

# TRANSMITTING WHITENESS: LIBRARIANS, CHILDREN, AND RACE, 1900–1930s

by Shane Hand

Following the 1954 U. S. Supreme Court's decision in *Brown vs. Board of Education*, the South embroiled itself within a vicious contest of white aggressive resistance against African Americans' non-violent protest for freedom, equality, and dignity. American memory would be scarred for years to come with images of bombings, beatings, and white brutality exhibited during the modern Civil Rights Movement. In retrospect, however, the U. S. historian faces an inevitable, yet disturbingly difficult task of unraveling how white Americans burdened themselves with such a vindictive hate for black America.

Part of the answer may be hidden within the history of America's free public library. The advent of the public library movement was imbued with the lofty objective of shaping a body politic worthy of democratic rule; however, a residual racial bias that grew out of the late nineteenth century tainted the public library's burgeoning culture of literacy and readership. By the early 1900s children's librarians had taken up the noble charge of shaping a better tomorrow by guiding a child's reading. However, as local librarians developed collections, maintained segregated spaces, and cooperated with the community, they inevitably fostered the transmission of a racial ideology based on white superiority, privilege, and black subservience.<sup>1</sup>

Libraries have long been cited as evidence of developed and civilized societies, though they remain a relatively new phenomenon within the history of the United States. The institution's traditional meta-narrative places libraries in the context of the development of Western Civilization. Stemming out of Egypt, scholars trace the evidence of impressive libraries into the gymnasiums, bathhouses, and personal collections of the Greco-Roman world. Following Rome's fall, libraries persisted beyond late antiquity into the medieval period via Europe's monastic tradition and continued to hold a place of prominence during the Renaissance and Industrial Revolution.<sup>2</sup> Finally, from the shores of the New World, Benjamin Franklin heralded the first colonial library that he termed "mother," The Library Company of Philadelphia.<sup>3</sup> Yet, library development within the United States remained the privilege of a cultural elite able to afford subscription costs until 1854.

Marketing itself as “the first large free municipal library in the United States,” the Boston Public Library opened its collection of over 16,000 volumes to the public in March 1854.<sup>4</sup> However, the ensuing popularity of the public library movement, beginning around 1876, did not develop within a cultural vacuum.<sup>5</sup> The materials collected, catalogued, and circulated by public librarians were intended to meet local needs. The public, in turn, provided the local library with its staff, placing the librarian in a unique, familiar relationship with the patron. The common culture shared by public librarians and library patrons enhanced the librarian’s ability to meet the ever-evolving institutional objective of providing local user-communities with the intellectual materials requisite for the public’s personal enlightenment, education, and entertainment. Thus, public libraries never operated as a neutral zone free from their unique socio-political cultures. Rather, the library would be encumbered with its respective community values and social mores through the library staff, policies, and within the collections’ content.

While the public library movement gained popularity throughout the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the southern United States suffered significant delays in developing free public libraries. These delays were attributed to the financial, material, and human devastation resulting from the U. S. Civil War. However, by the early 1900s, some Southern cities were offering remarkable public library services for their communities which proved to be quite popular. For example, the New Orleans Public Library (NOPL) began providing free library access to New Orleans citizens as early as 1907; on Halloween in 1908, the library unveiled a branch system that included a central building, three neighborhood branches, and a children’s department. Henry M., Gill, the city’s head librarian, described the grand opening of the library’s new Central Building as “an occasion of unusual interest. The building was brilliantly lighted, handsomely decorated, and a large audience filled the great reading room to the doors.”<sup>6</sup> In fact, the grand opening for each branch attracted large crowds (with the exception of the Napoleon Branch, which opened during “a steady downpour of rain”).<sup>7</sup> However, in spite of the city’s impressive branch system, fully operational by 1908, the library did not grant access to African Americans until late in 1915.

Closely shadowing the South’s celebration of public libraries emerged a new national literature written with the exclusive purpose of instructing children with amusing stories. Librarians responded to the needs of an expanding readership; and, as a greater number of children’s departments opened, the young readers proved themselves to be lovers of books. Thus the children’s department, complete with specially trained children’s librarians, was established alongside the region’s newest peculiar institution, the public library. The growing interest in children as readers, driven by a vision of the child as tomorrow’s hope, expanded the role of the virtuous Mother and it thrust her out of the home into a socially accepted professional role within the library to care for the new child patron.

Complicating library progress down South was a virulent form of racism among the South's white population who were still reeling from the Emancipation of their ex-slaves. As the city's library became an obvious venue for public discourse and socialization, the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) allied with local libraries, and launched a literacy campaign to vindicate the South while preserving its heritage of white supremacy.<sup>8</sup> As this white racial ideology found its way into the regional and national literature, it soon revealed itself within the new genre of literature being written for children readers and collected in libraries. Southern librarians developed collections peculiar to their user populations, maintained segregated spaces, and aligned themselves ideologically with community activists to ferment a cultural revolution of literacy, readership, and open access to information for children. However, in doing so, they fostered the transmission of a stubborn, yet aggressive, racial ideology of white superiority, privilege, and black subservience.

In that the public library is a predominately local community institution, the New Orleans Public Library serves as an excellent focal point for historical inquiry. The city of New Orleans wholeheartedly embraced the Southern public library movement in the early twentieth century, and with a keen attention to detail, the staff preserved valuable internal reports, minutes of meetings, and correspondence. In addition to the NOPL's archive of internal documentation and records, the fundamental objective of the library to provide "every book to its reader" required these library professionals to engage in demographic studies, termed community assessments. The community assessments were regularly employed by the librarians, and they utilized multiple methods of inquiry which reveal important details about the early twentieth-century New Orleans citizenry, such as their reading preference, values, and customs. However, these continual assessments of the New Orleans Public Library user community also serves as a powerful tool for the historian in evaluating to what degree, if any, the NOPL was successful in effecting social change by "preaching its gospel of good books and public libraries."<sup>9</sup>

As the public library solidified its permanence in America's urban and rural landscape, it functioned as a powerful catalyst for social change in the southern United States. Writing in the New Orleans' Public Library's twenty-fifth *Annual Report*, Gill predicted that "the historian of the future will find in this present day library movement one of the main currents of American life."<sup>10</sup> This project endeavors to uncover that force by examining the continued oppression of black Americans.

The breadth of this argument encompasses multiple historiographical threads, including: Southern history; the public library movement; and, children's librarianship, all of which are viewed through the bi-focaled lens of gender and race. Yet, absorbing this project through purpose, theme, and argument lays the development of Whiteness in the twentieth-century United States. Whiteness studies have proved a remarkably significant thread of U.S. historiography feeding questions driving this study.

Two scholars trace the origins of modern white racism back to the era of Jim Crow. In *Making Whiteness* Elizabeth Grace Hale brings the discussion of Whiteness much closer into modern times. Hale examines a consumer culture that muddied the color line while simultaneously advocating racial distinctions. Jennifer Ritterhouse, In *Growing Up Jim Crow*, also looks at the segregated South. While she contends that white racism was taught to children, it nonetheless remained an unobserved, unwritten lesson promulgated by parents. This project, based on the idea that a racial ideology was taught to children, turns to the era's public librarians, who were not only educators but the most disciplined in archiving their institutional records.

