girl. The 1910 class had nine graduates, six girls and three boys. Welton's father was the foreman and Kindig's a laborer at the wharf, something which no doubt drew the girls together. After graduation Arthur F. Welton "accepted the position of wharf master at the Port of Los Angeles," and the Weltons left Redondo Beach for Santa Monica.⁴³ Jeanette Kindig remained in Redondo Beach, where she was paid a small amount to act

⁴⁰ "Library Notes," *Redondo Reflex*, April 28, 1910.

⁴¹ "Report of Librarian," *Redondo Reflex*, July 7, 1910.

⁴² "Encyclopedia for Library," *Redondo Reflex*, March 3, 1910.

⁴³ "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, June 30, 1910; *Redondo Breeze*, July 16, 1910.

as the Sunday reading room attendant.⁴⁴ Who initiated the idea is not known, but in 1912 Welton and Kindig enrolled in the General Professional Course of the Los Angeles State Normal School. They graduated on June 27, 1912, "dressed in dainty white gowns adorned with yellow flowers, the class colors," and became schoolteachers.⁴⁵

Initially Kindig taught in the nearby Perry school, in what is now Torrance, but after the death of her father in May 1913 she took positions farther away from home, joining Welton in Caliente, Nevada in September of that year.⁴⁶ By 1918 both women were married. Welton, who married Ernest E. Williams in 1917, continued to teach, even after the birth of her two children, and she was still teaching at the time of the 1930 census.⁴⁷ On February 15, 1918 Jeanette Kindig married Franklyn E. Skinner, vice-principal of the Maricopa, California school, where Kindig had taken a position in September 1917.⁴⁸ Kindig and Skinner moved to Hawaii, where they were both employed at the government school in Ookala, Hawaii,⁴⁹ and where in about 1934 they were divorced.⁵⁰ By 1940 Franklyn Skinner had married Lucille Powell, fifteen years his

⁴⁴ "Report of Librarian," *Redondo Reflex*, July 7, 1910; "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, August 11, 1910.

⁴⁵ "Normal Graduates," *Redondo Breeze*, June 29, 1912; Los Angeles State Normal School, *Bulletin and Announcements for 1913-1914*, 60-61.

⁴⁶ "Will Enjoy Vacation in Yosemite," *Redondo Breeze*, June 28, 1913 reported that the previous year Kindig had been teaching at Perry and Welton at Caliente, Nevada.

⁴⁷ U.S. Census, 1920; 1930.

⁴⁸ "Jeanette Kindig Becomes Bride," *Redondo Breeze*, February 22, 1918; *Redondo Breeze*, September 14, 1917.

⁴⁹ U.S. Census, 1920

⁵⁰ *Polk-Husted Directory Co.'s Directory of City and County of Honolulu, 1933-34* (Honolulu, T.H.: Polk-Husted Directory Co., 1933), 630 lists both Franklyn and Jeanette at the Department of Public Instruction in Wailuku, Island of Maui. But in 1934 only Franklyn is listed there (627), while Jeanette Skinner is still listed as a teacher with

junior, a former teacher at the school where Skinner was a supervising principal.⁵¹

Jeanette Kindig Skinner continued to live and teach in Hawaii. She died in June 1976, at the age of eighty-two.

Welton and Kindig were not the only girls in their high school class to work after graduating. Adelaide Barkley, the daughter of *Redondo Breeze* owner, postmaster, and drugstore owner S. D. Barkley, was hardly in need of the income, yet she worked at the post office between her high school graduation in June 1910 and her marriage in July 1911.⁵² Although Barkley was only eighteen when she married, the average age of first marriage for women was about twenty-one and a half from 1890 to 1940.⁵³ Thus women like Welton, who married at age twenty-four, and Kindig, who married at twenty-five, could expect to wait several years between leaving school and starting their own families. Indeed, one of the most interesting aspects of women's lives to emerge from this study was that, almost universally, single women, that is women who had never married, regardless of social or economic status, engaged in some sort of paid work. Moreover, while it may have been true, as historian Joanne E. Passet in her study of the "typical Western librarian" stated, that "single professional women" had "few counterparts,

the DPI, but her residence is given as the Moana-Seaside Hotel in Honolulu (423), *Polk-Husted Directory Co.'s Directory of City and County of Honolulu, 1934-35* (Honolulu, T.H: Polk-Husted Directory Co., Publishers, 1934).

⁵¹ U.S. Census, 1940. Franklyn and Lucille were listed as "guests" in a hotel on Maui, while Jeanne K.. Skinner, "d," was a resident of what appears to be a teachers' dormitory or apartments in South Kona.

⁵² *Redondo Breeze*, July 1, 1911.

⁵³ U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Table MS-2, Estimated Median Age at First Marriage, by Sex: 1890 to the Present," *U.S. Bureau of the Census*, May 2011, <http://www.census.gov/hhes/families/files/ms2.csv>.

especially in rural communities,"⁵⁴ in cities like Redondo Beach young women had many role models to follow.

There were, of course, the working widows. Laura Judge married Joseph Hannon, a physician about ten years her senior, on October 21, 1861.⁵⁵ By 1892 the Hannon had moved from Alabama to Redondo Beach,⁵⁶ where on March 7, 1895, "shortly after the death of Dr. Joseph Hannon," Laura J. Hannon was appointed the city's postmistress.⁵⁷ According to a later account in the *Redondo Reflex*, Senator Stephen M. White, "an intimate friend" of the late Dr. Hannon, interceded on behalf of the widow. Hannon continued to work at the post office until she resigned January 10, 1909.⁵⁸

Arguably the three best-known working women in Redondo Beach were Mary Story, Lola Gitt, and Mrs. May (A. R.) Hopkins. Because so much of local news was women's news--church meetings, school activities, club gatherings, and social events--newspapers often employed a lady reporter, whose job it was to attend and write about such events. As a result, reporting became one of those suitable jobs for a middle-class woman, and many women in Redondo Beach worked for some time as reporters. One example was Mary Story.

⁵⁴ Joanne E. Passet, *Cultural Crusaders, Women Librarians in the American West, 1900-1917* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 49.

⁵⁵ U.S. Census, 1880; Alabama, Marriages, Death, Wills, Court, and Other Records, 1784-1920.

⁵⁶ California, Voter Registers, 1866-1898: 1892.

⁵⁷ Appointments of U.S. Postmasters, 1832-1971.

⁵⁸ *Redondo Reflex*, January 7, 1909; Appointments of U.S. Postmasters, 1832-1971.

Mary Story was a grocer's daughter. Her father, Gilbert T. Story, was a Civil War veteran who owned a store in Zanesville, Ohio. Gilbert and his wife Elizabeth Walters had three children, of which Mary, born in April 1880, was the only one to survive.⁵⁹ George Story died in early 1899,⁶⁰ and the 1900 federal census reported Mary Story, then twenty years old, living in Zanesville with her widowed mother and a maiden aunt, working as a reporter for the local newspaper.⁶¹ But by 1909 Story was well established in Redondo, where she lived without any relatives, working as a reporter for the *Reflex*.

In April 1910, at the age of thirty, Story and Charles T. Gulliver, also aged thirty and working in Redondo as a reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*, surprised their friends and married. The two moved to Los Angeles where Gulliver continued to work in the advertising section of the *Times*.⁶² The marriage lasted less than six months, however, as Charles T. Gulliver was reported missing and presumed dead in the bombing of the Times Building on October 1, 1910.⁶³ Story attended the memorial service for the "unidentified bodies," and subsequently was awarded \$2394.37, her portion of a \$76,420.39 relief fund that was distributed to the families of the bombing victims.⁶⁴ Story almost immediately went to visit friends in Phoenix, Arizona, to recover from the

⁵⁹ Ohio, Births and Christenings Index, 1800-1962; U.S. Census, 1900.

⁶⁰ Elizabeth Story applied for widow's benefits on March 1, 1899. Civil War Pension Index, General Index to Pension Files, 1861-1934.

⁶¹ U.S. Census, 1900.

⁶² *Redondo Reflex*, April 21, 1910; *Redondo Breeze*, April 23, 1910; *Los Angeles Herald*, April 21, 1910.

⁶³ *Redondo Breeze*, October 1, 1910; *Los Angeles Herald*, October 2 and 3, 1910.

⁶⁴ *Redondo Breeze*, October 15, 1910; *Los Angeles Herald*, December 20, 1910.

first of several nervous breakdowns which were reported over the next few years.⁶⁵ When she returned to Redondo Beach she resumed her reporting career.⁶⁶ In early 1914 Story relocated to San Diego,⁶⁷ where she worked as a society reporter for the *Los Angeles Times*.⁶⁸ Then, in September 1921 she married for a second time, at the age of forty-one, to Jack Holland Stagleman, thirty-two, an automobile electrician.⁶⁹ Story continued to work as a reporter until at least 1930.⁷⁰ She died sometime before 1940.⁷¹

Like many people in Redondo Beach, Lola Gitt made her income from real estate. But she began her working life as a printer, another occupation thought suitable for a middle-class woman as it required both literacy and nimble fingers. According to her obituary, Lola Gitt came to Los Angeles in 1887. Born September 15, 1863,⁷² she would have been about twenty-nine years old in 1892 when she was listed in the Los Angeles directory working as a printer, living with her widowed mother and her three brothers, two working as clerks.⁷³ But by 1910 Gitt was living alone in Redondo Beach and working as a reporter.⁷⁴ Then, in August 1912, Gitt purchased part of the lot owned by

⁶⁵ *Redondo Breeze*, December 3, 1910.

⁶⁶ *Redondo Breeze*, February 4, 1911.

⁶⁷ *Redondo Reflex*, May 14, 1914; *Redondo Breeze*, May 16, 1914

⁶⁸ *Redondo Breeze*, May 11, 1917; U.S. Census, 1920.

⁶⁹ RootsWeb Marriage Records Index.

⁷⁰ U.S. Census, 1930.

⁷¹ U.S. Census, 1940 reports Jack Stagleman as "wd".

⁷² U.S. Census, 1900; California, Death Index, 1940-1997.

⁷³ "Miss Lola Gitt," *Los Angeles Times*, February 28, 1952; *Los Angeles City Directory and Gazetteer of Southern California for 1892* (Los Angeles: Geo W. Maxwell, 1892), 245-246.

⁷⁴ U.S. Census, 1910.

the Woman's Club, with a plan to build "a neat flat building for rental purposes."⁷⁵ Later that year she was reported building an addition to her own home, as well as developing the adjacent lot "for an investment." If Miss Gitt "doesn't watch out," quipped the *Reflex*, "she will be an extensive property owners [sic] some of these days."⁷⁶ Unlike Story, Gitt never married, although the 1930 census reported her with a seven-year old "son," Robert M. Carrig.⁷⁷ He did not appear on the 1940 census,⁷⁸ however, and what the exact nature of the relationship was is not clear. Gitt died February 24, 1952.⁷⁹

And then there was the case of May B. Hopkins. May B. Lowell was twenty-two when she married twenty-three-year-old printer Albert R. Hopkins around 1893.⁸⁰ The couple had two children, Edna born in 1897 and Lowell in 1903.⁸¹ By 1910, however, the marriage appears to have been breaking up, as May and the children were living as boarders in Oakland while Albert was working in the printing business in Sacramento.⁸² The 1911 Los Angeles city directory puts Albert in Redondo Beach as the foreman for

⁷⁵ *Redondo Reflex*, August 12, 1912.

⁷⁶ *Redondo Reflex*, November 15, 1912.

⁷⁷ U.S. Census, 1930.

⁷⁸ U.S. Census, 1940.

⁷⁹ California Death Index, 1940-1997.

⁸⁰ U.S. Census, 1880; 1900.

⁸¹ U.S. Census, 1900; 1910

⁸² U.S. Census, 1910; the *Sacramento City and County Directory, 1905*

(Sacramento: H.S. Crocker Co., Publishers, 1905), 276 identifies his as a "proofreader" for the Sacramento Union," and the *Sacramento City and County Directory, 1906* (Sacramento: H. S. Crocker Co., Publisher, 1906), 276 lists Albert R. as the foreman for the *Daily Union*. Founded in 1851 as the *Daily Union*, it published as the *Sacramento Daily Union* from 1853-1875, and continued under various titles until January 1994, when it was no longer able to compete with the *Sacramento Bee*. "Sacramento Union Newspaper. Archives," Finding Aid, *UCDavis University Library*, <http://www.lib.ucdavis.edu/dept/specol/collections/manuscripts/index.php?collection=285>; <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn82014928/>.

the *Los Angeles Record*,⁸³ which may explain how May and the children came to be in Redondo Beach, where she was mentioned in the newspapers in connection with the Woman's Club as early as 1915.⁸⁴ By at least 1918 the couple were, once again, apart, as there were several notices of visits by Hopkins to the family in May and again in December.⁸⁵ But, from 1920 forward May and her children are shown resident in Redondo.⁸⁶ With her children nearly grown, Lowell was sixteen in 1920 and Edna was twenty-two, May Hopkins worked as the city treasurer,⁸⁷ and later took up that popular occupation, real estate.⁸⁸ It was in this latter capacity that she founded the Redondo Beach Business and Professional Women's Club in 1923.⁸⁹ Hopkins later served on the city Board of Trustees and, according to one source, became Redondo Beach's first female mayor.⁹⁰

Widowed, never married, or de facto divorcees, it is clear that single working women were neither uncommon nor socially isolated in Redondo Beach. McKinley herself seems to have been well-integrated into the community. Initially she boarded with Eliza Goldthwaite, a widow living with her sixteen year-old son and twenty-three

⁸³ *Los Angeles City Directory, 1911* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles City Directory Company, 1911), 692.

⁸⁴ *Redondo Reflex*, June 25, 1915.

⁸⁵ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Breeze*, May 10, 1918; "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, May 31, 1918; "Personal Mention," *Redondo Breeze*, December 27, 1918.

⁸⁶ U.S. Census, 1920; 1930; 1940.

⁸⁷ U.S. Census, 1920 and numerous references in the local papers.

⁸⁸ U.S. Census, 1930; 1940.

⁸⁹ *Redondo Reflex*, September 14, October 12 and October 19, 1923.

⁹⁰ Jeanette A. McKenna, with Sally Schact and Karen Bennett, "An Historic Context Statement and Updated Historic Resources Survey for the City of Redondo Beach, Los Angeles County, California" (Whittier, California, 1996), 21.

year-old teacher daughter on Emerald.⁹¹ However, in November 1910 McKinley moved to Benita Avenue to "apartments with Mrs. Helen Huston in order to be near the library."⁹² McKinley maintained close ties to her family, exchanging visits,⁹³ spending Christmas in 1909 with them in Pomona,⁹⁴ and her summer holiday in 1910 at the family cottage at Sunset Beach.⁹⁵ In June 1910 she attended the "commencement exercises of Throup Polytechnic institute, where her brother, Thomas J. McKinley, was one of the graduating class."⁹⁶ In March 1911 she was in Pomona for the funeral of her maternal uncle, W. E. Noble,⁹⁷ after which she entertained another Noble uncle in Redondo Beach.⁹⁸ However, with the exception of Mary Story Gulliver, with whom she maintained a close friendship for the next five years, McKinley most frequently entertained friends from her library work.

June 1910 was a particularly busy month as McKinley hosted Miss Lavina Kirkman of the Pomona Library for two weeks,⁹⁹ followed with a day visit from "Miss L.

⁹¹ U.S. Census, 1910.

⁹² *Redondo Breeze*, November 5, 1910.

⁹³ "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, June 30, 1910; "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, July 7, 1910.

⁹⁴ *Redondo Reflex*, December 16; *Redondo Reflex*, 25, 1909.

⁹⁵ *Redondo Reflex*, August 18; "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, September 1, 1910.

⁹⁶ "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, June 9, 1910. Throup became the California Institute of Technology, commonly referred to as CalTech.

⁹⁷ "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, March 2, 1911.

⁹⁸ "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, March 9, 1911.

⁹⁹ "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, June 2, 1910; *Redondo Breeze*, June 4, 1910.

A. Clegg of the San Pedro library."¹⁰⁰ In one notable weekend in May 1911, McKinley "entertained a house party" where her guests included not only Clegg, but also Laura E. Cadmus, Helen Courtwright, May Brown and Lucinda Walker, all of the Long Beach library.¹⁰¹ A few days later McKinley left for ten days to attend the annual meeting of the American Library Association, held that year in Pasadena.¹⁰²

No sooner had McKinley returned to Redondo than she resigned and returned to Pomona. The immediate reason for McKinley's hasty departure was a fire at the Pomona inn or tavern on Wednesday, June 14. Although her parents' house, which adjoined the inn, was not destroyed, part of their household goods were, and McKinley rushed to Pomona to provide aid and comfort to her family.¹⁰³ However, McKinley had already tendered her resignation, effective July 1, at the meeting of the library's Board of Trustees the Tuesday night before the fire. The *Reflex*, which had bemoaned her appointment just two years before, claiming some local person could easily have filled the position, now credited McKinley's "faithful work and ability as a librarian" for the growth and success of the library. And the *Breeze* lauded her introduction of "modern methods" in the

¹⁰⁰ "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, June 23, 1910; *Redondo Breeze*, June 18, 1910.

¹⁰¹ "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, May 4, 1911.

¹⁰² "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, May 18 and May 25, 1911; *Redondo Breeze*, May 13, 1911.

¹⁰³ *Redondo Reflex*, June 15, 1911; "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, June 17, 1911.

library, claiming this would make the work of her successor "child's play in comparison with the task which confronted [McKinley] on her assuming the position."¹⁰⁴

Not "Found Under the Local Vine and Fig Tree": Lola A. Clegg, 1911-1924

"A good librarian," the *Breeze* declared,

has to be able not only to go through with the routine work of serving the patrons with books without getting things mixed, but has to understand cataloguing, a branch of the work difficult of acquiring and should also have a wide knowledge of literature in order to intelligently select works for the library.

Several of the Redondo Beach women had "devoted more or less time to acquiring the necessary training,"¹⁰⁵ but none appeared to be suitable to run the Redondo Beach library. In 1911 Welton no longer resided in Redondo Beach, and in any case both she and Kindig were too young to be considered. Mrs. E. S. Metzger, granddaughter of Mrs. Jane Perry of reading room fame, and a member of the library Board of Trustees herself, also had the appropriate training to head the library, having taken "the preliminary course of instruction in order to familiarize herself with the workings of the institution, that she might be in better shape to give her assistance."¹⁰⁶ But as a very busy married woman, Metzger was not a likely candidate. Also working as a volunteer at the

¹⁰⁴ "Librarian Resigns," *Redondo Reflex*, June 15, 1911; "Miss McKinley Resigns," *Redondo Breeze*, June 17, 1911.

¹⁰⁵ "Miss Lola Clegg Elected Librarian," *Redondo Breeze*, June 24, 1911.

¹⁰⁶ "Annual Report of Library Board," *Redondo Reflex*, July 13, 1911.

library was Emma E. Catey, who had been assisting McKinley at least since 1910.¹⁰⁷ But, apparently Catey did not put herself forward, as when it came time to select a librarian to replace McKinley the trustees found there were "no applicants here, none feeling themselves qualified to take full charge of the library." As a result, and although they "regretted their inability" to find a choice "from among our townspeople," they nevertheless selected Lola A. Clegg, another "stranger," to become the new city librarian.¹⁰⁸ Unlike McKinley, Clegg's arrival was heralded as a small coup. The library's Board of Trustees pronounced themselves "of the opinion that they have been fortunate in securing her service."¹⁰⁹ Notices of her appointment in the papers commented favorably on her experience as a librarian in the San Pedro and Wilmington branches of the LAPL, describing her as "very highly recommended."¹¹⁰

Born June 9, 1872 in Dayton, Ohio,¹¹¹ Clegg was the third and last child of Emma L. Cridland and Stanley Clegg. Cridland was one of nine or ten children of Thomas W. Cridland, a daguerreotypist and photographer who spent most of his adult life in Dayton.¹¹² In 1864, at age twenty, Emma married Stanley Clegg, a twenty-three year-old machinist. They had three children in short succession, Nora, who died at the age of ten

¹⁰⁷ When the Catey family moved into its new home in November 1910, the *Reflex* noted Emma Catey's return to her work in the library. *Redondo Reflex*, December 1, 1910.

¹⁰⁸ "Miss Lola Clegg Elected Librarian," *Redondo Breeze*, June 24, 1911.

¹⁰⁹ "Annual Report of Library Board," *Redondo Reflex*, July 13, 1911.

¹¹⁰ "Miss Lola Clegg Elected Librarian," *Redondo Breeze*, June 24, 1911; "Redondo Beach Secures Wilmington Librarian," *Redondo Reflex*, July 6, 1911.

¹¹¹ California Death Index, 1940-1977.

¹¹² The story of the Cridland clan is a complex one, made more so by the scant and sometimes contradictory data in the censuses of 1850, 1860 and 1870.

months,¹¹³ Frederic A. Stanley, born October 1868, and finally Lola A.¹¹⁴ Then, in June 1876, at the age of thirty-six, Lola Clegg's father died,¹¹⁵ and the family moved in with or next door to Emma Clegg's father and what was most likely his second wife, Amanda M. Cridland.

About a decade later, in 1887, Lola's older brother Fred was living at the St. Elmo hotel in Los Angeles, where he was employed in the drug department of Hellman, Haas and Co., a grocery store.¹¹⁶ Around 1892 the Clegg family, including Lola, her brother Fred, and her widowed mother and step-grandmother, moved into a house at 1049 S. Olive, where they would remain until 1905. About the same time the Cleggs were joined by Clegg's step-aunt Belle Wyman, her architect husband and their two daughters.¹¹⁷ In

¹¹³ *Dayton Daily Journal*, January 18, 1866.

¹¹⁴ U. S. Census, 1900.

¹¹⁵ *Dayton Daily Journal*, June 17, 1876.

¹¹⁶ *Los Angeles City Directory, 1887* (Los Angeles: W. H. L. Corran, 1887), 139. The Hellman, Haas Grocery Company found in 1871 by Herman Hellman, Jacob Haas and Bernard Cohn. Herman Hellman later became head of the Farmers and Merchants Bank, founded by his brother, also in 1871. Bernard Cohn briefly served as mayor of Los Angeles. In 1889 Jacob Baruch bought out Herman Hellman, while Abraham Haas, Jacob Haas' younger brother, who had joined Hellman, Haas in 1873, took over from his older brother, making Baruch and Abraham Haas the sole owners of the company. The company changed names to Haas, Baruch & Co., the name it retained until it merged with (J. S. "Jim") Smart & (H. D. "Hildane") Final Wholesale Grocers in 1953. Randall Oliver, "Smart & Final Corporate / History," *Smart & Final*, <http://www.smartandfinal.com/AboutUs/History.aspx>.

¹¹⁷ *Los Angeles Directory and Gazetteer of Southern California, 1892* (Los Angeles: Geo. W. Maxwell, 1892), 171; 544.

1893 the Wymans moved to another address, and Lola's widowed step-uncle Edwin Cridland and his two children moved in.¹¹⁸

Fred Clegg continued to work in the drug department for Haas, Baruch & Company, while Lola, twenty-three years old in 1895 and with no apparent training, worked as a teacher at the Sixteenth Street School in Los Angeles. She became the assistant director of the School in 1896,¹¹⁹ and then in 1897 she became as a teacher at the Ann Street school.¹²⁰ Over the next three years several events occurred which substantially impacted Lola Clegg's life. First, on March 7, 1899, her brother, at age thirty-one, married Dorothy Maude Seek, age twenty-two,¹²¹ and then, on March 10, 1900, Lola's mother died.¹²² Within a year following Emma Clegg's death, Fred and Dorothy split up, and Fred moved north to San Francisco, where he remained for the next decade, one of three owners of the Clegg-Serwe Mercantile Company, purveyors of "whol. pharmaceuticals, essential oils, perfumes and rubber goods."¹²³ Around 1904

¹¹⁸ *Corran's Los Angeles Directory, 1893* (Los Angeles: W. H. L. Corran, 1893), 221, 246, 829.

¹¹⁹ *Maxwell's Los Angeles City Directory and Gazetteer of Southern California, 1895* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Directory Co., 1895), 372; *Maxwell's Los Angeles City Directory and Gazetteer of Southern California, 1896* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Directory Co., 1896), 389.

¹²⁰ *Maxwell's Los Angeles City Directory and Gazetteer of Southern California, 1897* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Directory Co., 1897), 223.

¹²¹ "Marriage Licenses," *Los Angeles Times*, March 9, 1899.

¹²² *Dayton Daily Journal*, March 12, 1900.

¹²³ *Crocker-Langley San Francisco Directory, for the year commencing May 1903* (San Francisco: H. S. Crocker Company, 1903), 446. There are also listings for Fred Clegg in the 1901, 1903 and 1905 editions. The U. S. Census for 1910 records him as a "wholesale druggist," lodging in San Francisco.

Edwin Cridland remarried and moved out,¹²⁴ but by 1905 Clegg and Amanda Cridland had moved in with Edwin at 2269 W. 15th,¹²⁵ where Amanda died on October 17, 1908.¹²⁶ A year later, in November 1909, Lola Clegg, with no immediate family in Los Angeles, began work as an "attendant" in the San Pedro branch of the LAPL.¹²⁷

In 1909 the cities of Wilmington and San Pedro were annexed to Los Angeles, adding the "asset" of San Pedro's "attractive" Carnegie library building and its collection of 4,353 volumes, as well as a distribution station on Terminal Island, to the Los Angeles Public Library System. At the same time, the LAPL absorbed the Wilmington Library Association's small reading room, which had only recently opened in the city hall.¹²⁸ Employees at the main library of the LAPL were normally required to have gone through the library's training course. But for the various branches, sub-branches, playground and deposit stations, these standards were not applied. Elizabeth Singleton, for example, who preceded Clegg as the assistant attendant at the San Pedro library, got her training at the Long Beach Public Library, taking the training class along with Clegg's friend and predecessor in Redondo Beach, Mary L. McKinley. In November 1909 Singleton was placed on the "emergency list of the Los Angeles Public Library," indicating she was not

¹²⁴ *Los Angeles City Directory, Los Angeles City Direct [sic], 1904*, 289, 334.

¹²⁵ *Dana Burks' Los Angeles City Directory, 1905* (Los Angeles: General Directory Publisher, 1905), 309, 361.

¹²⁶ *Dayton Daily Journal*, October 18, 1908.

¹²⁷ *Los Angeles Public Library, Twenty-second Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Los Angeles Public Library, 1909-1910* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Public Library, 1910), 5, 20.

¹²⁸ *Ibid*, 18.

fully qualified to work at the LAPL, but evidently was sufficiently trained to be appointed as the assistant in the Wilmington and San Pedro libraries.¹²⁹

Just as there is no evidence that Clegg ever attended a normal school before working as a teacher and school administrator, so there is no evidence she had any library training or experience before being appointed to replace Singleton at the San Pedro and Wilmington branches of the LAPL in 1910.¹³⁰ Harriet Child Wadleigh, head librarian of the LAPL from 1897 to 1900, was a neighbor of the Cleggs in Los Angeles, living only two doors away from 1501 S. Hope.¹³¹ Wadleigh evidently remained actively involved in library affairs even after her resignation from the LAPL, as she attended the meeting of the California Library Association held in Long Beach in April 1910.¹³² It is possible, therefore, that Clegg's initial appointment was the result of a personal connection to Wadleigh.

Clegg also had a personal relationship with Mary McKinley. Both women attended the CLA meeting in Long Beach,¹³³ and they maintained a social relationship thereafter, with Clegg visiting McKinley in Redondo in June of 1910,¹³⁴ and again in early May of 1911, when McKinley hosted that weekend house party for her friends of the Long Beach Public Library. Both Clegg and McKinley, the latter in the company of

¹²⁹ *News Notes* 5, no. 1 (January 1910): 33.

¹³⁰ LAPL, *Twenty-second Annual Report . . . 1909-1910*, 20.

¹³¹ U. S. Census, 1900.

¹³² *News Notes* 5, no. 3 (July 1910): 296.

¹³³ *Redondo Reflex*, April 14, 1910; "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, April 28, 1910; *Redondo Breeze*, April 30, 1910; LAPL, *Twenty-second Annual Report . . . 1909-1910*, 20; *News Notes* 5, no. 3 (July 1910): 299.

¹³⁴ "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, June 23, 1910.

her friend and Redondo library trustee Mary Story Gulliver, also attended the meeting of the American Library Association which was held in Pasadena May 18 through 25, 1911,¹³⁵ just prior to McKinley's resignation from the Redondo Beach library. All of which suggests that even if Wadleigh did not actually intervene to place Clegg in the LAPL branches at San Pedro and Wilmington, almost certainly Clegg's personal connection to McKinley gained her the position in Redondo Beach.

Like her predecessor, Clegg's life was a mixture of the social and the work-related, and often the two merged so that one could not be separated entirely from the other. She continued McKinley's program of submitting almost weekly reports to the newspapers, usually an annotated list of new books added to the library. She engaged in endless library "publicity work" such as posting "bulletins, made in the form of posters, with booklists attached," or mailing post cards and distributing advertising slips, apparently small notices which were placed in store windows.¹³⁶ She constantly adjusted the library's hours of service, trying to find just the right combination to meet the patrons' needs. For example, in 1915 she changed the library's opening from one in the afternoon to eleven in the morning, and extended its closing time to six in the evening. "The extra time," she explained in her annual report to the library's trustees, "affords the business

¹³⁵ "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, May 18, 1911; "Local Relfexions," *Redondo Reflex*, May 25, 1911; "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, May 13, 1911; "Attendance Register," *Papers and Proceedings of the Thirty-third Annual Meeting of the American Library Association, 1911* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1911), 276, 281.

¹³⁶ "Report of Librarian," *Redondo Reflex*, July 12, 1912; "Report of the Librarian," *Redondo Reflex*, July 11, 1913; "Annual Report of Librarian," *Redondo Reflex*, August 4, 1916.

man and woman opportunity of exchanging books at the noon hour as well as giving them an hour's rest and entertainment in the reading room."¹³⁷ Although there was no public demand, she adjusted the library's hours again in 1917-1918, believing, she told the trustees in her annual report for the year, that increasing the hours would do "more toward increasing our usefulness than any other one way."¹³⁸ In addition, Clegg was a tireless campaigner for increased space for the library, and especially, as will be seen, for the construction of a separate library building.

Clegg attended most of the regional and state meetings of the California Library Association, as well as the national American Library Association when they were held in California.¹³⁹ She became member number 642 of the CLA in 1913,¹⁴⁰ probably while attending the eighteenth annual convention of the California Library Association, held that year from June 9 to 14 in Santa Barbara.¹⁴¹ On her return from Santa Barbara she promptly instituted a "children's story hour,"¹⁴² doubtless one of the "many new ideas"

¹³⁷ "Redondo Beach Library Grows," *Redondo Reflex*, July 20, 1915.

¹³⁸ "Annual Report of Librarian," August, 16, 1918.

¹³⁹ "Library Hours Changed," *Redondo Reflex*, June 12, 1914; "Breezy Briefs," *Redondo Breeze*, June 27, 1914 contain reports on Clegg's attendance at the annual CLA meeting in Coronado; "Librarian and Assistant at Association Luncheon," *Redondo Reflex*, January 14, 1916, the annual meeting of the sixth district, attended by Clegg and Catey; "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, December 8, 1916 noted not only that Clegg had changed residences, taking rooms with Mrs. J. D. Gilchrist at 565 Esplanade, but also, almost as an aside, that Clegg "was recently sent as a delegate to the sixth district meeting of the California Library Association at San Diego."

¹⁴⁰ *News Notes* 8, no. 3 (July 1913): 425.

¹⁴¹ "Will Attend Convention," *Redondo Reflex*, June 6, 1913; "Library Association to Meet," *Redondo Breeze*, June 7, 1913; *News Notes* 8, no. 3 (July 1913): 348.

¹⁴² "Story Hour for Children," *Redondo Reflex*, June 27, 1913; "Miss Clegg, Librarian, Establishes Children's Hour," *Redondo Breeze*, June 28, 1913.

she gleaned there.¹⁴³ In 1918 when a new charge desk was installed in the library, it was noted that the desk had been one "on exhibition at the national county libraries convention in Hollywood last year" which Clegg had attended in the company of library trustee Gitt.¹⁴⁴ In February 1920 the *Breeze* reported that Clegg had "been requested to talk on the subject 'To what extent is it advisable for a small public library to buy subscription editions?'" at the sixth district conference of the CLA, to be held in Pasadena,¹⁴⁵ although subsequent reports about the meeting make no mention of the presentation.¹⁴⁶

Even Clegg's vacations often involved the library in some way. With her travel and hotel expenses paid for by the city, Clegg could enjoy both the professional and recreational aspects of the meetings she attended, as for example her trip in June 1915 to San Francisco, where she attended "a joint convention of the American Library Association and the California Library Association" in Berkeley, to which she added one week of her annual two-week vacation to spend "in visiting the exposition city and

¹⁴³ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, June 20, 1913.

¹⁴⁴ "New Library Charging Desk," *Redondo Reflex*, March 15, 1918. "Book Talks," *Redondo Breeze*, June 8, 1917 noted that Clegg "sent in a typewritten list of books for summer reading" to the Book Section of the Woman's Club, "as she is attending the library conference." Also "Personal Mention," for the same date, which reported, separately, on the departures of Clegg and library trustee Lola Gitt to attend the meeting in Hollywood; while "Return from Convention," *Redondo Reflex*, June 15, 1917 reported on their return, noting that "They report that the convention was more interesting and instructive this year than the year before, and that the program was unusually good."

¹⁴⁵ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Breeze*, February 6, 1920

¹⁴⁶ "At Library Conference," *Redondo Breeze*, February 13, 1920;

fair."¹⁴⁷ Or again in 1920 when Clegg combined "attending the twenty-fifth annual meeting of the California Library Association" in Riverside with "a few days visiting in Redlands."¹⁴⁸ An avid camper and walker, trips to the nearby mountains were often made in the company of one of the other librarians.¹⁴⁹

Most importantly, however, Clegg expanded and formalized the library training program begun by McKinley. Starting with library volunteer Emma Catey in 1911, Clegg gave "six months instruction, including gen[eral] lib[rary] work, cataloging and storytelling" to nearly three dozen women and girls, almost all residents of Redondo Beach.¹⁵⁰ Several of Clegg's students went on to fill library positions throughout southern California. Notably, in neighboring Hermosa Beach every head of that branch of the Los Angeles County Library System from 1915 through at least 1940 was a graduate of Clegg's class. Other Clegg students filled positions at the library located in the County Hospital in Los Angeles, and in the public libraries of Long Beach and San Diego. Of greater significance was the fact that the next two heads of the Redondo

¹⁴⁷ "Librarian in Attendance at Northern Convention," *Redondo Reflex*, June 4, 1915; "Librarian Home Again," *Redondo Reflex*, June 18, 1915.

¹⁴⁸ "Personals," *Redondo Breeze*, April 30, 1920; "Personal and Local Notes," *Redondo Breeze*, May 7, 1920; "Attend Convention," *Redondo Reflex*, May 21, 1920.

¹⁴⁹ "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Breeze*, October 4, 1912; "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, September 5, 1913; "Personals--Local Items," "Personals--Local Items," *Redondo Reflex*, January 10, 1919; *Redondo Reflex*, May 2, 1919; "Personals--Local Items," *Redondo Reflex*, June 17, 1921; "Personal and Local Notes," *Redondo Breeze*, September 16, 1921; "Personals--Local Items," *Redondo Reflex*, September 23, 1921; "Around About Town," *Redondo Breeze*, July 14, 1921.

¹⁵⁰ California State Library, California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1916, *California Public Library Reports (1909-55)*, California Library Association Library History Committee Records, 1890-1966, Collection #873, Box 9, Reel 19.