In section one, I examine the culture of literacy that New Orleans public librarians tended from 1900 through the 1930s. By gearing their energy towards the city's children, they attempted to shape a progressive moral economy by guiding the reading interests of their youngest, most malleable of readers. Section two looks at representative examples of early twentieth century children's books, including picture books and materials collected for both younger and juvenile readers. The picture book extended the genre's potential impact on children who were too young to read, as well as those who had never learned. The NOPL defined the young reader as being less than fifteen-years old. Third, the juvenile reader ties the project together. Written for older children, these didactic examples clearly expressed the basic tenants of the Lost Cause racial ideology, which were boisterously espoused by the UDC in their work with children. Ultimately, librarians successfully molded the cast of mind for two generations of American children by developing peculiar collections for their local community, maintaining segregated spaces, and aligning their institutional focus on children with the Daughters' fierce community activism. Children's librarians, although driven by an egalitarian, progressive ideology of literacy and readership, ironically fostered the cultural transmission of a nineteenth-century white racial ideology memorialized within books sitting on the library shelf.

#### *A Culture of Literacy and Readership*

Childhood is a tender thing and easily wrought into any shape.  
Yea, and the very souls of children readily receive the  
impressions of those things that are dropped into them while they  
are yet but soft; but when they grow older, they will,  
as all hard things are, be more difficult to be wrought upon.  
—Plutarch,

from Olcott, Frances J. *The Children's Reading*, 1912 & 1927

Public librarians in the Southern United States struggled to foment a cultural revolution of literacy, readership, and open access to information amongst their communities' most precious resources: children. Following closely in the wake of the Southern public library movement during the

early 1900s, librarians began developing collections, spaces, and services for their cities' youngest readers. While the definitions of both children's literature and the children's department varied from library to library, most librarians tended to separate their young patrons into two groups. The first group, and the one more commonly associated with children's literature, consisted of children in the seventh grade and below. Older children above the eighth grade tended to be regarded as juvenile readers. Children's librarians targeted both groups of children in their mission to create a better or more civilized world for tomorrow by inculcating their community's children with collections and spaces specially designed for their use and that would appeal to their interests. By tapping into children's curiosity and the Southern region's impressive literacy rates in the early twentieth century, children's librarians began shaping their communities by developing special collections and reading lists that would not only shape a child's reading habits but would form the child's worldview.<sup>11</sup>

The South's literacy rate is commonly perceived as inferior because the public school system was not introduced until Reconstruction. Thus, there is reason to question whether librarians and their collections had any real potential to shape a region suffering from supposedly high rates of white illiteracy. Unfortunately, while little work has been done on the topic, Southern illiteracy remains the common assumption. However, the evidence suggests that Southern literacy rates ran much higher than historians tend to assume.<sup>12</sup>

Writing for the *Confederate Veteran* in 1928, D. W. Dyer argues, "the character of the white illiterates of the South has been grossly misrepresented and is much understood."<sup>13</sup> While Dyer admits that the South was behind the North in the early twentieth century, he faults the War Between the States as destroying the South's efforts at public education in the second half of the nineteenth century. For example, Dyer states that "in 1860 there were 27,582 public schools in the Southern states with an enrollment of 954,728."<sup>14</sup> Yet, even with the setbacks from war, Dyer claims that "in the towns and cities of Virginia in 1900 there was only one white man out of every 42 who could neither read nor write."<sup>15</sup> Unfortunately, Dyer's article comes with a heavy prejudice against the North. He believed that the South's highest illiteracy rates were found in the region's mountainous and sparsely populated areas, and argued that towns people were more intelligent and progressive, and "as a rule joined the Confederacy." The profound illiteracy of the approximately 35,000 Unionists in Tennessee becomes for Dyer the reason for their not supporting the Confederate South. Fortunately, less biased and more recent work on Southern literacy rates during the antebellum era give credence to claims of a literate South.

Economic historian John E. Murray argues in "Family, Literacy, and Skill Training in the Antebellum South: Historical-Longitudinal Evidence from Charleston" that literacy rates for Southern Whites in the antebellum period were much higher than previously thought. Murray draws his conclusion from what he qualifies as a unique source of data related to "apprenticeship

indentures.”<sup>17</sup> Based on this data, Murray claims that even the poorest mothers in Charleston taught their children not only how to read, but how to write.<sup>18</sup> He said parents naturally showed a strong interest in their child’s education due to a strong positive correlation between literacy and wealth.<sup>19</sup>

Murray prefaces his study by noting there is no question of the North’s higher literacy rate, but he claims that large percentages of literate Whites in the North in combination with a general lack of public education in the South created the misconception that illiteracy abounded in the South.<sup>20</sup> Interestingly, Murray’s study of the poorest White children in Charleston reveals that White literacy levels in the South were comparable to corresponding levels in the North.<sup>21</sup>

Unfortunately no one has analyzed literacy rates for the first fifty years of the twentieth century; however, the United States Census Bureau began collecting illiteracy statistics in the 1870 census. Subsequent censuses show a general trend of comparable improvement in the North and the South through the 1950 census. Whiteness, regardless of gender, class, or regional differences, is isolated in this study because the racialized books being collected by local librarians to effect cultural change were written by White authors for White children. While African-American children would have likely read such books, the literacy rates relevant to early twentieth century librarians, and hence this study, are those of the white population.

A gradual rise in national literacy levels begins after the 1880 census. In fact, the national level of literacy increased by ten percent from 1880 to 1910. The data suggest the increase resulted from comparable improvements in literacy attainment in the North and the South.<sup>22</sup> Isolating Whiteness in the population reveals how close the literacy levels were for the two regions. The U.S. Census Bureau identifies only 4.3 percent of the entire Northern population as being illiterate by 1910. The Southern rate is shockingly lower with 15.6 percent of the entire population qualified as illiterate; however, isolating Whiteness drops the Southern rate to 7.7 percent bringing it within four percent of its Northern counterpart. This means more than 92% of White Americans in both the South and North qualified as literate by the end of the twentieth century’s first decade.<sup>23</sup> Twenty years later the total percentage of the illiterate Northern populace remained close to three percent while the total Southern percentage had only decreased four tenths of a percent. Yet, the Northern and Southern literacy rates for whites were above 96 percent for both regions.<sup>24</sup> Finally, the census data compliments Murray’s claim that Southern mothers were responsible for their region’s remarkably high literacy rates. Although the U.S. Census Bureau did not collect literacy data before the Civil War, the censuses following the war through the 1950 census show an interesting trend when the gender qualification is isolated. Regardless of a person’s race, geographical location, or class status, the difference between female and male literacy is not significant.

The booming national business of producing children's books in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries also hints at a significantly literate population of children in the Southern states. In *Minders of Make-Believe: Idealists, Entrepreneurs, and the Shaping of American Children's Literature*, Leonard Marcus traces the rise of the major publishing houses in the early twentieth century from their nineteenth century roots. Children's literature emerged as a respected genre of American literature in the 1830s. Marcus begins his study by noting the didactic nature of children's literature written before 1860. Concentrating on the interrelationship between librarians, educators, and the publishing houses, Marcus argues that by 1830 the production of children's literature was recognized for its potential profitability, but the American public would soon learn to value the amusing books written for children because of their potential to instruct. The volume of the books being published significantly increased following the Civil War. The nation's first public library was established in 1852, but only twenty years later there were 2,500 libraries representing a total collection of over 12 million titles. The number of libraries doubled and the number of titles tripled by the close of the century.<sup>25</sup> The first children's literature association was started in 1887, and in 1895 the American Library Association (ALA) formally recognized the title of children's librarian as a specific specialization of librarianship.

Children's librarians were enjoying a new era of professional respectability and prestige by the end of the 1920s. A New England bookseller, Frederic G. Melcher, proposed at the 1921 ALA Conference that "the time had come for children's literature to have its own Pulitzer Prize."<sup>26</sup> The bookseller's proposal was met with overwhelming support at the conference, and in the following year the ALA recognized excellence in children's literature with their new John Newberry Medal.<sup>27</sup> Turow notes that the major publishing houses noticed an increasing demand for children's books along with the literature's notable prestige. MacMillan was the first of many publishers to create a separate and autonomous department specifically for publishing children's literature.<sup>28</sup>

The Great Depression slowed the genre's growth only slightly during the 1930s. New book production dropped by fifty percent from 1931 to 1933<sup>29</sup>; however, Marcus notes that most children's literature departments experienced a marked improvement as early as 1935.<sup>30</sup> Following the return to profitability, the Caldecott Medal was created in 1937 to honor excellence in picture books herald the profession's coming of age.<sup>31</sup>

Public librarians in the early twentieth century often spoke and wrote of the library and their profession as fundamental to a healthy society. To strengthen their arguments, librarians colored their rhetoric and scholarship with religious vocabulary and concepts. At the American Library Association's (ALA) annual conference in 1923, the association's president, George B. Utley, loaded his speech with spiritual language in order to express not only the necessity of public library services but to convey their society's imminent and pressing need for the librarian who

“assumes the halo of a holy office.”<sup>32</sup> Yet, ALA President Utley relied on more than religious imagery to convey America’s need of library services to his attentive army of public librarians who overwhelmingly believed that “the most civilized gesture that it is possible” was to offer free library services.<sup>33</sup> Utley, argued that the war had reduced demand for librarians, and called on librarians to begin “preaching the gospel of good books and public libraries.”<sup>34</sup> But one may ask why librarians in the early twentieth-century felt so strongly about the value and necessity of a public library as well as their drive to invent local, regional, and national literary cultures?

Librarians define their institution, not as a place, but as a space that fosters an intellectual and abstract exchange of ideas. One can see entrenched within the ALA’s 1939 definition of a library evidence of the librarian’s ethical values: “all libraries are forums for information and ideas.”<sup>35</sup> In other words, the library can be thought of as a part of the public discourse. Thus, censorship becomes nothing less than a limitation or restriction on public conversation and understanding. To censor materials from the library’s user community, constitutes an egregious attack on a democratic society’s reliance on an informed public. In light of such firm beliefs regarding the importance of a library as a fundamental and necessary component of a free, democratic, and high society, it certainly follows that early twentieth-century librarians raised the status of their profession to a “holy office.”<sup>36</sup>

As the public library movement spread throughout the United States with greater speed at the turn of the twentieth century, it did not take long for librarians to begin preaching their gospel of readership and literacy for their community’s most precious resource: children. Jill Lepore, in “The Lion and the Mouse: The Battle that Reshaped Children’s Literature,” returns to the traditional moment of what many today consider the birth of the modern children’s librarian. Examining the work of Anne Carol Moore, the NYPL’s undisputed pioneer of children’s librarianship, Lepore identifies librarians’ new emphasis on children as beginning during the second decade of the twentieth century, “After the [NYPL] library opened in 1911, its children’s room became a pint-sized paradise.”

Donnarae MacCann in *The Child’s First Books: A Critical Study of Pictures and Texts* describes children as “quick in sensing and accepting” information with instinctive responses to a book’s text and pictures.<sup>38</sup> MacCann argues that children easily receive and construct new information into what becomes “some of the most important human characteristics.”<sup>39</sup> Likewise, author Lillian Smith in *The Unreluctant Years* contends that a child’s underdeveloped reasoning skills prevent the children from critically analyzing the value of a story’s lessons. Smith describes the sense of “wonder and question” exhibited by children; but warns they are “uncritical in judging literature.”<sup>40</sup>

Acknowledging the impressionability of children is not new, children’s librarians in the early 1900s were well aware of the child’s highly impressionable nature and that the books a child read would significantly

affect his or her development and perception of the world. The moralistic and didactic quality of American children's literature before 1860 illustrates a long use of books by Americans to teach their children important cultural values and moral lessons.<sup>41</sup> While explicit moral piety gradually disappeared from the American genre following the Civil War; new works emerged with themes focused on "social problems" that were delivered within a narrative intended to entertain the child reader.<sup>42</sup> Smith notes the genre "now has value as social history" because of the loaded messages that persisted well into the twentieth century.<sup>43</sup>

Early twentieth century librarians believed it was both their moral and professional duty to guide their young readers. For example, Anne Carol Moore's protégé (who eventually replaced Moore as the head of the New York Public Library services for children) forcefully declared that, "I hope for that day when we shall be called the belligerent profession; a profession that is informed, illuminated, and radiated by a fierce and beautiful love of books – a love so overwhelming that it makes the culture of our time distinctive, individual, creative, and truly of the spirit."<sup>44</sup> Anna P. Mason (1923), librarian of the St. Louis Public Library, in her article "The Children's Librarian in the Community," wrote that she was "bursting" with excitement over the importance of the library to its community for fostering "intelligent citizenship."<sup>45</sup> Regarding how the individual librarian should structure their efforts, she advised her professional and scholarly audience to place their "emphasis upon the reader rather than the book, and the institution of work with children as a specialized department is the most fundamental evidence and demonstration of this conception. All consideration of plans for the reorganization of society begins with the children."<sup>46</sup>

The New York Public Library (NYPL) and the work of Ann Carol Moore remain central themes to historical scholarship examining the efforts of children's librarians in shaping their communities. Yet, as the public library movement spread throughout the southern half of the United States, librarians quickly established children's departments in their communities' libraries as well.