Beach Public Library were trained by Clegg. As a result of Clegg's course, Redondo Beach would, indeed, look no farther for a librarian than "under the local vine and fig tree" until 1955.

"Miss Clegg attended": The Social Life of a Redondo Beach Librarian

Passet described how the librarians who took jobs in the rural communities of the West experienced "shock" and a "deep sense of geographic, cultural, and social isolation."¹⁵¹ But Redondo Beach, located on the Red Car line, which gave easy access to metropolitan Los Angeles and the college towns of Pasadena and Pomona, was anything but isolated or backward. As a result, Clegg's entertainment calendar reads like a who's who and what's what of lectures, concerts, and presentations. For example, she attended a lecture by poet and editor Dr. Richard Burton in July 1912,¹⁵² and another, this time in the company of library assistant Emma Catey and library student Violet Vanniman, given by noted English actor, stage producer, and critic, Harley Granville-Barker in March 1917.¹⁵³ The world war does not appear to have had much impact on

¹⁵¹ Passet, *Cultural Crusaders*, 49-52.

¹⁵² Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, July 9, 1912. Richard Eugene Burton had been a professor at the University of Chicago, Johns Hopkins and the University of Minnesota. He would often give a group of lectures at a single locale, such as the series of four lectures on "The Return to Dickens," "The Modern Drama," "Latter-Day Novelists," and "Robert Louis Stevenson," which he delivered at the Throop Institute. *Throop College Bulletin* XXIV, no. 67, (April 1915): 44. Unfortunately, the actual date of the lectures is not given.

¹⁵³ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Breeze*, March 9, 1917. Barker and his wife, actress Lillah McCarthy came to New York in 1915 to stage several of Barker's plays. While there Barker fell in love with poet and novelist Helen Huntington, both niece and former daughter-in-law of C. P. Huntington, of railroad fame. The love affair with Huntington ended Barker's acting career. In July 1918 Barker's wife, Lillah, agreed to a

southern California's cultural scene, as in February 1918 Clegg and Catey attended a lecture given for the LAPL training class by Dr. A.S. [sic] Bostwick, librarian of the St. Louis Public Library entitled "Lost Arts of Librarians,"¹⁵⁴ while in May Clegg, Catey, and second assistant librarian Miriam Burney attended a lecture on the topic of "The Ideals for Which We Fight," delivered by John Cowper Powys.¹⁵⁵ After the war her social and cultural life continued apace, as Clegg listened to yet another English writer, this time novelist Hugh Walpole, appearing at the Ebell Club in Los Angeles in February 1920. The *Redondo Reflex* noted that Clegg attended both the Saturday and the Monday presentations, while Catey and library assistant Gertrude Houze attended the Saturday

divorce, and Barker and Huntington married that July. "Harley Granville Barker Bio," *George Eastman House*, International Museum of Photography and Film, <http://www.geh.org/link/sn/barkerbio.html>; "Harley-Granville-Barker," *Wikipedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harley_Granville-Barker.

¹⁵⁴ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, February 1, 1918. Arthur Elmore Bostwick was head of the New York Free Circulating Libraries from 1895 to 1897. In 1901 he was hired to head the Circulation Department of the New York Public Library. In 1909 he left New York to become the head of the St. Louis Public Library from 1908 until 1938, when he demoted himself to associate librarian, in which position he served until his death at age eighty-one in 1942. Bostwick was the author of numerous articles and two books on libraries. "Biographical/Historical Note, Arthur Elmore Bostwick Records, 1901-1909, *New York Public Library*, <http://www.nypl.org/archives/2191>; "Arthur Elmore Bostwick," *Wikipedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arthur_Elmore_Bostwick

¹⁵⁵ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Breeze*, May 17, 1918. Powys spent nearly thirty years as an itinerant lecturer, at least part of that time under the auspices of the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching. Interestingly, like Barker, or, indeed, magazine publisher Elbert Hubbard, Powys's personal life was also seasoned with sexual scandal. Powys had a number of lovers, but in 1921 he met Phyllis Playter. At twenty-six Playter was half Powys's age, but they formed a permanent common-law relationship. "John Cowper Powys (1872-1963), A Mystical Pantheist," *The Powys Society*, <http://www.powys-society.org/The%20Powys%20Society%20Society%20John%20Cowper%20Powys.htm>.

performance.¹⁵⁶ And then in June it was Clegg and Catey again, this time at a concert by "the famous tenor, John McCormack, at Clune's auditorium."¹⁵⁷

Clegg was involved in several of the women's clubs in the area. In September 1911, when the new club year began, she enrolled in the most important of the Redondo Beach clubs, the Redondo Beach Woman's Club.¹⁵⁸ Although she does not appear to have taken a prominent place in club affairs, a circumstance which would not be surprising given her full-time employment, she did prepare monthly "magazine reviews" where she highlighted articles she felt would be of interest to the members.¹⁵⁹ Ultimately all three of the library's long-term employees, Clegg, Catey, and Burney, would be members of the Woman's Club. Clegg also participated in clubs outside of Redondo. For example, in October 1914 Clegg and Mrs. F. R. Quintaval, a member of the library's Board of Trustees, were guests at the first meeting of the newly organized Library Club of Los Angeles.¹⁶⁰ In January 1915 Clegg was a guest at a meeting of "the Channel Club, composed of professional readers,"¹⁶¹ presumably people who were paid to appear at events such as building dedications or holiday celebrations to give dramatic renderings of poems or famous prose pieces. Clegg may also have been a member of the prestigious

¹⁵⁶ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Breeze*, February 6, 1920.

¹⁵⁷ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, June 4, 1920 had two separate notes, one concerning Catey and the other Clegg. McCormack was an Irish-born tenor who made a career of concert singing, "always performing to sold-out houses." Aryeh Oron, "John McCormack (Tenor)," *Bach Cantatas Website*, August 2004 <http://www.bach-cantatas.com/Bio/McCormack-John.htm>

¹⁵⁸ "Woman's Club Resumes Meetings," *Redondo Reflex*, September 21, 1911.

¹⁵⁹ "Woman's Club Year Begins," *Redondo Breeze*, September 24, 1920.

¹⁶⁰ "Guest of Library Club," *Redondo Reflex*, October 20, 1914.

¹⁶¹ "Guest of City Club," *Redondo Reflex*, January 22, 1915.

Friday Morning Club of Los Angeles, as there were numerous reports of her attendance at their meetings, including one in March 1915 where she attended the club meeting and then "remained in the city overnight in order to see the moving picture play, The Clansman."¹⁶² Clegg apparently retained her membership in the group as late as January 1920, attending a "luncheon of the literature committee of the Friday Morning Club at its club house."¹⁶³

At home in Redondo Beach Clegg led an equally active social life. Most of Clegg's home guests were either librarians or family members, although at least two women, Lillian Zech of Long Beach, the daughter of a cigar-maker, and Lida Wallace of Los Angeles, the sister of a drug salesman, appear to have been friends made through work connections of Clegg's brother, Fred. Fred himself played a featured role in his sister's social life for her first couple of years in Redondo. In October 1911, just three months after Clegg's arrival in Redondo, he returned from San Francisco to southern California.¹⁶⁴ The papers reported him "enjoying his visit here so much that he thinks of arranging his affairs as to remain all winter."¹⁶⁵ And, indeed, it appears that he took up residence with his sister, as thereafter the papers regularly reported on his prowess as a fisherman,¹⁶⁶ as well as numerous social notes involving them both as hosts and

¹⁶² "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, December 14, 1914; "Guest of City Club," *Redondo Reflex*, January 22, 1915; "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, May 7, 1915; "Personal Mention" *Redondo Reflex*, March 12, 1915;

¹⁶³ "Attend Club Luncheon," *Redondo Breeze*, January 23, 1920.

¹⁶⁴ "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, October 12, 1911; "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, October 14, 1911.

¹⁶⁵ "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, October 21, 1911.

¹⁶⁶ "Another Fish Story," *Redondo Reflex*, August 2, 1912,

attendees.¹⁶⁷ In April 1913 Fred Clegg departed on a business trip to Ohio.¹⁶⁸ The trip was evidently successful, as he launched a new career as representative of a rubber company, removing himself to Los Angeles once more,¹⁶⁹ although he continued to visit his sister.¹⁷⁰ Clegg also visited frequently with her step-aunt and uncle, the Wymans, and their two daughters.

But it was with other librarians that Clegg most often engaged. Within days of her arrival in Redondo Beach she entertained Lucinda Walker, "a library student" from Long Beach.¹⁷¹ In November Walker spent a full week as Clegg's houseguest and again in late August 23, 1912.¹⁷² However, once Walker married she appears to have dropped from Clegg's social circle.¹⁷³ In February 1912 Clegg entertained her former colleague from the San Pedro library, Gertrude Holinblad, and Hazel Hearne, who had been

¹⁶⁷ "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, June 29, 1912; "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, August 9, 1912; "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, August 23, 1912.; "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, December 27, 1912

¹⁶⁸ "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, April 5, 1913; "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, April 26, 1913.

¹⁶⁹ "Breezy Briefs," *Redondo Breeze*, July 11, 1914. The city directories for Los Angeles for 1915 through 1918 list Fred Clegg as a "mfrs. agt.," although the residential reference seems to indicate that Fred lived in Redondo. But he does not appear in the Redondo Beach directory for 1915-1916, so his exact residence is not clear.

¹⁷⁰ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Breeze*, January 25, 1918; "Personal and Local Notes," *Redondo Breeze*, April 14, 1922.

¹⁷¹ "Local News Crowded Out of Last Week's Issue," *Redondo Breeze*, July 15, 1911.

¹⁷² "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, November 1, 1911; "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, November 2, 1911. "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, August 23, 1912.

¹⁷³ U.S. Census, 1930 gives Walker's age at marriage as 35. Given that she was born in November of 1876, and that she was still being reported as "Miss Lucinda Walker" in August of 1912, she must have married shortly after her visit with Clegg.

appointed to replace Clegg.¹⁷⁴ Like most Redondoans, Clegg entertained her summer guests with beach parties. At one July gathering a feast "down at the sand" was the featured activity for the guests, all of whom were past or present members of the Long Beach Public Library staff, including May Brown, Helen Courtwright and Laura Cadmus¹⁷⁵ Ida G. Munson, also previously associated with the LBPL but transferred to the California State Library, was a visitor in August 1912,¹⁷⁶ and Elizabeth Riddell, yet another member of the LBPL, visited Clegg in February and again in March 1913.¹⁷⁷ Clegg also exchanged visits during those first years with Mary L. McKinley.¹⁷⁸

But the most interesting social event was actually a series of evenings, hosted by three different members of the library staff, on the occasion of a visit to Redondo Beach by Dr. A. Goudiss in March and April 1916. Described in the paper as "both a Russian and a writer,"¹⁷⁹ the visitor was most likely Alberta M. Goudiss, wife of Dr. Charles Houston Goudiss. The Goudisses published dozens of pamphlets and books about food and nutrition, with such titles as "The Indispensable Lemon" and "The Strength We Get From Sweets." Perhaps their most popular book was *Foods That Will Win the War, And How to Cook Them*, although at the time of Goudiss's visit to Redondo that had not yet

¹⁷⁴ "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, February 12, 1912

¹⁷⁵ "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, July 19, 1912; "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, July 20, 1912. Brown visited again in 1913 while she was "spending her vacation at her home in Long Beach." *Redondo Reflex*, July 25, 1913.

¹⁷⁶ "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, August 31, 1912.

¹⁷⁷ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, February 28, 1913; "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, March 1, 1913.

¹⁷⁸ "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, August 16, 1912; "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, June 6, 1913; "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, September 20, 1913.

¹⁷⁹ "Society and Club Notes of the Week," *Redondo Reflex*, April 28, 1916.

been published. According to one source Charles Houston Goudiss also published "the Forecast, a monthly magazine full of vitamin chatter," and served as a "broadcaster over Station WOR for various and sundry food products." James Rorty, who described himself as having worked as "an advertising copy-writer, publicity man, newspaper and magazine free lance," had strong opinions about the Goudisses, describing them in his book on contemporary advertising as "the missing link in the menagerie of medicine men, vitamin men, and ad-men who crowd the big tent of the Washington lobby and do Chautauqua work in the field."¹⁸⁰ Clearly the Goudisses were well-known and possibly controversial figures, even in 1916.

Miss Claire Piele, one of Clegg's library student-apprentices, was the first to host Goudiss with "an informal evening" in the Piele home. The guest list included Catey and her schoolteacher sister, Minnie, Clegg, Ruth Anderson, another of the students, and Miss Lola Gitt, real estate mogul and long-serving member of the library's Board of Trustees.¹⁸¹ Catey followed with a Sunday evening dinner, the *Reflex* providing a detailed account of the evening:

Table appointments were made with tiny envelopes with sayings and conundrums enclosed. Instead of the names of the guests, the place cards

¹⁸⁰ James Rorty, *Our Master's Voice: Advertising*, (New York: The John Day Company) 1934, 366. New York independent radio station WOR was founded in 1922. David Hinckley, "New York's oldest radio station, WOR 9710AM bought by monolithic Clear Channel," *NYDailynews.com*, August 13, 1912. Rorty dedicated his book to Thorstein Veblen, and to those whose work "may yet accomplish that burial of the ad-man's pseudoculture which this book contemplates with equanimity."

¹⁸¹ "Spend Pleasant Evening," *Redondo Reflex*, March 17, 1916.

bore the nicknames of the invited ones. In the center of the table was a large crocheted basket holding delicate Cecil Brunners.¹⁸² Pink satin ribbon and pink candle shades were also used for tasty decorations . . . Music and conversation were enjoyed after the seven-course dinner.

Guests included Gitt, Piele, Piele's schoolteacher sister Carrie, Anderson, Irene Steward and Mary Ransom, also library students, as well as Clegg and, of course, Dr. A. Goudiss herself.¹⁸³ Finally, not to be out-done, Clegg hosted "a talk on Russian life" by Dr. A. Goudiss. Other guests include Prof. and Mrs. A.K. Jenkins and their son, Kendall, Mrs. Margaret Frick, widow and prominent clubwoman about town, as well as the usual library suspects, the Catey and Piele sisters, Ruth Anderson and Irene Steward, and Lola E. Gitt.¹⁸⁴

What is striking about these cultural excursions and social gatherings is how very typical, how just exactly alike, they were to similar events reported in the newspapers about other Redondo Beach residents. If librarians were, indeed, some special or particular kind of women it was not reflected in the way in which they interacted, either with each other or with their family or community. McKinley, with her family close by, spent holidays and vacations with them, while Clegg had her brother Fred as an extended houseguest, and exchanged frequent visits with her Wyman relations in Los Angeles. Outside of family, both McKinley and Clegg most often socialized with their library

¹⁸² A highly popular variety of rose.

¹⁸³ "Miss Catey Entertains," *Redondo Reflex*, April 21, 1916.

¹⁸⁴ "Society and Club Notes of the Week," *Redondo Reflex*, April 28, 1916.

colleagues. Clegg seems to have taken particular advantage of the access to cultural activities that Redondo's location gave. But in this she was no different from other citizens of the city, who were equally likely to report excursions to shop, attend to business, or take in some event. And what the biographies of the many library students recounted in the following pages clearly show is that while each woman's story is individually rich and unique, when taken as a whole there was nothing to distinguish Marian, the librarian, from her sisters, friends, schoolmates, fellow church members, or club women.

Chapter Four

Some Local Girl:

Training at Home, Working From Home, 1911-1916

One-room libraries, like one-room schoolhouses, demanded a great deal from their one employee. Librarians had not only to serve the public at the circulation desk, in the stacks, and among the reference materials, but they often had to act as janitor, sweeping floors, dusting the books and shelves, and tending to the lights. During the Great Influenza Epidemic librarians exposed themselves to unknown risks fumigating their libraries and their collections, book by book. And then there were the workroom duties, repairing books that could be mended, sending more seriously worn or damaged books, as well as magazines and newspapers, to the bindery, ordering and receiving new books, which required preparing them for the shelves, and adding entries to the catalog. All of these tasks needed to be accomplished while keeping the library's doors open at least part of every day, seven days a week. The librarian's day may not have started until 1 p.m., but it might extend to 8 or 9 p.m. Even Sundays were not a complete day of rest, as most libraries opened at least the reading room for some portion of the day.

Librarians were constantly warned against the physically taxing nature of the work. Caroline M. Hewins, writing for the *Hartford Courant*, later reprinted in *Library Journal*, recommended "plenty of sleep and nourishing food, with a walk of two or three miles every day" to ward off the threat of "breakdown from overwork" or "on account of

irregularity in meals or lack of exercise."¹ A decade later, in 1902, Mary L. Jones, then head of the Los Angeles Public Library, reported "several prolonged leaves of absence," ranging from one to six months, were granted to ten of the staff.² In 1905, Charles F. Lummis, the new head of the LAPL, added a physical exam as a requirement for entry into the training program there,³ as the library's board felt that "no young woman of dubious health should be permitted to undertake this rather confining work."⁴ To accomplish all this work without incurring the risk of attendant breakdown, librarians needed staff--literate, numerate, and of the right social standing. These assistants needed to be equally able to help a patron at the circulation desk, lend a hand in the workroom, take charge of the reading room on a Sunday afternoon, or keep the library shelves in proper, Dewey Decimal, order. But with little or no salary to offer, and as late as 1917 no training program approved by the Association of American Library Schools in all of California, how could librarians hope to fill this need? The answer was to follow the lead of Tessa Kelso and the LAPL: recruit and train library staff from the women locally available.

¹ C.M. Hewins, "Library Work for Women, Some Practical Suggestions on the Subject," *Library Journal* 16 (September 1891): 274.

² Los Angeles Public Library, *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Los Angeles Public Library and Report of the Librarian, 1902* (Los Angeles: McBride Press, 1902), 28.

³ Los Angeles Public Library, *Annual Report, Los Angeles Public Library, For the Year Ending November 30, 1905* (Los Angeles: Baumgardt Publishing Co., 1906), 27.

⁴ Los Angeles Public Library, *19th Annual Report of the Los Angeles Public Library, For the Year Ending November 30, 1907* (Los Angeles: Commercial Printing House, 1908), 45.

In 1905 the newly appointed head of the LAPL Charles F. Lummis declared, "For many years this library has maintained its technical kindergarten for six months of every year--a training class of young women who learn the Dewey system of classification, learn how to mend books and past labels on them, and check them, and charge them--and all the other indispensable minutiae of library routine."⁵ Now Lummis raised the requirements, adding the physical exam in 1906, and in 1907 calling for older, more educated candidates. As a library matured, argued Lummis, it was increasingly used by a more cultured patron, who, in turn, "must be *served* by culture." "We need now college women," he argued, "Normal School graduates, or others who have gone beyond the public-school stage--as this public has" to become the new attendants in the library.⁶ This went well beyond the usual standard of being at least a high school graduate, and far beyond the use of high school students, which was often the case in those smaller libraries in those smaller cities, such as Redondo Beach.

In Long Beach and Pomona graduates of the LAPL's training course established apprenticeship programs in their own libraries. At the Long Beach Public Library Victoria Ellis started a library training course as early as 1907-1908.⁷ In Pomona Sarah Jacobus announced in January 1909 that the Pomona Public Library would open a training class in the near future. "All applicants," she advised, "should have a high school

⁵ LAPL, *Annual Report . . . 1905*, 24.

⁶ LAPL, *Nineteenth Annual Report . . . 1907*, 44.

⁷ *News Notes of California Libraries* 15, no. 4 (October 1920): 613. Hereafter cited as "News Notes."

education or its equivalent."⁸ In fact, by 1911 the use of apprentices was commonplace, although not in libraries the size of Redondo Beach. A report submitted by the American Library Association's Committee on Library Administration, and printed in the conference proceedings of the 1911 meeting held in Pasadena, presented a summary of 137 responses received to a questionnaire circulated to 187 libraries in 1910. The libraries were divided into three groups, Group A being those with 1,000 to 10,000 volumes, Group B 10,000 to 50,000 and Group C those with 50,000 to 200,00 volumes. Of the forty-one libraries with the largest collections, twenty offered apprentice work while eighteen did not. Similarly of the seventy-nine libraries in the mid-range Group B, forty gave apprentice courses and twenty-eight did not. By contrast, of the seventeen libraries in Group A, Redondo Beach's size, only four offered apprentice courses.⁹ In California specifically, in addition to the programs at Los Angeles, Long Beach and Pomona already noted, apprentice training was given in Redlands, Oxnard, Stockton, Oakland and Santa Rosa, as well as at the State Library and in several of the county libraries including Yolo, Merced, Oxnard and Santa Barbara.¹⁰ Although it was not discussed at the ALA conference, it can be imagined that the smaller libraries were hard-pressed to find the time for the routine work, much less to oversee training. Yet at the

⁸ *News Notes* 4, no. 1 (January 1909): 51.

⁹ Committee on Library Administration, *Papers and Proceedings of the Thirty-third Annual Meeting of the American Library Association*. (Chicago: American Library Association, 1911), 91-97.

¹⁰ Mary L. Sutliff, "Library Training in California," *Papers and Proceedings of the Thirty-third Annual Meeting of the American Library Association* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1911), 264.

Redondo Beach Public Library Lola A. Clegg did just that, and library volunteer Emma E. Catey became Clegg's first student.

". . . she has given a liberal amount of her time": Emma E. Catey, 1911

Clegg's first annual report to Redondo Beach's library Board of Trustees, for the year 1911-1912 noted "During the year Miss Emma Catey has, under the supervision of the librarian, taken a three month's course in cataloging. Since completing the course she has given a liberal amount of her time, so that with her assistance the cataloguing of the library is near completion."¹¹ Like Clegg, Emma E. Catey was another midwesterner, born in Kosciusko, Indiana, in March 1877, the fourth of four children of life-long farmer Henry and Mary Catey.¹² The family immigrated to California around 1885, settling first in Compton.¹³ Minnie Louisa and George Washington Catey, Emma's older siblings, both graduated from the State Normal School in 1896.¹⁴ Minnie Catey secured employment as a teacher in the nearby Sierra Madre schools, where she worked for the rest of her life. By 1910 Henry Catey was well in to his declining years and, perhaps in an effort to provide some security for his single daughters, he purchased a lot and constructed a house on the corner of Elena and Sapphire, in Redondo Beach, putting the

¹¹ "Report of Librarian," *Redondo Reflex*, July 12, 1912, "Report of Librarian," *Redondo Breeze*, July 6, 1912.

¹² U. S. Census, 1900.

¹³ "Pioneer Settler Called," *Redondo Reflex*, February 21, 1913.

¹⁴ *Thirteenth Annual Catalogue of the State Normal School at Los Angeles for the School Year Ending June 30, 1895* (Sacramento: A. J. Johnston, 1895), 62, lists both Minnie and George Catey, resident in Compton, as members of the Senior Class.

real estate in his daughters' names.¹⁵ Typical of the times, the purchase of the lot and the construction of the house were reported in the local papers. A large house, with nine rooms, it was described as "modern in every way, a furnace and sleeping porches adding much to the comfort and value."¹⁶ When the family, including Emma, her parents, her sister, and a married brother with his wife and three children, took up residence in December 1910, they were feted with a "tin party," similar to a modern-day housewarming except that friends rather than the new householders host the party.¹⁷ At this time Catey was already volunteering at the library, the *Breeze* making note of her resumption of duties a few days later, after having "been out of the library for some time while getting settled in her new home."¹⁸

If volunteering in order to secure regular employment at the library was her goal, Catey achieved it. In June 1912 she was given the position of "library assistant for the months of July and August,"¹⁹ the library's high season when the children were out of school and the city's population was swelled by the "transients," as the visiting vacationers were often called. The temporary position became permanent in November when Catey was "appointed assistant librarian on a regular salary,"²⁰ although she was

¹⁵ "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, August 4, 1910. The house was always referred to as belonging to Minnie and Emma Catey, although clearly it was Henry who provided the actual money for the purchase of the lot and construction of the house.

¹⁶ "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, October 17, 1910; "News of Local Interest," *Redondo Breeze*, October 22, 1910.

¹⁷ *Redondo Reflex*, December 1, 1910.

¹⁸ "News of Local Interest," *Redondo Breeze*, December 3, 1910.

¹⁹ "Library Notes," *Redondo Reflex*, June 21, 1912.

²⁰ "Library Meeting," *Redondo Reflex*, November 8, 1912.

only working about two hours a day.²¹ Over time both her hours and her salary increased, so that by 1914 she was working about thirty-two hours a week,²² up to thirty-five hours in 1915.²³

The Catey sisters lived together in the family residence at least until 1931,²⁴ joined at different times by various family members, and the occasional librarian staying as a boarder. The Cateys retained close ties to their Indiana family and friends, Emma, for example, regularly attending local picnics for former residents of the area.²⁵ Once Clegg was able to hire a second assistant librarian in 1917, the sisters took extended summer vacations together, traveling to Indiana and points east. In September 1919, for example, their expected return home from a "two months visit at the home of relatives in New York" was extended three days in Salt Lake City due to a railroad strike.²⁶ In 1921 they took ten weeks to tour "through Indiana by automobile, and visited relatives and

²¹ California State Library, California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1913, *California Public Library Reports (1909-55)*, California Library Association Library History Committee Records, 1890-1966, Collection #873, Box 9, Reel 19. Hereafter cited as "California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, . . ."

²² California Public Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1914; "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, February 7, 1914.

²³ California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1915.

²⁴ *Los Angeles Directory Co's Redondo Beach (California) City Directory, 1931* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles City Directory Company, 1931), 42.

²⁵ "Hoosier Picnic," *Redondo Reflex*, September 6, 1912.

²⁶ "Home From East," and "Personal and Local Notes," *Redondo Reflex*, September 5, 1919.

friends in Chicago and Salt Lake City."²⁷ And in September 1922 the *Breeze* reported that "Miss Minnie Catey has acquired one of the late model Buick touring cars and is mastering the art of driving."²⁸

As noted earlier, Emma Catey took in many of the cultural events of nearby Los Angeles, for example in February of 1920 she heard "Jasha Heifitz, the famous violinist."²⁹ Like McKinley and Clegg, she entertained the library women at her home. She also attended the state and district meetings of the California Library Association.³⁰ However, unlike Clegg, Catey does not appear to have actually joined the CLA.

"The Marshal's Office": Campaigning for Space for the Library, 1911-1912

Clegg may have been as cheered by her initial success in training and then hiring Catey as she was depressed by her failure to win support for expansion of the library. In 1910 McKinley succeeded in obtaining "use of an upstairs room" in the City Hall for use as a stack room.³¹ Now, in August 1911, just weeks after Clegg's arrival, the Woman's Club circulated a petition for "additional floor space and a greater appropriation for library needs." Specifically, they requested the marshal's office and the adjoining recorder's courtroom on the first floor of the City Hall be moved to the city council

²⁷ "Personal and Local Items," *Redondo Breeze*, June 17, 1921; "Personals--Local Items," *Redondo Reflex*, September 9, 1921. "Personal and Local Notes," *Redondo Breeze*, June 17, 1921; "Personals--Local Items," *Redondo Reflex*, July 1, 1921.

²⁸ "Personal and Local Notes," *Redondo Breeze*, September 1, 1922.

²⁹ "Personals," *Redondo Reflex*, February 27, 1920.

³⁰ "Personals," *Redondo Breeze*, April 30, 1920; "Personals--Local Items," *Redondo Reflex*, May 7, 1920; "Librarians Attended Convention," *Redondo Reflex*, May 18, 1921.

³¹ "Report of Librarian, Annual Statement of the Condition of Public Library for Year Ending June 30, 1910," *Redondo Reflex*, July 7, 1910.

chambers on the second floor, allowing the library "the entire west side of the first floor of the hall."³² Both of the city's newspapers offered editorials in favor of the petition. In a city with a service-based economy, composed of middle-class business and professional families, the real estate value of a city library continued to be the most popular argument in its favor. The *Reflex* argued, "A city which realizes the importance of its library will be a place where people will want to live,"³³ while the *Breeze* focused on the need for more access to the library's collection, particularly the magazines, as well as the pressing need for a separate juvenile reading room.³⁴ The question dragged on for months, with the city Board of Trustees deferring,³⁵ investigating,³⁶ and meeting with a delegation from the Woman's Club.³⁷ Meanwhile the newspapers continued to agitate. The *Reflex*, for example, deployed the education argument, that the library was valuable not only to teachers and pupils, but as "the school of those who have to work during the day and have no other opportunity for 'brushing up' on the various questions of the day."³⁸

In December 1911 the trustees "apportioned the library some \$2100 for the coming year." The *Breeze* noted this was only about one-half of what was asked for, and

³² "Petition Being Circulated for Increased Library Space," *Redondo Reflex*, August 24, 1911.

³³ "Enlarge the Library," *Redondo Reflex*, August 24, 1911; "Library Petition Deserves Many Signatures," *Redondo Breeze*, August 16, 1911.

³⁴ "Redondo Beach Library," *Redondo Breeze*, August 26, 1911.

³⁵ City of Redondo Beach Board of Trustees Minutes, August 28, 1911. Redondo Beach, Office of the City Clerk, [http://www.redondobeach.org/City Clerks Department/Minutes](http://www.redondobeach.org/City%20Clerks%20Department/Minutes), hereafter cited as "Minutes"; "Doings of Trustees," *Redondo Reflex*, August 31, 1911.

³⁶ Minutes, September 11, 1911; "Doings of Trustees," *Redondo Reflex*, September 14, 1911.

³⁷ Minutes, January 8, 1912.

³⁸ "To Enlarge Library," *Redondo Reflex*, December 28, 1911.

would leave only "between \$500 and \$600 for new books."³⁹ Worse, city trustees continued to drag their collective feet regarding expansion of the library. In January 1912 the sub-committee of the Board of Trustees originally formed back in September finally delivered their report to the board as a whole. After four months of study, they reported that, "while they were willing to vacate the marshal's office for the benefit of the library, they were not disposed to move the recorder's court up stairs."⁴⁰ The same month several civic organizations called for a public committee to investigate applying for Carnegie funds, but, as in the earlier effort to establish a coffee club, no working group was ever formed.⁴¹

With only a year in office, Clegg was not shy about expressing her views on the need for additional space. In the same July 1912 report in which she noted the near completion of the cataloging of the collection, she also stated bluntly,

In considering the growth of the library we have also to consider the needs which are an inevitable result. The one room which we now occupy is inadequate to our present requirements. Additional book racks are needed, but there is no space to accommodate them. The popularity of the juvenile department shows the necessity of a special room, and more space is needed for a workroom.

³⁹ "Library Meeting," *Redondo Breeze*, December 16, 1911.

⁴⁰ Minutes, January 8, 1912; "City Trustees Met Monday," *Redondo Reflex*, January 11, 1912.

⁴¹ "Public Library," *Redondo Breeze*, January 13, 1912.

Clegg concluded her report with an argument she would repeat in almost every year's report thereafter: "It is safe to say that with more commodious quarters, the increase in patronage and in the usefulness of the library would well repay for the extra expenditure."⁴²

Thus armed with Clegg's report, the *Reflex* again raised the issue of applying for a Carnegie grant. An editorial pointed out the "present library appropriation is more than twice" the "10 per cent of the cost" of a \$10,000 building which the city would be required to pledge as part of the application. Further, the *Reflex* argued, the use of the recorder's and the marshal's room would provide an interim solution, as "by the time the business of the city hall absolutely required that space, the library would be housed elsewhere."⁴³ But the city trustees firmly rejected any proposal involving Carnegie funds as being too expensive. Instead the Public Properties Committee, another sub-committee of the Board of Trustees, asked for time to investigate the possibility of "procuring the use of the old L.A. & R. Ry. Co's office building near the Hotel Redondo for a home for the city library."⁴⁴ The trustees found that price too high as well,⁴⁵ and finally, in November of 1912, the library was expanded to take over the marshal's room, to be used for a magazine room.⁴⁶

⁴² "Report of the Librarian," *Redondo Reflex*, July 12, 1912.

⁴³ "The Library Question," *Redondo Reflex*, July 19, 1912.

⁴⁴ Minutes, July 22, 1912; Minutes, August 12, 1912; "Board of Trustees," *Redondo Reflex*, August 16, 1912.

⁴⁵ Minutes, November 11, 1912.

⁴⁶ "Library Meeting," and "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Breeze*, November 15, 1912; "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, November 16, 1912; "Personal

"The training class at the public library is growing": 1913

With additional space, Clegg needed additional help, and she took on more student-apprentices to fill the gap. In March 1913 the *Reflex* reported, "The training class at the public library is growing. The class under the direction of Miss Clegg numbers three. Miss Jane Blair, Miss Marie Odair and Miss Maud Gillespie. The course can be completed in six months and Miss Blair will be the first to finish the work."⁴⁷

Jane Blair, born in Scotland around 1872, was about eight years old when she immigrated to the United States with her parents, Ann B. and Samuelle C. Blair. Blair was one of six children, all girls. Between 1895 and 1900 Samuelle Blair and the oldest daughter, Maggie Ford Blair, died, leaving the widowed Anna in Emmetsburg, Iowa, with five daughters.⁴⁸ Between 1900 and 1902 the family migrated to Boise, Idaho, where Dinah Blair married in 1902.⁴⁹ The family was still in Boise in 1910, one daughter, Barbara, working as a teacher and another, Helen, as a nurse. But Jane Blair, thirty-eight years old, listed no occupation in the federal census taken that year.⁵⁰ By 1913 the family had relocated to Redondo Beach, where Barbara had a position teaching

Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, December 6, 1912; California Public Library Reports, Annual Report of the Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1913; "Report of Librarian," *Redondo Reflex*, July 11, 1913.

⁴⁷ "Three in Training," *Redondo Reflex*, March 4, 1913; "Report of the Librarian," *Redondo Reflex*, July 11, 1913; "Report of the Librarian," *Redondo Breeze*, July 12, 1913.

⁴⁸ Iowa, Cemetery Records, 1662-1999, gives her date of death as September 5, 1899.

⁴⁹ Western States Marriage Index, 1809-2011.

⁵⁰ U.S. Census, 1910. Daughter Annie Petrie Blair disappears from the record after the census of 1900.

in the local schools, and Jane began the library program.⁵¹ She was forty-one years old when she completed the course in June. Just three weeks later Barbara married the Reverend Charles Edwin Stickle of San Dimas in a ceremony attended by over 100 people.⁵² But Jane did not attend her sister's wedding, as she had already sailed for Portland, Oregon.⁵³ Unfortunately, after that Jane's story becomes murky. Census and city directory data appear to place her in Portland, but no employment information is provided in either source, leaving it unclear as to whether Blair ever worked as a librarian.⁵⁴ She died in Tacoma, Washington, on March 3, 1930, at the age of only fifty-eight.⁵⁵

The age distribution of Clegg's students describes the classic bell curve, with seven of the students under the age of seventeen and six, including Blair, thirty and older, up to forty-one. The majority of the students, nineteen of them, fell in the critical nineteen to twenty-seven year range. In the final count, only one of the students under the age of nineteen went on to work in a library, even for a short time, while all of the students thirty and over did so. In the mid-range, however, it was an even chance whether any individual student would pursue library work or not. Thus Marie Adair (often given as Odair) who was born in West Virginia, August 20, 1893, making her

⁵¹ "Invitations are Issued," *Redondo Reflex*, June 20, 1913.

⁵² *Redondo Breeze*, June 28, 1913.

⁵³ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, June 6, 1913; "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, June 7, 1913.

⁵⁴ *Polk's Portland City Directory, 1915* (Portland: R. L. Polk & Co., 1915), 219 lists what appears to be Jane and her mother; U.S. Census, 1920

⁵⁵ Washington, Deaths, 1883-1960.

about twenty when she took the library training course,⁵⁶ fell into that middle group, where the decision to pursue library work rested on two criteria: individual preference and the availability of employment. The Adairs, father John T., mother Ada N., older brother John W., and Marie came to Redondo Beach in June 1912 via Redlands, California, where Adair's father worked for the power company, work he continued in Redondo, where he was an employee of the Redondo Beach Pacific Light and Power Company.⁵⁷ Blair and Adair's fellow-student was Maud Gillespie, also born in West Virginia, on November 8, 1887, making her twenty-six when she was in training.⁵⁸ Gillespie was an only child. Her father, Joseph C. Gillespie, worked in the lumber industry in Seattle and later San Francisco, finally arriving in Redondo Beach where he managed the Montgomery & Mullin Lumber Company.⁵⁹ She apparently attended Pomona College in 1909 for at least a year, but there is no evidence she actually graduated.⁶⁰ In March, 1911, at the age of twenty-four, she was "initiated into the

⁵⁶ California Death Index, 1940-1997; U.S. Census, 1900.

⁵⁷ U.S. Census, 1910; "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, June 22, 1912. The Pacific Light and Power Corporation owned the Redondo Steam Plant. By 1908 it was the largest producer of electricity for the Red Cars, as well as heating the pools at the Redondo Plunge. By 1917, however, unable to fulfill the demand for electricity, the Power Corporation merged with Southern California Edison. Historical Commission of Redondo Beach, *Redondo Beach: 1880-1930* (Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2005), 95.

⁵⁸ California Death Index, 1940-1997; U. S. Census, 1900.

⁵⁹ *Seattle City Directory for 1890* (Seattle: Polk's Seattle Directory Co., 1890), 316. There is a listing for Joseph Gillespie, identified working with the lumber industry, in Seattle through 1894; U. S. Census, 1900; *Redondo Reflex*, April 30, 1915; *Resident and Business Directory Redondo Beach and Hermosa-Manhattan Beaches, 1915-1916* (Redondo Beach: C. H. Turner, 1915), 25.

⁶⁰ *Redondo Breeze*, June 26, 1909; "Complimenting Miss Gillespie," *Redondo Reflex*, April 13, 1915. If Gillespie had actually graduated, it would almost certainly have been noted in her engagement announcements.

mysteries of the Sigma Kappa club,"⁶¹ an exclusive young women's club of Redondo, of which Adelaide Barkley was a charter member. The sorority's primary purpose seems to have been self-entertainment. Every month dinner parties or evening entertainments were held, with decorations, costumes, and the menu itself designed around a theme, typically a holiday or foreign country. The group continued to hold meetings well into the 1920s, even though by that time almost all the members were married.

By the end of 1913 Adair and Gillespie completed the training course at Redondo, and left to take the two months course at the Riverside Public Library School.⁶² The Riverside school began under the direction of city librarian Joseph Daniels in September 1911. Daniels offered a program that was innovative and unconventional, with no set courses, regular faculty, or even a system of grades. The emphasis was on the practical, with students doing hands-on work in a curriculum designed around the needs of the individual student. By 1914 the school was offering three different study tracks, an eleven-month full course, a six-week summer school, and an eight-week winter term. Unlike the LAPL, which aimed to train workers for its own stacks, the Riverside program was designed to give training to women already in library work, women like Adair and Gillespie. Writing to the Carnegie Fund's James Bertram, Daniels explained that the

⁶¹ "Initiation," *Redondo Reflex*, March 2, 1911. A Sigma Kappa sorority was founded at Colby College in Maine in 1874, but it does not appear there was a connection between that organization and the one in Redondo Beach.

⁶² "Librarians," *Redondo Breeze*, January 31, 1914; "Riverside Library Service School," Finding Aid, *Riverside Public Library*, December 15, 2008, http://www.riversideca.gov/library/history_aids_libraryschool.asp. Series IV: Student Records lists Folder 4: Marie Adair, 1913 to 1914 and Folder 382: Maud Ethel Gillespie, 1913 to 1914.

short courses were designed for "lesser library workers," that is "women in charge of small libraries without the benefit of higher education or formal training."⁶³ The shorter terms were "offered to individuals with previous library experience. Students were expected to be familiar with professional practice, so their coursework was designed to teach them theory and new techniques." The eclectic nature of Daniels's school ultimately prevented it from attaining certification from the Association of American Library Schools, but that did not prevent it from graduating "over a thousand students" before it closed its doors in 1943.⁶⁴

Returning from Riverside in the summer of 1913, Adair was taken on as the official substitute for the Redondo Beach library and given the task of conducting the weekly children's story hour.⁶⁵ However, in July 1914 she was "appointed to a position under Miss Celia Cleason [sic]" as the librarian for the County Hospital branch of the Los Angeles County Public Library.⁶⁶ Adair continued there until April 1919 when she returned to Redondo "to care for her mother." Ironically, although Adair was called home to attend her mother's sickbed, it was Adair's father who subsequently died "very

⁶³ Debra Gold Hansen, "Professionalizing Library Education, the California Connection: James Gillis, Everett Perry, and Joseph Daniels," *Library Trends* 52, no. 4 (Spring 2004): 979.

⁶⁴ "Riverside Library Service School," Finding Aid, Historical Background.

⁶⁵ "Story Hour for Children," *Redondo Reflex*, June 27, 1913; "Miss Clegg, Librarian, Establishes Children's Hour," *Redondo Breeze*, June 28, 1913; "'Story Hour' Popular," *Redondo Reflex*, July 25, 1913.

⁶⁶ "Breezy Briefs," *Redondo Breeze*, July 11, 1914. There is some confusion in the newspapers as to the length of the courses undertaken by Adair and Gillespie. The *Breeze* in this issue refers both to "Miss Adair's absence of two months," in "Annual Report of Librarian," and that she "just completed a six months course at the Riverside Public Library," in "Breezy Briefs."

suddenly . . . from heart failure."⁶⁷ Five months later, in September 1919, Adair married John McCallum Forline, an invoice clerk with the Standard Oil Company in El Segundo.⁶⁸ The newlyweds moved in with the widow Adair, living in Redondo until 1922 when the three, plus the Forlines' baby daughter, Ada, moved to San Diego to be with Adair's brother, Jack.⁶⁹ The entire clan apparently returned to Los Angeles, and then sometime between 1924 and 1930 Marie Adair and John Forline divorced. Marie Adair continued to live with her widowed mother and her brother, Jack who, apparently like his sister, was unlucky in love, marrying and divorcing between 1920 and 1930.⁷⁰ Sometime between 1930 and 1940 John Forline remarried, but Marie Adair Forline did not.⁷¹ She died August 20, 1975, just a week after her eighty-second birthday.⁷²

After July 1, 1914, Maud Ethel Gillespie became the official substitute and story reader at the Redondo library.⁷³ Gillespie was so popular as the storyteller, she was even given the job of providing "instruction in the art of story-telling" to Clegg's latest library students, Lorene Lindsley and Elsie Speece.⁷⁴ However, on April 9, the newspapers reported an "Announcement Party" for the forthcoming wedding of Maud Gillespie to

⁶⁷ "Many Deaths During Week," *Redondo Reflex*, April 11, 1919.

⁶⁸ "Miss Adair Married," *Redondo Reflex*, September 5, 1919; U. S. Census, 1920.

⁶⁹ "Personal and Local News," *Redondo Breeze*, June 30, 1922.

⁷⁰ California, Voter Registrations, 1900-1968; 1924; U. S. Census, 1930. John Forline's employment seems to have something to do with irrigation works, but it just is not sufficiently clear to hazard a guess. By 1940 he reported his employment as "sales executive" in the petroleum industry, so whatever his employment was in 1930, it probably involved the oil industry.

⁷¹ U. S. Census, 1940.

⁷² California Death Index, 1940-1997.

⁷³ California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1914; "Children's Story Hour," *Redondo Reflex*, September 4, 1914.

⁷⁴ "Children's Hour Proves Popular," *Redondo Reflex*, March 23, 1915.

city engineer Ralph O. Hanson.⁷⁵ Ralph Otto Hanson was born July 30, 1882, in Utah,⁷⁶ the second of four children, and only son of Nels O. and Mary Hanson. Reports of the wedding gave out that Ralph was "a graduate of a San Francisco school of engineers." According to the newspapers, Hanson had been a mining engineer in Arizona and then the city engineer in Oxnard, California, before coming to Redondo Beach in 1903.⁷⁷

The wedding was a huge social affair, and the librarians treated it in exactly the same manner as any group of friends-of-the-bride would, with an elaborate bridal shower, hosted by Clegg with the assistance of Catey. The "Dainty Pre Nuptial Affair," as the *Reflex* dubbed it, took place "at Miss Clegg's apartment home in the Fairmont, other rooms en suite being thrown open for the evening." The guests entertained themselves by hemming tea towels for the bride-elect before sitting down at "a beautifully decorated table all in pin, tulle bows, numerous shaded candles, immense roses and all appointments being in keeping with the color scheme. Place cards were the cutest things out, Kewpies standing perkily on easel forms." "Delicious refreshments" were served, all chosen to match the color motif of pink and white. After the luncheon "there was a hankerchief [sic] shower, a bridal conundrum contest and other features appropriate to

⁷⁵ "Announcement Party," *Redondo Reflex*, April 9, 1915

⁷⁶ California Death Index, 1940-1997.

⁷⁷ *Redondo Reflex*, April 30, 1915. U.S. Census data from 1900 and 1910 are consistent with this recounting of Hanson's background.

the happy occasion." The guests were the library students Elsie Speece and Lorene Lindsley, and Marie Adair, who later sang at the wedding.⁷⁸

In a somewhat unusual move, after her wedding Hanson continued her work at the library as substitute and storyteller.⁷⁹ However, pregnancy and the birth of her first son, Ralph Jr. in September 1916 put an end to Gillespie's library career.⁸⁰ The following year Ralph O. Hanson, along with the city septic tank engineer and a police officer, lost his job as city engineer to budget cuts.⁸¹ But he quickly secured a similar position in the city of Paso Robles, and the family promptly relocated.⁸² In April of 1918 the Hansons had a second son, Gill.⁸³ The Hansons remained in Paso Robles, where Maud Gillespie Hanson died November 23, 1967, two weeks after her eighty-ninth birthday.⁸⁴

"The entire west wing of the building": The Struggle for Library Space, 1913-1916

Like all good businessmen, Clegg aggressively promoted her product, and then just as aggressively solicited her management, the city trustees, for more selling space. In her annual report to the library's Board of Trustees for the year 1912-1913 Clegg noted the wide variety of methods deployed to gain greater public interest in the library. In

⁷⁸ "Complimenting Miss Gillespie," *Redondo Reflex*, April 13, 1915; "Dainty Pre Nuptial Affair," *Redondo Reflex*, April 27, 1915.

⁷⁹ "Librarian in Attendance at Northern Convention," *Redondo Reflex*, June 4, 1915; "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, August 27, 1915.

⁸⁰ *Redondo Reflex*, September 8, 1916.

⁸¹ Minutes, November 1, 1917; *Redondo Reflex*, November 9, 1917.

⁸² "Honor Mrs. Hanson," *Redondo Breeze*, November 16, 1917.

⁸³ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, April 26, 1918.

⁸⁴ California Death Index, 1940-1997.

April 1913, for example, the library featured a display of "more than sixty varieties of wild flowers gathered in the vicinity of Redondo Beach." The response was so great that it became a perennial event at the library, with Clegg and her staff reported "taking a botanical expedition . . . over fields to the hills this side of the Palos Verdes ranch" in search of specimens for the show.⁸⁵ "Publicity work," distributing notices and flyers as noted earlier, was augmented with "two slides advertising the library" appearing on the screen "at the moving picture shows." But, warned Clegg,

We have, however, grown up to our capacity again and the problem of shelving the books which will be added the coming year will soon confront us. We strongly urge the necessity of a library building and sincerely hope that the citizens of Redondo Beach will cooperate in this matter.⁸⁶

Clegg continued to push for greater space for the library, preferably in the form of a separate library building. On February 13, 1914, another article appeared, this time in the *Reflex*. Titled "Wanted--A Library Building" and probably authored by Clegg herself, it contained an abundance of library statistics. The article began by noting recent records in circulation numbers, continued with a brief recounting of the beginnings of the library, which led to the main point, the need for more library space. "Like a butterfly outgrowing its chrysalis, the library is ready to emerge from its present quarters," said the article. Once again it was suggested that "measures are on foot [sic] looking toward

⁸⁵ "Instructive Collection of Beach Wild Flowers," *Redondo Reflex*, April 2, 1915.

⁸⁶ "Report of the Librarian," *Redondo Reflex*, July 11, 1913.

securing a site for a Carnegie building," concluding with the usual rhetoric regarding the worth of "a handsome library, centrally located" as "no mean addition to the attractions of the city, particularly in the eyes of the more desirable class of residents."⁸⁷

In June 1914, with the library's Board of Trustees petitioning yet again for a further expansion of the library into the city recorder's office, the city trustees approved the creation of a special committee of three, consisting of "one trustee and two citizens to gather data regarding the Public Library Site and report at the next meeting."⁸⁸ After several delays, and the receipt of a "communication from the Civic Outlook Club,"⁸⁹ probably not coincidentally just days after the club heard a paper on "Using the Public Library" delivered by library trustee Lola Gitt,⁹⁰ the city Board of Trustees approved by a vote of four to one to call a bond election in the amount of \$20,000 for the "purpose of purchasing Lots 13 to 25 inclusive, in Block 170, for Library Site."⁹¹ This amount was later reduced to \$17,000, based on the report of the city engineer, Ralph O. Hanson, who calculated the costs as \$13,500 for the purchase of the property, \$2500 for improvements, with an allowance of \$1000 for "incidentals."⁹² No sooner had the board voted to call for an election than "a protest signed by 93 citizens and property owners was read against this Site."⁹³ It should have come as no surprise then that after holding a special election

⁸⁷ "Wanted--A Library Building," *Redondo Reflex*, February 13, 1914.

⁸⁸ Minutes, June 22, 1914.

⁸⁹ Minutes, July 13, 1914; September 28, 1914; October 26, 1914.

⁹⁰ "Library Site is Discussed," *Redondo Breeze*, October 10, 1914.

⁹¹ Minutes, December 14, 1914.

⁹² Minutes, December 28, 1914.

⁹³ Minutes, December 14, 1914.

on February 25, 1914, the results were read out with 811 votes cast, "showing a total vote cast for bonds 462 against bond 349 (issue lost by 79 votes)."⁹⁴

By contrast, it should be noted that the vote in the special election of March 11 of that same year, in which a total of 1004 votes were cast, was 756 in favor and 248 against incurring a bond debt of \$121,000 to acquire waterfront property to be used for the construction of a wharf or pier.⁹⁵ Clearly Redondo's voting citizenry were less swayed by the general social welfare benefits of a new library building than they were by the definite business benefits of a new wharf. As a sort of consolation prize the library was finally granted the use of the city recorder's office, and by 1915 Clegg reported in her annual accounting to the State Librarian that the library now occupied "the entire west wing of the building."⁹⁶

"Anyone desiring to take the course in library work": 1915-1916

Clegg may not have been gaining much traction in her efforts to get more space for the library, but, as those circulations numbers showed, she was getting more patrons, and needed more help. Some of this help came in the form of the approval of additional hours for Emma Catey, who in February 1914 had her hours increased from an average of two to an average of five hours per day.⁹⁷ But the experience with Blair, Adair, and Gillespie probably convinced Clegg of the necessity to keep one or two women in the

⁹⁴ Minutes, March 2, 1915.

⁹⁵ Minutes, March 22, 1915.

⁹⁶ California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1915.

⁹⁷ "Public Library Notes," *Redondo Breeze*, February 4, 1914.

training course at all times. The students were a source of free labor to help in the workroom, attend the public at the circulation desk, shelve books, and tidy the magazines and newspapers in the reading room. In addition, they could take charge of the story hour, a program which neither of the spinsters Clegg nor Catey seems to have had the least interest in participating in. And the graduates of the library class were a source of trained women who could be employed, for a very small amount, as the "regular substitute and Sunday attendant," as they were called in the annual reports remitted to the State Librarian in Sacramento. So, in the same issue of the *Breeze* which noted the increase in Catey's hours, Clegg published a small notice:

Any one desiring to take the course in library work may learn particulars by seeing Miss Lola Clegg, librarian, at the public library. Applicants must have at least the equivalent of a high school course. No charge is made for the course.⁹⁸

While Clegg may have had as her goal the provision of trained assistants for the Redondo Beach library, it is an interesting question what the motivations of the students were in taking the library training. Were they interested in working in a library? And, if so, were they willing to relocate, as clearly there was little opportunity for library employment in Redondo Beach.

Opportunities for library education were expanding in California at this time, but not for those with backgrounds like the Redondo Beach women. At the LAPL head

⁹⁸ Ibid.

librarian Everett R. Perry reversed the policy of his predecessors Jones and Lummis, and opened the library's training class to residents from outside of Los Angeles. As historian Debra Hansen explains, "Perry's timing was clear and his motives transparent. In March 1912 the Riverside Public Library Board approved the creation of a training program, while the California State Library School was starting its first class the following January. Competition in California's library schools was heating up."⁹⁹ In 1913 Perry hired Theodora R. Brewitt, a graduate of the University of Wisconsin Library School, to head the LAPL's program. Under Brewitt's leadership the curriculum was brought more in line with the "library school standard" by increasing lectures and reducing hours spent in practice work. "The curriculum," boasted Perry in his 1915 report to the LAPL's Board of Directors, "now includes practically all the subjects covered in a one-year library school course."¹⁰⁰ Eligibility requirements were also changed, raising the minimum age to eighteen with a maximum of thirty. Further, to avoid the problem which had caused Jones to close the school to non-residents, Perry instituted a tuition fee of \$25 for those "who enter the class from out of the city and who do not intend to take a position in the Los Angeles Public Library." Notably, the one requirement that was not added was graduation from a college.¹⁰¹

The California State Library opened its own, short-lived, training program in 1914. As explained in the circular announcing the formation of the school, its purpose

⁹⁹ Hansen, "Professionalizing": 973.

¹⁰⁰ Los Angeles Public Library, *Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Los Angeles Public Library, 1914-1915* (Los Angeles: n.p., 1915), 42.

¹⁰¹ Los Angeles Public Library, *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Los Angeles Public Library, 1913-1914* (Los Angeles: n.p., 1914), 37.

was "to offer, to carefully selected candidates, a one-year course in library economy" including "the usual technical subjects of cataloging, classification and general problems of library administration, but the broader educational and literary side of the work will receive special emphasis."¹⁰² Admission to the school was through a California State Civil Service examination, which consisted of "a statement of the candidate's education, training and experience . . . an oral test to determine the candidate's fitness for the library profession, both as to his personality and judgment and as to his fund of general information, including history, current events and literature." Applicants were to be at least eighteen, while those over thirty-five were "strongly advised against undertaking this work."¹⁰³ Twenty-seven applicants took the first exam, given in 1913, of whom fifteen, all women, were selected. The term ran the calendar year, with a summer break from June 12 to September 13.

Almost immediately, however, State Librarian James Gillis modified the plan. First, he changed the running of the course to match the more generally accepted academic calendar. More importantly, "as the course is planned for one year, it has been found necessary to have at least a university or college graduation to build on, so the entrance requirement has been raised to university or college graduation," making it the only school in the state to limit entry to college graduates. Further, the age requirements were changed to between twenty and thirty, a much narrower window. And, finally, the number of students per term was reduced from fifteen to twelve. Future students were,

¹⁰² "Preliminary Announcement of the California State Library School," *News Notes* 8, no. 4 (October 1913): 448.

¹⁰³ *News Notes* 9, no.2 (April 1914): 402.

like Dewey's college-bred women, advised of a list of topics they should master before applying, including Spanish "as it is of peculiar importance in this state." And, because "the typewriter is so much used in every part of library work," applicants were told that they should "plan to be proficient in its use."¹⁰⁴ So much for Dewey's coveted "library hand."

With no age restrictions and only modest educational requirements, Clegg's program was aimed at a different demographic than the State Library or even the LAPL's programs. Only one of Clegg's thirty-three students was a college graduate, and only thirteen of them fell within the age limits imposed by the state. The time and the cost of daily travel in addition to tuition most likely put the LAPL's program out of reach for the Redondo Beach women as well. Thirty of the thirty-three students lived in Redondo Beach when they decided to take the course. Two more of the apprentices were from neighboring Hermosa Beach. Only one student came to Redondo specifically for the purpose of taking the course. And while several of Clegg's students did attend the Riverside school and one took the summer course at Berkeley, both of those programs were designed for students who already had some library experience. Thus for the local woman who might have an interest in library work but lacked the time and funds to invest in the State program or even the course at the LAPL, Clegg's apprentice program was the only game in town.

¹⁰⁴ *News Notes* 10, no. 1 (January 1915): 3-4; "State Library Preparing for Many More Students," *Redondo Reflex*, April 16, 1915.

Between January 1915 and December 1916 Clegg trained nine more students. These six years were, in some ways, her most successful period of library instruction, as six of the thirteen students went on to work in libraries, including one who made librarianship a life career. Why was this period so conducive to the trainees going on to work in libraries? The answer appears to be simple: the availability of library work close to home. In 1912 the Los Angeles County Public Library system expanded to neighboring Hermosa Beach. Clegg trained the first attendant employed at Hermosa's library, and thereafter as each woman vacated the position, usually to marry, another of Clegg's graduates would step in. Four of the nine women Clegg trained in 1915 and 1916 eventually worked in the Hermosa Beach library. But, when Redondo Beach graduate Mrs. Evelyn Morris took over there in 1918 she remained until 1923, effectively eliminating the only source of local library work outside of Redondo Beach itself.

Only two of Clegg's apprentices, both only daughters, took positions in libraries any distance from Redondo, and in both cases those women's parents moved with them to their new homes. One of those students was Elsie May Speece. Speece was nearly twenty-two years old when she was identified in the *Redondo Reflex* as one of the "two library students," the other being Lorene Lindsley, taking instruction in storytelling from Maud Gillespie.¹⁰⁵ Born in Iowa on April 24, 1893, Speece was the only child of Charles and Ora Speece. The Speeces moved to San Diego sometime between 1905 and 1910,¹⁰⁶ but by 1916 they were living in Hermosa Beach where Charles was the owner and

¹⁰⁵ "Children's Hour Proves Popular," *Redondo Reflex*, March 23, 1915.

¹⁰⁶ Iowa State Census, 1905; U. S. Census, 1910.

manager of a billiard hall.¹⁰⁷ In late May 1915, having "finished recently the six months' course at the Redondo Beach public library," the *Reflex* announced that Speece planned to take "the summer library course at Berkeley."¹⁰⁸ Speece returned to Redondo in September,¹⁰⁹ but it was not until March 1916 that she "received a summons to the public library in San Diego,"¹¹⁰ now directed by Althea H. Warren, a graduate of the University of Wisconsin Library School, and the first graduate of a library school to head the San Diego Public Library.¹¹¹ City directories and voter registration rolls show Speece living with her parents and working at the San Diego Public library until at least 1952. Elsie May Speece died September 26, 1979 at the age of eighty-four.¹¹²

Jane Lorene (or Lorene Jane) Lindsley was eighteen years old and still attending the Redondo Union High School when she started Clegg's library course at the beginning of 1915.¹¹³ Born in California in May 1896, Lorene was the oldest of four siblings. Her father Saul Lindsley came from Indiana to Stockton, California, in 1892, where he worked as a painter, although whether this was commercial or decorative is not clear.¹¹⁴ He married Olga in about 1895, and they moved to San Bernardino, where Saul

¹⁰⁷ California, Voter Registrations, 1900-1968, 1916; U.S. Census, 1910.

¹⁰⁸ "Library Student Goes North," *Redondo Reflex*, May 28, 1915.

¹⁰⁹ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, September 10, 1915.

¹¹⁰ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, March 24, 1916.

¹¹¹ *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science*, vol. 26, *Role Indicator*, ed. Allen Kent, Harold Lancour, and Jay E. Daily (New York: Marcel Dekker, Inc., 1979), 297. Warren replaced Mrs. Hannah P. Davison, head of the library since May 1903, in February 1916. Clarence Alan McGrew, *City of San Diego and San Diego County: The Birth Place of California*, vol. 1 (Chicago: American Historical Society, 1922), 38.

¹¹² California Death Index, 1940-1997.

¹¹³ "Progress in Library Course," *Redondo Reflex*, January 29, 1915.

¹¹⁴ California, Voter Registrations, 1866-1898; 1892.

continued to work as a painter, ending up in Redondo by 1910, where he worked as a painter with the electric cars.¹¹⁵

Unlike Speece, Lindsley did not continue with library work after completing Clegg's course. In 1918, her family moved to Los Angeles,¹¹⁶ where she and her sister Gladys attended the Southern Branch of the University of California.¹¹⁷ Gladys earned a teaching degree and Lorene took a degree in decorative arts. Lindsley apparently had a successful career in interior decorating and design, working first for Desmond's studio of decorative art,¹¹⁸ and then in November 1920 opening her own studio in partnership with Louise Pickney Sooy, a professor of design and decorative arts at the newly rechristened University of California, Los Angeles.¹¹⁹ According to the report in the *Breeze*, "Their work embraces designing of historic, modern and the imaginative in gowns, both for

¹¹⁵ California, Voter Registrations, 1866-1898; 1896; U.S. Census, 1880; 1900; 1910.

¹¹⁶ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Breeze*, January 18, 1918.

¹¹⁷ *Los Angeles Directory Co.'s, Los Angeles City Directory*, (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Directory Company, 1920), 1043.

¹¹⁸ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Breeze*, July 16, 1920. Desmond's was a prominent clothing store, with several locations. In 1928 became the first major retailer to open a store on the prestigious Miracle Mile in Los Angeles.
<http://cityplanning.lacity.org/eir/WilshireLABrea/DEIR/IV C CulturalResoures.pdf>.
Note: this file is no longer available.

¹¹⁹ Louise Pickney won a scholarship to the Minneapolis School of Fine Arts in 1901 at the age of sixteen. She joined the staff of UCLA in 1912 when it was still the normal school. Pickney married Glenn M. Sooy in 1917, but it did not curtail her career, and by 1930 the pair appear to have separated. Ultimately they divorced, and George Sooy remarried. Louise Pickney Sooy was head of the art department at UCLA from 1925 to 1934, became a full professor in 1952, and retired as a professor emeritus in 1955. She died December 26, 1965. Annita Delano, Laura Andreson and Meridian Ball, "1967, University of California: In Memoriam, Louise Pinkney Sooy, Art: Los Angeles," *Calisphere*, June, 1967,
<http://texts.cdlib.org/view?docId=hb629006vt&doc.view=frames&chunk.id=div00023&oc.depth=1&toc.id=>; U.S. Census, 1930; 1940.

street costumes[sic] and the stage."¹²⁰ In January 1921 Lindsley won a competition, and got the commission to design the "drapes and hangings in the lobby of the new Ambassador Hotel" in Los Angeles.¹²¹ No further information about Lindsley's subsequent life and career has been located.

Clegg offered her course in six month increments, and usually started new students in January and again in June. However, she was not rigid in this, and students often joined the course at their own convenience. Alice McWilliams was one of those. Starting the course in May 1915, she was joined by Mary E. Ransom and Irene Steward in June. McWilliams had already been working for two years as the "custodian" for the Hermosa Beach branch of the Los Angeles County Library when she took the library course.¹²² In January 1913 Celia Gleason, head of the newly formed Los Angeles County Public Library system,¹²³ "visited Hermosa Beach for the purpose of interesting local people in the establishment of a library."¹²⁴ The proposal was that the county library would supply the books and the city would be responsible for providing the physical library. The response was predictably enthusiastic, and by May 1913 a library board was appointed and plans were made to open a library on "the Pier when it is

¹²⁰ "Opens Studio in Los Angeles," *Redondo Breeze*, November 26, 1920.

¹²¹ "Honor for Miss Lindsley," *Redondo Breeze*, January 28, 1921.

¹²² "New Library Student," *Redondo Reflex*, May 7, 1915.

¹²³ The county system was established and Gleason, formerly the first assistant librarian of the LAPL, was appointed as its head in September 1912. Roger H. Woelfel, *Diamond Jubilee: Seventy-five Years of Public Service. The Story of the Los Angeles County Public Library* (Glendale, California: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 1987), 11.

¹²⁴ "Public Library Is A Possibility," *Redondo Reflex*, January 31, 1913.

completed."¹²⁵ Meanwhile, the library would be temporarily "placed in the Ocean View school house," and Alice McWilliams was appointed as the librarian, effective June 1, 1913.¹²⁶

According to Roger Woelfel, historian of the Los Angeles County Public Library system, "Branches were operated by clerical staff and volunteers under the guidance and supervision of professional staff from Central."¹²⁷ Certainly McWilliams appears to have had no training when she took charge of the Hermosa library. Born in Ohio in 1885, she was a resident of Redondo Beach in 1910, boarding with a family and working as a bookkeeper for a furniture store.¹²⁸ Perhaps McWilliams felt the need of explicit training in order to further her career. Or perhaps the opening of the Manhattan Beach branch of the county system, of which McWilliams was also given charge in January 1915, prompted her to take action.¹²⁹ Whatever the cause, in May 1915, after two years in the position and at the age of thirty, she became the newest "student now enrolled at the public library taking the course."¹³⁰ Then, just over a year later, sometime after July and before October 1916, McWilliams left the Hermosa Beach library and Mary Ransom became its custodian.¹³¹ An Alice McWilliams, listed as an assistant librarian, appears in

¹²⁵ "Appoint Library Board," *Redondo Reflex*, May 2, 1913; "Hermosa Beach Briefs," *Redondo Breeze*, May 3, 1913.

¹²⁶ "Appoint Librarian," *Redondo Reflex*, May 23, 1913.

¹²⁷ Woelfel, *Diamond Jubilee*, 26.

¹²⁸ U.S. Census, 1910.

¹²⁹ *News Notes* 11, no. 2 (April 1916): 395.

¹³⁰ "New Library Student," *Redondo Reflex*, May 7, 1915.

¹³¹ *News Notes* 11, no. 4 (October 1916): 982. From this time forward the Hermosa Beach librarians were in charge of that branch only, and the Manhattan Beach branch had its own staff.

the city directory and in the voter registration rolls for Alhambra in 1920,¹³² and there is an assistant librarian at the Pasadena public library by that name in 1923.¹³³ However, whether these are all the same Alice K. McWilliams has yet to be established.

"A six-month's course in the Redondo Beach Public library has been entered upon by Miss Mary Ransom. She is getting four hours daily in practical work" reported the *Redondo Reflex* on June 25, 1915. Just days later the same paper reported that "Miss Irene Steward has taken up some study in library work under Miss Clegg's tuition."¹³⁴ Steward, born in New Mexico March 3, 1894 and Mary Ransom, born in California December 12, 1894 were twenty and twenty-one, respectively, when they started their library training.¹³⁵ Steward was the daughter of Adelaide and John Steward, who owned and edited the *Reflex* and operated the Reflex Printing Company. John Steward had long since sold the paper, moving the printing business to Los Angeles, but he maintained his residence in Redondo,¹³⁶ where Irene graduated from the RUHS in 1913 and her younger

¹³² *1920 Newton Directory of Alhambra...* (Alhambra, California: Newton Directory Company, 1920), 51; California, Voter Registrations, 1900-1968; 1920.

¹³³ *Thurston's Residence and Business Directory of Pasadena, Altadena and Lamanda Park, 1923*, (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Directory Co., 1923), 545.

¹³⁴ *Redondo Reflex*, July 9, 1915. California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1916 notes, "Six months instruction, including gen lib work, cataloging and storytelling, given to : Mary E. Ransom & Irene Steward, July-Dec. 1915."

¹³⁵ California Death Index, 1940-1997; "Celebrates Birthday," *Redondo Breeze*, December 17, 1910 reports on the celebration of Ransom's sixteenth birthday "last Saturday evening."

¹³⁶ *Redondo Reflex*, August 3, 1911; "Opens Los Angeles Office," *Redondo Breeze*, August 5, 1911. Steward sold to Arthur L and Chester N. Harris, who sold again to C. H. Turner in December the same year. *Redondo Reflex*, December 7, 1911.

brother Newell in 1915.¹³⁷ It was, in fact, her brother who caused the entire family to relocate to "West Thirty-fourth street, Los Angeles, just a few blocks from the University of Southern California, where Newell is attending school."¹³⁸ Irene appears to have been the exception which proved the rule, as there is no evidence she ever worked after graduating high school, and, in fact, she made frequent trips to Redondo to visit her friends.¹³⁹ In 1919, at the age of twenty-four, Irene married Alex (or Alec) Johnson Brady,¹⁴⁰ a pharmacist working with the Owl Drug stores.¹⁴¹ In an interesting development, in 1920 the Bradys lived in Los Angeles next-door to Irene's high school friend Ruth Anderson and her husband, Woodruff Bunker.¹⁴² The Bradys had one child, Donald S. Brady. Irene Steward Brady celebrated her one hundredth birthday before dying November 30, 1984.¹⁴³

Although Mary Ransom, like her friend Steward, married, unlike her friend, Ransom actually worked for a period of time in a library. Horace Backus was thirty-four

¹³⁷ Redondo Union High School, *The Pilot* vol. IV, 1924, 50.

¹³⁸ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, January 5, 1917.

¹³⁹ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, November 16, 1917; "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, November 23, 1917.

¹⁴⁰ U.S. Census, 1930; "storey Family Tree," *Ancestry.com*, <http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/4860621/person/-1311407446>, gives the marriage as taking place in August 1919, but there is no source for the reference.

¹⁴¹ Owl Drugs was established by Richard Elgin Miller, a native of Canada, who moved to California in 1878, and opened his first drug store in San Francisco in 1892. From there he branched out to Los Angeles and Oakland, with the aim of establishing a chain of cut-price drug stores. The company's motto, "Give a Hoot," with their owl logo, branded their line of distinctively named cosmetics and toiletries. Compactstory, "The Owl Drug Company-Part 1-Birds of a Feather," *Collecting Vintage Compacts* (blog), Updated February 8, 2013, <http://collectingvintagecompacts.blogspot.com/2011/08/owl-drug-company-part-1-birds-of.html>.

¹⁴² U.S. Census, 1920.

¹⁴³ California Death Index, 1940-1997.

years old and working as a miner in Tombstone, Arizona in 1881 when he married Julia Rogers, who was not quite eighteen.¹⁴⁴ The family came to California, possibly as early as 1884,¹⁴⁵ and by 1910 Horace and Julia owned and operated an apartment house in Redondo Beach, where they resided with their daughter Mary Eugenia and younger son John Horace. The Ransom's oldest child, Walter, with his wife and their three sons, also lived in Redondo, at a separate residence.¹⁴⁶

Following in the footsteps of Maud Gillespie and Marie Adair, after completing her Redondo apprenticeship in January 1916 Ransom continued her professional training by setting off for Riverside "to enter upon a six-weeks' finishing course in library work."¹⁴⁷ Returning in mid-March,¹⁴⁸ she became part of the library circle, working as a substitute at the library and socializing with the other library students.¹⁴⁹ Often former schoolmates at the RUHS, it is not surprising the library students mixed socially, and numerous notices appeared in the newspapers reporting on the girls' adventures together, for example "a luncheon and theatre party to Los Angeles" in December 1914, where the group consisted of Steward, Ransom, Ruth Anderson, Talma Breeden and Cecile Wilson, all but Wilson a future library student.¹⁵⁰ Or in May 1917 when Ransom, Steward,

¹⁴⁴ U.S. Census, 1880; Arizona Marriage Collection, 1864-1982.

¹⁴⁵ California, Voter Registrations, 1866-1898; 1884.

¹⁴⁶ U.S. Census, 1910.

¹⁴⁷ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, January 7, 1916.

¹⁴⁸ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, March 8, 1916; "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, March 17, 1916.

¹⁴⁹ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, July 23, 1916.