Southern librarians were very sensitive of the South's failure to maintain the pace of public library development in the Northern States. The librarian at the Carnegie Library of Nashville, Tennessee, argued that the South's slower pace was due to the Civil War that "left the South impoverished" and not to be erroneously blamed on "a lack of sufficient culture or a non-appreciation of the value of literature and the advantages of its general dissemination. Causes of a peculiar character have operated to retard library growth in the South."<sup>47</sup> But while the South's public library movement lagged behind the North's by approximately twenty-five years, the same cannot be said for the South's development of separate library services for children readers. In fact, as early as 1908 the NOPL first began providing separate collections and spaces for the city's children.<sup>48</sup> Surprisingly, historians often ignore the role of the public library in their studies of the past. Librarian Christine

E. Jenkins, Ph.D., professor of Library and Information Science at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, states that “in considering the historiography of youth services librarianship, one is struck by how often a call for further research in this area has been sounded and how limited the response to that call has been.”<sup>49</sup>

Henry M. Gill, the head librarian and director of the New Orleans Public Library (NOPL) from 1906 to 1927, left a remarkably detailed record of the library’s emphasis on children. In 1907, after receiving a \$250,000 gift from philanthropist Andrew Carnegie, Gill noted that the money would be gratefully employed in one of the library’s three critical, and official, objectives: towards expanding the library’s scope and usefulness; increasing the NOPL’s dignity and importance in the eyes of its user community; and, increasing the recognition of the library as being a “handmaid to our excellent public school system.”<sup>50</sup> As the quote implies, Gill and the NOPL were working with children indirectly through the public school system in 1907 before the library officially opened a children’s department. However, it would not be long before Gill and his fellow librarians realized, with greater depth, the importance of their work with children.

It is hard to overemphasize the New Orleans Public Library’s concern with the quality of literacy of the children in their city. In his first annual library report for the NOPL in 1907, librarian and director Henry M. Gill insisted the library was fundamental for social progress and that directing the reading habits of children was essential to their institutional mission. He wrote: “It is our belief that progress can be made and that the advancement of civilization is possible only through the culture of the moral and intellectual powers of the people at large . . . and the public library labors with this same noble purpose . . . [The Library] is indeed, second only to the church and the school in strengthening the mind and character of our fellow men.”<sup>51</sup> Even while operating without a catalogue of any kind or being able to spare the necessary staff to devote to such a project as cataloging the library’s collection, Gill made sufficient appropriations from a limited annual budget to send one of his few librarians to the New York Public Library for “acquainting herself with work in children’s libraries.”<sup>52</sup>

Considering the significant labor and financial investment devoted to sending the New Orleans librarian to New York, it is not surprising that the children’s department the NOPL revealed to the public in November of 1908, bore a striking resemblance to the recommendations made by Anne Carol Moore only five years before. Writing for the *Library Journal* in 1903, Moore prescribed one of the earliest recipes for what she maintained was the essential components “for the work of the children’s library.”<sup>53</sup> The NOPL closely followed Moore’s advice. By 1908, New Orleans’ public librarians had created a children’s department that was unique unto itself; a trained librarian was selecting new children’s books; duplicates of popular titles were purchased; the children’s librarian visited other children’s departments to foster professionalization; and, finally, funds were made

available to improve both the aesthetics and comfort of the environment as well as the quality of the collection.<sup>54</sup>

Moore's 1903 *Library Journal* article bears further consideration for a couple of reasons. First, while writing at the beginning of what would become an important and lengthy career, Moore described their profession in the early 1900s "at the end of an experimental stage of a work which has been of such recent and such rapid growth."<sup>55</sup> She intended her article to both encourage new interest in children's librarianship as a legitimate profession and to cite recent improvement in the field. While Moore admitted that the prospects of a children's librarian paled to that of a public school teacher, "they are very much brighter than they were in 1896, when none of the children's librarians of my acquaintance were receiving more than \$600 annually."<sup>56</sup> By 1928, children's librarians could hope to earn between \$1,200 and \$2,400 annually.<sup>57</sup>

The second significance of Moore's 1903 article concerns the gender specific role of the children's librarian. In every primary source article reviewed for this project, including Moore's, the children's librarian is overwhelmingly assumed to be a female. In fact, Moore used the children's department to enhance the significance, education, and reputability of the female in the workplace. Moore wrote, "While the children's librarian may be virtually free to develop her own work in her own way, she is much stronger and more valuable assistant if she is made directly responsible to the chief librarian for the development of her work."<sup>58</sup> Twenty years later in 1923, the gendered selection of children's librarians showed no signs of diminishing. Librarian Anna P. Mason of the St. Louis Public Library, in describing the importance of the children's librarian for the community, claimed that:

As the office of the children's librarian becomes an increasingly respected one in the eyes of the public, as her position grows in dignity, there are larger opportunities for her own personal development and for those compensations which are so essential to the heart and soul of womanhood. I think that we may say that, if the financial side is properly met, the outlook for the interest in this field of library service is very bright, for the growth of work with young people has created an enlarged field of dignified service which calls for the best qualities of womanhood and a higher order of intelligence and education.<sup>59</sup>

By tying the ideal of the virtuous Mother as the guardian of the home to the community's need for children's librarians, Mason ably demonstrates the means by which women assumed a respectable public role in furthering their professional opportunities. Furthermore, that Mason wrote of the woman's importance to children's librarianship only twenty years after Moore first suggested the position might improve women's public and professional opportunities reveals the speed of women's increasing success at professionalization.

In addition to the main library, the City of New Orleans had three fully functioning branch libraries in 1908. The city's branch libraries provide further evidence of the NOPL's desire to shape the reading habits of their city's children. Although the library operated without an official children's department (until late in 1908) Gill made new policies specifically for the branch libraries to ensure they reached as many children in the city as possible.

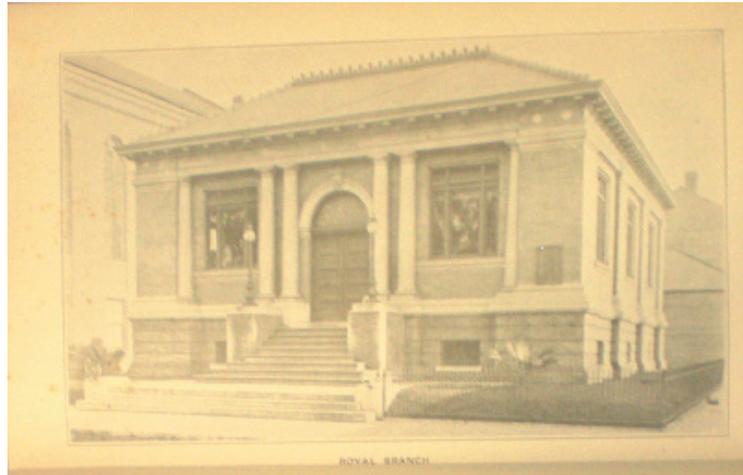
In the branches particular attention will be paid to the children. A large percent of the books is for their use, tables and chairs especially designed for the little ones have been placed in each building, picture bulletins are liberally employed to stimulate the desire to read and to direct their reading to certain channels.<sup>60</sup>



A children's reading room in the New Orleans Public Library, between 1908-10. The library provided tables and chairs specifically constructed for younger readers with the ends of the tables rounded off to prevent unnecessary injury to the children if they were to fall. A great deal of time and consideration was devoted by the New Orleans librarians in creating library space for their young readers.<sup>61</sup>

Yet, by the fall of the following year the NOPL had relegated a separate collection and space in the new central library for their children readers. Opening in November of 1908, the books selected for the department's collection were at a seventh-grade reading level or less. The department boasted a children's collection of 4,340 works with a circulation during its first two months, November and December of 1908, of 5,885.<sup>63</sup> The total circulation after only one year of service amounted to almost 60,000.<sup>64</sup> Gill and the librarians at the New Orleans Public library had tapped into what seems to be a preexisting desire of the children to read and learn. This impressive beginning speaks to city's and the South's impressive literacy rates for children at the turn of the century. But, the children

of New Orleans quickly outgrew their allotted space and Gill was soon expanding the space, collection, and services for their young readers. “We are confronted with the serious problem of finding at least half again as much space as it occupies at present,” he wrote in 1909.<sup>65</sup>



This is a photograph of New Orleans Public Library's Royal Branch. Library director Henry M. Gill arranged for most of the branch's books and space to be for the children. Each of the branch libraries purchased the smaller chairs and tables for the comfort of their younger readers.