¹⁵⁰ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, December 15, 1914.

Anderson and Eva Hanson, yet another library student-to-be, were guests together at a card party.¹⁵¹

Then, as noted earlier, sometime between April and October of 1916 Ransom replaced Alice McWilliams at the county library in Hermosa Beach.¹⁵² Ransom worked at the Hermosa library for about a year, during which time "under the supervision of the county board," she catalogued the entire collection.¹⁵³ In April 1917, just as the United States entered into the world war, the papers announced "the engagement of Miss Mary Ransom, popular beach girl, to Mr. Jack Richmond," another Standard Oil of El Segundo employee.¹⁵⁴ Two months later, on June 27, the two were married, with 150 guests in attendance and Ruth Anderson as the bridesmaid.¹⁵⁵ John Richmond was promptly called up for duty, joining the engineering corps. The *Breeze* reported the young wife, only twenty-three and married scarcely five months, facing the separation bravely, "for Mary Ransom-Richmond is the kind of girl that will meet the situation squarely and will do her bit by being independent." The paper went on to say, "She has secured a position which she will take up in the near future" but it failed to report what, exactly, she would be

¹⁵¹ "Card Party," *Redondo Reflex*, May 25, 1917.

¹⁵² *News Notes* 11, no. 2, (April 1916): 395 indicates that Miss Alice McWilliams was the custodian of both the Manhattan and Hermosa Beach branches. However, in the October 1916 issue, vol. 11, no. 4, 982 Ransom is given as the custodian of the Hermosa Beach branch, while a Mrs. A. C. Conner is given as the custodian for the Manhattan Beach branch, 995.

¹⁵³ "Systematizes Library," *Redondo Reflex*, February 16, 1917.

¹⁵⁴ "Richmond--Ransom Announcement," *Redondo Reflex*, April 20, 1917; "Cupid Very Busy," *Redondo Breeze*, April 27, 1917.

¹⁵⁵ "Popular Young Couple Married," *Redondo Reflex*, June 29, 1917; "Miss Ransom is June Bride," *Redondo Breeze*, June 29, 1917.

doing.¹⁵⁶ On his return from the war Richmond continued in the petroleum industry, operating a service station in 1930 and 1940. Between 1920 and 1930 they had two children, John W. and Mary E. Richmond.¹⁵⁷ Mary Ransom Richmond died on May 17, 1986, at the age of ninety-one.¹⁵⁸

In January 1916 the *Reflex* announced that "two more young women have started taking the six months' library course under Miss Clegg, librarian."¹⁵⁹ The students were Claire Peile, a 1915 graduate of Los Angeles High School, and Ruth Anderson, a 1915 graduate of the RHUS. Gladys Claire (or Claire Gladys) and her older sister Carrie Deette were the daughters of Charles and Lottie Piele, who married about 1893 when Charles was about thirty and Lottie only nineteen. Charles spent his entire life working in real estate, and the family moved frequently, following the market from Nebraska, where Carrie was born on April 23, 1897 and Claire on July 12, 1899, to Hueneme in Ventura County, then to Los Angeles, and finally, around 1915, to Redondo Beach, where the city directory for 1915 identifies Carrie as a teacher.¹⁶⁰ Claire Piele was just sixteen when she was enrolled in the library training course.¹⁶¹ But, as had been the case with Irene Steward, no sooner had Claire finished the apprentice program in June 1916

¹⁵⁶ "Leaves Young Wife and Joins Engineering Corps," *Redondo Breeze*. November 30, 1917.

¹⁵⁷ U.S. Census 1920; 1930.

¹⁵⁸ California Death Index, 1940-1997.

¹⁵⁹ "Two New Library Students," *Redondo Reflex*, January 1, 1916.

¹⁶⁰ U.S. Census, 1900; *Los Angeles City Directory, 1907* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles City Directory Company, Inc., 1907), 1155; U.S. Census, 1910; *Resident and Business Directory Redondo Beach and Hermosa-Manhattan Beaches, 1915-1916* (Redondo Beach: C. H. Turner, 1915), 40.

¹⁶¹ "Two New Library Students," *Redondo Reflex*, January 7, 1916.

than she and her parents "packed up household goods and moved" to Los Angeles, leaving her sister Carrie behind in Redondo to "conduct summer school and . . . continue in her pedagogical profession in the fall in the Redondo Beach schools."¹⁶² By 1920 Carrie rejoined the family in Los Angeles where she continued to teach school while Claire worked as a clerk in a wholesale drug firm.¹⁶³ Sometime after 1930 and before 1938 Claire married Horton Wesley Burr.¹⁶⁴ Fifteen years her senior, Burr had married, had a child, and divorced by 1930.¹⁶⁵ He spent his life in sales of one type or another, and he and Claire may have met at their place of employment, as in 1940 he was working as a salesman of rubber drug supplies while Claire was still employed as an office clerk for a wholesale drug company.¹⁶⁶ The Burrs had no children, and census and voter registration records frequently record them in residence with Claire's parents. Gladys Claire Piele Burr died at the age of fifty-nine in Los Angeles July 23, 1958.¹⁶⁷

Ruth Anderson's professional and personal life mirrored that of her friend Mary Ransom, graduating from the RUHS, taking library training from Clegg, attending the Riverside school, working in the Hermosa Beach library, and finally walking down the

¹⁶² "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, June 16, 1916.

¹⁶³ U.S. Census, 1920.

¹⁶⁴ U. S. Census, 1930; 1940.

¹⁶⁵ World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918; California Death Index, 1940-1997; Washington Marriage Records, 1865-2004; U.S. Census 1920; 1930

¹⁶⁶ U.S. Census, 1940.

¹⁶⁷ "Obituaries, Mrs. Gladys C. Burr," *Los Angeles Times*, July 23, 1958. Carrie Deettee Piele, Claire's sister, married, had one child, divorced and remarried. She died in 1980 at the age of eighty-three. "Deaths with Funeral Announcements, Charles S. Piele," "loving father of Mrs. Carrie D. Warner and Mrs. G. Claire Burr; grandfather of Carolyn J. Warner," *Los Angeles Times*, July 3, 1941; "Obituaries, Mrs. Charlotte J. Peile," "leaves two daughters, Mrs. Carrie Thompson and Mrs. Gladys C. Burr," *Los Angeles Times*, July 29, 1945; California Death Index, 1940-1997.

wedding aisle. Ruth was the only child of William A. Anderson and Nellie Gist. This was a second marriage for William, who was nearly twenty years old than Nellie, and Ruth was their only child, born in California on February 16, 1896.¹⁶⁸ William ran what appears to have been a grocery store in 1900 in Riverside, but by 1910 the Andersons had relocated to Redondo Beach, where William, sixty-two years old, worked as the city clerk.¹⁶⁹ Completing her training with Clegg in June of 1916, in July the twenty-year-old Anderson was off to Riverside, from whence she wrote she was "enjoying immensely her course in librarian work."¹⁷⁰ She returned to Redondo after six weeks and apparently took over the storytelling duties from expectant mother Gillespie.¹⁷¹ Evidently Anderson found her training lacking, or perhaps there simply was not enough work at the Redondo library to keep her busy, as in January 1917 she returned to Riverside where it was reported she was "finishing her course in library work," and planning "to return to Redondo Beach about the third of March."¹⁷² On June 8 it was announced that "Miss

¹⁶⁸ U.S. Census, 1910; California Death Index, 1940-1997.

¹⁶⁹ U.S. Census, 1900; 1910; *Resident and Business Directory Redondo Beach and Hermosa-Manhattan Beaches, 1915-1916* (Redondo Beach: C. H. Turner, 1915), 12.

¹⁷⁰ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, July 14, 1916.

¹⁷¹ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, July 28, 1916; "Children's Hour," *Redondo Reflex*, December 22, 1916.

¹⁷² "Personal Mention," *Redondo Breeze*, February 2, 1917; Finding Aid: Riverside Library Service School, Series IV: Student Records, Folder 28: Ruth Anderson, 1916 to 1918. Without examining the contents, it is not possible to state with authority these are the records of Ruth Anderson of Redondo Beach, but the date range suggests they are.

Ruth Anderson of this beach assumed her new duties June 1 as librarian of the Hermosa Beach library."¹⁷³

Anderson remained in charge of the Hermosa Beach library for just eighteen months, resigning late November 1918,¹⁷⁴ presumably to prepare for her forthcoming marriage to Woodruff Bunker.¹⁷⁵ The match between Woodruff Bunker and Ruth Anderson was characterized as "a war romance,"¹⁷⁶ although exactly how the two met is not clear. Bunker enlisted in the U. S. Marine Corps on June 8, 1917, at Mare Island, about twenty-five miles northeast of San Francisco, and served in San Diego, and Quantico, Virginia, before he was discharged at Indian Head, Maryland, in March 1919.¹⁷⁷ Bunker worked as an instructor in an automobile school and later as a salesman in a retail store in San Bernardino County.¹⁷⁸ The grandson of Mormon pioneer Edward Bunker, who had twenty-three children by his three wives, and the son of Francis Neil Bunker, with seventeen children by his two sister-wives, Woodruff and Ruth Bunker died apparently without issue, Ruth on May 14, 1982, at the age of eighty-six.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷³ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Breeze*, June 8, 1917; "Miss Anderson Librarian," *Redondo Reflex*, June 8, 1917.

¹⁷⁴ "Personal and Local Notes," *Redondo Breeze*, November 29, 1918.

¹⁷⁵ "Criddles and Others-14 Jun 2010" family tree references "Judkins, Martha Mae (Bunker), 1904-, Family group record: Bunker, Francis Neil and Cox, Rosannah (Mesa, Arizona: Typescript, ca. 1964)" as a source for the marriage date of March 25, 1919. "Criddles and Others - 14 Jun 2010," *Ancestry.com*, <http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/18746262/person/706000380>.

¹⁷⁶ "To Move Away," *Redondo Reflex*, February 20, 1920.

¹⁷⁷ Utah, Military Records, 1861-1970, Military Service Cards.

¹⁷⁸ U.S. Census, 1920; 1940.

¹⁷⁹ California Death Index, 1940-1997.

When Anderson departed the Hermosa Beach Library, her place was taken by another of Clegg's students, Mrs. Evelyn Morris. Evelyn S. Morris was born in Fox Lake, Wisconsin on February 16, 1883. Her older sister, Margaret and her husband Edward Amet, and their aunt, Alice (Mrs. J. D.) R. Gilchrist were residents of Redondo Beach which may account for the presence of Evelyn and her husband, Ernest Morris, a carpenter, living there as early as 1915.¹⁸⁰ About that time the Morrises apparently separated,¹⁸¹ which may have been what prompted Evelyn at age thirty-three to take the library course. When she finished the training in December 1916 she relocated to Los Angeles, and then in February 1917 she left for San Francisco, most likely to be close to her son, who was stationed at the Presidio there.¹⁸² The newspaper report of her departure indicated she would "probably be in San Francisco for a year,"¹⁸³ but she was back in Redondo by late August as her son, now a second lieutenant, was on his way to training camp at American Lake.¹⁸⁴ The timing of Morris's return made her available to

¹⁸⁰ "For Mrs. Morris," *Redondo Breeze*, February 9, 1917 identifies Margaret Amet as Morris's sister; "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, December 22, 1916 identifies Gilchrist as Morris's aunt; *Resident and Business Directory Redondo and Hermosa-Manhattan Beaches, 1915-1916* (Redondo Beach: C. H. Turner, 1915), 36 identifies Ernest Morris as the husband of Evelyn, and lists his employment as carpenter. The Morrises may have been in the area as early as 1910, as a report in the *Reflex*, March 3, 1910, "Hotel News," notes a "Mr. and Mrs. E. Morris" as "among those who took advantage of the week end offer being run by the new management of the Hotel Redondo."

¹⁸¹ U. S. Census, 1920. In this census Morris listed her marital status as "m," but her husband was clearly already absent at this point, suggesting that they were separated, but not formally divorced.

¹⁸² "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, December 22, 1916; "For Mrs. Morris," *Redondo Breeze*, February 9, 1917; "Personal Mention," *Redondo Breeze*, August 24, 1917.

¹⁸³ "For Mrs. Morris," *Redondo Breeze*, February 9, 1917.

¹⁸⁴ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Breeze*, August 24, 1917.

receive the appointment in November 1918 to replace Anderson at the Hermosa Beach library.¹⁸⁵ Morris remained at the library for almost five years, resigning when she married Richard R. Freeman, another beach cities real estate developer, "at high noon" on June 23, 1923.¹⁸⁶ Freeman, a resident of Redondo at least since 1910, had two young children from a previous marriage,¹⁸⁷ and given that Evelyn was forty years old with a grown son when they married, it is not surprising that the couple had no children together. City directory information for Pasadena suggests the Freemans moved there at least by 1949, and were still there in 1960, with Richard still involved in Redondo Beach real estate dealings as late as 1956. The death of Evelyn S. Hart Morris Freeman has yet to be established.

Talma M. Breeden completed the library course along with Evelyn Morris in December 1916.¹⁸⁸ She was just nineteen years old, and her father had recently died. Marshall A. Breeden had a varied but successful career, most of it spent practicing law. Born in Kentucky, he served in an Illinois infantry unit in the Civil War.¹⁸⁹ By 1880 he was living with his wife and son in Santa Fe, New Mexico, practicing law in partnership with Thomas B. Catron, a member of the notorious "Santa Fe Ring," and New Mexico's first senator.¹⁹⁰ According to the *Reflex* the Breedens moved to Ogden, Utah, in 1896,¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁵ "Personal and Local Notes," *Redondo Breeze*, November 29, 1918.

¹⁸⁶ "Prominent Citizen Married," *Redondo Reflex*, July 6, 1923.

¹⁸⁷ California Birth Index, 1905-1995; U.S. Census, 1920; 1930.

¹⁸⁸ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, December 22, 1916.

¹⁸⁹ Civil War Pension Index: General Index to Pension Files, 1861-1934.

¹⁹⁰ U. S. Census, 1880. The "Ring" was a group of powerful land-grabbers, whose actions ultimately led to the famous Lincoln County War. "Thomas B. Catron," *Wikipedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_B._Catron. This article contains

and from there to Salt Lake City where he worked as the attorney general and in various law partnerships.¹⁹² Talma, the sixth of seven children, three of whom died,¹⁹³ was born in Ogden on October 1, 1897.¹⁹⁴ Only Talma and a younger sister came to California with their parents, first to Ocean Park around 1910, and then around 1912 to Redondo, where Breeden became the city recorder and sold life insurance.¹⁹⁵ Then, in October, 1916 "Judge" Marshall A. Breeden suddenly died at the age of sixty-nine.¹⁹⁶

Talma Breeden finished the library training course in December 1916 and promptly departed for Oakland, where an older brother, Marshall A. Breeden, Jr., was

references to several articles from the *New Mexico Historical Review* as well as a full-length biography of Carton by Victor Westphall, a PhD in history from the University of New Mexico.

¹⁹¹"Judge M. A. Breeden Passes," *Redondo Reflex*, October 20, 1916; "Funeral of Judge Breeden," *Redondo Reflex*, October 27, 1916.

¹⁹²*R. L. Polk & Co's. Salt Lake City Directory, 1903* (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk & Co., 1903), 178 shows him in partnership with W. R. White and D. B. Richards; *R. L. Polk & Co's. Salt Lake City Directory, 1904* (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk & Co., 1904), 171 shows him in partnership with W. R. White; *R.L. Polk & Co's. Salt Lake City Directory, 1908* (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk & Co, 1908), 209 has him in partnership with Albert R. Barnes; while *R.L. Polk & Co's Salt Lake City Directory, 1909* (Salt Lake City: R. L. Polk & Co, 1909), 210 shows him in solo practice, and does not have a listing for him as attorney general.

¹⁹³ U.S. Census, 1900; 1910.

¹⁹⁴ California Death Index, 1940-1997.

¹⁹⁵ U.S. Census, 1910; the *Santa Monica, Ocean Park, Venice Directory, 1911* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles City Directory Co, 1911), 25 lists him as the proprietor of a hotel, but the *Los Angeles City Directory, 1911* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles City Directory Col, 1911), 200 and the *Santa Monica, Ocean Park and Venice Directory, 1912* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles City Directory Co, 1912), 35, shows him resident at the same address, but gives his employment as "atty."; *Resident and Business Directory Redondo Beach and Hermosa-Manhattan Beaches, 1915-1916* (Redondo Beach: C. H. Turner, 1915), 14.

¹⁹⁶ "Judge M. A. Breeden Passes," *Redondo Reflex*, October 20, 1916; "Funeral of Judge Breeden," *Redondo Reflex*, October 27, 1916.

living and working as an advertising agent for the Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company.¹⁹⁷ Apparently Talma found work as a librarian in Berkeley, and was joined there by her mother and sister.¹⁹⁸ By 1920 Breeden, her mother, her brother Marshall, and younger sister Eleanor were back in Los Angeles, where Talma was working as an assistant librarian in a public library, while Marshall had his own advertising agency.¹⁹⁹ In March 1926 Talma, still listed in the voter rolls as a librarian,²⁰⁰ left for Hawaii, a popular vacation destination even then.²⁰¹ She returned in May,²⁰² and in July her mother placed a notice in the *Salt Lake City Tribune* announcing "the engagement of her daughter, Talma McLaughlin Breeden, to John Stone Perry of Honolulu, T. H.," the wedding to take place in the fall.²⁰³ John S. Perry was about nine years older than Talma and worked in the insurance business. By 1930 the Perrys had moved back to Berkeley, where they had two daughters.²⁰⁴ Talma Breeden Perry died November 9, 1990. She was ninety-three years old.²⁰⁵

¹⁹⁷ World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918; *Polk-Husted Directory Co.'s Oakland Berkeley Alameda Directory (Combined), 1918* (Oakland: Polk-Husted Directory Co., 1918), 238.

¹⁹⁸ California, Voter Registrations, 1900-1968; 1918.

¹⁹⁹ U.S. Census, 1920.

²⁰⁰ California, Voter Registrations, 1900-1968; 1922, 1926.

²⁰¹ Honolulu, Hawaii, Passenger and Crew Lists, 1900-1959.

²⁰² California, Passenger and Crew Lists, 1882-1957.

²⁰³ "Salt Lake Girl to Wed in the Fall," *Salt Lake City Tribune*, July 27, 1926.

The "Oaks End Ancestry" family tree states the marriage took place in November 1926, but offers no documentation. "Oaks End Ancestry," *Ancestry.com*, <http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/1629089/person/1645054538>.

²⁰⁴ U. S. Census, 1930; 1940.

²⁰⁵ California Death Index, 1940-1997.

In all, in the six years from 1911 through 1916, Redondo Beach librarian Lola Clegg trained thirteen local women in library methods. Nine of the thirteen worked in a library for some period of time, including two, Catey and Speece, who made lifetime careers of the work.²⁰⁶ Of the total of thirty-three women Clegg trained, fifteen went on to work in a library; thus, these nine students account for 60 percent of the total number of students who pursued librarianship after completing Clegg's course. Given that five of these nine also took further library training after finishing the Redondo Beach program, the assumption might be that there was a relationship between taking additional training and continuing in librarianship. However, of the thirteen who went on to library work, the numbers are about evenly split between those who took further training, six, and those who did not, seven. Therefore, although all those who took advanced training went on to work in libraries, not all those who pursued library work took further training. Indeed, of the four women who are known to have made life careers of the work, two took no further training than what they received from Clegg.

What appears to have been the deciding factor for the majority of the students who went on to library work was the availability of work after completing training. Catey and Adair took the only positions available in Redondo Beach, Catey as the underemployed first assistant and Adair as the Sunday attendant and regular substitute. When Adair moved to the library at the county hospital, her place in Redondo was taken by Gillespie, who retained the position until 1915. Two other students, Lindsley and

²⁰⁶ With no definite information to go on, Jane Blair is excluded from the total who went on to do library work.

Steward, moved to Los Angeles immediately upon completing the program. However, neither seemed inclined to pursue library work, as Steward never worked and Lindsley was clearly more interested in design work. Talma Breeden also moved away from Redondo immediately following the conclusion of her training, but she did go in to library work, first in Berkeley and then in Los Angeles when the family moved back to southern California. Only Elsie May Speece had to deliberately relocate from the local area, moving down to San Diego, in order to pursue library work. It is worth noting that two factors made Speece's move practical. First was the Speeces' prior residence in San Diego, and second was that Elsie Speece as an only child had a greater likelihood that her parents would go with her, wherever she was offered a job. As a result, the move to San Diego may have been viewed as highly acceptable both by her parents and by Speece herself.

Thus the fortuitous opening of the Hermosa Beach branch of the Los Angeles County Public Library, which provided a place of employment for four of Clegg's graduates between 1915 and 1918, seems to have been the critical factor in producing so many working librarians from this initial training group. The next cohort, the ten women who took the course during World War I and the years immediately following, were not so lucky, as Mrs. Evelyn Morris continued to occupy the Hermosa Beach position until 1923. As a result, Clegg's graduates would need to be willing, as Speece was, to relocate away from Redondo Beach if they wished to pursue the work, an option which, for a variety of reasons, most of them did not exercise.

Chapter Five

Made and Not Born:

Training Does Not Always a Librarian Make, 1917-1920

War is often presented as a watershed, particularly for women, opening up new jobs and putting them in positions of responsibility they would not otherwise have had. During World War I women were called to service in a variety of ways, from raising funds for the Red Cross to sitting on draft boards, from taking over jobs in government offices to adopting recipes designed to save commodities like sugar for use by the troops. Librarians were called to do their patriotic duty by clearing the shelves of offending literature and by raising funds and collecting books for libraries assembled at the military training camps. Mary L. Jones, who had left the LAPL to join the Los Angeles County library system, served as a librarian at Camp Kearney, near San Diego, while Helen Courtwright of the Long Beach Public Library spent several months in 1918 working for the War Department in Washington, D. C.¹ In Redondo Beach, however, the most important change for women was probably not related to the war, but was the merger in 1917 of the Redondo Light and Power Company with the larger Southern California Edison Company (SCE). By 1917, through purchase and acquisition, SCE became the main private supplier of electricity in southern California.² Over the next few years SCE, or the Edison Company, as it was known, emerged as a major source of clerical

¹ *News Notes of California Libraries* 13, no. 3 (July 1918): 371; 372. Hereafter cited as "News Notes."

² "First Electricity in Los Angeles," *Water and Power Associates*, <http://waterandpower.org/museum/First%20Electricity%20in%20Los%20Angeles.html>.

employment for women in Redondo Beach. Local jobs that required no specialized training, clerical work of all varieties became an increasingly popular job for a middle-class woman, which was reflected in the work choices of Clegg's library apprentices.

"The First to Go into the Discard": Redondo Beach Goes to War, 1917-1918

Lola A. Clegg, who in February of 1917 was providing lists of books and magazines in the library featuring ideas for Valentine's parties,³ was a year later sweeping the library clean of "all German literature that has a tendency to a disloyal or pernicious influence." A front page article in the *Redondo Breeze* happily reported that the library's shelves would be "weeded of anything German that in any way is detrimental to the patriotic spirit of America." Books by philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche and psychologist Hugo Münsterberg, who, ironically, had spent a good deal of his professional life teaching at Harvard University, were "the first to go into the discard." They were replaced by bulletins, circulars, and pamphlets provided by Washington "dealing with the various issues of vital interest" with titles such as "The War Message and Facts Behind It" and "The Government of Germany."⁴ One title "much in demand" was "the pamphlet of patriotic recipes,"⁵ doubtless a reference to material Clegg received in November 1917 when she attended a lecture in Los Angeles given by Edith Guerrier. Guerrier herself was a librarian and an ardent reformer, made famous by her work with immigrant women

³ "Miss Clegg Gives Some Timely Hints," *Redondo Breeze*, February 9, 1917.

⁴ "German Books Out of Library," *Redondo Breeze*, January 11, 1918; "War Literature at the Library," *Redondo Breeze*, February 22, 1918.

⁵ "War Literature at the Library," *Redondo Breeze*, February 22, 1918; "Annual Report of the Librarian," *Redondo Reflex*, August 16, 1918.

and girls in Boston's North End, and by her sponsorship in 1908, with her life-partner Edith Brown, of the Paul Revere Pottery. In 1917 Guerrier volunteered for Hoover's Food Administration, embarking on a nationwide tour to lecture and hand out bulletins on behalf of that body.⁶ The lecture Clegg attended was "given for all the librarians in [the] district, the subject being the various ways in which librarians can assist in the food conservation" for the war.⁷

Even in the cause of the war, however, the library still took a backseat to other patriotic efforts. The great nationwide campaign to raise one million dollars for library services for enlisted men resulted in a contribution of \$22,000 from southern California, \$2000 more than the goal set for the region. Of this Redondo contributed a paltry \$46.20,⁸ although Clegg was quick to point out that the library also "collected, repaired [sic] for circulation and shipped to Camp Kearney" in San Diego "nearly four hundred books."⁹ By contrast, the city collected \$5,101.33 for the Red Cross, with "951 subscribers, or more than 25 percent of the entire population, on [the] honor roll" of contributors.¹⁰ Clearly it was not that the citizens of Redondo were stingy in their war

⁶ The Pottery offered workers "an eight-hour day in an airy, healthful atmosphere," where they received "a decent wage, an annual paid vacation, and a daily hot lunch." Gretchen L. Hoffman, "Edith Guerrier," UCLA Department of Information Studies, " *PBWorks*, November 21, 2006, <http://ucla245.pbworks.com/w/page/8751375/Edith%20Guerrier>.

⁷ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, November 23, 1917.

⁸ "Camp Library Work," *Redondo Reflex*, September 28, 1917; *Redondo Reflex*, November 15, 1917.

⁹ "Annual Report of the Librarian," *Redondo Reflex*, August 16, 1918.

¹⁰ "City Over the Top Again," *Redondo Breeze*, May 31, 1918.

work, but simply that money spent on books or magazines was apparently not considered a valuable or worthy cause.

"Enrolled in the Course": Four Who Never Served, the Students of 1917

Despite the distractions of the war, Clegg continued to take on library students, training five women in 1917. These women were similar in age to the first thirteen students, all at least nineteen years old with an age distribution up to thirty-three. After 1917 the age distribution of the students shifted, and of the fifteen apprentices Clegg trained between 1918 and her resignation in 1924 only five were nineteen years old or over. For those over nineteen age was not a primary determinant in whether or not they ultimately chose librarianship as a career. On the other hand, only one of the nine girls under the age of nineteen worked in a library after completing the training course.

Eva Hanson and Violet Vanniman began taking the library course in January 1917 and finished that June. Eva, who was born in California on March 3, 1897, was one of the two younger sister of Ralph Hanson, who had married Maud Gillispie, one of Clegg's earliest students. Eva graduated from the RUHS in 1916, took the training between January and June 1917, and was then immediately appointed the storyteller for the Redondo Beach library, replacing Ruth Anderson who had moved over to the Hermosa Beach library.¹¹ But by January 1920 Eva was working as an operator for the telephone company.¹² Then, on October 19, 1920, she took the traditional female occupation of

¹¹ "Children's Story Hour," *Redondo Breeze*, June 8, 1917; "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, June 22, 1917.

¹² U.S. Census, 1920.

"wife." The marriage, announced the *Reflex* "united two of the prominent members of the younger set,"¹³ Hanson, twenty- three, and Beryl Tower, twenty-four. A graduate of the 1917 class of the RUHS, Beryl was also employed at the telephone company, where he worked as an electrical machinist.¹⁴

After their marriage Beryl and Eva Tower continued to live in Redondo Beach, where in 1930 the census reported his occupation as real estate broker.¹⁵ They were still together there in 1940, when Beryl gave his occupation as insurance broker.¹⁶ But sometime between 1942 and 1946 the Towers separated,¹⁷ and Eva Hanson remarried Milton M. Meacham, in what was a third marriage for him. The most interesting aspect of this story is that all of the concerned parties--Hanson, Tower and Meacham--continued to reside in Redondo Beach, the Meachams at 718 Esplanade, the home Hanson had formerly occupied with Beryl Tower,¹⁸ while Tower moved back in with his widowed mother.¹⁹ The Meachams eventually relocated, joining Ralph and Maud Gillespie

¹³ "Popular Couple Wed," *Redondo Reflex*, October 22, 1920.

¹⁴ Redondo Union High School, *The Pilot*, IV, 1924, 50; U.S. Census, 1920.

¹⁵ U.S. Census, 1930.

¹⁶ U.S. Census, 1940.

¹⁷ California, Voter Registrations, 1900-1968; 1942 shows Eva and Beryl resident at 718 Esplanade, but the 1946 register shows just Eva there.

¹⁸ California Voter Registrations, 1900-1968; 1950, 1954.

¹⁹ California, Voter Registrations, 1900-1968; 1948 indicates Beryl was residing at 501 S. Juanita, which in 1950 was the same address for Mrs. Laura E. Tower, Beryl's mother.

Hanson in Paso Robles, where Eva Ogden Hanson (Tower) Meacham died April 10, 1981. She was eighty-four years old.²⁰

Eva's cohort in the library class was Violet (sometimes Viola) Vanniman. Like so many of the city's residents, Violet appears to have come to Redondo as a visitor, and stayed. Although the *Breeze* described her in April 1917 as "'stopping with her sister"²¹ Grace P. Vanniman and her husband Roscoe Chandler Ingalls, a teacher,²² Violet appears to have been well established in the city much prior to that. The previous December the *Reflex* reported that Violet was seated at a table with former library student Irene Steward and future library student Lela Faulkner, at a luncheon given to discuss founding a chapter of the Alpha Deltas, another sorority for the young women.²³ By March 1917 Vanniman was described in the pages of the *Redondo Breeze* as "of the public library," and by May of that year the *Reflex* announced that she had "finished her six months' course in library work."²⁴ Born in Illinois in May 17, 1890,²⁵ Vanniman was the third of four daughters and one son of a farmer who became a bank president.²⁶ She finished the library class just as she turned twenty-seven, but she did not take up library work.

²⁰ California Death Index, 1940-1977; "Eva Hanson Meacham," California, Find A Grave Index, 1775-2012, *Find a Grave*, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=MEA&GSpartial=1&GSbyrel=all&GSst=6&GSctry=4&GSs r=41&GRid=94846502&>.

²¹ "For Miss Vaniman," *Redondo Breeze*, April 16, 1917.

²² U.S. Census, 1920.

²³ "Delta Alphas," *Redondo Reflex*, December 1, 1916.

²⁴ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Breeze*, March 9, 1917; "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, May 11, 1917.

²⁵ California Death Index, 1940-1997.

²⁶ Kansas State Census Collection, 1895, U.S. Census, 1900; Kansas State Census Collection, 1915.

Instead, in August 1917 she conducted a sewing class for "almost sixty little girls,"²⁷ and then in March 1918 she "accepted a position with the Edison Company."²⁸ In announcing the engagement of V. V. Vanniman to W. G. Nevin "a member of the Edison Electric Company," in September 1919, the *Reflex* wrote that Vanniman had come to Redondo for her health, but had returned in February of 1919 "to her home in Missouri." But, "the lure of love in California was the stronger tie so she returned west" to marry. According to the *Reflex*, the two met working as members of "the local exemption board."²⁹ The Nevins moved to San Dimas, where they had five children, all boys. By 1940, at the age of forty-nine, Viola Vanniman was widowed and raising her sons alone, with no apparent means of support.³⁰ Violet Vanniman Nevin died January 18, 1972 at the age of eighty-one.³¹

Lela Faulkner and Mary Forbes joined the apprentice program just as Vanniman and Hanson were finishing it, Faulkner beginning in May and Forbes in July 1917.³² Faulkner, a graduate of the RUHS class of 1916,³³ was born in Iowa on April 29, 1896, making her just twenty years old when she started nurse's training in 1916, at the

²⁷ "Girls Are Busy Learning to Sew," *Redondo Breeze*, August 24, 1917.

²⁸ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Breeze*, March 29, 1918.

²⁹ "Love Wins Out," *Redondo Reflex*, September 19, 1919.

³⁰ U.S. Census, 1930; 1940.

³¹ California Death Index, 1940-1997. Given the gaps in the time-line and the somewhat confused storyline, there is the possibility that two women have been conflated into one. However, Vanniman's name is sufficiently distinct that this seems to be unlikely.

³² "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, May 11, 1917; "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, July 6, 1917.

³³ RUHS, *The Pilot*, IV, 1924, 50.

Methodist Hospital in Los Angeles.³⁴ Nursing, however, was a far more difficult profession than librarianship, involving long hours, a restricted lifestyle, physically and emotionally demanding as one worked in the wards filled with the sounds, sights, and smells of disease and decay. Faulkner was not cut out for the work, as in March she became "seriously ill" and by May 1917 had joined the library program.³⁵

Apparently Faulkner found library work no more satisfactory than she did nursing, as in October 1917, having "recently completed a six months' course in library methods" she took "a position with the Redondo Water Company,"³⁶ In May 1919 Faulkner changed jobs again, moving over to the Edison Company, where she worked as a bookkeeper.³⁷ Finally, on April 4, 1920, Faulkner left the working world behind her, becoming the bride of Carlton J. Hogle, a graduate of the RUHS class of 1915, employed as a chemist.³⁸ Carl and Lela had one son, Carl, Jr. Lela Faulkner died August 18, 1979 at the age of eighty-three.³⁹

³⁴ Founded in 1903 with five beds in a two-story house, by 1917 the hospital was a 100-bed, "thoroughly modern" facility, the "first major hospital built in Los Angeles of reinforced concrete, and located in "one of the most desirable residential neighborhoods in the city." "About Us, History," *Methodist Hospital*, 2011, <http://www.methodisthospital.org/ABOUTUS/Pages/History.aspx>.

³⁵ *Redondo Reflex*, March 30, 1917.

³⁶ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, October 19, 1917.

³⁷ "Personals--Local Items," *Redondo Reflex*, May 2, 1919.

³⁸ "For Bride," *Redondo Reflex*, April 6, 1920; "Honoree at Shower," *Redondo Breeze*, April 16, 1920; "Faulkner-Hogle Nuptials," *Redondo Breeze*, April 23, 1920.

³⁹ California Death Index, 1940-1997.

While Faulkner left nursing and tried librarianship, Mary Forbes finished the library course and then went for nurse's training.⁴⁰ Forbes and her younger sister Ester were born in Colorado, Mary on April 27, 1898 and Ester three years later. Mary's father, James E. Forbes was a brick manufacturer in Colorado Springs in 1900, but by 1912 the family was in Redondo Beach, and by 1920 James had taken up that ever-popular Redondo Beach occupation, real estate.⁴¹ Mary Forbes graduated from the RUHS in 1917, and started her library training immediately thereafter.⁴² However, she apparently went directly from finishing the library course to starting the nursing course, which she completed around October of 1920.⁴³ The nurse's training took, as in May 1921 she was working at the Methodist Hospital,⁴⁴ and was promoted to "assistant superintendent of the Orthopedic hospital" in February 1922.⁴⁵ It was probably there that she met Erland Thomsen, a physiotherapist originally from Copenhagen, Denmark. In 1923 Mary, then about twenty-five years old, gave up nursing to marry Erland, about thirty-nine. They had two children, Allan D., who died in just after his twenty-third birthday, in 1948, and David E. (Erland D.) Thomsen.⁴⁶ Mary Forbes Thomsen died December 25, 1985. She was eighty-seven years old.⁴⁷

⁴⁰ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, June 14, 1918.

⁴¹ U.S. Census, 1900; "Local Reflexions," *Redondo Reflex*, August 9, 1912; U.S. Census, 1920.

⁴² RHUS, *The Pilot*, IV, 1924, 50.

⁴³ "Personals--Local Items," *Redondo Reflex*, October 8, 1920.

⁴⁴ "Personals--Local Items," *Redondo Reflex*, May 27, 1921.

⁴⁵ "News for Home Lovers," *Redondo Reflex*, February 3, 1922.

⁴⁶ U.S. Census, 1930.

⁴⁷ California Death Index, 1940-1977.

"Burney, Miriam (wid C C)": The Second Assistant Librarian, 1917

The first four library students of 1917 set the pattern for those who came after, namely that more women took the course but never worked in a library than took the course and did pursue library work. In addition, the influence of the Edison Company on female employment in Redondo can already be seen, as two of the four women took jobs there before leaving work entirely for marriage. The exception among the 1917 cohort was the last woman to start library training that year, Mrs. Miriam N. Burney.

Miriam (variously spelled as Merian, Maryam and even Mamie) Nelson Burney was born July 19, 1885. A native of Missouri, Burney later told an interviewer that she was raised in Texas. She graduated from Texas' Trinity University in 1905, making her the only college graduate to take the library course. She married in 1909,⁴⁸ the preponderance of evidence suggests to Percy C. Burney, an electrician from El Paso, Texas.⁴⁹ Burney's daughter Mary Nelson Burney was born the beginning of June 1911,⁵⁰ so, when her husband died in 1915, she was left a thirty year-old widow with a four year-old daughter to support.⁵¹ There is no evidence that Mr. Burney ever lived in Redondo Beach, although Burney listed herself in the 1921, 1925 and 1927 city directories as

⁴⁸ Elizabeth Winnmer, interview with Mrs. Miriam N. Burney on her retirement, newspaper clipping hand-dated "7/15/55," City of Redondo Beach, Archives, Box 13, Folder "Library Communications re personnel," Office of the City Clerk.

⁴⁹ U.S. Census, 1910; *Worley's Directory, El Paso Texas, 1910* (Dallas: John F. Worley Directory Co., 1910), 149.

⁵⁰ "Birthday Party," *Redondo Reflex*, June 7, 1918 reports on the "seventh birthday of little Mary Nelson Burney . . . on Monday"; U.S. Census, 1920; 1930; 1940.

⁵¹ Winnmer interview; Texas Death Index, 1903-2000 lists the death of a Percy C. Burney in Brewster County, Texas on September 2, 1915.

"wid" followed by the initials of her late husband.⁵² Nor is it known precisely when or under what circumstances she came to be in Redondo Beach.

Like the other library workers, Burney was an active participant in Redondo's social scene. An avid bridge player, she was a member of the Entre Nous bridge club, and her name frequently appeared in the papers as the second and sometimes first place winner of their monthly sessions.⁵³ Even after joining the regular library staff, she continued to play in the club, while in January of 1920 both the *Breeze* and the *Reflex* reported on her success as a hostess, offering "a most delightful afternoon affair on Thursday at the El JaArms" hotel. "Dainty refreshments were served buffet fashion," and "sweet peas were used effectively for decoration, while a corsage bouquet of the same blossoms was presented to each guest."⁵⁴ Like Clegg and Catey, she was a member of the Women's Club, and apparently enjoyed hiking and camping, activities she frequently engaged in with her daughter and her boss, Lola A. Clegg.⁵⁵

⁵² *Redondo, Hermosa and Manhattan Beaches City Directory, 1921-1922* lists Miriam Burney as "(wid P C)" (Redondo Beach: Kaasen Directory Company, 1921), 22. However, the 1925 and 1927 directories list her as "(wid C C)", so it is not certain the identification of Percy C. Burney of El Paso is absolutely correct. She dropped the "wid" in the 1931 directory.

⁵³ "Entre Nous Club," *Redondo Breeze*, March 16, 1917; "Entre Nous Club," *Redondo Breeze*, April 12, 1918; "Society News," *Redondo Reflex*, October 31, 1919; "Entre Nous Club," *Redondo Breeze*, October 11, 1921; "Entre Nous Club," *Redondo Breeze*, November 3, 1922

⁵⁴ "Entre Nous Club," *Redondo Breeze*, January 16, 1920; "Society Notes," *Redondo Reflex*, January 16, 1920.

⁵⁵ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Breeze*, December 27, 1918; "Personals--Local Items," *Redondo Reflex*, January 10, 1919; "Personals--Local Items," *Redondo Reflex*, June 17, 1921; "Personal and Local Notes," *Redondo Breeze*, June 27, 1921.

Similar to Clegg, Burney changed addresses frequently, starting as a lodger on Emerald in 1917.⁵⁶ In May 1920 she took up residence with Mrs. Cynthia Walker, another Texas widow,⁵⁷ and the two apparently shared housing from 1920 until 1922, when Burney and her daughter moved to their newly completed "bungalow" on the corner of Ruby and Elena.⁵⁸ Burney lived at the Ruby Street address for only a couple of years before moving to 415 S. Francisca, where she remained from about 1924 through at least 1931, even providing house space to library assistant Carlotta Hoye for several years.⁵⁹ Burney's daughter continued to live with her mother, even after, at the age of about eighteen, she married, becoming Mrs. William H. Shahan in late 1929 or early 1930.⁶⁰ Although Mary and William H. Shahan are listed in the 1931 Redondo directory, no employment information is given, and he does not appear in any census.⁶¹ Mary

⁵⁶ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, October 19, 1917; "Birthday Party," *Redondo Reflex*, June 7, 1918.

⁵⁷ *Redondo Reflex*, May 7, 1920; "Entertains Christmas Eve," *Redondo Reflex*, December 31, 1920; Redondo, *Hermosa and Manhattan Beaches City Directory, 1921-1922* (Redondo Beach: Kaasen Directory Company, 1921), 23 lists Burney as "h" for homeowner and Cynthia Walker, (wid R S) as "r" for roomer, 75.

⁵⁸ "News for Home Lovers," *Redondo Reflex*, January 20, 1922; "Personal and Local Notes," *Redondo Breeze*, February 3, 1922.

⁵⁹ California State Library, California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library for 1922 through 1931, *California Public Library Reports (1909-55)*, California Library Association Library History Committee Records, 1890-1966, Collection #873, Box 9, Reel 19, hereafter cited as "California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, . . ."; city directories for 1925, 1927 and 1931.

⁶⁰ U.S. Census, 1930.

⁶¹ *Los Angeles Directory Co.'s Redondo Beach (California) City Directory, 1931* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Directory Co., 1931), 111.

Nelson appears not to have worked, but continued to live, with her son William Cordes Shahan, born in July 1931,⁶² with her mother at least through 1940.⁶³

In October 1917 Burney, thirty-three years old and a widow for two years, began her library career by taking the "course in library methods" at the Redondo Beach Public Library.⁶⁴ She may have been just exactly the kind of student Clegg had been looking for since Maud Gillespie left the staff. Older, a widow with a young child to support, Burney was likely more mature, more in need of the job, and less likely to run off and get married than the younger, single students. Finishing the course in April 1918, she was promptly appointed second assistant librarian at a salary of twenty-five dollars a month,⁶⁵ the first regular salaried employee to be hired since Catey was taken on for two hours a day in 1912. However, in July 1920, in an event which could have ended her career, Burney was called home to Texas "owing to the illness of her father."⁶⁶ Regrettably, the newspapers reported, she got there too late, her father dying just an hour before her arrival.⁶⁷

Burney was not, of course, the first librarian to answer an abrupt call to home. Single, and typically childless, unmarried daughters were expected to, figuratively and in

⁶² California Birth Index, 1905-1995.

⁶³ U.S. Census, 1940.

⁶⁴ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, October 17, 1917.

⁶⁵ California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1918. The report states that Burney was to work five hours a day, but it does not state how many days per week.

⁶⁶ "Entre Nous Club," *Redondo Breeze*, July 16, 1920.

⁶⁷ "Arrives Too late to See Parent," *Redondo Breeze*, July 23, 1920; "Coming Home," *Redondo Reflex*, July 23, 1920.

some cases literally, keep the home fires burning as parents became elderly, infirm, or lost a spouse. Marie Adair had left her position at the Los Angeles hospital library in response to just such a summons. Nor was it only the librarians who acted in this manner, as for example Miss Dickson, the supervising principal of the Redondo Beach grammar schools, who took an "indefinite leave of absence" to return to Escondido. Her parents, the announcement in the paper explained, were "well along in years" and had been "requesting her to resign her position and live with them for a considerable time."⁶⁸ What was unusual in Burney's case was that rather than remaining with her family in Texas, she returned to Redondo and resumed her work at the library.⁶⁹ In April 1922 Burney was given full-time status,⁷⁰ and then, in 1924, when Catey took over as head of the library following the resignation of Lola Clegg, Burney was promoted to the position of first assistant librarian.⁷¹

" . . . is spending part of her vacation": The Lone Library Worker, 1918-1919

Between 1918 and 1920 the newspapers mentioned seven women in relation to the library, but only three of them can positively be identified as library students. Three more were recognized only for their work as the storytellers for the children's weekly story hour, while one more appears to have been little more than a high school girl filling what would otherwise have been the idle hours of summer. With two trained assistants,

⁶⁸ "Miss Dickson Leaves Here," *Redondo Reflex*, June 21, 1918.

⁶⁹ "Coming Home," *Redondo Reflex*, September 12, 1920.

⁷⁰ California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1922.

⁷¹ *News Notes* 19, no. 4 (October 1924): 365; California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1925.

Catey and Burney, Clegg may have felt it was no longer necessary to recruit help for the library and was content to have a few girls who would help shelve books, assist in the workroom and, most importantly, give the story hour, but whom she need not put much effort into in terms of actual training. Or it may be that, with two assistants, potential students saw no future jobs in the library, and thus saw no reason to take the class.

A single sentence in the July 12 issue of the *Redondo Reflex*, "Miss Nellie Reed is spending part of her vacation doing library work in the Redondo Beach public library," records all that is known about Reed's time in the library.⁷² Nellie's family hailed from St. Louis, where in 1900 her father worked as a clerk in a hardware store and her mother Jennie was a seamstress.⁷³ George and Jennie had been married for about fourteen years and were both in their forties when their only child, Nellie, was born in California in September 1902.⁷⁴ They moved to Redondo before 1910, where George worked as a building contractor and later as the City Street Superintendent and Building Inspector.⁷⁵ Not yet sixteen that summer of 1918, Nellie was one Clegg's youngest students, if, indeed, that is what she was. If Nellie worked after graduating high school in 1920 and before her marriage in 1925, it was not recorded in the pages of the city directory, where her parents continued to appear, but Nellie never did.⁷⁶

⁷² "Personal Mention" *Redondo Reflex*, July 12, 1918.

⁷³ U.S. Census, 1900.

⁷⁴ U.S. Census, 1910; California Death Index, 1940-1997.

⁷⁵ U.S. Census, 1910; *Redondo, Hermosa and Manhattan City Directory, 1921-1922* (Redondo Beach: Kaasen Directory Company, 1922), 62.

⁷⁶ RUHS, *The Pilot*, IV, 1924, 50.

In 1925 Nellie appears to have married Edward E. Miller. Miller would have been about forty-one to Nellie's twenty-two when they married, and the union may have had a touch of romance, as Miller listed his employment in 1930 as a musician in a band.⁷⁷ In 1940 the couple were still in Los Angeles, where Edward was a music teacher with his own studio, and Nellie, now going by Nelia, worked as a general secretary.⁷⁸ By 1945 the couple had divorced, and Nelia married Marcellus Carleton Nolte, a second marriage for him as well.⁷⁹ Nelia Nolte died September 10, 1984, just two weeks before her eighty-second birthday⁸⁰

The distraction of the Great War, which was followed by the Great Influenza Epidemic, may have had a negative impact on the library apprentice program, as Reed appears to have been the only new student-apprentice at the library for about two years, from March 1917 when Burney completed the program until the beginning of 1919, when Rachel Thayer started it. Redondo had the misfortune to lose its long-time resident and city health officer Dr. Robert Hancock just as the flu reached the city in the fall of 1918. In fact, given his young age, only forty-eight years old, and the cause of death,

⁷⁷ U.S. Census, 1930.

⁷⁸ U.S. Census, 1940.

⁷⁹ Norton Family Tree, gives the exact date as September 1, 1845 and goes on to state that the wedding took place in the Methodist church in Las Vegas, Nevada. "Norton Family Tree," *Ancestry.com*, <http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/18784779/person/808882104>; Missouri Marriage Records, 1805-2002.

⁸⁰ California Death Index, 1940-1997, lists "Crowder" as her mother's maiden name, which is correct. Moreover, the Nolte's joint gravestone in San Bernardino also bears the name "Jennie K. Reed," Nellie's mother. "Jennie K. Crowder Reed," *Find A Grave*, [.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=REE&GSpartial=1&GSbyrel=all&GSst=6&GSctry=4&GSsr=2601&GRid=21830695&](http://findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=REE&GSpartial=1&GSbyrel=all&GSst=6&GSctry=4&GSsr=2601&GRid=21830695&).

pneumonia, Hancock may have been one of its casualties.⁸¹ Dr. Atlas Hembree, himself only forty-nine years old, stepped in, ordering a quarantine, first of the grammar school, then the high school, and finally "closing all churches, theatres, dance halls, the plunge, lodges and prohibiting the congregation of people at any place." Even the billiard hall was closed,⁸² as were the public libraries in Redondo and Hermosa beaches.⁸³ The quarantine was briefly lifted in late November, during which time the libraries were open to exchange books, although the reading room remained closed.⁸⁴ Both Hermosa and Redondo took the typical course of fumigating the returned books, and Redondo fumigated the library as well.⁸⁵ However, the quarantine was reinstated within days, and patrons were only allowed to return books, but not take them out.⁸⁶ The quarantine was fully and finally lifted in late December, but not in time for Christmas, and most businesses and, of course, the schools did not re-open until after New Year's day 1919.⁸⁷

⁸¹ "Dr. Hancock, Humanity's Fried, Passes to Beyond," *Redondo Breeze*, October 18, 1918; U.S. Census, 1900 gives his birth as May, 1870.

⁸² "Fall In Line on Quarantine," *Redondo Breeze*, October 18, 1918.

⁸³ "Hermosa Combats Influenza," *Redondo Reflex*, October 18, 1918

⁸⁴ "Quarantine is Half Lifted; Church and School Only," *Redondo Breeze*, November 15, 1918; *Redondo Reflex*, November 15, 1918. "Quarantine Will Be Lifted on Everything Saturday," *Redondo Breeze*, November 22, 1918.

⁸⁵ "Library Opens Monday," *Redondo Reflex*, November 22, 1918.

⁸⁶ "Open to Accept Books," *Redondo Reflex*, December 18, 1918; "Return Library Books This Week or the Next," *Redondo Breeze*, December 13, 1918.

⁸⁷ "Quarantine Again Lifted," *Redondo Breeze*, December 17, 1918.

"The popular story hour": The Storytellers, 1919-1920

In May 1919 the story-hour was "revived," with Vivian Amet "placed in charge."⁸⁸ Amet was the first of three young women who between 1919 and the close of 1920 were indentified in the newspapers as "the storyteller," but who do not appear to have been actual students of Clegg's library course. Ranging in age between fifteen and twenty-two, no particular trait, characteristic, or event presents itself to indicate why these women did not join Clegg's more formal program. Not surprisingly, though, none of the three went on to further library work.

Vivian and her older sister Ruth, both born in Illinois, were the daughters of Edward Hill Amet and Grace E. Carpenter.⁸⁹ Grace apparently died, however, as in 1905 Edward, forty-four years old, married Margaret Julia Schumacher, fifteen years his junior.⁹⁰ Amet was a successful inventor, starting out with phonographs and then going into the field of motion picture projectors. His best-known products were the magniscope, produced with partner George Kirke Spoor, and considered to be the first practical 35mm movie projector, as well as a long-range lens.⁹¹ He also produced his own movies and is credited with being the first to use miniatures in movies, including a film version of the Battle of Santiago Bay, *The Sinking of Cervera's Fleet* using scale

⁸⁸ "'Story Hour' at Library," *Redondo Reflex*, May 2, 1919. The "revival" of the story hour was announced on more than one occasion, and it is not clear whether the activity was suspended due to lack of a storyteller or whether it was routinely stopped during the school term and then "revived" during school vacations.

⁸⁹ Cook County, Illinois, Marriages Index, 1871-1920.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁹¹ Kirk J. Kekatos, "Edward H. Amet and the Spanish-American War Film," *Film History* 14, no. 3/4 (2002): 405-17.

models.⁹² Perhaps it was Redondo's inviting climate, combined with its proximity to the emerging film industry, which brought the family to the beach city, first as visitors in the summer of 1906, but as residents by 1910.⁹³ Vivian graduated from the RUHS in 1916, but Ruth does not appear as an alumna in the student yearbooks. She does, however, appear in the Redondo Beach city directory for 1915, listed as a stenographer for Marshall & Company, a job she apparently continued to hold through 1918.⁹⁴

Like May and Rose Murray, who had worked in Redondo's early reading room, or the current librarian Emma Catey and her sister Minnie, the Amet sisters formed an inseparable union, and sometime before the end of 1919 the two set off for San Jose, California, where they took up residence in the Hotel Vendome. Ruth became the secretary to Edwin K. Johnston, the managing editor of the San Jose *Mercury*, while Vivian opened a "select dancing school."⁹⁵ Vivian remained involved in the world of dance even after her marriage to Eric K. Johnston, son of Ruth's boss, and himself a journalist for the paper. Her name appeared regularly in reports in the Oakland *Tribune* about various fetes and festivals at which Mrs. Vivian Amet Johnston's pupils performed

⁹² Stephen Herbert, "Edward Hill Amet," *Who's Who of Victorian Cinema*, 2004, <http://www.victorian-cinema.net/amet>.

⁹³ "Gone to Redondo," *Arizona Republican*, June 27, 1906; U.S. Census, 1910. The Amets were sufficiently well-off that the 1906 report of their summer trip to Redondo noted they would be staying in Redondo's prestigious Hotel Redondo.

⁹⁴ *Resident and Business Directory Redondo Beach and Hermosa-Manhattan Beaches, 1915-1916* (Redondo Beach: C. H. Turner, 1915), 12; *Los Angeles City Directory, 1917* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Directory Company, 1917), 253; *Los Angeles City Directory, 1918* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Directory Company, 1918), 256.

⁹⁵ "Society," *Reno Evening Gazette*, December 10, 1919; California, Voter Registrations, 1900-1968; 1926-1928.

a dance, with titles like "The Dance of the Fruit Blossom," choreographed especially for the occasion by Mrs. Johnston herself.⁹⁶ Vivian's marriage to Eric Johnston appears to have lasted about fifteen years, during which time Ruth Amet lived with them. But by 1936 Vivian and Ruth had returned to Hermosa Beach,⁹⁷ only to move again, to Laguna Beach, by 1940.⁹⁸ Then, sometime between 1944 and 1948, Mrs. Vivian Amet Johnston became Mrs. Vivian Amet Shafer.⁹⁹ Ruth continued to live with Vivian and her second husband until her own death on July 5, 1955, at the age of only sixty-two. Vivian, who until then had spent her entire life in the company of her sister, died forty-one years later, on July 27, 1996, five months short of her one hundredth birthday.¹⁰⁰

Amy Goodwin was seventeen years old and still enrolled as a student in the high school when in late 1919 she took over the story hour, replacing Amet.¹⁰¹ Like her predecessor, it appears that Goodwin never participated in the formal apprentice program. Born in Illinois in June 1902 Amy, her parents, and her younger brother Carl were living

⁹⁶ "Saratoga Fete Is Opened with Regal Splendor," *Oakland Tribune*, March 20, 1924; "The Modesto, 3 Star Acts Standard Vaudeville, 'Vivian Amet Johnson's Dancing Baby Ballerinas'," an advertisement in the *Modesto News-Herald*, July 18, 1926; "Blossom Fete in Readiness," *Oakland Tribune*, March 17, 1929; "State, Cities and Towns to Observe Independence Day, Sunnyvale to Present Ball, Nation Ballet," *Oakland Tribune*, June 30, 1929; "Saratoga Opens 32nd Annual Blossom Fete," *Oakland Tribune*, March 22, 1931; "Blossom Fete To Be Opened," *Oakland Tribune*, March 25, 1932.

⁹⁷ California, Voter Registrations, 1900-1968; 1936.

⁹⁸ U.S. Census, 1940.

⁹⁹ California, Voter Registrations, 1900-1968; 1944, 1948.

¹⁰⁰ California Death Index, 1940-1997. Per www.findagrave.com Ruth's death was due to cirrhosis of the liver. "Ruth Amet," *Find a Grave*, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=AM&GSpartial=1&GSbyrel=all&GSst=6&GSctry=4&GSsr=3841&GRid=7940389&>.

¹⁰¹ "Party at Library," *Redondo Reflex*, December 26, 1919.

in Redondo Beach, where Amy's father was working as blacksmith in a car shop in 1910.¹⁰² Census and city directory listings indicate Amy's father changed jobs frequently, so that in 1915 he was an employee of the Montgomery & Mullin Lumber Company,¹⁰³ later becoming a watchman at the Standard Oil Company,¹⁰⁴ and then returning to the lumber industry with the Patten-Davies Lumber Company in 1925, where he still was in 1931.¹⁰⁵

Even though she was still enrolled as a student in the high school, Goodwin listed her occupation on the 1920 census as "children's entertainer,"¹⁰⁶ and she continued on in the position after her graduation in June 1920.¹⁰⁷ *The Breeze* went so far as to describe her as "a member of the library staff," in 1920,¹⁰⁸ although there is no evidence she was ever actually paid for her work. By the close of 1920 however, Ruth Parsons had taken

¹⁰² California Death Index, 1940-1997; U.S. Census, 1910.

¹⁰³ *Resident and Business Directory Redondo Beach and Hermosa-Manhattan Beaches, 1915-1916* (Redondo Beach: C. H. Turner, 1915), 25.

¹⁰⁴ U.S. Census, 1920; *Redondo, Hermosa and Manhattan Beaches City Directory, 1921-1922* (Redondo Beach: Kaasen Directory Company, 1921), 36.

¹⁰⁵ *Redondo, Hermosa and Manhattan Beaches City Directory, 1925-1926* (Redondo Beach: Kaasen Directory Company, 1925), 46; U. S. Census, 1930; *Redondo Beach (California) City Directory, 1931* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles City Directory Co, 1931), 62.

¹⁰⁶ U.S. Census, 1920.

¹⁰⁷ RUHS, *The Pilot*, IV, 1924, 49.

¹⁰⁸ "Story Hour at Library," *Redondo Breeze*, May 7, 1920, which once again used the term "revived;" "Back on Library Staff," *Redondo Breeze*, September 17, 1920.

over the storytelling duties,¹⁰⁹ and the 1921 Redondo city directory gives the more prosaic "bookkeeper" for the Redondo Milling Company as Goodwin's occupation.¹¹⁰

The high school yearbook *The Pilot* reported Amy Goodwin as single and living in Redondo Beach in 1924, but for the next nearly five decades there is no evidence of her whereabouts. Then, in 1972, now seventy years old, she appears in San Bruno, California, as the new bride of sixty-three-year-old Melville Stinson Holmes, not surprisingly a second marriage for him.¹¹¹ Amy L. Goodwin thus takes the honor of being Redondo library's oldest associate to contract a first marriage, exceeding Lola A. Clegg by about fifteen years. Amy L. Goodwin Holmes died October 23, 1986 at the age of eighty-four.¹¹²

As noted above, Ruth Parsons, only fifteen years old, replaced Goodwin as the library's storyteller in December 1920.¹¹³ She became the last of the Redondo Beach girls to be specifically identified with that title. Ruth's parents, William and Annie, immigrated from England in 1886. They settled in Pennsylvania where they had six children, all daughters.¹¹⁴ By 1920 the family, now consisting of Ruth, her parents and one older sister, made their way to Redondo Beach, where her father worked as a

¹⁰⁹ "Story Hour," *Redondo Reflex*, December 31, 1920.

¹¹⁰ *Redondo, Hermosa and Manhattan Beaches City Directory, 1921-1922* (Redondo Beach: Kaasen Directory Company, 1921), 36.

¹¹¹ California Marriage Index, 1960-1985.

¹¹² California Death Index, 1940-1997. The Index lists the mother's maiden name for Amy L. Holmes as "Robinson," which is correct, making the identification fairly certain.

¹¹³ "Story Hour," *Redondo Reflex*, December 31, 1920.

¹¹⁴ U.S. Census, 1900.

machinist for the oil company and her sister worked as a bookkeeper at a bank.¹¹⁵ Clegg described Parsons as "a remarkable story teller,"¹¹⁶ and she was evidently a capable young lady, for when she was still only seventeen years old and a student at the high school, she appeared alongside Clegg at a meeting of the Redondo Beach Parent-Teachers Association. While Clegg talked about choosing books for children, Parsons's presentation "told how she interested the children in the telling of stories of adventure, fairy stories and stories of good morals."¹¹⁷ Parsons continued as the storyteller until September 1922, when she left Redondo to start classes at the University of Southern California in Los Angeles.¹¹⁸ The Redondo Beach city directory for 1927 listed Parsons as a teacher, as did the 1930 census, where she was counted in nearby La Crescenta.¹¹⁹ However, while the 1940 census indicates that William and Annie Parsons still lived in Redondo Beach, there is no further information on Ruth after 1930.¹²⁰

The Library Students: 1919-1920

While the library used the local high school girls to cover storytelling duties, Clegg simultaneously took on three regular library students. The students were older than the storytellers, ranging in age from nineteen-year-old Gertruda Houze to Fern Rhein who, at forty-one, was the oldest of all of Clegg's students. Rhein was also the

¹¹⁵ U.S. Census, 1920.

¹¹⁶ San Austin, "Public Library Up-To-Date and Well Patronized," *Redondo Reflex*, August 22, 1922.

¹¹⁷ "P.T.A. Meeting," *Redondo Reflex*, May 12, 1922.

¹¹⁸ "News for Home Lovers," *Redondo Reflex*, September 22, 1922.

¹¹⁹ *Kaasen's Redondo, Hermosa and Manhattan Beaches City Directory, 1927* (Los Angeles: Kaasen Directory Co., 1927), 86; U.S. Census, 1930.

¹²⁰ U.S. Census, 1940.

only apprentice who was married at the time she took the course. In between Houze and Rhein in age was Rachel Thayer, thirty-two years old and living with her mother and invalid father. All of the formal students of 1919 and 1920 went on to work in libraries, although Houze's career appears to have been cut short by family circumstances. By contrast, after 1920 not a single one of Clegg's students would be over the age of nineteen, and only two of the eight would go on to library work.

The daughter of a locomotive engineer, Fern Rhein (néé Robinson) was born in Iowa on December 6, 1879.¹²¹ She married Lester Washington Rhein, an electrician about ten years her junior, in about 1909. They had one son, Lloyd, born in October 1910. By 1917 the Rheins were living in Hermosa Beach, where Lester worked as an electrician with the Edison Company.¹²² Rhein's interest in library work may have been sparked in 1919, when she joined Mrs. Jessie Selkinghaus in writing a book review column for the *Redondo Breeze*.¹²³ Ultimately Rhein became a student at the library, completing the course in January 1920,¹²⁴ and then joining the library staff as a regular substitute.¹²⁵ In 1925 Rhein received the appointment to head the Hermosa Beach library.¹²⁶ Still married and working at the Hermosa library in 1930,¹²⁷ by 1931 Fern and

¹²¹ Iowa, Births and Christenings Index, 1857-1957; U.S. Census, 1880.

¹²² World War I Draft Registration Cards, 1917-1918.

¹²³ "Report of Librarian," *Redondo Reflex*, July 23, 1920.

¹²⁴ "Personal and Local Notes," *Redondo Breeze*, January 16, 1920.

¹²⁵ "Annual Library Report Shows Need of Building," *Redondo Breeze*, July 8, 1921.

¹²⁶ California, Voter Registrations, 1900-1968; 1924 lists Rhein as a housewife; *Redondo, Hermosa and Manhattan Beaches City Directory, 1925-1926* (Redondo Beach: Kaasen Directory Company, 1925), 198.

¹²⁷ U.S. Census, 1930.

Lester Rhein had evidently separated, as the directory for Hermosa Beach listed Rhein living alone.¹²⁸ By 1940 Lester Rhein had remarried, a second marriage for both partners.¹²⁹ Fern Rhein remained at the Hermosa Beach library until at least 1940, but by 1943 she had resigned and moved to the San Diego area, possibly to be near her son, who had joined the Rosicrucians and was living at their compound in Oceanside in 1930.¹³⁰ Fern Robinson Rhein died in San Diego County on August 12, 1943 at the age of sixty-three.¹³¹

In Clegg's annual report to the California State Librarian for the year ending 1918-1919, Rachel Thayer was the only student listed.¹³² Thayer was one of two children born to George E. and Minerva Thayer of Massachusetts. Thayer's brother Robert remained behind in Massachusetts when Rachel and her parents moved to California, first to San Gabriel, where Rachel's father, quite naturally, became an orange grower, and then to Redondo Beach.¹³³ When George Thayer died in August 1921 his obituary described

¹²⁸ *Los Angeles Directory Co's Redondo Beach (California) City Directory, 1931*, (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Directory Co., 1931), 240.

¹²⁹ U.S. Census, 1940.

¹³⁰ U.S. Census, 1930. Rosicrucian (Rosy Cross) beliefs have their roots in the 14th Century. After passing through the Enlightenment, and mixing with Freemasonry, several schools emerged in the early 19th Century. The Rosicrucian Fellowship, of which Lloyd Rhein was a member, was founded in 1909 by Max Heindel. The international headquarters, Mount Ecclesia, in Oceanside, California, was opened on October 28, 1911. *The Rosicrucian Fellowship*, <http://www.rosicrucian.com/>; "Rosicrucianism," *Wikipedia*, <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rosicrucianism>.

¹³¹ California Death Index, 1940-1997.

¹³² California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1919.

¹³³ U. S. Census, 1900; 1910.

him as having been "an invalid for about four years,"¹³⁴ and it is possible that her father's ill-health prompted Thayer, at thirty-one years old, to take the library training. The exact trajectory of Thayer's early library career is a bit difficult to follow, as some of the information appears to be contradictory. For example, while she is listed as a student in the 1918-1919 report to the State Librarian, she is also listed as a student taking six months instruction in the 1919-1920 report, which further stated that she was "now employed" at the LAPL.¹³⁵ Based on reports from Redondo Beach and the Los Angeles Public Library, it appears that Thayer, after completing her training under Clegg, spent some time at the Hermosa Beach library before joining the 1920-1921 training class of the LAPL.¹³⁶ Then, after finishing the class in Los Angeles, Thayer accepted a position with the Long Beach Public Library.¹³⁷ Thayer's parents accompanied her to Long Beach, where, just five months after their arrival, her father died. As late as 1944, she was still working at the Long Beach library, but information beyond that date has not been found.¹³⁸

¹³⁴ "Former Redondo Beach Resident Dies," *Redondo Reflex*, August 26, 1921.

¹³⁵ California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1920.

¹³⁶ California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1919; "Many Visit the Library," *Redondo Reflex*, August 15, 1919; "Get Library Appointments," *Redondo Breeze*, May 21, 1920.

¹³⁷ California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1920; Los Angeles Public Library, *Thirty-Third Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Los Angeles Public Library, 1920-1921* (Los Angeles, 1921) 40; *News Notes* 16, no. 4 (October 1921): 528; "Visits Her Friends," *Redondo Reflex*, October 6, 1922 also describes Thayer as having gone from Redondo "to the Los Angeles public library for the course there" before joining the Long Beach library.

¹³⁸ "Local Library Staff Attend Parley in Los Angeles," *Long Beach Independent*, March 21, 1943; California, Voter Registrations, 1900-1968; 1944.

Also receiving instruction at the Redondo Beach Public Library in 1919-1920 was nineteen year-old Gertruda Houze. Her parents, Edith Gascoigne and William A. McCormick were married in about 1897. They had two children, William G., born in Illinois May 2, 1898, and Gertruda E., born in California in 1901,¹³⁹ before they divorced. Edith and the children returned to her native Illinois, where on December 16, 1908 she married Fernand Houze, a glass-worker originally from Belgium.¹⁴⁰ By 1910 the Houzes, with William and Edith now using their stepfather's surname, had returned to California,¹⁴¹ arriving in Redondo around 1920, where Fernand worked as a glassmaker and William as a stock clerk for the glass factory in neighboring Torrance.¹⁴²

Not long after they settled in Redondo, Gertruda began the library training course, completing it in June 1920. She was immediately hired, along with her fellow student Thayer, by the Los Angeles Public Library.¹⁴³ The *Breeze* reported that Thayer had been assigned to the catalogue department, "while Miss Houze's assignment is in the socialoloigical [sic] department," the appointments to commence June 1.¹⁴⁴ As noted above, it appears from reports of the LAPL that Thayer was not, in fact, taken on as an employee, but rather as a student. But, the annual report of the LAPL for the year ending September, 1920 did, indeed, list Houze as a "junior attendant" in the "Sociology

¹³⁹ California Death Index, 1940-1997; U.S. Census, 1920.

¹⁴⁰ Cook County, Illinois, Marriages Index, 1871-1920; U. S. Census, 1910. William McCormick also remarried, in 1906.

¹⁴¹ U.S. Census, 1910; *City Directory of Pomona..., 1911* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles City Directory Co, 1911), 114-115.

¹⁴² U. S. Census, 1920; "Obituary," *Redondo Breeze*, January 7, 1921.

¹⁴³ California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1920.

¹⁴⁴ "Get Library Appointments," *Redondo Breeze*, May 21, 1920.

Department."¹⁴⁵ Houze's tenure at the LAPL was short, however, as in the first days of January 1921 her mother died, the result of peritonitis.¹⁴⁶ Her mother's death no doubt called Houze home to Redondo, where she worked as a regular substitute at the Redondo library through 1922.¹⁴⁷ No further information regarding Gertruda has been located.

"No Chance for Carnegie Library": The Redondo Beach Library in 1920

Despite the closure of the library for seventy-two days on "account of Influenza,"¹⁴⁸ Clegg reported the year 1918-1919 as "the busiest year in the history of the library," and by 1920 she was again campaigning for a library building. The "physical situation," she complained in her report to the library Board of Trustees was overcrowded and difficult, and she went on to paint two colorful pictures of the future. The first scenario, she wrote, was "one in which our kind and faithful patrons are running round Robin Hood's barn to avoid collisions among the stacks and side-stepping to keep from falling over piles of books stacked on the floor." The second picture she presented was one of "a comfortable, well-constructed library home, centrally located, with ample space for shelving books, and with spacious and attractive reading rooms, both for adults and juvenile patrons."¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁵ Los Angeles Public Library, *Thirty-Second Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Los Angeles Public Library, 1919-1920* (Los Angeles: n.p., 1920), 9.

¹⁴⁶ "Mrs. Houze Dies Suddenly," *Redondo Reflex*, January 7, 1921; "Obituary," *Redondo Breeze*, January 7, 1921.

¹⁴⁷ "Annual Library Report Shows Need of Building," *Redondo Breeze*, July 8, 1921; "Around About Town," *Redondo Breeze*, August 4, 1922.

¹⁴⁸ California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1919.

¹⁴⁹ "Report of Librarian," *Redondo Reflex*, July 23, 1920.

In February 1920 the library's trustees submitted plans and drawings to the city's trustees for the addition of a wing to the City Hall to be constructed between the existing structure and the fire hall. In their presentation to the city Board of Trustees the library's trustees suggested that an addition, rather than a separate building, could be funded from the general funds, "thus saving for the time being the necessity of a bond issue for such purpose."¹⁵⁰ As usual, a subcommittee of the Board of Trustees was formed to investigate the question,¹⁵¹ which at the next meeting of the Board of Trustees two weeks later recommended referring the entire matter back to the library board,¹⁵² with instructions to "communicate with the Carnegie Institute Fund and find out what could be done in the matter."¹⁵³

Numerous other libraries in the region had been built using Carnegie money. In San Diego in 1899 Lydia Horton, wife of library patron Alonzo Horton, secretary of the library's Board of Trustees, and president of the city's prestigious Wednesday Club, solicited Andrew Carnegie for funds for the construction of a library building.¹⁵⁴ Carnegie responded with a grant of a grant of \$50,000 "to erect a suitable library building,"¹⁵⁵ which opened to the public in 1902, the first Carnegie library in

¹⁵⁰ "Present Plans for Addition to Library," *Redondo Breeze*, February 6, 1920.