By 1910, only three years after making the library's services available for children, it can safely be said that the NOPL's children department had come of age. The library was busying itself extending its services and responsibilities to the city's children. For example, Gill worked hard to align the library's work with children to the city's public education system. A special library card, called a teacher's card, was created to allow for special borrowing privileges for instructors in the city school system.<sup>66</sup> The teacher's card allowed educational professionals to borrow a greater number of materials for the purpose of facilitating classroom instruction. As the library improved its relationship with the city's public school system, teachers began bringing entire classes to the library.

As the children's department continued to grow in popularity, Gill began listing the books most frequently checked out for children in his annual reports. The list included the top twenty-five works for boys as well as girls for each year. Furthermore, story hour had become a regular feature of the children's department. Readers would often structure their story to leave the children in a state of climax to increase their desire to read more books. One of the more popular activities, “Chalk Talk,” was given by a Mr. Charles Beard. While telling a story Mr. Beard would draw a picture

with chalk and give it to a lucky child at the end of the story.<sup>67</sup> The Boy Scouts were involved as well. In 1910, Boy Scout leaders developed a camping exhibit that was immensely popular with the children. The children's department was a certified success by 1910.

By the close of the twentieth century's first decade, public librarians in Southern cities had made monumental progress in substantiating children's librarianship as a permanent component or function of the public library as well as a legitimate profession within librarianship. Children's librarians, by tapping into a preexisting regional network of white literacy while harnessing the child's natural curiosity, had created a new public forum for cooperating with local schools to increase their influence upon the city's children. However, while librarians increased their children's collections along with the space allotted for their use, these professionals began looking at other community and local institutions outside the library and school system to supplement their work and influence. One such group that worked with the New Orleans Public Library's mission to the city's children was the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC).

#### *Collecting Whiteness*

*You gwine ter see a gent' man's nigger an' a nigger gent' man  
drive his Master's kerridge to-day, an' his wife on de driver's seat  
wid him, an' you ain' gwine see him notice a'y a common nigger  
'twix' heah an' town an' back.*

– Ned to Mr. Standwick<sup>68</sup>

The literature written, published, and collected by librarians during the early twentieth centuries reflects the increasingly anti-black prejudice that followed the emancipation of the slaves. Eugene D. Genovese's brilliant of Southern slave society, *Roll Jordan Roll: The World the Slaves Made*, illustrates change in whites perceptions of blacks as well as themselves. Genovese argues that slaveholders genuinely believed and insisted that the "slaves constituted part of the family and these expressions of belief in their loyalty lay at the heart of the master's world-view;" but this was only a self-delusion on the part of the master.<sup>69</sup> Genovese continues that the "defection of their most trusted and pampered slaves" served as a psychological trauma changing white attitudes about blacks. One Southerner remarked that "I am beginning to lose confidence in the whole race."<sup>70</sup> Another described his slaves reaction when he attempted to maintain order noting he said that he had "talked to the slaves 'as a father' but they had laughed."<sup>71</sup> The War, Emancipation, and the following period of Reconstruction served as the ultimate lesson hardening white opinion and attitudes against blacks. The trauma inflicted on their psyche when they realized that their slaves did not really love them convinced many Southerners of the "perfect impossibility of placing the least confidence in the Negro."<sup>72</sup>

The bitter resentment Southern whites harbored against freed blacks manifest itself in their regional literature. And, with the increasing focus on the child's welfare in the early twentieth century, books written for children would be tainted with the same begrudging, negative depictions of blacks - and in some cases pure hatred. Yet, the racial themes, pictures, and lack of realistic black characters in children's books was enhanced by a book market with national distribution, an exploding public library movement, and a population of literate white children interested in reading. Thus, the culture of literacy and readership, propagated by Southern librarians, allowed for the transmission of a white racial ideology. Increasingly biased children's literature transmitted a blistering white trauma as paternal regard for slaves withered.<sup>73</sup>

Scholars are increasingly devoting greater attention to the racial content found in children's literature that originated during the nineteenth century and persisted well into the twentieth century. For example, Donnarae MacCann, in *White Supremacy in Children's Literature: Characterizations of African Americans, 1817 - 1914*, offers a substantial analysis of the racial content shaping books written for children during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. MacCann's synthesis of two U. S. historiographies into a single work, the evolution of a white racial ideology along with the establishment of children's literature, provides this project with important background material. Although her study ends by 1914 much of the racial bias remained in children's books written in the following decades. Furthermore, several of the works she examined remained popular well into the twentieth century.

MacCann begins her study by juxtaposing the progressive character of the nation's most liberal Northern Whites against the racial bias of Southern Whites. For evidence she turns to examples of children's literature written by both nineteenth-century anti-slave writers and authors of a pro-slavery persuasion. MacCann concludes that the individual politics were irrelevant as both groups of authors tended to use the same negative and degrading depictions of African American characters. Her study relies heavily on works from the following well-known authors: Harriet Beecher Stowe, Jacob Abbott, Joel Chandler Harris, Mark Twain and Lydia Maria Child. In addition to citing their use of racist depictions of African Americans, MacCann extends her argument by correlating their racial bias to the sympathies the authors shared with the American Colonization Society.<sup>74</sup>

Various stock characters emerge within the genre representing the stereotypical portrayal of Blacks. Dorothy M. Broderick, in *Image of the Black in Children's Fiction*, lists seven: "(1) The Contented slave, (2) The Wretched Freeman, (3) The Comic Negro, (4) The Brute Negro, (5) The Tragic Mulatto, (6) The Local Negro, and (7) The Negro."<sup>75</sup> MacCann's work is concerned with what Brown coined as "The Comic Negro," which she refers to as the "minstrel image of Blacks." She describes the minstrel characters as depicting mentally inferior Blacks in the nineteenth century.<sup>76</sup> MacCann argues in *White Supremacy in Children's Literature*

that the use of the unrealistic and racist depictions of African Americans by White egalitarian writers actually “undermined the theme of Black emancipation.”<sup>77</sup> She uses both individual and institutional authors to substantiate her claim. For example, to illustrate her point, she claims that although Jacob Abbot saw himself as “the quintessential liberal” and John T. Trowbridge “considered himself an energetic emancipationist,” both Abbot and Trowbridge consistently portrayed Blacks with negative and demeaning stereotypes.<sup>78</sup> MacCann notes as well that textbook writers, who “resided overwhelmingly in the New England states,” used blatant depictions of Black inferiority.<sup>79</sup> She contends that northern progressives writing for children did not erase the stock minstrel character but, instead, dehumanized Blacks with “increasing severity.”<sup>80</sup>

In addition to identifying the prevalence of racial attitudes among White Northern progressives, MacCann also maintains that the anti-Black sentiments in children’s literature served as a catalytic factor fostering the reunion of regions following the U. S. Civil War. For example, Northern federal judge, Albion W. Tourgee, summed up “the entire overall character of the national postwar literature... when he said, ‘Our literature has become not only Southern in type but distinctly Confederate in sympathy.’”<sup>81</sup> MacCann also refers to C. Vann Woodward’s description of the postwar period as the moment when “Yankeeism took to its heart the lost cause.”<sup>82</sup> She claims that this unprecedented expansion of Whiteness continued to increase in quantity and severity well into the twentieth century.

Unfortunately, MacCann’s exceptional analysis of white racism within children’s literature ends by 1900. However, Michelle H. Martin, in *Brown Gold: Milestones of African American Picture Books, 1845-2002*, carries the discussion much further. Although Martin’s work mostly examines the children’s books written by black authors to be read by black children, she devotes a chapter to those works by white authors “written for white children with the intention of – at best – patronizing blacks, or – at worst – depicting them as ugly, ignorant, simple-minded, humorous fools at whom readers were invited to laugh unabashedly.”<sup>83</sup> Of the three types of children’s books available in the early twentieth century, picture books, texts for younger readers, and texts for juveniles, Martin’s chapter on picture books provides the most impressive demonstration of the virulent literature being published, a literature that even three- and four-year-old children could have processed.

Although Leonard Marcus, in *Minders of Make-Believe: Idealists, Entrepreneurs, and the Shaping of American Children’s Literature*, tends to ignore social concerns (as his focus is on the business of children’s literature and not its reception) he also refers to the period’s racial emphasis. Marcus contends that white authors continued to depict black Americans as inferior, comical, and helpless during the first half of the twentieth century: “when it came to portraying, or even to referring to people of color,” most writers did “no better than to perpetuate the worst impulses and ingrained prejudices of White American Culture.”<sup>84</sup>

### *Picture Books*

Picture books first became available by the 1890s, and they extended the anti-black message to non-literate children and those too young to have learned to read.<sup>85</sup> One such example published in New York by the McLoughlin Brothers, notable for its long publishing history from the “1860s to 1980s,” is the Mother Goose rhyme *The Ten Little Niggers*.<sup>86</sup> This educational picture book taught the youngest of children to read while developing in them an unhealthy opinion of black Americans. The book counts down from ten to one while each of the children dies or disappears.<sup>87</sup>

The publication, with its cartoonish depictions showing the degeneration of the black male, reflected contemporary attitudes about the decline and disappearance of African Americans. As George Fredrickson has observed, it “coincided with the full triumph of Darwinism in American thought...As a result, the 1890s saw an unparalleled outburst of racist speculation on the impending disappearance of the American Negro.”<sup>88</sup> Half of the boys in this story die, and each death speaks to the impossibility of African Americans ability surviving in the New World. The significance of these deaths apparently concerns the danger of a black individual outside of his socially relegated role. The rhyme implies that destruction will follow the Emancipation of blacks.

This story in song, while instructing the young reader how to count, is done so at the expense of black people’s integrity by mocking their social condition. And the song’s final line, “and then there were None,” illustrates the dark bitterness and resentment brewing in the minds of many whites at the turn of the century. Children reading it would have invariably learned that blacks were not a part of white society, while its comedic delivery would have assured the child that the black community was not a threat.

Michelle Martin reviews another picture book which remains a well known title today, *Little Black Sambo* by Helen Bannerman. Bannerman’s short, controversial story concerns a small black child who outwits four tigers by giving them his new clothes and umbrella. The tigers proceed to chase themselves in a circle, churning themselves into butter. Sambo triumphantly recovers his property and he uses the butter on pancakes that his mother makes for him.

Martin is somewhat less critical of this “‘smiling darkie’ caricature” and proposes that “while many white Americans early in the twentieth century considered black people invisible within culture, Sambo made whites acknowledge the humanity in black people.”<sup>89</sup> True as that may be, the importance of historical perspective demands appropriate contextualization. Consider once more Eugene Genovese’s *Roll Jordan Roll* as he quotes a freed ex-slave who offered material and financial assistance to his old master during Reconstruction:

Mrs. Chestnut told of an old black man who comforted his destitute master at the end of the war: "When you 'all had de power you was good to me, and I'll protect you now. No nigger or Yankee shall touch you. If you want anything, call for Sambo. I mean, call for Mr. Samuel – that's my name now."

While Martin is certainly correct in identifying the varying degrees of racial content within these late nineteenth-century works, the depersonalization of blacks' humanity should not be disregarded, most importantly, because the slaves and freed blacks recognized the degradation implied by whites when they named their slaves. Thus, for the slave, he was no longer Sambo but Mr. Samuel. Furthermore, that white children and their parents adored the cute and heroic Sambo does not make it appropriate; it remains both an ahistorical interpretation of the past that allowed for the transmission of anti-black sentiment amongst white children. And *Little Black Sambo* was wildly popular. Martin has observed its "overwhelming reception" after publication. In fact, Bannerman's *Little Black Sambo* made a regular appearance on the New Orleans Public Library booklist of most frequently circulated selections listed as a part of the library's *Annual Reports* in 1910.

#### *Books for the Young Reader*

The second general type of children's book available during the early twentieth century was for the young reader. The New Orleans Public Library (NOPL) actually changed their definition of the young reader over time; however, this age group rarely included those over fifteen.<sup>91</sup> If there is one striking factor found in these works, beyond the glaring racial bias, it would be the terrifically grim narratives authors penned for their child readers. In other words, these stories are not composed of fairytales, rainbows, and cookie monsters; rather, they are blatantly didactic and meant to construct a world view resistant to what Southern whites would have considered dangerous progressive racial ideologies.

Louise-Clarke Pynelle's *Diddie, Dumps, and Tot* is one such example, and the second title that Pynelle gave her work speaks of the author's belief in the narrative's historicity: *Plantation Child-Life*. Consider how Pynelle introduces her collection of stories in the work's preface:

There are no more dear old "Mammies" and "Aunties" in our nurseries, no more good old "Uncles" in the workshops, to tell the children those old tales that have been told to our mothers and grandmothers for generations . . . Nor does my little book pretend to be a defence of slavery. I know whether or not it was right or wrong (there are many pros and cons on the subject); but it was the law of the land, made by statesmen from the North as well as the South, long before my day, or my father's or grandfather's day; and, born under that law a slave-holder, and the descendant of slave-holders, raised in the cotton section, surrounded by negroes

from my earliest infancy, 'I KNOW whereof I do speak;' and it is of to tell of the pleasant and happy relations that existed between master and slave that I write this story of "Diddie, Dumps, and Tot."<sup>92</sup>

Within this single paragraph, Pynelle informs her little readers that whether slavery is right, wrong, evil, or good remains of no consequence because it is of a long standing tradition for the North as well as the South. She then established herself as an authority of those sublime plantation days, while she packaged her tales with the language and imagery meant to ensure the transmission of white supremacy, privilege, and black subservience.