¹⁵¹ Minutes, February 2, 1920.

¹⁵² Minutes, February 16, 1920

¹⁵³ "Library Forging Ahead," *Redondo Reflex*, February 27, 1920.

¹⁵⁴ Elizabeth C. MacPhail, "Lydia Knapp Horton: a 'Liberated' Woman in Early San Diego" *The Journal of San Diego History* 27, no. 1 (Winter 1981), <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/journal/81winter/knapp.htm>.

¹⁵⁵ William E. Smythe, "Part Six, Chapter V: The Public Library," in *History of San Diego, 1542-1908* (San Diego: San Diego History Co., 1908), 610-15, <http://www.sandiegohistory.org/books/smythe/6-5.htm>.

California.¹⁵⁶ The Pomona Public Library received a grant in 1901 and opened its new building in 1903.¹⁵⁷ Santa Monica applied for its Carnegie grant in 1903 and opened the new library building in 1904.¹⁵⁸ San Pedro applied for and received money in 1905, opening in 1906.¹⁵⁹ Even Long Beach, which first applied for funds in 1902 but was not able to reach an agreement with the Carnegie organization until 1908, opened a Carnegie library in 1909.¹⁶⁰

But Redondo Beach was too late to the party, for the last Carnegie library grant in California was given to the Orosi branch of the Tulare County library system in 1917.¹⁶¹ By the time Clegg was finally given permission to apply for funds in 1920 the great library philanthropist was dead, and had been for some months.¹⁶² More importantly, the Carnegie Corporation, under the leadership of James Bertram, Carnegie's personal secretary, had already commissioned Charles C. Williamson to conduct a study of all the professional library schools in the country, signaling what would become the fund's new focus on library education, rather than construction. Thus in March 1920 the Redondo

¹⁵⁶ Lucy Kortum, "About this Project: The Carnegie Libraries of California," *Carnegie Libraries of California*, 1999, <http://www.carnegie-libraries.org/>.

¹⁵⁷ Pomona Public Library, "The Pomona Public Library: A Centennial Chronology," *Pomona Public Library*, <http://www1.youseemore.com/pomona/about.asp?p=28>.

¹⁵⁸ Santa Monica Public Library, "History of the Santa Monica Public Library," *Santa Monica Public Library*, http://smpl.org/Library_History.aspx.

¹⁵⁹ Lucy Kortum, "San Pedro," *Carnegie Libraries of California*, 2009, <http://www.carnegie-libraries.org/>.

¹⁶⁰ R. Winston Tucker, "One-Story Shack Housed Library," *Long Beach Independent*, February 7, 1961.

¹⁶¹ Kortum, "Orosi, Tulare County," *Carnegie Libraries of California*, 2009 <http://www.carnegie-libraries.org/>

¹⁶² Andrew Carnegie died August 11, 1919.

Beach library Board of Trustees received a letter informing it that "the Carnegie Institute has discontinued all donations to libraries owing to the conditions incident to the war." The request would be held in their file, and "would receive consideration as soon as a change took place."¹⁶³ In October that same year Bertram was rather more blunt, stating, "There has been no change in the library building situation . . . and I am quite unable to foretell any date for the resumption of library building activities."¹⁶⁴ Redondo Beach would not get a Carnegie library.

In Redondo Beach, with her efforts to get a library building once again at an impasse, and with the interest in her library methods class flagging, Clegg may have had one further reason to be distracted from all things library. Louis Molnar was back in town, and Lola A. Clegg, forty-eight years old and a confirmed spinster, was falling in love.

¹⁶³ Minutes, March 15, 1920; "Again Discusses Library Addition," *Redondo Breeze*, March 19, 1920.

¹⁶⁴ "No Chance for Carnegie Library," *Redondo Breeze*, October 1, 1920.

Chapter Six

Marian and Other Maids:

Librarianship and Women's Work in Redondo Beach, 1920- 1924

Redondo's "former mayor" returned from the war in June 1919. Born October 29, 1872, in Pennsylvania, Louis Molnar was the only surviving child of five born to Sarah Jane Webber and Hungarian immigrant George Molnar. Louis spent most of his youth in Colorado where, sometime between 1885 and 1889 and after about twenty years of marriage, his parents divorced.¹ A graduate of the State Teachers' College of Colorado,² Molnar taught school and then worked as a stenographer in Denver,³ before moving, with his mother, to Washington, D. C. where he worked as a clerk for the Navy.⁴ According to a biography printed in the *Reflex*, Molnar studied law at night while he was in Washington, graduating from the National University Law School.⁵ Returning to Denver after several years, he took up stenographic work once more, but by 1914 he moved to

¹ U.S. Census, 1900.

² *Redondo Reflex*, February 15, 1918.

³ *Ballenger & Richards Twenty-fifth Annual Denver City Directory for 1897* (Denver: Ballenger & Richards, 1897), 775 lists him as a teacher; *Ballenger & Richards Twenty-seventh Annual Denver City Directory for 1899* (Denver: Ballenger & Richards, 1899), 817, identifies him as a stenographer, as does the 1900 edition.

⁴ "Told in Departments," *The Washington Post*, August 9, 1908 reports him as being granted eleven days vacation leave from the "bureau of yards and docks," listed under the Navy Department. *Boyd's Directory of the District of Columbia, 1906* (Washington, D. C.: R. L. Polk & Co., 1906), 828. identifies him as "clk navy," living with his mother, Sarah J.

⁵ *Redondo Reflex*, February 15, 1918

California, where he set up a law practice in Los Angeles,⁶ and went into business with two partners in Redondo Beach, where they built and operated the Hygienic Ice Company.⁷

In March 1916 Molnar ran an aggressive campaign for election to the Redondo Beach Board of Trustees, advertising his years of service "with the United States government" and touting his letter of endorsement from George A. Carlson, a former friend from his student days at the Colorado State Teachers' College who just happened to be the current governor of that state.⁸ He was one of the top three vote-getters in the election, and after a gentlemen's round of nominations, he was unanimously elected the president of the board by his fellow trustees, becoming the official "mayor" of Redondo Beach on April 24, 1916.⁹ His tenure on the board was cut short however, by the entry of the United States into World War I. He volunteered, but at the age forty-five he was rejected for regular service. Not to be denied, he applied for and received a commission from the Adjutant General's Office, and so on February 15, 1918, both the *Reflex* and the *Breeze* reported his resignation from the Board of Trustees in anticipation of his

⁶ *Los Angeles City Directory, 1914, Including San Pedro and Wilmington* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles City Directory Company, 1914), 1646; *Los Angeles City Directory, 1915, Including San Pedro and Wilmington* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Directory Company, 1915), 1463.

⁷ City of Redondo Beach Board of Trustees Minutes, December 14 and December 28, 1914, City of Redondo Beach, Office of the City Clerk, [http://www.redondobeach.org/City Clerks Department/Minutes](http://www.redondobeach.org/City%20Clerks%20Department/Minutes), hereafter cited as "Minutes"; *Redondo Reflex*, January 1, 1915; *Resident and Business Directory, Redondo Beach and Hermosa-Manhattan Beaches, 1915-16* (Redondo Beach: C. H. Turner, 1916), 35.

⁸ *Redondo Reflex*, March 17, 1916; *Redondo Reflex*, March 31, 1916; *Redondo Reflex*, April 7, 1916.

⁹ Minutes, April 17, 1916; Minutes, April 24, 1916.

departure for France.¹⁰ In Europe he seems to have served primarily in a public relations role, supporting efforts by the Y.M.C. A. and the like, and sending back a steady stream of letters, essays really, which were published exclusively in the *Breeze*.¹¹

On his return to Redondo in 1919 he continued to practice law and write stories under the penname Deka Parsec.¹² The stories were eventually collected and published in book form with the title *Deka Parsec, Shell-Shocked Views of Life*.¹³ By 1923 Molnar was doing publicity work for the Redondo Beach Chamber of Commerce.¹⁴ It was during these years that Molnar and Clegg formed a relationship, about which not a single word appeared in the pages of the papers. Clegg, whose every vacation involved a trip to the mountains to camp and hike, and Molnar, who had a reputation as a prodigious walker,¹⁵ conducted their courtship out of the city, taking the bus out to Point Fermin in San Pedro and then walking back, a distance of about fifteen miles.

At the same time that Clegg may have been increasingly distracted from the library training course, the young women of Redondo Beach had growing reasons to be

¹⁰ Minutes, February 11, 1918; "Mayor Molnar Quits Board to Serve the Government," *Redondo Breeze*, February 15, 1918; *Redondo Reflex*, February 15, 1918; *Redondo Reflex* 22, 1918.

¹¹ "Receives Letter From L. Molnar," *Redondo Breeze*, May 10, 1918.

¹² "Former Mayor Returns," *Redondo Reflex*, June 29, 1919; "Helping to Build Rome," April 22, 1921, about Rome and the Coliseum; another article, this one on the Sistine Chapel appeared April 29, 1921.

¹³ "'Deka Parsec' in Book Form," *Redondo Breeze*, December 2, 1921; Louis Molnar, *Deka Parsec, Shell-shocked Views of Life* (Los Angeles: Grafton Publishing Corporation, 1921). The book is available in several different reprints, and can be purchased through Amazon.com or B&N.com.

¹⁴ "Personals," *Redondo Reflex*, August 31, 1923.

¹⁵ *Redondo Reflex*, February 22, 1918; "Well Known Pair Spring Surprise," *Redondo Reflex*, August 22, 1924.

less drawn to it. Prior to 1917, ten and possibly eleven (the fate of Jane Blair in Oregon is simply too vague to draw any conclusions) of the eighteen students of the library class went on to work for some period in a library. The availability of library work close to home during these years was a major factor in Clegg's success rate, as three of the women never worked beyond the doors of the Redondo Beach Public Library, and another three never ventured further from home than the county branch library in neighboring Hermosa Beach. Only one, Elsie Speece, took up work in the more distant San Diego, aided, no doubt by the fact that her family had recently lived there and that, as an only child and only daughter, her parents were willing to move with her when she got the job offer. After 1917 Clegg faced two obstacles in attracting potential career librarians to her program, first a lack of local library positions and second the opening of new and in many ways more attractive job opportunities for women in Redondo Beach.

"For Apprentice Help Given": The Last to Be Named, 1921-1923

In her annual report to the library's Board of Trustees for 1920-1921 Clegg thanked not only her "substitutes, Mrs. Fern Rhein and Miss Gertrude Houze" but also expressed appreciation for the "apprentice help given during the year by Miss Grace Winget, Miss Borkland and Miss Helen Moore."¹⁶ Clegg also acknowledged Winget in her annual report to the State Library, describing her as a "senior student of Redondo

¹⁶ "Annual Library Report Shows Need of Building," *Redondo Breeze*, July 8, 1921.

High School [who] received instruction after school hours and Saturdays."¹⁷ Grace Adele Winget was the fourth child of James and Minnie Winget. Born in Los Angeles on May 19, 1904,¹⁸ she was about eleven years old when her father died,¹⁹ and about sixteen when in September 1920 she "registered at the public library to take the library course, under the supervision of Miss Lola Clegg."²⁰ Graduating high school in June 1921,²¹ Grace apparently did not pursue library work. Instead the *Breeze* reported that in September 1921 she was "registered for the home economics course" in the "postgraduate class at the Union High school."²² Two years later, in 1923, she was enrolled as a freshman at UCLA, listed as a member of the "Kindergarten Club" in the school's yearbook,²³ and by 1926 she was working as a teacher in Los Angeles.²⁴ In the 1930 census Winget was recorded as the "head" of the household, a teacher in the public schools living with her widowed mother in Redondo Beach.²⁵ It must have been shortly thereafter that Winget married Guy Payne, who by 1940 was employed as the foreman of

¹⁷ California State Library, California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1921. *California Public Library Reports (1909-55)*, California Library Association Library History Committee Records, 1890-1966, Collection #873, Box 9, Reel 19, hereafter cited as "California Public Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, . . ."

¹⁸ U. S. Census, 1910.

¹⁹ *Los Angeles City Directory, 1913*, (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Directory Company, 1913), 2043 has a listing for Jas A. Winget, contr. Similarly the 1915 *Los Angeles City Directory, 1915* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Directory Company, 1915), 2149. However, the 1916 edition, lists "Minnie E. wid J. A.", *Los Angeles City Directory, 1916* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Directory Company, 1916), 2094.

²⁰ "To Take Library Course," *Redondo Breeze*, September 17, 1920.

²¹ Redondo Union High School, *The Pilot*, IV, 1924, 51.

²² "Personals," *Redondo Breeze*, September 23, 1921.

²³ *The Southern Campus, 1923*, (Los Angeles: Mac Printing Company, 1923), 252.

²⁴ California, Voter Registrations, 1900-1968; 1926, 1928, 1930.

²⁵ U.S. Census, 1930.

the engineering department for the City of Los Angeles. Winget continued to work as a teacher, even after the birth of her daughter, Patricia, in February 1932.²⁶ Grace Winget Payne died April 11, 1994, just a few weeks before her ninetieth birthday.²⁷

Born in Michigan on February 1, 1906, Winget's fellow apprentice, Helen Elizabeth Moore, was only about fifteen when she started at the Redondo Beach Public Library, one of the youngest students to work there. Roy Wilson Moore, nineteen, married Martha Sabrina Williams, seventeen, in 1904.²⁸ The Moores had four children, the youngest born in December 1909.²⁹ Roy was employed as a machinist in Michigan, but in Redondo Beach he tried his hand at photography, he and his wife owning the Eldridge Studio.³⁰ Evidently the business was not successful, as by 1920 Roy was again working as an electrician, now for the Edison Company.³¹

In July 1922, sixteen-year-old Helen Moore followed up her apprenticeship at the Redondo Beach library by enrolling in the "summer course in the public library school in Los Angeles."³² The course, presumably the one for the "junior attendants" given by the LAPL during July and August, would, according to the *Reflex*, make her "eligible to take

²⁶ U.S. Census, 1940; California Birth Index, 1905-1995.

²⁷ California Death Index, 1940-1997.

²⁸ U.S. Census, 1910.

²⁹ California Death Index, 1940-1997.

³⁰ U.S. Census, 1910; *Resident and Business Directory Redondo Beach and Hermosa-Manhattan Beaches, 1915-1916*, (Redondo Beach: C. H. Turner, 1915), 36. Mrs. R. W. Moore is listed as the proprietor of the Eldridge Studio, where her husband worked, 22.

³¹ U.S. Census, 1920.

³² "At Public Library," *Redondo Reflex*, July 7, 1922.

up library work in Los Angeles."³³ Whether Moore failed to pass the course, or was considered too young to be offered a position, she evidently did not get a job at the LAPL, instead graduating from the RUHS in the class of 1923.³⁴ What prompted Moore to try for a position in the LAPL is not known, but the decision may have been influenced by the divorce of her parents, which took place sometime between 1920 and 1930.³⁵ By 1930, however, Helen herself had married F. Sherman Hale, and had two children.³⁶ Hale was, like his father, a draftsman, mechanical engineer, and designer, while Helen busied herself in that favorite Redondo Beach employment, real estate sales.³⁷ She died November 11, 1999. She was ninety-three years old.³⁸

The reference to the third apprentice, "Miss Blorkland," is more difficult to track down, but may well be a misspelling of "Bjorklund." Charles Bjorklund, a blacksmith, immigrated from Sweden in 1883, while his future wife, Johanna (Hannah) Charlotta Anderson, immigrated in 1886.³⁹ They married in St. Paul Minnesota on September 3, 1887, and had moved to North Dakota by 1900.⁴⁰ In all the Bjorklunds had eight

³³ "At Public Library," *Redondo Reflex*, July 7, 1922.

³⁴ RUHS, *The Pilot*, IV, 1924, 52.

³⁵ U.S. Census, 1930. In 1930 Roy Moore, living with his widowed mother and a son, Lawrence, listed himself as "d," while Helen, living with another son, Clifford, listed herself as "m." By 1940, however, Roy had remarried. U. S. Census, 1940.

³⁶ "Sarah_Larson_tree" gives the exact date of the marriage as May 14, 1927. "Sarah_Larson_tree", *Ancestry.com*, <http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/1173441/person/-1980994982>.

³⁷ U.S. Census, 1940.

³⁸ "Helen Elizabeth Moore Hale," *Find A Grave*, <http://www.findagrave.com/cgi-bin/fg.cgi?page=gr&GSln=HALE&GSpartial=1&GSbyrel=all&GSst=6&GSctry=4&GSsr=641&GRid=25600984&>.

³⁹ U.S. Census, 1910.

⁴⁰ Minnesota, Marriages Index, 1849-1950; U.S. Census, 1900; 1910.

children, one of whom died, and four of whom came with their parents to Redondo Beach, where Charles worked as a blacksmith, his son Vider as a "timekeeper," daughter Helga as a nurse, and daughter Ruth as a public stenographer.⁴¹ The one child not working in early 1920 was twenty-year-old Myrtle. However, there is no independent evidence connecting Myrtle Bjorklund to the "Miss Blorkland" of Clegg's report. Bjorklund married Martin Claude Rogers, a barber, around 1927,⁴² and by 1930, they had moved, with their two daughters, to Turlock, California, where Martin worked as an oil driller.⁴³ Myrtle Florence Bjorklund Rogers died March 9, 1989, just a few weeks before her eighty-seventh birthday.⁴⁴

Although Clegg reported giving "instruction and practice" to eight more students between 1922 and 1924, Winget, Bjorklund and Moore were the last to be recognized by name in any of her official reports. Why Clegg stopped naming names after 1921 is not known. Perhaps with so few students going on to library work she felt there was little need to record who they were. In fact, of the five women identified as library students from this period based on newspaper reports, only two did go on, and one of those only briefly. In the meanwhile, Clegg made one, last, attempt to get a library building for Redondo Beach.

⁴¹ California, Voter Registrations, 1900-1968, 1920; *Redondo, Hermosa and Manhattan Beaches City Directory, 1921-1922*, (Redondo Beach: Kaasen Directory Company, 1921), 18.

⁴² U.S. Census, 1930. The highly detailed "Bjorklund and Schutt Family Tree" gives the exact date as April 25, 1923, but there is no documentation attached to the entry, "Bjorklund and Schutt Family Tree," *Ancestry.com*, <http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/16755024/person/422102342>.

⁴³ U.S. Census, 1930.

⁴⁴ California Death Index, 1940-1997.

"Library Bond Issue is Lost" and Won: 1922-1928

Having missed its chance for a Carnegie library, in early 1922 petitions were again being circulated calling for a bond election, this time for \$100,000--\$75,000 for construction of the building and \$25,000 "to be spent on location and furniture." Citizens were urged to sign the petition promptly so that the matter could be placed on the ballot for the upcoming April election.⁴⁵ The petition campaign "met with little or no opposition," and the question was placed on the ballot. But the optimism created by the successful petition campaign, which the *Reflex* interpreted as "indicating the fact that the people are more than anxious for a real library which will be a credit to Redondo Beach,"⁴⁶ was belied by the actual election results.

The headline in the *Redondo Reflex* said it all: "Library Bond Issue Is Lost by Small Number."⁴⁷ Passage of the bond required two-thirds of the total votes cast, in this case 702 of the total of 1053 votes. The final count was 612 for and 426 against the bond, a majority, but not the required two-thirds.⁴⁸ Once again the question of where the new library would be placed seemed to be at the heart of the defeat. In a post-election analysis, the *Reflex* offered the opinion that the failure may have been due to the fact that no site for the library had been chosen. The report noted that the library board and the city Board of Trustees had deliberately avoided that question, fearing "that the town

⁴⁵ "Petitions Are Out To Build Library Building Here," *Redondo Reflex*, February 10, 1922.

⁴⁶ "Election Called for New Library," *Redondo Reflex*, February 24, 1922.

⁴⁷ "Library Bond Issue Is Lost by Small Number," *Redondo Reflex*, April 14, 1922.

⁴⁸ Minutes, April 17, 1922.

would have been divided into sections, each section fighting or upholding the site, as the case might be." Now it turned out that "the psychological pull of the argument" for or against a particular location "was strong enough to influence the wary and incredulous to vote against the bond issue."⁴⁹

When the question was next submitted to the voters, the Board of Trustees had, apparently, learned the lesson. In March 1928, when an ordinance calling for a general election to vote on the issuance of a \$50,000 bond for the "acquisition, construction and completion of a library building including the necessary land upon which to construct such library building,"⁵⁰ was presented for its second reading to the city's Board of Trustees, real-estate broker and city mayor David B. London suggested that the choice of a library site should also be included on the ballot. After "some discussion" the board voted unanimously to have the city clerk "secure if possible, options on all sites submitted." The various options would also be presented as a separate question on the ballot "so that the will of the people might be known."⁵¹ A total of ten sites, eight privately owned and offered at prices ranging from a low of \$15,000 to a high of \$25,000, were placed on the ballot, along with two parks, Vincent Park and the Municipal Park, both owned by the city.

⁴⁹ "Library Bond Issue Is Lost by Small Number," *Redondo Reflex*, April 14, 1922.

⁵⁰ Minutes, February 27, 1928.

⁵¹ Minutes, March 5, 1928.

The vote for the library bond passed, with 1011 for and 565 against.⁵² What is interesting is that while 1576 votes were cast deciding the bond, 2672 votes were cast regarding where the library building should be placed. Perhaps even those voters who did not particularly care whether they were taxed for the purpose of financing a bond for the library wanted to get the most value for their dollar if they were. Certainly the fact that 1932 votes, 73 percent, were for one of the two city-owned parks speaks to a desire to have the money spent not on acquiring the land but on the actual construction of the building. In the end the Municipal Park, formerly the site of the famous Hotel Redondo, which had been demolished in 1925,⁵³ was the winner, with 1243 of the total votes, followed at a distant second by Vincent Park with 689 votes.⁵⁴ Construction began in 1929, following a plan from well-known Redondo Beach architect Lovell Bearse Pemberton, and was formally opened to the public July 2, 1930. The library remained at the park location for nearly six decades, forced to close July 5, 1991 due to seismic safety concerns. Four years later, in July 1995 it opened in its current site, a two-story structure, located once more adjacent to the City Hall.⁵⁵

⁵² *News Notes of California Libraries* 23, no. 3 (July, 1928): 238 quotes the Los Angeles *Journal of Commerce*, April 11, 1928, which reported a vote of "1385 affirmative and 608 negative votes." The figures here are from the Minutes of the Board of Trustees meeting at which the vote was recorded. It is worth noting that the figures from the *Journal* meet the necessary two-thirds burden, while those from the Minutes do not. Hereafter cited as "*News Notes*."

⁵³ "History of Redondo Beach," *City of Redondo Beach*, http://www.redondo.org/in_the_city/history/default.asp.

⁵⁴ Minutes, April 16, 1928.

⁵⁵ "The Redondo Beach Public Library," *City of Redondo Beach*, <http://www.redondo.org/depts/library/history.asp>.

"Six months instruction and practice given": The Final Students, 1922-1924

In October 1922 the *Reflex* published a "where are they now" article on the recently graduated RUHS class of 1922.⁵⁶ The class consisted of forty students, twenty-three girls and seventeen boys. The account of the girls' current status summarizes as well as anything could the opportunities now available to the middle-class girl of Redondo Beach, opportunities with which Clegg's library course had to compete. Of the twenty-three girls, only two were already married, and one had returned to Japan with her parents. Four were attending college, and two more were enrolled in the nursing program at the Methodist Hospital. Three of the girls were working in non-clerical positions, one in a millinery, one helping in the Grotto Cafe,⁵⁷ and one as a shopgirl at the Brunswick shop.⁵⁸ Eight of the girls, about one-third of the total, were working, five of them doing clerical work, including two working in local banks, two employed at the Edison Company, and one at the post office. And another six were taking business classes, including three in post-graduate studies at the RUHS, and two who specifically gave the well-known Sawyer Secretarial School in Los Angeles as their destination.

In fact, clerical work was becoming so popular that by September 1923 Redondo had its own business college. Advertised as "for the person who wishes to benefit himself intellectually," the school opened under the supervision of "Miss Lucretia

⁵⁶ "Whereabouts of Class of '22," *Redondo Reflex*, October 6, 1922.

⁵⁷ Interestingly, the Cafe was not owned by her parents.

⁵⁸ This was most likely the store owned by Fay C. Thomas, which sold pianos, player pianos, Victrola and Brunswick phonographs and was an agency for Singer sewing machines. *Redondo, Hermosa and Manhattan Beaches City Directory, 1921-1922* (Redondo Beach: Kaasen Directory Company, 1921), 5.

Rodell," who boasted "fifteen years experience." Classes were offered in "Gregg shorthand, typing, English, spelling penmanship, bookkeeping and arithmetic." There were two instructors, and, significantly, in addition to day classes the opening notice advised that "two evenings a week will be devoted to instruction for those who wish night work,"⁵⁹ a clear bid for those already employed and seeking to advance their skills.

In the same month, sixteen women gathered to discuss the formation of a women's business club.⁶⁰ Under the leadership of city treasurer and tax collector May B. Hopkins, the Business and Professional Women's Club of the South Bay District was organized. Open to any woman "actively engaged in business or professions," the entrance fee was \$2 with dues of \$3, to be paid semi-annually.⁶¹ It is somewhat amusing to note that their first speaker, Mrs. Mable Rockwell, had taken a course on "suppleness for women," and "gave an interesting talk and demonstration on the art of walking and sitting properly," after which a list of "reducing exercises were also given."⁶²

Girls of a certain status could also join the Women's Club "Junior Auxiliary," Redondo's own Junior League. To be eligible the girls had to have "finished the grammar school" and be "related to members of the Women's Club." Girls over sixteen up to twenty were admitted,⁶³ after which, presumably, they would move out of the "auxiliary" and into the ranks of the regular membership. At the same time, however, these were the

⁵⁹ "Business College for Redondo," *Redondo Reflex*, September 7, 1923.

⁶⁰ "New Club to Organize," *Redondo Reflex*, September 14, 1923.

⁶¹ "Business and Professional Women's Club," *Redondo Reflex*, October 12, 1923.

⁶² "B and P Women's Club," *Redondo Reflex*, October 19, 1923.

⁶³ *Redondo Reflex*, October 19, 1923.

girls being reported at work in the many clerical positions now open throughout the city. For example, in November 1921 seventeen-year-old Eula Halliburton, having finished a post-graduate course at the RUHS, took a position with the Reflex.⁶⁴ Barely two months later, however, twenty-three-year-old Ruth Umstead, one of the daughters of the Congregational minister the Reverend Owen Umstead, replaced Halliburton, who had moved on to the Edison Company.⁶⁵ Meanwhile Ruth's sister, twenty-year-old Marguerite Umstead, resigned from the First National Bank, "where she's worked for the past year, to marry in early spring."⁶⁶

And, finally, a true indication of the increasing independence of Redondo's women in the early 1920s, there was the automotive "trouble-shooting" class at the high school. Noting that "many women drivers feel helpless if anything goes wrong with the car or motor," the course was "designed to familiarize women with the mysteries of the motor and transmission and the mastery of troubles likely to arise in operating a car." Enrollment was two dollars, and the class was offered "at the evening school Monday and Wednesday evenings,"⁶⁷ again clearly a bid for the working woman. Whether going off to college, pursuing professional training, or directly entering the workforce, Clegg could no longer expect to attract the elite young women of the city as she had in 1913 and 1915.

⁶⁴ "Now With Reflex," *Redondo Reflex*, November 18, 1921.

⁶⁵ "New Reporter," *Redondo Reflex*, January 27, 1922.

⁶⁶ "Society," *Redondo Reflex*, January 27, 1922. By 1930 all three women were married.

⁶⁷ "Trouble Shooting," *Redondo Reflex*, September 28, 1923.

In her report to the California State Librarian for the year 1921-1922 Lola Clegg stated that instruction had been given to two students that year.⁶⁸ The two were almost certainly Ida Allen and Neva Eldridge. Ida H. (probably Hescoek, her mother's maiden name) Allen was born around 1904 in Ohio, the second of two children, both daughters, of John S. and Ida M. Allen.⁶⁹ Sometime between 1910 and 1920 Allen and her parents relocated to Redondo Beach, where her father worked as an engineer at the Union Tool Company in Torrance,⁷⁰ and later as the janitor at the high school.⁷¹ Ida graduated the RUHS in the class of 1921.⁷² The following February the *Breeze* reported that Allen, who had been working as a clerk at the Central school in the mornings while attending a post-graduate course at the high school in the afternoons, had "entered the library training course at the public library" as well. Instead of discontinuing her studies at the high school, the *Breeze* reported she had "merely changed her schedule."⁷³ But by May 1922 Allen's multitasking days were over, as it was reported she was "taking up switchboard work at the local telephone office."⁷⁴ Ida Allen's parents remained in Redondo Beach at least as late as 1940,⁷⁵ but no further information regarding Ida H. Allen has been found.

⁶⁸ California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1922.

⁶⁹ U. S. Census, 1910.

⁷⁰ U. S. Census, 1920.

⁷¹ *Redondo, Hermosa and Manhattan Beaches City Directory, 1925-1926*, (Redondo Beach: Kaasen Directory Co., 1925), 14.

⁷² RUHS, *The Pilot*, IV, 1924, 51.

⁷³ "Taking Library Course," *Redondo Breeze*, February 3, 1922.

⁷⁴ "Around About Town," *Redondo Breeze*, May 26, 1922.

⁷⁵ U. S. Census, 1930; 1940.

Allen's fellow student was probably Neva Eldridge who was reported to be "taking the public library course at the library" in March 1922. The article further noted that the course ran for six months, "requiring four hours a day application to the work," concluding, "A number of the High school students have taken the course."⁷⁶ Alva Eldridge, twenty-six, married Mable, seventeen, in about 1903. They had three children born in Michigan between 1907 and 1910, of which Neva, born on January 16, 1907, was the oldest.⁷⁷ In Michigan Neva's father gave his occupation as farmer,⁷⁸ but, like so many others, he remade himself in California, working in 1915 as the foreman for the Lightning Racer Company.⁷⁹ By 1920 the couple had three more children, all born in California, making Neva the oldest of five surviving siblings.⁸⁰ Eldridge was fifteen when she took the library course in 1922, and eighteen three years later when she married thirty-year-old Fred W. Gordon, a pumper with the oil company. The Gordons had twin sons, Frederick W. and Edmond W., born about two years after their marriage.⁸¹ They continued to live in Redondo Beach at least until 1940,⁸² but by 1948 they had moved to Santa Barbara,⁸³

⁷⁶ "Round About Town," *Redondo Breeze*, March 3, 1922.

⁷⁷ California Death Index, 1940-1997.

⁷⁸ U.S. Census, 1910.

⁷⁹ *Resident and Business Directory Redondo Beach and Hermosa-Manhattan Beaches, 1915-1916*, (Redondo Beach: C. H. Turner, 1915), 22; U.S. Census, 1920.

⁸⁰ U.S. Census, 1920.

⁸¹ U.S. Census, 1930.

⁸² U.S. Census, 1940.

⁸³ *Santa Barbara Directory Co.'s Santa Barbara City Directory, 1948*, (Santa Barbara, Santa Barbara Directory Co., 1948), 162.

where they remained until their deaths. Neva Eldridge Gordon died on May 28, 1996, at the age of eighty-nine.⁸⁴

In 1922-1923 Clegg reported that "instruction and practice in library" methods had been given to four students that year.⁸⁵ Again, based on newspaper reportage, these students likely included Grace McBride, possibly Doreen Riordan, and certainly Carlotta Hoye. Of the three, the least information available concerns McBride, a single, one-line reference in the *Breeze* to the effect that "Miss Grace McBride is taking the apprentice course at the public library during the summer months."⁸⁶ The phrasing suggests McBride was one of the high school girls who took the course while they were still in school. There is the possibility that this is Grace McBride, daughter of John J. and Ella McBride, who were listed in the Redondo Beach city directories from 1921 through 1927.⁸⁷ The McBrides came to Redondo Beach from Tacoma, Washington, where Grace was born in about 1907. In Washington Grace's father had worked as a blacksmith for the steam railroad,⁸⁸ but in Redondo Beach he worked as a machinist with the Edison Company. By 1930 Grace's parents and her younger brother were living in Los Angeles, where her father worked as a machinist for the tool company and her mother listed her

⁸⁴ California Death Index, 1940-1997.

⁸⁵ California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1923.

⁸⁶ "Around About Town," *Redondo Breeze*, July 28, 1922.

⁸⁷ *Redondo, Hermosa and Manhattan Beaches City Directory, 1921-1922* (Redondo Beach: Kaasen Directory Co., 1921), 49; *Redondo, Hermosa and Manhattan Beaches City Directory, 1925-1926*, (Los Angeles: Kaasen Directory Co., 1925), 66; *Kaasen's Redondo, Hermosa and Manhattan Beaches City Directory, 1927* (Los Angeles: Kaasen Directory Co., 1927), 74.

⁸⁸ U.S. Census, 1920.

occupation as landlady of an apartment building.⁸⁹ By 1940 Grace's father had died.⁹⁰ Unfortunately, nothing further can be discovered concerning Grace McBride.

Although her name was never mentioned in the newspapers, it appears that Doreen E. Riordan was also an apprentice at this time. Riordan joined the library workforce doing "substitute and all Sunday work" in 1923-1924,⁹¹ and since all of the other staff went through Clegg's training class, it seems reasonable to believe Riordan did as well. Born in Pretoria, South Africa, on October 6, 1907, Doreen immigrated with her parents in 1912, coming to Los Angeles, where her father had a job waiting for him as an accountant with the "oil co."⁹² Just how Riordan came to be in Redondo Beach is an interesting question, as she was the only one of Clegg's students with no apparent connections in the city. Her tenure at the library was brief, as when in May 1924, at the age of eighteen, she submitted her "Declaration of Intention" to become a United States citizen, she was living at 414 Pearl Street in Redondo and gave her occupation as "college student."⁹³ Riordan did, indeed, attend college, getting her B. A. in history from UCLA,⁹⁴ the 1929 yearbook noting she was a transfer student from California Christian

⁸⁹ California Birth Index, 1905-1995.

⁹⁰ U.S. Census, 1930; 1940.

⁹¹ California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1924.

⁹² New York Passenger Lists, 1829-1957; U. S. Census, 1920.

⁹³ U.S. Naturalization Records, Declaration of Intention, dated May 24, 1926.

⁹⁴ Associated Students of the University of California at Los Angeles, *The Southern Campus of Nineteen Twenty-Nine*. (Los Angeles: J. Brewer Avery and Ray K. Candee, 1929) n. p.

College, a precursor to what is now Chapman University.⁹⁵ Riordan's Certificate of Naturalization was issued in Los Angeles on September 27, 1929,⁹⁶ and by April 1930, at twenty-two years of age, she was living in Los Angeles and teaching high school.⁹⁷ By the close of 1930, however, Doreen Riordan married Chester Adron Brown, a second marriage for the electrician, who worked for the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power.⁹⁸ Doreen Riordan Brown died October 14, 1959, just a week past her fifty-second birthday.⁹⁹

Carlotta Hoye is the last-known student of the six months course in library methods given at the Redondo Beach Public Library. Born in the Philippines but raised in California, Hoye came to Redondo Beach directly after her high school graduation, and specifically on the recommendation from her high school librarian that she "get her first training in the local library" in Redondo, and so she entered a "three months' intensive course" there in October 1922.¹⁰⁰ Her parents, Hallie G. Savage and Charles

⁹⁵The Hesperia College was founded in Woodland, California by the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ) and started offering classes to both sexes and all races in March of 1861. In 1920 the college was absorbed by the California Christian College, which gave classes in Los Angeles. In 1934 the school received a substantial endowment from the chairman of its board of trustees, orange-grower Charles Clarke Chapman, and changed its name in his honor. "Chapman Facts & History," *Chapman University*, <http://www.chapman.edu/discover/facts-history/index.aspx>. Wikipedia states that C.C. Chapman was a "relative" of John Chapman, the legendary "Johnny Appleseed." "Charles Chapman (mayor)," *Wikipedia*, January 21, 2013, [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_Chapman_\(mayor\)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_Chapman_(mayor))

⁹⁶ U. S. Naturalization Records, Petition for Naturalization, dated June 25, 1929.

⁹⁷ U. S. Census, 1930.

⁹⁸ U. S. Census, 1940.

⁹⁹ "Compton Family Tree," *Ancestry.com*, <http://trees.ancestry.com/tree/1134296/person/-1218124099>.

¹⁰⁰ "News for Home Lovers," *Redondo Reflex*, October 6, 1922.

Edward Hoye, were from neighboring families in the very small town of Sang Run, Maryland.¹⁰¹ Charles enlisted in the army in July 1899 and served in the Philippines during the Philippine-American War, after which he joined the Bureau of Education there.¹⁰² He returned to Sang Run in 1902, staying long enough to marry Hallie,¹⁰³ the couple returning to the Philippines, where Charles was a teacher and then superintendent of the government schools. Carlotta Hoye was born in the Philippines on November 12, 1903,¹⁰⁴ and her brother William Rodney Hoye on June 2, 1908.¹⁰⁵ However, sometime after William's birth Hallie and her children returned to the mainland, where they lived in Santa Monica with three of Hallie's siblings, and where, on April 7, 1910, the last of the Hoyes' children, Edward Buel Hoye, was born.¹⁰⁶ Directories for the city of Santa Monica place Hallie there as late as 1918, but by 1920 Hallie Hoye disappears from the record, and Carlotta and her two brothers were living in Santa Monica with their paternal grandmother.¹⁰⁷ Interestingly, Hoye's father did not return from the Philippines until

¹⁰¹ U. S. Census, 1800; 1900.

¹⁰² U.S. Headstone Applications for Military Veterans, 1925-1963, which indicates he also served during World War I, enlisting on November 20, 1918, but being discharged only a month later, on December 19, 1918; "Visiting Home of Descendants," *Daily Mail*, Hagerstown, Maryland, August 28, 1930.

¹⁰³ According to several family trees, Charles Edward Hoye married Hallie G. Savage on June 7, 1902, but there is no documentation for the statement. Hallie did state she had been married for eight years in the 1910 census, putting her marriage in about 1902.

¹⁰⁴ California Death Index, 1940-1995.

¹⁰⁵ U. S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925.

¹⁰⁶ California Birth Index, 1905-1995; U.S. Census, 1910.

¹⁰⁷ U.S. Census, 1920.

1927, by which time he had married Luella K. Mason,¹⁰⁸ another teacher, who had come to the Philippines around August 1922.¹⁰⁹

In reporting on Carlotta Hoye's arrival in Redondo Beach to take up the library course, the *Reflex* enthused, "She is believed to possess all the qualifications that go to making up a successful librarian."¹¹⁰ But, with no openings at the Redondo or Hermosa Beach libraries, Hoye evidently took a job at the Sawtelle "sub-branch" of the LAPL after finishing her training in Redondo. In 1924, however, with the resignation of Clegg and the advancement of Catey and Burney, Hoye returned to the beach city to become the new second assistant librarian at the Redondo Beach Public Library.¹¹¹ Although her title was changed in 1931 from "second assistant librarian" to "senior attendant,"¹¹² she remained as the third most senior staff member at least until 1933,¹¹³ when she apparently

¹⁰⁸ "Obituary, Charles E. Hoye," *Los Angeles Times*, November 24, 1951.

¹⁰⁹ U.S. Passport Applications, 1795-1925.

¹¹⁰ "New System Put Into Use at the Public Library," *Redondo Reflex*, October 13, 1922.

¹¹¹ *News Notes* 19, no. 4 (October 1924): 365; California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library for the year ending June 30, 1925.

¹¹² California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1931.

¹¹³ California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, covering the period from June 30, 1933 to September 18, 1933; California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1939.

moved back to Los Angeles, where she was still working as a librarian in 1944.¹¹⁴ She died in Hermosa Beach April 26, 1988 at the age of eighty-four.¹¹⁵

In April 1918 Miriam Burney was hired as the second assistant librarian at the Redondo Beach Public Library, working five hours a day. Clegg now had a full a staff, and the library did not hire again until 1924, when Doreen Riordan was taken on to do "substitute and all Sunday work."¹¹⁶ Just a few months later, in November 1918 Evelyn Morris took over at the Hermosa Beach library where she would remain until 1923. With the only two local libraries in effect closed to further hiring, Clegg was unable to offer the prospect of local work to her students. At the same time, the prospects outside of librarianship were expanding.

Whereas librarianship required at least six months, and often more, of unpaid training and apprentice work, clerical work required no training at all. Moreover, with companies like the Water Company and the Edison Company almost always in need of new clerical workers to fill the places of those who left for marriage, there was no need to contemplate leaving home and hearth to seek employment. As a consequence, Clegg's course attracted not only fewer students, but more high school girls who appear to have taken on the work more as an amusement for their summer or after-school hours than as

¹¹⁴ California, Voter Registrations, 1900-1968; 1936, 1938, 1940, 1944; *Los Angeles City Directory Co's Los Angeles City Directory, 1938* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles City Directory Co., 1938), 506 also 1940, 1942; U.S. Census, 1940.

¹¹⁵ California Death Index, 1940-1997; Social Security Death Index gives her last known residence as Hermosa Beach.

¹¹⁶ California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1924.

serious job training. After 1917 Clegg trained fifteen students (and perhaps a few more who have yet to be identified), nine of whom were under the age of nineteen. Tellingly, only four of the fifteen went on to work in libraries, and all of those were nineteen or older. Of that group, one spent her entire career at the Hermosa Beach library, replacing Morris in 1923. Only one of the four, Rachel Thayer, appears to have taken work outside of the immediate area, and she, like Speece, was an only child and only daughter whose parents relocated with her when she was offered a position in Long Beach.

In the end only two broad conclusions can be made about the thirty-three students of the Redondo Beach library methods class. First is that age counted. Students under the age of nineteen did not go on to work in libraries, although students over the age of nineteen were as likely to continue into library work as they were not. After age nineteen the primary determinates seemed to be individual preference, as some of the women clearly simply did not find the work attractive, and the availability of work in the local area. Only two of the students appear not to have worked after school and before marriage at all, and the evidence provided by the biographies of the students, their siblings, and friends is that work of some variety was the norm and not the exception among unmarried middle-class women.

"Miss Clegg resigned": The Librarians of the Redondo Beach Public Library, 1924-1955

In an interesting turn of events, Hoye "received her preliminary training" at the library of the Santa Monica City High School, under the direction of its librarian, Mary L.

McKinley, the former head of the Redondo Beach Public Library.¹¹⁷ Thus it seems appropriate to end the history of the training class at the Redondo Beach Public Library by finishing the stories of the two women who gave the classes, McKinley and Clegg, and the two students, Catey and Burney, who headed the Redondo library for the three decades following Clegg's resignation.

Mary L. McKinley

After her departure from Redondo Beach in June 1911, McKinley evidently took a break from library work which lasted until the end of 1913. During this time McKinley lived with her parents, but a listing for her in the Pomona directory does not include any indication that she held a job.¹¹⁸ Indeed, McKinley took a five months trip "through the east, Washington D. C. and Panama," from January through May of 1913,¹¹⁹ which was followed by an extended series of visits between her and her Redondo Beach friend, Mary Story Gulliver.¹²⁰ Then, sometime between September 30, 1913 and January 24, 1914, Mary L. McKinley moved to Madera, California, about 270 miles north in California's Central Valley, to take a job as the "temporary assistant librarian," working under Maude L. Mast, recently of the Pomona Public Library.

According to her entry in the 1939 *Who's Who of Kern County*, Mast "began library work in the Pomona Public Library while still in high school," took the first

¹¹⁷ "Around About Town," *Redondo Breeze*, November 24, 1922.

¹¹⁸ *Doyle's Valley Directory, 1912-13* (Pomona: T. M. Doyle, 1912), 149.

¹¹⁹ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, May 30, 1913.

¹²⁰ Based on reports in the *Redondo Breeze* and the *Redondo Reflex*, McKinley and Story appear to have spent most of the time between the beginning of June and the end of September, 1913, in each other's company.

summer library course at Berkeley in 1907, and then remained working in Pomona until 1913, when she moved to the Central Valley to work as the assistant librarian and cataloguer at the Kings County Library. She was there only briefly before moving on to become the librarian of the Madera County Public Library.¹²¹ Whether Mast sent for McKinley or McKinley asked a position of her is not clear, but on January 1, 1914 McKinley was given a full-time appointment as the first assistant librarian and cataloger in the Madera County Free Public Library.¹²² McKinley stayed in Madera for about two and a half years, during which time she took further professional training, being "granted a leave of absence to attend the Summer School in Library Methods at the University of California," Berkeley in July 1915.¹²³ Then in the fall of 1916 McKinley returned to southern California, taking the position of librarian at the Santa Monica City High School.

Established in 1901, McKinley appears to have been the school's first full-time, non-teacher librarian. The school had about 440 pupils, and the library received fifty magazines, one newspaper, and had a collection of about 4000 volumes when McKinley took charge.¹²⁴ By 1921 work had expanded sufficiently that Florence H. Macloskey of the LAPL was brought on as assistant librarian.¹²⁵ In 1925 Macloskey accepted a position as the librarian of the new Lincoln Junior High School Library, and her place

¹²¹ *Who's Who in Kern County, 1939* (Bakersfield: Wilson & Peterson, 1940).

¹²² *News Notes* 9, no. 2 (April 1914): 305.

¹²³ *News Notes* 10, no. 3 (July 1915): 606.

¹²⁴ *News Notes* 11, no. 4 (October 1916): 1001.

¹²⁵ *News Notes* 16, no. 2 (April 1921): 144, 147.

was taken by Kathleen Hacker of the Taft Union High School Library.¹²⁶ But, in October 1926, the report to the California State Librarian from the Santa Monica City High School Library was submitted by "Miss Jean Ross."¹²⁷ Mary L. McKinley's father died between 1926 and 1928,¹²⁸ and it is possible McKinley, once again, left library work in response to a family crisis. However, although her mother continued to live in Pomona until about 1931, and then took up residence in Huntington Beach, dying there in 1946,¹²⁹ there is no evidence that McKinley ever resumed residence with her mother, and no further information concerning her has been discovered.

Lola A. Clegg

On August 22, 1924, the *Reflex* reported the "surprise" wedding of the "former mayor" Louis Molnar, who was now employed as the "acting secretary of the Chamber of Commerce," to "Miss Lola Clegg for fifteen years librarian of the city of Redondo Beach." The ceremony took place on August 18 in Riverside and was followed by a wedding dinner at the famous Mission Inn. Only Clegg's brother, Fred, and one of her cousins were present as witnesses. The Molnars remained in Redondo,¹³⁰ where Louis

¹²⁶ *News Notes* 20, no. 1 (January 1925): 20.

¹²⁷ *News Notes* 21, no. 4 (October 1926): 409.

¹²⁸ U.S. Census, 1920; 1930. Thomas McKinley is listed, with his wife Nancy, in the 1926 Pomona directory. *Pomona, . . . Directory, 1926* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Directory Company, 1926), 164. But in the 1928 edition the listing is for "Nancy J (wid Thos)." *Pomona, . . . 1928* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Directory Company, 1928), 151.

¹²⁹ U.S. Census, 1940; California Death Index 1944-1997. She is last listed in the Pomona directory in 1931. *Los Angeles Directory Co's Pomona (California) City Directory, 1931* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Directory Co., 1931), 161.

¹³⁰ California, Voter Registrations, 1900-1968; 1928 through 1954.

continued to write and engage in "publicity work" on behalf of the city,¹³¹ at one time even working as the editor of the *Reflex*,¹³² and in 1940 traveling to Washington, D.C. on behalf of the city's Chamber of Commerce.¹³³ Lola A. Clegg died November 23, 1965, at the age of ninety-two.¹³⁴

Emma E. Catey

Clegg had of, course, already submitted her resignation when she left for Riverside, and in due course Emma E. Catey, forty-seven years old with fourteen years of service in the library, was appointed as head of the Redondo Beach Public Library.¹³⁵ Catey enjoyed the good fortune of being in charge when the city, in 1928, finally passed a bond for a library building. Unfortunately, she enjoyed the misfortune of being in charge when the library became a casualty of the Great Depression.

The Depression hit all of the libraries in southern California hard. In 1931 the Los Angeles County Library System struggled to absorb a \$25,000 reduction in the next year's budget, most of the money to come from the book fund.¹³⁶ At the LAPL similar cuts were made, a 25 percent reduction in 1932 followed by a 19 percent reduction in 1933. Salaries as well as time were reduced, requiring the main library to close an hour earlier in the evening, and branches to remain closed on Saturday afternoons and all

¹³¹ There is a detective novel, *Death Over Hollywood* by Charles Saxby and Louis Molnar, (E. P. Dutton & Sons, Inc., 1937), which may be the same Louis Molnar.

¹³² U.S. Census, 1930.

¹³³ U.S. Census, 1940.

¹³⁴ California, Death Index, 1940-1997.

¹³⁵ California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1925.

¹³⁶ *News Notes* 26, no. 4 (October 1931): 417.

evenings.¹³⁷ The LAPL also closed its library school in 1932, citing economy as "the first and foremost reason for the decision."¹³⁸

In Redondo Beach beginning September 1, 1931, the library was closed on Sundays. The services of a janitor for the library's new Villa Branch were discontinued, and, in an effort to keep the library open in the evenings, "the bills for light have been deducted from the salaries of the librarian [Catey], the assistant librarian, [Miriam N. Burney] and the senior attendant [Carlotta Hoye]."¹³⁹ Catey's reports to the State Librarian chronicled the continuing struggle to keep the library open, with reductions in hours, and then days of service, so that Catey reported, "Beginning with June 13, 1933 the library has been open on Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday from 1 P.M. to 8 P.M. The janitor work is done by the library staff both at the main library and the Branch."¹⁴⁰

All the belt-tightening and penny-pinching was to no avail, however. The library's Board of Trustees opened discussions with Helen E. Vogleson, who had succeeded the retiring Celia Gleason as head of the Los Angeles County Public Library System in September 1924.¹⁴¹ After receiving "assurance that this change would prove beneficial to the citizens of Redondo Beach" the library's board unanimously voted to

¹³⁷ *News Notes* 27, no. 3 (July 1932): 256-57.

¹³⁸ *News Notes* 27, no. 2 (April 1932): 140.

¹³⁹ *News Notes* 27, no. 4 (October 1932): 439; California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1932.

¹⁴⁰ California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the year ending June 30, 1933.

¹⁴¹ *News Notes* 19, no. 3 (July 1924): 204 reports the resignation of Gleason; 19, no. 4 (October 1924): 352 reports the appointment of Vogleson "after certification by the Civil Service Commission as a result of the examination held September 4, 1924."

recommend to the city Board of Trustees that "the public library be made part of the county library system."¹⁴² The city negotiated a contract with the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors,¹⁴³ and on September 18, 1933 "the County Library took over the supervision of the Redondo Beach Public Library."¹⁴⁴ Catey continued on as the head of the library until her death in 1937, at which time a furor erupted over the appointment of the next head librarian.

Miriam N. Burney

The issue seemed to revolve around local control over employment at the library, and specifically who should be appointed as the new head of the library. In mid-February 1937 the Redondo Beach City Council sent a letter to Vogleson, "stating that it is the recommendation of the City Council that Mrs. Miriam N. Burney be appointed Librarian of the Redondo Beach Library, and requesting that Miss Vogleson attend a meeting of the Library Board" to be held the following week. At the same time, the Council addressed a letter to its own library board, "stating that it is the suggestion of the City Council that seniority govern in the selection of librarians." As an aside during the discussion of the letters, one of the council members "called attention to the fact that when the employees of the Library were given an increase in salary their hours were also increased, and stated he believed it should be suggested to the Library Board that consideration be given to

¹⁴² Minutes, August 28, 1933.

¹⁴³ Minutes, September 11, 1933.

¹⁴⁴ California Public Library Reports, Redondo Beach Public Library, for the period July 1 ending September 18, 1933.

increasing the salaries of the librarians."¹⁴⁵ The problem, of course, was that the Redondo Beach library trustees were no longer in independent control of their library, particularly in reference to salaries and appointments, which now fell under the purview of the county library system. Vogleson evidently bowed to pressure, as she wrote a letter to the City Council on March 5, 1937, in which she stated that "following a conference with representatives of the City Council and the library trustees, all of whom favored the appointment of Mrs. Burney as Librarian, she [Vogleson] was reporting her [Burney's] appointment to the Los Angeles Civil Service Commission."¹⁴⁶

Evidently the City Council was not sufficiently satisfied, as on April 19 the city clerk, by an unanimous vote, was "authorized and instructed to address a communication to the Board of Supervisors advising that the City of Redondo Beach does not wish to renew the contract with the County of Los Angeles for library service for the period beginning July 1, 1937."¹⁴⁷ Vogleson requested a written letter ending the contract, and "following a discussion" the clerk was again "authorized and instructed" to send a letter to the Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors "to the effect that the County Public Library of Los Angeles has successfully tided the Redondo Beach City Library through a difficult period of financial strain."¹⁴⁸ As late as June 1937, with the return of the library to local control just weeks away,¹⁴⁹ the City Council was still sending "requests" to

¹⁴⁵ Minutes, February 15, 1937. By this time the designation "Board of Trustees" had been changed to "City Council," as reflected by usage in the Minutes.

¹⁴⁶ Minutes, March 6, 1937.

¹⁴⁷ Minutes, April 19, 1937.

¹⁴⁸ Minutes, May 3, 1937.

¹⁴⁹ The library did not formally return to city control until July 1, 1937.

Volgeson regarding staffing and compensation, specifically requesting "that if possible she employ as Relief Librarians persons now employed by the Library, thereby giving them additional hours, and that she also be requested not to employ anyone who does not reside in the City of Redondo Beach."¹⁵⁰ Had Vogleson attempted to do the unthinkable, and put professional qualifications over community ties? We cannot be sure, but the evidence seems to point in that direction. Miriman N. Burney retired from the library in 1955 at about seventy years of age. She had spent nearly four decades in librarianship, all of them at the Redondo Beach Public Library.

Excepting a few "seminars" offered by the LAPL, neither Catey nor Burney had taken any professional training outside of that which they received from McKinley and Clegg. Yet, even after fourteen years under the leadership of the "trained librarians" McKinley and Clegg, it took another thirty years after Clegg's resignation to choose a professional librarian over "some local girl" to head the library. In 1955 J. W. Perkins was selected to succeed the retiring Burney. Perkins held "a bachelor of arts, master of arts and bachelor of library science degrees." Previously a librarian with the Air Force, Perkins had been a "cultural officer with the Department of State in Naples, Italy," serving as director of the American library there. In addition, Perkins had spent five years on the staff of the library of the University of California, Berkeley.¹⁵¹ In short, Perkins was everything that the Redondo Beach Public Library students were not and

¹⁵⁰ Minutes, June 2, 1937.

¹⁵¹ Newspaper clipping, unidentified source, with hand-written date "12/7/55," City of Redondo Beach, Archives, Box 13, Folder "Library Communications re: personnel," Office of the City Clerk. J.W. Perkins was John W. Perkins.

never would be--a graduate of a university library school, a library professional with extensive experience, and, need it be said, a male.

Chapter Seven

The Sadder but Wiser Girl:

Charles C. Williamson Reimagines Marian

It is entirely coincidental, but curiously appropriate, that Lola A. Clegg, after fifteen years in librarianship, resigned to marry just a year after the publication of the famous, or perhaps more appropriately in library circles, infamous, Williamson Report. Probably more than any single individual since Dewey himself, Dr. Charles C. Williamson has shaped library education and the image of librarianship in the United States.

Done as a commission for the Carnegie Corporation in 1920-1921, Williamson, then the head of the Division of Economics and Sociology at the New York Public Library, conducted a study of library education as it then existed. Williamson visited fifteen library schools in the United States. All but two--the newly established undergraduate department at the University of California, Berkeley and the Riverside Library Service School--were considered "approved or accredited," meaning they had been admitted to membership by the American Association of Library Schools. His visits encompassed a careful review of the schools' curriculum, faculty, and students. That Williamson characterized the schools as "the so-called professional schools,"¹ probably signaled as well as anything could what the basic tenor of his report would be. Lacking

¹ Charles C. Williamson, *Training for Library Service* (New York: D. B. Updike, 1923), vii.

only Dewey's missionary zeal, Williamson covered the same ground as Dewey--the education and background required, the type of training to be received, the nature of the service to be given--with one, significant, difference. While Dewey was recruiting "college-bred women," Williamson was, aggressively, recruiting, or at least preparing the ground to recruit, university men.

Williamson's primary goal was to determine the causes and then suggest solutions to the problems that were understood to be plaguing the development of the library profession: inadequate training, low salaries, and the lower status of the librarian in American society. Since all of these issues were inextricably linked, Williamson ultimately determined that the only means of addressing them was to change the very nature of the librarian, from female to male. In his report, Williamson described a series of vicious, interlocking circles, a sort of Venn diagram at the center of which lay his ideal librarian: a WASP male, solidly middle- or upper-middle class in background, a college graduate sufficiently interested in academics to have read and studied widely, but perhaps lacking in the sort of ambition which would lead to deep, scholarly research or entry into one of the recognized professions. Williamson, like Dewey, distinguished between library work and professional librarianship. But, where Dewey was content, even anxious, to train female technicians in the fundamentals of library work, Williamson eschewed technical training, focusing his sights on the much smaller, less-in-demand world of the "professional" librarian, responsible not for the routine, manual work, but for the creative, imaginative work of leading and managing the institution.

The difference between Dewey's division of the work between technicians and librarians and Williamson's between "sub-professionals," as he termed them, and librarians was only a matter of a few degrees of separation. Williamson set the professional librarian on the same pedestal as had Dewey. Almost quoting Dewey, Williamson declared that the librarian "should be the intellectual peer of the high school principal, the superintendent of schools, the minister, the editor, and all other educated persons upon whom the community depends for leadership."² According to Williamson, the failure of the early model of library education with its stress on training skilled assistants was that it gave "manual labor of a purely clerical and routine nature the dignity and importance of professional work."³ To remedy this Williamson had to change the library schools, the students, and, ultimately, librarianship itself.

"Two distinct types": Library Work and Training

Like Dewey, Williamson's plan was to create a two-tiered hierarchy of library work, the "manual labor of a purely clerical and routine nature," which could, in his estimation, be "performed just as well (perhaps better) by a young woman with a high school education and a little appropriate instruction and experience,"⁴ and the management and administrative work, which would require the creativity and problem-solving skills of the college-graduated, professionally-trained librarian. Training for the "clerical or sub-professional workers," as Williamson labeled them, would include

² Ibid, 5.

³ Ibid, 4.

⁴ Ibid, 4

instruction "in cataloguing, in classification, in all kinds of record-keeping topics,-- including filing, indexing, alphabeting [sic],--and typewriting." But, like Dewey's students, they would be "taught such things as the nature and uses of subject headings, not with the idea that they will be responsible for the subject heading work in any important library, but that they may be more intelligent and efficient within their own range of duties."⁵ Libraries which found themselves replacing ten or more workers every year were advised to establish their own on-site training programs, while smaller libraries were advised to send their staff to larger institutions for training, the latter charging a small fee for the training of outside students. Apprenticeship, where "young women residing in the community will be taken on the staff and expected gradually to learn the work by doing it under direction," was deemed the "least desirable source" of training by Williamson, although he grudgingly acknowledged that "in some cases this may prove fairly satisfactory."⁶

Although focused on the problem of raising library schools to professional standards, Williamson strongly advocated for the adoption of correspondence instruction in library methods, where students would mail in exercises and papers to be graded and commented on by library school faculty. Correspondence instruction, he argued, would allow library workers who "for financial or other reasons" might not be able to attend a library school to get technical training.⁷ Citing the success of "commercial correspondence schools" in providing "correspondence instruction in vocational

⁵ Ibid, 7-8.

⁶ Ibid, 10.

⁷ Ibid, 117.

subjects," Williamson argued that correspondence instruction would not pose "any greater danger of lowering standards" than did "summer schools, short courses, institutes, etc.," and it might be even better because "a well-managed correspondence course is likely to pick out and bring into the schools persons well adapted for library work who might otherwise not get to the library school at all."⁸

However, again echoing Dewey, the professional librarian would be a graduate of a college course with a vast array of knowledge in multiple disciplines.

Some knowledge of foreign languages and literature, history, sociology, economics, government, psychology and the natural sciences, every librarian worthy of the name must have. Moreover, he must know more than the average college graduate about the literature and sources of information in all the principal fields of interest, and have at his command the bibliographical tools and devices for unlocking the printed sources of information on any subject.⁹

Destined to fill library positions which would require "extensive and accurate book knowledge [and] skill in organization and administration" these students should not be made to suffer an "excessive attention to minute detail." Rather, explained Williamson, their training should be focused on "the broad professional outlook," learning library

⁸ Williamson, *Training*, 117-18.

⁹ *Ibid*, 6.

technique not from the point of view of the practitioner but "from the point of view of principles and policies."¹⁰

Acknowledging the discussion "occasioned in library circles by the fact that many of the most successful librarians are without library school training," and further noting "the highest success" in librarianship often required not library technique, but "initiative, originality, resourcefulness, and large administrative capacity," Williamson concluded that "it should be perceived more clearly that the least important part of the librarian's equipment is that which the library school gives him." This would only change, he argued, when the library schools adjusted "the content of their methods of teaching and the content of their curricula" to reflect an education "for a profession and in a professional spirit."¹¹

In order to accomplish this, Williamson recommended the creation of standardized textbooks. Current textbooks, such as Alice Kroeger's *Guide to Reference Books*,¹² or the various publications of the American Library Association were not,

¹⁰ Ibid, 41.

¹¹ Ibid, 7.

¹² A student of Dewey's, Alice B. Kroeger, founded the library science program at Drexel University in 1892, where she remained its head until she died in 1909 at the age of 45. "Images of Alice B. Kroeger, (1864-1909)," *University Library, University of Illinois, at Urbana-Champaign*, <http://www.pages.drexel.edu/~ces462/BPM/service/alicekroegerimages.html>. *Guide to the Study and Use of Reference Books* was first published in 1902, revised and edited through six subsequent editions from 1910 to 1936 by Isadore Mudge of Columbia University. In 1923 it was in its fourth edition. The most recent edition, and first to be published in electronic form with listings of Internet resources, is the twelfth, published in 2008. "The History of *Guide to Reference*," *Guide To Reference*. <http://www.guidetoreference.org/DynamicContent.aspx?ctype=15>

complained Williamson, proper textbooks but rather "manuals of practice and reference books for the practising [sic] librarian."¹³ Instead Williamson advocated

well-written manuals presenting a reasonably complete exposition of the theory and practice of the various subjects, with enough concrete description and illustration to fix the principles and the main facts in the student's mind, the whole presented in such form and arrangement as to lead the student into the subject by the easiest path, and onward through its more difficult phases in the shortest time with the least effort on his part.¹⁴

To this Williamson would add "treatises," individual volumes on specific topics which would be "more of the nature of an encyclopedic compilation of practice and procedure, methods and policies" on any given subject.¹⁵ Textbooks and treatises, alas, were not being produced because "the financial return does not promise to be sufficient to stimulate either their preparation or publication."¹⁶ In a not-so-subtle indictment of the library professional, Williamson compared the production of texts in such fields as "education, engineering, medicine, law and accounting," to librarianship, and found the latter wanting. The other professions produced texts out of "professional interest and service," a motivation the librarians would surely share, were it not for the fact,

¹³ Williamson, *Training*, 48.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, 49.

¹⁵ *Ibid*.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 50.

Williamson acidly observed, that "comparatively few librarians have either the capacity or the time for authorship."¹⁷

Williamson was also strongly opposed to field work as part of the standard library school curricula. Work "carried on by the students as a member of a library staff" was, he proclaimed,

in most cases wasteful of his time and unsatisfactory because it does not give him an opportunity to observe minutely, critically, and comparatively all phases of the work of a completely organized library unit. It is assumed that, no matter what he is doing, he is gaining experience which will help him when he takes a position; whereas his future work may be very different, and even if it is not, it may be so unlike in detail that what he has acquired by practice may be no help at all but an actual hindrance.¹⁸

Instead Williamson suggested what he called "purposive observation," where the student literally watched, and then discussed with his teacher the practices and methods he had observed.

With a refocused curriculum designed to turn out generalists rather than experts, with a revised method of instruction designed to promote imagination and initiative over attention to rules and routine, and new texts to provide examples and definitions, the instructor was now free to supervise and guide, rather than merely lecture and drill. The

¹⁷ Ibid, 51.

¹⁸ Ibid, 62.

problem, as Williamson saw it, was that "a detailed analysis of the training and experience of members of the teaching staffs of twelve of the library schools seems to indicate a quite definite lack of fitness of a large proportion of them for giving instruction of high professional character to students with college or university education." Too many of the instructors, 42 percent, were teaching in the same institution from which they had earned their own library degree.¹⁹ In Williamson's view this was the single most pressing problem in library education, the one which most obviously illustrated the lack of professional standards in library schools and, by extension, librarianship. "The bachelor's degree," he proclaimed,

has come to be regarded as the minimum essential for all kinds of teaching above the elementary school. In no part of this country would instruction in a well-organized high school be considered acceptable if half of the teachers were not college graduates. Library school instruction, moreover, should rank not with high school but with college instruction. In respect to college faculties, the best opinion is even more insistent on full college education, and in the better institutions an advanced degree is usually a *sine qua non* for instructors. It does not seem probable that a few small library schools will get better results from a teaching staff of which 48 per cent. [sic] are without the bachelor's degree than would a college.

¹⁹ Ibid, 36.

More to the point, "No self-respecting college would attempt it."²⁰ If library schools hoped to be taken seriously as professional schools, then they would have to accept this minimum academic standard for their faculty. "College graduates going into library service," he concluded, "should not be asked to take their professional training under a group of instructors one-half of whom are without the college viewpoint."²¹

The status of librarianship and the ability to offer professional level instruction would, felt Williamson, be greatly improved by the infusion of some straight cash. Instructors were substandard because "college graduates of fair ability are not attracted by the salaries library schools offer."²² What Williamson saw as "the need for attracting more men into library work" was being thwarted by salaries which were "considerably less than a college graduate with one year of post-graduate study is offered in high school teaching." Worse than the low starting salaries were the poor prospects for advancement, professional or economic.²³ All of which served, in Williamson's opinion, to enhance in the mind of the public the suggestion "that perhaps library work is not a profession but rather a minor intellectual and clerical occupation,"²⁴ which brought him back to his main argument.

Williamson placed the lion's, or perhaps lioness's, share of the blame for the whole, sorry mess on the entanglement of professional with clerical, or sub-professional,

²⁰ Ibid, 34.

²¹ Ibid, 36.

²² Ibid, 35.

²³ Ibid, 83.

²⁴ Ibid, 82.

work. Salaries were depressed because "the confusion of clerical and professional work tends inevitably to keep salaries down to the level of the clerical grade. No matter what the financial resources of an institution," argued Williamson, libraries were "not justified in paying clerical workers much, if any, more than those of equal education and experience receive in commercial and other competing fields of work."²⁵ Moreover, the profession was failing to attract promising male graduates. "The almost complete absence of men in library school classes is not to be explained," said Williamson, "solely by the fact that salaries are low and on the assumption that college men are all looking primarily for opportunities to make money." Rather, the problem was "largely" that because library work was "generally looked upon as clerical, library work has come to be known as 'women's work.'" Library school recruiters, unlike the deans and professors who recruited students to other professional schools, "are seldom forceful and convincing speakers. Most of them are women, which tends to confirm the impression that library work is a feminine vocation."²⁶ It was an algebraic equation: If library work equaled clerical work, and clerical work equaled women's work, then library work equaled women's work.

"A single woman living alone": Librarianship as Paid Employment

In a final solution that was far more radical than any corporate sponsor might have imagined, Williamson proposed that the way to raise the status, training, and salaries of the professional librarian was by lowering those of the sub-professional or

²⁵ Ibid, 9.

²⁶ Ibid, 107.

clerical employee. What Williamson did not state, but which was clearly implied by this strategy, is that the vastly larger, and vastly female, clerical force would be made to sacrifice the low status and lower salaries they already had in order to raise the status and salaries of the male professionals. Starting salaries for library school graduates, "who may be called the elite of the library workers," averaged only "\$842, or about \$70 a month" in 1914. By 1921, according to Williamson, this had gone up considerably, to \$1332, or \$111 a month. However, he explained, "this increase reflects the shortage of library workers during and immediately following the war period" and consequently could not be expected to continue.²⁷ Therefore, it was not surprising, he continued, that library work had come to be viewed "as a field which, whatever other attractions it may offer, does not promise more than a bare subsistence."²⁸ Yet Williamson argued that "it is quite possible that library personnel would be improved if initial salaries were lower and ultimate salaries higher." The theory, as he presented it, was that the more able workers would be less likely to leave the ranks of library work if the promise of future salaries were better.²⁹

Salaries, and specifically low salaries, were a continuing source of debate in librarianship. Dewey had recognized the problem from the start, and sought to overcome it by appealing to women's better nature. His vision of librarianship offered a genteel workspace coupled to a great missionary work, a combination packaged in such a way as to offset the low salaries that women could expect to earn. The real question, of course,

²⁷ Ibid, 81.

²⁸ Ibid, 84.

²⁹ Ibid, 83.

was not whether librarians' salaries were low, but whether they were low in comparison to other female occupations.

According to a 1920 study by W. Randolph Burgess, done for the Department of Education of the Russell Sage Foundation,³⁰ in 1895 rural schoolteachers were earning an average of about \$36 a month, with an average of \$54 a month for their urban counterparts. By comparison, in 1894 at the Los Angeles Public Library, the lowest level attendant, who was a graduate of the recently organized training program but with no work experience, could earn \$10 a month, with the highest grade of employee earning \$50 a month. Of the twenty-two women employed by the library that year none were paid less than \$20 per month, with twelve, over one-half the staff, paid between \$20 and \$30 a month.³¹ These numbers should be approached with caution, however, as the salaries for the librarians were for year-round work, but were also prorated for half-time or less employment, while the teachers' salaries were full-pay, but only for a partial year.

The head librarians of the LAPL called almost annually for better salaries for their staff. In 1901, for example, head librarian Mary L. Jones remarked, "We do not believe

³⁰ The "Russell Sage Foundation was established in 1907 for 'the improvement of social and living conditions in the United States' by a gift of \$10 million from Margaret Olivia Slocum Sage (1828–1918), widow of railroad magnate and financier Russell Sage. Mrs. Sage directed the foundation to pursue its mission through a broad set of activities, including 'research, publication, education, the establishment and maintenance of charitable or benevolent activities, agencies and institutions, and the aid of any such activities, agencies, or institutions already in existence.'" "History of the Russell Sage Foundation," *Russell Sage Foundation*, <http://www.russellsage.org/about/history>.