Pynelle preaches her revision of Southern history through the perspective of three young white girls on a family plantation. The young ladies, named Diddie, Dumps, and Tot were nine, five, and three-years old, respectively. Pynelle's plot came thick with lessons over wrought with Lost Cause ideology. For instance, even when she describes a slave auction, she portrays the slaves as content with their social status. "The Negroes were well clothed, well fed, and the great majority of them looked exceedingly happy."<sup>93</sup> The author even gives considerable agency to some slaves, as long as they "know their place."<sup>94</sup> Consider the naming of Diddie, Dumps, and Tot as an example.

Pynelle states that Diddie, Dumps, and Tot were the "pet names that Mammy had given them; but they had been called by them so long that many persons forgot that Diddie's name was Madeleine, that Dumps had been baptized Eleanor, and that Tot bore her mother's name of Eugenia."<sup>95</sup> Mammy had adorned Diddie, Dumps, and Tot with names that would be used by both friends and family, and the names even superseded those given through baptism and inheritance. This speaks volumes towards Mammy's status and prestige within the family hierarchy as Pynelle taught it. Genovese wrote of this attitude when he quoted a plantation mistress, "It is the slaves who own me."<sup>96</sup>

However, Pynelle did not ennoble the enslaved African American; rather, she exploited, in narrative, the slave's relegation to subservience and oppression to teach her young readers. One of the book's more didactic features concerns the author's treatment of the slave community as a foil for the wise, if parochial, Mammy character.<sup>97</sup> In fact, Pynelle warned her readers to not be shocked by "the seeming irreverence of her book."<sup>98</sup> For example, for fun, Diddie, Dumps, and Tot would sneak off to the slave quarters to watch the slave children recite their prayers with the hope of seeing a couple of the black children punished for praying incorrectly. During the mornings, the three girls enjoyed watching "Aunt Nancy give the little darkies their 'vermifuge,'" described as a nauseous concoction meant to supplement the slaves health and growth.<sup>99</sup> Pynelle consistently employed her narrative to demonstrate that "the little nigs" were wicked, depraved, and ungrateful, and to show the joy the little white girls found in observing the distribution of punishment.<sup>100</sup>



Diddie, Dumps, and Tot watching the slave children struggle through their evening prayers. The white child giggling on the right looks to be the eldest and she must be Diddie, leaving Dumps on the far left, and Tot in the middle. The scene reveals the stark contrasts in treatment of the black children who are continually scrutinized with the threat of the switch while the white children are left to enjoy themselves.

Within Pynelle's blatant, if clumsy, attempt to instruct young readers with amusing stories lays a short tale of two "little woolly poodles."<sup>101</sup> The puppies serve as a metaphor intended to illustrate the slaves' paradoxical status on the plantation as both members of the family and "property in man."<sup>102</sup> It is the puppies' wooliness that identifies the figurative conjunction linking the poodles to the plantation slaves. The author consistently refers to the slaves' woolly hair and their woolly clothes to complete the correlation.

The lesson reveals itself in a debate over what the puppies should be named.<sup>103</sup> After Papa, Christopher Columbus, and Pocahontas proved unsuccessful as potential names, Diddie announced, "I think, Dumps, we had better name 'um Cherubim an' Seraphim, for they continually do cry."<sup>104</sup> The "puzzling question" was settled with the father's approval and Pynelle concluded that the woolly and ungrateful poodles "became great pets in the household."<sup>105</sup> The puppy tale communicated three fundamental, yet interlaced, social principles from the Southern post-bellum perspective. First, the family plantation was a benevolent system; second, white southerners had willingly and joyfully accepted the burden of racial uplift; and lastly, by 'continually crying' blacks demonstrated their ingratitude to their white benefactors.

*Diddie, Dumps, and Tots'* conclusion remains faithful to Lost Cause history. The antebellum period, along with the plantation system, were presented by authors such as Pynelle as being the epitome of high civilizations. Thus, the destructive Civil War left the South, as well as the book's reader, with a sense of woe, regret, and nostalgia. By the end of *Diddie, Dumps, and Tot*, the master has died, the grief stricken mistress has been sent to an asylum,

and the land is left “just lying there useless, worthless.”<sup>106</sup> Diddie becomes a young widow, forever haunted by a vision of her Confederate husband’s dead and “cold white face, with its hair dabbled in blood.”<sup>107</sup> Tot died nondescriptly before the war began. And the story ends by revealing Dumps as an old-maid caring for her traumatized mother in the asylum, following instructions she recalls hearing from one of their long-gone faithful slaves by “doing what Uncle Snake-bit Bob told the Sunday-school children that God had made them do: ‘De Bes’ She Kin.”<sup>108</sup>

Pyrnelle’s *Diddie, Dumps, and Tot’s* repackaged the white trauma of Emancipation and delivered it to the twentieth century child reader. From these stories, children learned of a Southern tradition founded on progressive notions of racial benevolence, harmony, and interdependence. Furthermore, this fictional revision of antebellum history was linked to the nation’s history by noting that slavery “was the law of the land, made by statesmen from the North as well as the South, long before my day.”<sup>109</sup> However, the only tangible theme from this work that translates beyond the nineteenth century is white disgust with black ungratefulness. Any remaining pretense of paternalism or racial benevolence hinted at within the story merely explicated itself as the great white mistake; namely, the error of whites placing any trust in the black community’s loyalty.

#### *Books for the Juvenile Reader*

Donnarae MacCann’s formidable study, *White Supremacy in Children’s Literature*, ends with the close of the nineteenth century. However, white authors continued to pen revisionist tales of a fictional antebellum era for children readers. These were collected, catalogued, and circulated by public librarians throughout the South. The plantation system all too often was based on familial interdependency between the noble, gracious slaveholders and those who they believed to be their grateful “woolly pets.” One such example is *Ned: Nigger an’ Gent’ man, A Story of War and Reconstruction Days*.

The Texas Federal Judge Norman G. Kittrell raised the bar for children’s literature regarding the traditional theme of a North-South reunion in *Ned*, published in 1907 by the Neale Publishing Company. Kittrell, while offering a defense of the South’s secession predicating the U.S. Civil War, in effect, constructed a model for social etiquette and normalcy for juvenile readers in the New South.