³¹ Los Angeles Public Library, *Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Los Angeles Public Library and Report of the Librarian, 1893-94* (Los Angeles: n.p., 1894), 21-22.

that there is another department of the city government which is administered as economically as the library, and in which the employees are more poorly paid for the services rendered."³² Or again when director Charles F. Lummis, whose salary, incidentally, was just under \$160 a month, wrote in the annual report for 1907, "We require of our attendants as much education as is required of the teachers in the public schools. Our attendants work more hours a day, more days a week, more weeks a year, than the public school teachers." Yet, he continued, "on the average they are not even yet nearly so well paid."³³ By 1917, just three years before Williamson's study was conducted, the "minimum salary for all attendants" at the LAPL was set at \$60 a month, \$820 annually. This fell in line with one survey, cited by historian Dee Garrison, which in 1918 reported that "42.6 per cent of librarians received less than \$900 annually, whereas only 29.3 percent of social workers and 17.2 percent of teachers did so." Moreover, while the graduates of the Pratt Institute Library School could expect to start work at an annual salary of \$845, "those graduates who began business or government careers could expect to earn an average yearly salary of \$1,177."³⁴

Compared to the shopgirls, several notches lower on the social scale than the teachers or the librarians, librarians were keeping only slightly ahead. In 1917, California

³² Los Angeles Public Library, *Thirteenth Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Los Angeles Public Library and Report of Librarian, 1900-1901* (Los Angeles: n.p., 1901), 6.

³³ Los Angeles Public Library, *Nineteenth Annual Report Los Angeles Public Library for the Year Ending November 30, 1907* (Los Angeles: Commercial Printing House, 1908), 58.

³⁴ Dee Garrison, *Apostles of Culture, The Public Librarian and American Society, 1876-1920* (New York: The Free Press, 1979), 226.

passed a minimum wage law applicable to the mercantile industry. Minimum wages for "an experienced woman" were to be no less than "\$10 per week (\$43.33 per month)," while "learners," men and women eighteen to twenty-nine years old with no experience, were to start at \$8 (\$35 per month) and scale up from there.³⁵ But compared to nursing, which required two full years of specific professional training, the librarians lagged behind, as demonstrated in a 1914 notice for a California Civil Service exam for nurses. Open to both men and women over the age of twenty, the starting salary was advertised as \$50 to \$55 per month, with "room, board and laundry . . . provided in addition to the regular salary." Nurses with special training, such as surgical nurses, could make \$65 a month, while matrons might earn up to \$84 a month.³⁶

By the time Williamson was crafting his report, the wage debate had spread from the local to the state and national levels. At the annual meeting of the California Library Association in June 1919, Everett R. Perry, head of the LAPL, argued that "if the library profession were to continue to develop as it should it was necessary that a higher standard of education must be demanded of its students, with a corresponding increase in the salary scale."³⁷ At the annual meeting of the American Library Association, held that same month, the salary issue was also addressed. The result was a resolution calling for every legislative body, from the federal government to the town or village council, "to

³⁵ "\$10 Minimum Wage Law Now In Effect In State," *Redondo Breeze*, September 7, 1917; *Redondo Breeze*, July 20, 1917.

³⁶ "Nurses Needed; Attendants Too," *Redondo Reflex*, May 29, 1914.

³⁷ Cornelia D. Provines, "Convention of the California Library Association, Del Monte, June 10-13, 1919," *News Notes of California Libraries* 14, no. 3 (July 1919): 277. Hereafter cited as "*News Notes*."

increase the appropriations for library salaries, in order to retain in the library service library workers who are forced by sheer necessity into other fields where the compensation constitutes a just return for scholarship and professional training."³⁸ Resolutions calling for action were not the same as action itself, however, and the salary issue continued to be a source of debate and discussion. At the mid-winter meeting of the ALA held in Chicago in December 1920, California's State Librarian Milton J. Ferguson reported that salaries were "too low." Noting the lack of "enough efficient, trained people in the work," he commented that "poor salaries are driving many good ones into some other lines which offer three square meals as well as respectability."³⁹

It is interesting to compare the view of the library leadership, still mostly men, to that of the rank-and-file, overwhelmingly women. The women, as Garrison suggested in her study of the feminization of the profession, understood that their salaries would never be a true living wage, or at least not a living wage as the male library leaders conceived it. Mocking the male librarian who "lays much stress upon 'the spirit of the work' which he feels should be so ardent and so zealous as to rise above all considerations of salaries and hours, and make the assistant feel that sufficient for her work is the joy of doing it," the anonymous female author of the 1902 article "The Case of the Desk Assistant" concludes, "Practically, it is absurd. In exchange for inadequate salaries and overtaxing

³⁸ *News Notes* 14, no. 3 (July 1919): 351.

³⁹ Milton J. Ferguson, "There Were They in Great Fear," *News Notes* 15, no. 1 (January 1920): 5.

time schedules it is unreasonable to expect adequate work."⁴⁰ Similarly, in 1920, with her tongue ever-so-slightly-in-cheek, Margaret Livingston captured the rather cynical attitude of the women librarians as they awaited and then received the recommendations from the Salaries Committee at the 1920 meeting of the California Library Association.

With tense quiet, wide-eyed, we listened. Had librarians, representatives of that profession that has sighed wistfully, perhaps, at thought of the other fellow's pay envelope, but turned to catalog cards as the real thing in life; had a committee of respected members, honored members, of the C.L.A., cold-bloodedly, statistically, considered qualifications and duties, presented a real schedule of salaries! . . . We gasped, and when the president called for the will of the meeting we trembled, timorous

Again the clause was read 'no salary paid to be less than an actual minimum living wage, based on the needs of a single woman living alone.'

That poor overworked, underpaid librarian! No Wonder that she looks a little mad,/No wonder that she looks profoundly sad.⁴¹

Moreover, smaller libraries like Redondo Beach could never hope to compete with a LAPL for salaries. In 1908 Alice Jenks, working twelve hours per week was paid \$10 a month, while the janitor was paid a handsome \$6 per month to clean the library once a week. When Mrs. N. F. Allison took on the library as a full-time proposition in

⁴⁰ "The Case of the Desk Assistant," *Library Journal* 27, no. 10 (October 1902): 877.

⁴¹ *News Notes*, 15 no. 3 (July 1920): 299.

1909 she was given only \$25 per month, raised to \$45 for McKinley in 1910. Thus McKinley, as the head and only full-time employee, responsible for all aspects of the library, was paid at the scale equivalent to a middle-grade attendant at the LAPL. Although the librarian's salary rose rapidly, so that by 1911 McKinley was earning \$65 per month, Redondo never caught up to even Long Beach, where in 1911 Victoria Ellis, as the head of the library, made \$135, with salaries for the assistants ranging from a low of \$40 up to \$65 for the most experienced.⁴² So, when, at the end of his discourse, Williamson turned his attention to "The Problem of Small Libraries," one might have anticipated a thorough and thoughtful analysis of the problem of enticing professional librarians to posts which could not offer high remuneration.

Instead, Williamson depicted the small town library and its librarian in terms which were thoroughly disparaging. Small libraries had few books, and those they did have were of poor quality. Worse, small libraries were actually contributing to the "progressive deterioration of rural communities" by providing primarily "recreational reading."⁴³ Moreover, the librarians were "uneducated and untrained," incapable of providing real library service. The result, decried Williamson, was "as hopeless a situation as can be found in the whole range of social and educational problems."⁴⁴ Williamson's solution was to "change from a fundamentally unsound system of small

⁴² California State Library, California Public Library Reports, Long Beach Public Library for the year ending June 30, 1911. California Public Library Reports (1909-55), California Library Association Library History Committee Records, 1890-1966, Collection #873, Box 9, Reel 12.

⁴³ Williamson, *Training*, 130-31.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, 134.

isolated, independent libraries to a system in which the administrative unit is large enough to make it economically possible to command the services of an educated, professionally trained and skilled librarian."⁴⁵ To Williamson this meant the wholesale adoption of county library systems. A county library system, claimed Williamson, could provide "service as good as the best to be found in any city" to an area "covering thousands of square miles." Even better, "by reason of good roads, telephones and parcel post" this could be done "as economically as in populous centres."⁴⁶

Finally, and in his own view most significantly, Williamson called for the adoption of professional standards, that is a system of certifications created and enforced by librarians. Comparing the American Library Association to other professional organizations, Williamson noted that the ALA's charter said nothing about defining or promoting standards of librarianship. For Williamson, the lack of "recognized standards" was critical. "Men and women of education and ability have no desire to train for a pseudo-profession without standards," he warned, adding that low salaries and lack of support for libraries would "continue as long as library work stands alone among the professions without recognized standards of qualification for efficient service."⁴⁷ Citing professions from accountancy and architecture to pharmacy and teaching, Williamson made the point that only librarianship called itself a profession without the requisite legal or voluntary standards or certification. Williamson supported the ALA's recommendation, adopted in June 1919, for the creation of a National Board of

⁴⁵ Ibid, 146.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 131.

⁴⁷ Williamson, *Training*, 123.

Certification for Librarians. Once training schools were accredited and librarians were certified, then and only then, he maintained, would the critical distinction between the professional librarian and the library clerk be made, and librarianship be raised to the standard of a true profession.

"Marriage must be epidemic . . .": Marriage and Attrition in Librarianship

Ironically, possibly the only positive note which Williamson sounded and the only one to the benefit of the women, has gone virtually unremarked in library literature--the dual questions of marriage and attrition. Some women continued to work after marriage, such as Redondo's library students-turned-teachers Jeanette Kindig and Maud Welton, as well as S. D. Barkley's wife, who was listed as the owner and co-editor of the *Redondo Breeze* and was the assistant postmistress during Barkley's tenure as postmaster. Others returned to work, as the ridiculously civically active Mrs. Florence Galentine, forty years old with a working husband and a twelve-year-old daughter, who in July 1919 resigned "from the position of scholarship chairman of the California Congress of Mothers; parliamentarian and chairman of legislations, First District Congress of Mothers; federal secretary of the Civic Outlook Club; county legislative chairman of the W.C.T.U., and county chairman of extension work for the Y.W.C.A." to return "to her former profession of high school teaching."⁴⁸ However, for most women marriage meant the end of work, and because of this it became a topic of constant discussion in library circles.

⁴⁸ "Galentines to Move," *Redondo Reflex*, July 25, 1919. The article also noted that she was "slated to be state chairman of civics for the California Federation of Woman's Clubs."

Dewey, as might be expected, had foreseen the problem and had addressed it by assigning married women the important task of supporting libraries in the community, founding new libraries, reviving old ones, or serving on boards of trustees.⁴⁹ Williamson took a similar view. "It is also claimed," he averred,

and with some plausibility, that library school training is excellent preparation for the duties of homemaking and the social responsibilities of married women. Certainly it would be a mistake to assume that a woman librarian who marries is lost to the cause of library progress. Not only has she in most cases given a longer or shorter period of service in return for her training, but as a responsible citizen, perhaps as a member of the board of trustees of her local library, the ex-librarian may be able to do more to improve library service than she could as an active member of a library staff.⁵⁰

Williamson found that 66.3 percent of the 276 male graduates of library schools were, in 1920, still in library work, while 61.8 percent of the 4388 women graduates remained in the work.⁵¹ In 1933, more than a decade after closing, the California State Library School, with two dead and two not listed, reported forty-four of the graduates, 61 percent, still in library work and twenty-eight of the graduates out of it.⁵² At the LAPL

⁴⁹ Melvil Dewey, *Librarianship as a Profession for College-Bred Women* (Boston: Library Bureau, 1886), 19.

⁵⁰ Williamson, *Training*, 78-79.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁵² *News Notes* 28, no. 4 (October 1933), 432-33.

the annual report for 1932 stated that of the "five hundred nine students" that had graduated the training class or the library school since its inception in 1891, "about three hundred forty are in library work today."⁵³ Although Williamson presumed that women left librarianship for marriage while men left for other job opportunities, he found that overall the figures showed that "men graduates drop out of the profession in about the same proportion as women."⁵⁴

While "unfavorable comment has been made at times on the seemingly large proportion of women graduates of library schools who marry," Williamson felt that "a fair interpretation of the statistics" left "little ground for criticism of library school graduates on this score."⁵⁵ By his reckoning only about 22 percent of all the women graduates of all the library schools had married by the time of his report. The percentages varied quite widely among the schools, however, influenced by the total number of graduates and by how recently the program had been established. The UC Berkeley school, for example, with only forty total graduates including the 1921 class, had a marriage rate of only 2.5 percent, that being one student. However, the school had only been established in 1919, a year before Williamson's study. By contrast, the oldest school, Dewey's school at the New York State Library, boasted about 726 female graduates since 1887, of whom 140, or 19.2 percent had married. That number also represented the median for the thirteen schools, the average being 21.9 percent, a not

⁵³ Los Angeles Public Library, *Forty-fourth Annual Report of the Board of Library Commissioners of the Los Angeles Public Library, For the Year Ending June 30, 1932* (Los Angeles: n.p. October 1932), 20.

⁵⁴ Williamson, *Training*, 77.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*, 77.

statistically significant difference given the sampling data. Unfortunately, the truly interesting statistic, how many of the approximately 183 male graduates married after completing library school, was not collected.

At the LAPL resignations to pursue other work and resignations to pursue marriage were reported with equal regularity, and with no comment except best wishes. Other libraries reported similar exoduses. In 1912 Delia F. Sneed, principal of Atlanta's library school since 1908, wrote that "marriage must be epidemic in the library world as we have nine marriages to our credit in less than a year."⁵⁶ While in 1917 Milton J. Ferguson of the California State Library School could quip, "The school can not expect much credit as a matrimonial agency; only one of its graduates has married and she, even, is so wrapped up in her profession that she continues in the service."⁵⁷ By 1933, however, those numbers had changed dramatically. With two dead and two not reporting, thirty of the California State Library School's remaining seventy-two students, 41.7 percent, were married.

In Redondo Beach of the twenty-nine library students whose marital status can be determined, five, including the widow Burney who did not remarry, remained single, while twenty-three, not quite 80 percent, married, including Evelyn Morris, who was divorced when she started the training but subsequently married. One woman, Fern Rhein, started the program married but subsequently divorced and did not remarry. In

⁵⁶ James V. Carmichael, Jr., "Atlanta's Female Librarians, 1883-1915," *Journal of Library History* 21, no. 2 (Spring 1986): 393.

⁵⁷ Milton J. Ferguson, "The California State Library School," *News Notes* 12, no. 2 (April 1917): 357.

fact, the single most surprising thing to emerge from this study is the apparent frequency of separation and divorce at this time. Parents, siblings, spouses, in-laws, the extended family histories reveal that scarcely a family escaped a marriage ended not by death, which was also fairly frequent, but by separation. Six of the twenty-nine students, including Morris and Rhein, divorced, three of whom, Morris, Amet and Tower, remarried. Marie Adair divorced, and so did her brother. Eva Hanson's second marriage was to a man already twice-divorced. And the list goes on, and on.

Significantly, divorce or separation does not appear to have had a negative impact on the social of status of the women. When Eva Hanson divorced Beryl Tower, both parties remained in their home town of Redondo Beach. Hanson remarried and the couple continued to live in Redondo until moving to Paso Robles. Fern Rhein continued to hold the position of librarian of the Hermosa Beach library even after her divorce, and, again, all the parties continued to live in the local area. And, of course, May Hopkins's separation from her husband, which must have been well-known in local circles, did not prevent her from holding public office, founding the women's business club, or eventually serving as the city's first female mayor.

Of course there were women who were truly "dedicated to the library spirit" and chose to remain single in order to pursue the work. However, one other option existed which allowed women to both have a career and maintain a long-term personal relationship outside of their family. The question of "Boston marriages" has long been a subject of quiet discussion in library literature. Were these relationships homosexual in

nature, or were they friendship bonds, wherein two women joined together to form a working household, combining financial resources, providing like-minded companionship and emotional support? With little documentation available, and with homosexuality still a charged topic, historians and others are loathe to attribute a sexual content to the relationships without solid evidence.

For example, Tessa Kelso and Adelaide Hasse of the LAPL were almost certainly a couple of some sort. Kelso, who became the head librarian in April 1889 was by 1892 living with Hasse.⁵⁸ And it hardly seems credible that in 1895 Hasse would quit the LAPL, where she had worked since 1890, solely in a fit of pique over the firing of Kelso, or on the basis of mere friendship or collegial fellowship. Was a local clergyman's objections to "a particular French book upon the Library's shelves,"⁵⁹ code for other "French" activities that Kelso, with her "habit of strolling about the streets, her hair short, and wearing no hat, smoking cigarettes, and obviously not caring in the least for anyone's opinion of the subject,"⁶⁰ may have been engaged in?

⁵⁸ *Los Angeles City Directory, 1891* (Los Angeles: W. H. L. Corran, 1891) shows Hasse (326) and Kelso (379) at different addresses. However, by 1892 they were living together, and they were still together in 1895. *Los Angeles City Directory and Gazetteer of Southern California for 1892* (Los Angeles: Geo. W. Maxwell, 1892) 270 for Hasse and 310 for Kelso. *Maxwell's Los Angeles City Directory and Gazetteer of Southern California, 1895* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Directory Co., 1895) 672 for Hasse and 790 for Kelso.

⁵⁹ Faith Holmes Hyers, "Brief History of the Los Angeles Public Library," in *Los Angeles Public Library, Forty-Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Library Commissioners and of the Los Angeles Public Library, 1936* (Los Angeles: n.p., 1926), 42.

⁶⁰ John D. Bruckman, *The City Librarians of Los Angeles* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles Library Association, 1973), 24, as quoted in Debra Gold Hansen, Karen F.

In 1916 Ida G. Munson, who in 1911 had left the staff of the Long Beach Public Library to work at the California State Library, lived at the Maydestone Apartments, while Nora (or Nova) J. Beal, an employee of the State Civil Service Commission, lived at the Merrium Apartments.⁶¹ However, starting in 1917 and in every directory and census thereafter, Munson and Beal shared the same Sacramento address, first at the Maydestone Apartments and later at their home at 2239 4th Avenue.⁶² In the 1920 census Beal was even listed as "partner" to Munson's "head," although by 1930 Beal was identified with the far less charged descriptor "boarder."⁶³ Ida G. Munson died October 12, 1963 at the age of ninety-three. Her life-partner, Nora J. Beal died the following year, on December 1, 1964, at the age of seventy-eight.⁶⁴ They had lived together for over forty-five years.

In Redondo Beach the intimate friendship between librarian Mary L. McKinley and journalist Mary Story certainly raises a question. Between April and September 1912, for example, the two exchanged visits at least three times, each time for a stay of several days up to two or three weeks.⁶⁵ When McKinley returned in May 1913 from five months of travel, she immediately came to Redondo, taking Story back with her to

Gracy, and Sheri D. Irvin, "At The Pleasure of the Board: Women Librarians and the Los Angeles Public Library, 1880-1905," *Libraries & Culture* 34, no. 4 (Fall 1999): 320.

⁶¹ *Sacramento Directory Co's Sacramento City Directory, 1916* (Sacramento: Sacramento Directory Co., 1916), 36 for Beal and 271 for Munson.

⁶² *Sacramento Directory Co's Sacramento Directory, 1960* (Los Angeles: Sacramento Directory Co., 1961), 56 for Beal and 653 for Munson.

⁶³ U.S. Census, 1930; 1940.

⁶⁴ California Death Index, 1940-1997.

⁶⁵ "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, April 13, 1912; "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, June 8, 1912; "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, September 28, 1912.

Pomona, after which followed another extended round of visits which lasted at least through August.⁶⁶ Story even went so far as to travel the 270 miles to Madera shortly after McKinley received her appointment to a permanent position there,⁶⁷ after which Story moved, permanently, to San Diego. Yet, with Story's two marriages and no information about McKinley after 1926, it is difficult to say with certainty what the nature of the relationship was.⁶⁸

Interestingly, although contemporary librarians like Dewey, Sneed, Ferguson and Williamson addressed the "problem" of marriage with some equanimity, modern-day librarian-historians have debated and fretted over the issue. For historian Dee Garrison the question of marriage is not so fraught. Of the eight women included in her study of "36 library leaders in the period from 1876 to 1900," two, Mary Salome Cutler and Theresa H. West, married, which Garrison found unremarkable. "The culture defined women's responsibility to the home as her primary one and this definition was all-pervasive before 1900," explained Garrison. Thus, when Theresa West, for example, gave up her job in 1896 "as the leading woman librarian heading an important library" to

⁶⁶ "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, June 6, 1913; "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, June 6, 1913; "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, June 13, 1913; "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, June 14, 1913; "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, July 4, 1913; "Personal Mention," *Redondo Reflex*, August 8, 1913; "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, August 9, 1913; "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, August 16, 1913; "You and Your Neighbors," *Redondo Breeze*, August 30, 1913.

⁶⁷ "Neighborhood News," *Redondo Breeze*, January 24, 1914.

⁶⁸ The unusual circumstances of the death of Story's first husband, her three "nervous breakdowns," a somewhat odd visit to her dead husband's family a year after his death, and even what is known of her second husband, plus Story's own death at a relatively young age, are all suggestive of something beneath the surface, but what, if anything, has yet to be determined.

marry Henry Elmendorf, "it would," said Garrison, "have been shocking if she had chosen otherwise."⁶⁹

But for librarian-historians, steeped in the literature of the missionary librarian, the maid Marian spreading the library spirit, the question of marriage and attrition are inextricably linked to the question of dedication to the work. If marriage meant resigning from their work, then how dedicated to the library spirit could these librarians who left librarianship for the married life really be? In Atlanta, librarian-historian James V. Carmichael, Jr., noted that "though it is obvious that the early Atlanta librarians were committed to their work, four of the first six librarians . . . left librarianship for marriage apparently with few qualms of conscience."⁷⁰ Yet, in a study of the graduates of three library schools, Illinois, Albany and Atlanta, between 1905 and 1930, he struggled to explain what he considered the high, 55 percent, rate of marriage among the Atlanta graduates compared to those of the other schools. Remarkably, after taking into account regional variations and specifically the "primacy of wedlock in the ethos of the southern lady, prevailing social conventions, and labor policy in most southern municipalities,"⁷¹

⁶⁹ Dee Garrison, "The Tender Technicians: The Feminization of Public Librarianship, 1876-1905," *Journal of Social History* 6, no. 2 (Winter 1972-1973): 145.

⁷⁰ Carmichael, "Atlanta's Female Librarians," 381.

⁷¹ James V. Carmichael, Jr., "Southerners in the North and Northerners in the South: The Impact of the Library School of the University of Illinois on Southern Librarianship," in Laurel A. Grotzinger, James V. Carmichael, Jr., and Mary Niles Maack, eds. *Women's Work, Vision and Change in Librarianship* (Champaign: University of Illinois, 1994), 41.

Carmichael concluded that the marriage rate among southern librarians was a result of their "equivocal" commitment to the profession.⁷²

Similarly, Joanne E. Passet in her study of 311 "professionally trained" librarians who went to work in the West, commented on the discrepancy in marriage rates, 23.2 percent for her study versus Williamson's report of 21.9 percent, as if a difference of 1.3 percent makes a significant difference in the findings.⁷³ Moreover, even as she recounts the story of Cornelia Marvin, who, with thirty-five years of library service, twenty-five of those as the secretary of the Oregon State Library Commission, resigned at the age of fifty-six to marry,⁷⁴ Passet struggles, without much success, to reconcile the views of some library women who "felt that interest in marriage would suggest a lack of commitment to the profession" with others who "rejoiced at the prospect of quitting work after they married."⁷⁵ Clearly the myth of Marian still lives.

"A permanent solution . . .": Williamson's Recommendations

From the purely practical standpoint, most of Williamson's recommendations were not. Take, for example, his utter dismissal of the small library. According to Williamson library service diminished in direct proportion to the population, so that "we find in the average community of less than ten thousand population a library which at best merely purchases a small number of books, often unwisely selected, and in a purely

⁷² Carmichael, "Southerners," 38.

⁷³ Joanne E. Passet, *Cultural Crusaders: Women Librarians in the American West, 1900-1917* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994), 31.

⁷⁴ Virginia Green, "Cornelia Marvin Pierce," *Salem Online History*, www.salemhistory.net/people/cornelia_marvin_pierce.htm.

⁷⁵ Passet, *Cultural Crusaders*, 31-32.

routine way performs the clerical process of permitting individuals to borrow what they happen to find on the shelves."⁷⁶ But, the 1920 census reveals that in the United States just under 26 percent of the population lived in cities of over 100,000 inhabitants, the kinds of cities which could host a library like the LAPL, capable of staffing or at least assisting a system of branch libraries. Conversely, fully 57.6 percent of the population lived in cities and towns of 10,000 or fewer inhabitants, with almost half living in "rural districts," defined as less than 2,500 people. Library leaders had labored long and hard in the vineyard of local governments encouraging the creation of municipal libraries. In 1910 California, library historian Ray Held counted thirty-one cities with populations over 5,000, all of which had free public libraries, seventy-three municipal libraries located in towns between 1000 and 5000 residents, with a few more "scattered among the numerous incorporated places below 1,000 in population." In the following decade twenty-two more city libraries were opened in California in cities ranging in size from 2,000 to 4,000.⁷⁷ With closures and a few absorptions into city and county systems, Held counted 135 municipally supported libraries by mid-1917.⁷⁸ It seems unlikely that, in the face of this great success, library leaders would turn around and declare the majority of those libraries "poor in quality,"⁷⁹ their librarians "unable to reach even the sub-professional standard of service."⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Williamson, *Training*, 130.

⁷⁷ Ray E. Held, *The Rise of the Public Library in California* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1973), 51.

⁷⁸ Held, *The Rise*, 54.

⁷⁹ Williamson, *Training*, 130.

⁸⁰ *Ibid*, 135.

Moreover, Williamson failed to take into account the independence which cities and towns fiercely maintained. In 1909, when California State Librarian James Gillis proposed legislation for a new, statewide system of county libraries, there was considerable push-back from the city libraries. In particular there was objection to the new management scheme, which placed the state's entire county library system under the supervision of the state librarian.⁸¹ According to Held, opposition to Gillis's plan was "largest and loudest in southern California, particularly in Los Angeles County, which contained the greatest number of public libraries."⁸² Indeed, in November 1909 a special meeting of the Sixth District of the CLA was held in Hollywood, at which time "it was voted not to accept the plan," which the librarians felt "would take the control of city libraries out of the hands of the cities and give it to the county supervisors."⁸³ Cities could proactively exclude themselves from the county plan, which Redondo Beach, based on the recommendation of its librarian, Mary L. McKinley, duly did, approving a resolution on February 28, 1910 that it was "the desire of the City not to participate" in the county system.⁸⁴

Although undoubtedly anxious to have library training considered "professional," library school administrators were also unlikely to enact the broad and sweeping changes recommended by Williamson. In California, at the State Library School where entrance

⁸¹ Held, *The Rise*, 135.

⁸² Ibid, 140.

⁸³ "Librarians Object to New Library Plan," *Redondo Reflex*, November 18, 1909.

⁸⁴ City of Redondo Beach Board of Trustees Minutes, February 28, 1910. City of Redondo Beach, Office of the City Clerk, <http://www.redondobeach.org/City Clerks Department/Minutes>.

requirements included graduation from a college or university as early as 1915, the program lasted only seven years, closing in 1920. Although the program was transferred to the University of California, the new Department of Library Science offered only an undergraduate program. And even after it became a graduate school in 1926, Berkeley offered only a one-year certificate until 1947.⁸⁵ In 1926 the LAPL upgraded its program, gaining accreditation as a "junior undergraduate library school by the Board of Education for Librarianship." Yet only six years later, in 1932, in response to economic pressures caused by the Depression, the LAPL dropped its formal Library School and retained only the training class for "Library Clerical Aids."⁸⁶ The University of Southern California tried to fill the gap, offering "summer sessions." Eventually, after four years of pressure from the LAPL's Alumni Association, USC opened a School of Library Service in September 1936.⁸⁷ In 1920 when Williamson conducted his study of California's four library schools--the UC Berkeley summer course, the State Library School, the training school at the LAPL, and the Riverside Library Service School--only the Riverside program was still open to students such as Clegg's library apprentices. Although the Riverside School continued to operate for over two decades after the death of its founder Joseph Daniels in 1921, it was never accredited.

⁸⁵ "School of Librarianship," *University of California History, Digital Archives*. http://sunsite.berkeley.edu/~ucalhist/general_history/campuses/ucb/colleges.html#librarianship.

⁸⁶ *News Notes* 27, no. 2 (April 1932): 140.

⁸⁷ "Finding Aid for the University of Southern California School of Library Science," *Online Archive of California*, <http://www.oac.cdlib.org/findaid/ark:/13030/kt9f59r9bn/?query=usc+school+of+library+science>.

When Lola A. Clegg resigned in 1924 she left behind a program for library training, and two "trained librarians," Emma E. Catey and Miriam N. Burney. With little formal training herself, and with no prospect of immediate employment in Redondo or the nearby Hermosa Beach library to offer to any apprentices she might solicit, Catey quickly dropped the training class. The Redondo Beach Public Library returned to relying on "some local girl" to staff its library for the next three decades.

Conclusion

Made Marian

Taking advantage of new technologies and borrowing from the world of the factory, Melvil Dewey succeeded in devising a system of library management which allowed the work to be compartmentalized and routinized. Then, deftly deploying the familiar rhetoric of religious reform, Dewey defined and promoted librarianship as a missionary calling. Marian, the librarian, as envisioned by Dewey, was a solidly middle-class woman, educated, and sufficiently self-confident to serve the public, but equally mindful of her place in Victorian society. Dewey's Marian demonstrated the qualities of the intelligent, helpful, efficient wife and the nurturing, guiding, instructive mother while working in a job which was described in the professional literature as having both the social attributes and the physical environment of the home she ultimately hoped to gain.

Librarianship became an educated form of housework, where Marian was, literally, a maid, organizing (classification and cataloging), tidying (shelving and circulation), and helping (reference and reader's advisory). Yet, at the same time, because of the missionary, reformist nature of the work Dewey's librarian was told that she could "look upon her chosen profession" as a "distinct opportunity of service to society."¹ The mostly female library workers were constantly reminded that the work was the reward, "the real compensation . . . which can never be measured by salary

¹ Milton J. Ferguson, "Marry Ella Glock," *News Notes of California Libraries* 17, no. 2 (April 1922): 199. Hereafter cited as "News Notes." Glock spent almost her entire library career, from 1914 to 1921, in Madera, California, living with her parents and two siblings and working at the Madera County Free Library.

scales."² Occasionally librarianship was presented as a true adventure where the intrepid librarian rode, walked, hiked, or drove a carriage or automobile hundreds of miles, fording streams, outrunning thunderstorms, and shooting rattlesnakes, all for the sake of "establishing libraries under difficult conditions."³ But most often librarians were admonished to remember their primary purpose, which was service.⁴

But the women of the Redondo Beach Public Library, like hundreds of other small-town librarians, were neither missionaries nor reformers, neither homebound Victorian true women nor pioneer new women. In fact, the lives of these women demonstrate that there is nothing to distinguish them as a distinct or identifiable group from other WASP, middle-class women in the city. No specific trait can be used as a reliable predictor of who would take the library course, and, except for age, no characteristic could point to who would go on to work in a library, or which woman would remain in librarianship for a lifetime.

To the contrary, the extended family biographies presented in this thesis reveal that library women were as much like each other as they were like their mothers, sisters,

² As quoted in Dee Garrison, *Apostles of Culture: The Public Librarian and American Society, 1876-1920* (New York: The Free Press, 1979), 228.

³ Anne Hadden, "Library Trails," *News Notes* 11, no. 3 (July 1916): 581-88; Mabel Wilkinson, "Establishing Libraries under Difficulties," *ALA Bulletin* 10 (1919): 161-69. Hadden's account is so similar to the more famous one by Wilkinson, right down to a colorful description of Hadden's first experience riding a horse, it fairly begs the question whether the ALA had solicited stories on this theme, and Wilkinson's was the winner, thus gaining her, and her faithful library horse, Joker, fame and immortality.

⁴ As late as 1921 librarians attending the sixth district convention of the California Library Association found that "Service and the 'home atmosphere' were stressed by all the speakers." "Librarians Attended Convention," *Redondo Reflex*, March 18, 1921.

and other female relatives. Moreover, the librarians were no different than their female neighbors, fellow church members, and clubwomen. Library women moved seamlessly between the library and other typical white, middle-class female roles, including teacher, nurse, clerical worker, wife, and mother. And while each individual woman stands alone, unique, with her own fascinating story, overall the lives of Redondo Beach's library women were interchangeable with those of other librarians with whom they worked, and with the women of the wider community. All of which leads to the inescapable conclusion that librarians were not, in fact, Marians; that is, they did not represent a distinct or unique type of woman employed in the work of a special calling. Marian may have been an archetype, but she was not a type.

Small wonder, then, that the popular notion of the librarian comes not from a romanticized reality, but from romantic fiction. Marian Paroo, Meredith Wilson's circa-1912 River City, Iowa, librarian was, he told an interviewer, "pretty exactly my mother."⁵ Born around 1860 in Illinois, Rosalie Reinger married John David Wilson around 1889. They had four children, one of whom died in infancy, before divorcing. Meredith Wilson's father remarried, but his mother did not. It is a story which could easily be inserted into the narrative of any of the women profiled in this study. Other movies

⁵ Quoting from an article in the *New York Herald Tribune* "just prior to the Broadway opening of "The Music Man." Eric Endres, "M. Wilson," *Endresnet*, <http://www.endresnet.com/mmwillson.html>. Even Marian's name was taken from a real librarian, Marian Seeley, a medical sciences librarian married to a colleague of Wilson's from World War II days working in the Armed Forces Radio Service in California. According to Seeley when Wilson found out what her job was, "he just laughed . . . He thought that was the funniest job in the world." He dubbed her "Marian the librarian" and the name stuck. Heidi Toth, "Marian the Librarian Character Reflects Who She Was," *Daily Herald* (Provo, UT), September 20, 2006.

present a similar story. Reference librarian Bunny Watson, played by the very definition of the educated, New England spinster, Katherine Hepburn, battles EMARAC (the Electromagnetic Memory and Research Arithmetical Calculator) in the 1957 "Desk Set." Besting the computer, Hepburn's Watson wins the heart of the computer's engineer, Richard Sumner, played by Spencer Tracy. And, in a delightful reversal of roles, Parker Posey's Mary--whose midnight mastery of Dewey's Decimal System turns her from an irresponsible "Party Girl" (1995) into a sober, reliable librarian (complete with bun and glasses)--becomes a suitable mate for the schoolteacher-in-disguise falafel vendor. These fictional depictions, with their happily-ever-after endings, ring true because they reflect the reality of library women like those of the Redondo Beach Public Library, not the myth of Marian.

Historians are drawn to the documents, writing history based on the evidence left behind by its participants. As a result, most of the history about libraries and librarians in the United States has focused on the professional leadership. Whether this was the actual founders of libraries, the leaders of the large libraries and the library organizations, the graduates of the library schools, or the leaders of library expansion in the West, library history has focused on those who left papers the historian can access, interpret, and analyze. Thus, ninety years later, despite the evidence to the contrary, librarian-historians continue to perpetuate the myth of Marian. In well-crafted and carefully researched books and articles, they depict library women, sometimes as a group but more often in individual biographies, consistently and persistently in terms that are militant and

messianic: they are apostles of culture, cultural crusaders, advocates for access, bringing the public library gospel to the American West.

But, the average, the typical, librarian, the librarian represented by the women of the Redondo Beach Public Library, did not leave such a written record. Rather, their stories must be teased from the local newspapers, gleaned from administrative reports, and sifted from the records of vital statistics and census data. By turning to local history we can, therefore, gain not only a richer and more accurate understanding of the development of librarianship, but also its place within the contexts of the history of women and women's work in the United States.

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