The contemporary scholar and historian, Benajah H. Carroll, claimed that the book “was dramatized for a time and had great success.”<sup>110</sup> Kittrell’s renewed model of Southern social relations, while complicated and full of logical leaps, epitomizes the Lost Cause Ideology promulgated by the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) as well as that seen in earlier examples of the plantation narrative.<sup>111</sup> What emerges is a didactic story of

children's literature narrated by an ex-slave, Ned, who not only loves and adores his master, but despises those "mizzerbul new free niggers."<sup>112</sup>

*Ned* exemplifies the common model for the plantation narrative as described by MacCann. Thus, older children reading the story would have learned multiple lessons from the affable, loyal ex-slave Ned, that blacks were: simple-minded; self-depreciative in nature; happy to be slaves; and, not desirous of Lincoln's style of Emancipation.<sup>113</sup> Ned, by functioning as both a loyal ex-slave and narrator, ostensibly enhances the credibility of this fictional children's tale when he defends the Southern tradition of white supremacy and black subservience. Whether Kittrell knew of an Uncle Ned during his own youth in the South is not certain; however, in the *Confederate Veteran* there are frequent tributes to faithful slaves, variations of Uncle Ned, who demonstrate his "fidelity to his old mistress... loyalty to the Confederacy...and his devotion to our soldiers."<sup>114</sup>



"Uncle Ned" Hawkins, this picture of a typical Uncle Ned found in the *Confederate Veteran* from 1900. Judge Kittrell wrote his book seven years after this article; whether or not pictures like these motivated Kittrell to write his story, Kittrell's Ned certainly shares the same three characteristics of fidelity, loyalty, and devotion to this mistress, the Confederacy, and troops, respectively.<sup>115</sup>

The basic plot involves a Northern stranger travelling through the South after the Civil War. Within the first couple of pages, the stranger, Mr. Standwick, meets Ned, a "slave" to the wealthy Confederate Officer Colonel Marshall. Though the colonel happened to be away on business, Ned, left to care for his master's property as though it were his own, invites the reluctant "Yankee . . . beneath the Rebel's roof."<sup>116</sup> What follows are over 200 pages of Kittrell's political discourse on the causes of the War, justifications of slavery, and textbook-style lessons for juvenile readers on Southern customs, culture, and etiquette – all of which are inseparable from the region's peculiar race relations.

As a justification of antebellum slavery in the Old South, Kittrell used Ned to demonstrate his contentment with being his master's slave, despite Emancipation. For example, when Colonel Marshall offered Ned, and his wife Hester, a Sunday afternoon to spend as they pleased, Ned insisted:

We don' keer nuttin' bout gwine nowhars, thankee, Marster. Dar ain't no niggers in dis toen dat Hester an' me 'soshates wid. Ef you please, we'd rudder set here on de steps an' heah our white folks talk.<sup>117</sup>

Thus, according to Ned, his place as servant on the family plantation is where he wanted to be. In fact, Ned cared for the Marshall family so much, that he sacrificed his own son for the Confederate cause.

However, the cynical and legal mind of Judge Kittrell utilized other means to justify the South's cherished system of slavery. Kittrell was fond of taking Northern critiques and interpreting them in a light favorable to the South. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, well known as an abolitionist text that served as an indictment of slavery's brutality, is used as a defense of the South's peculiar institution. Kittrell claims, through the voice of Colonel Marshall's neighbor and friend Captain Alston, that ninety-nine percent of the brutal slave owners were transplanted Northerners seeking quick riches who did not inherit their property.<sup>118</sup> These Northern slaveholders residing in the South lacked the paternal spirit requisite for uplifting the slave. The belief in the brutality of the Northern slaveholder rested on the contention that a master could only respect those slaves he inherited. Captain Alston instructed the malleable Mr. Standwick:

In Colonel Marshall's library I see a book which you have doubtless seen, one that fanned the sparks of sectional strife and bitterness into a consuming flame and 'wrought woe's unnumbered, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' Whether it occurred by accident or inadvertence, or whether for a purpose Mrs. Stowe so designed it, the hardest, most cruel and unworthy character in that remarkable book, Legree, was born in the North and came South and trafficked in slaves and maltreated them; while the two most lovable characters, Uncle Tom and Eva, were reared amid slavery, one having been a slave, the other his mistress.<sup>119</sup>

Kittrell's critique of Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* served two purposes. First, the work's antagonist, Simon Legree, is identified as a transplanted Northerner seeking wealth in the South through his investment in slaves. Kittrell's revelation of Legree's northern origins was an attempt to support the South's contention that its peculiar institution was really a benevolent, paternal system that benefitted the slaves both materially and spiritually. Second, the revelation of Legree's origins enhanced another Southern argument that Northerners, such as Harriet Beecher Stowe, were woefully ignorant of the true Southern condition; therefore, the War Between the States was unfounded, aggressive, and destructive.

It is important to remember that Kittrell, a lawyer and judge, penned these nuanced arguments for juvenile readers. The southern school children reading the story of Ned would have received it as authoritative and indicative of the true history of the Confederate South and not a

sly revisionist history meant to vindicate the South, justify slavery, and ennoble the Civil War. Another of Kittrell's clever attempts to turn Northern critiques into a favorable Southern interpretation involves Colonel Marshall's dizzying interpretation of President Abraham Lincoln, his war, and his memory. The Colonel argued that Lincoln's death was the "direst calamity that ever befell the South" because the "force of his great character, and the extent of his influence" would have spared the South the horrors of Reconstruction.<sup>120</sup>

Kittrell's book conveys much more than a revision of U. S. Civil War history. Writing for the benefit of older children, Kittrell looked forward to a renewed South by instructing his young readers with lessons on Southern culture, customs, but most importantly, racial etiquette. Kittrell fondly contextualized the antebellum South's social hierarchy as divided by class before race, and explained his model in the terms of quality versus scrub folks. This dual standard served for whites and blacks alike throughout the work. As Kittrell describes him, Ned, "like all Negroes of his class... was an aristocrat of the aristocrats."<sup>121</sup> The Yankee visitor, Mr. Standwick, thus learns through his tutor Ned (in tandem with the twentieth-century child reader) that "in the South, social distinctions do not rest on a financial basis . . . but on instinct, inheritance, and association."<sup>122</sup> Thus Kittrell was able to claim toward the novel's end that Ned, and his wife Hester, "by their lives and characters they set examples that even the best of whites may well imitate."<sup>123</sup>

While Colonel Marshall and his wife impress Mr. Standwick with their devotion to the welfare of their black servants, one should not be misled by this apparent demonstration of Southern progressivism. In fact, while Kittrell hoped his work would function as "an earnest, heartfelt, and appropriate plea for peace" between the North and South, the child reader would have finished this work with a reinforced notion of white superiority, privilege, and black subservience. Kittrell reinforced the South's preferred racial divide both plainly and repeatedly:

No power in all the earth can keep the white man in subordination to the Negro. Intellectually, physically, and morally, the white man bears the divine stamp of superiority to men of every race! He is the Heaven-endowed leader of the forces of civilization and progress and Christianity; and judged by ethnological and all other tests and standards, the Negro is his inferior and can never rise to his level. There is no bridge that can span the gulf which God has placed between them.<sup>124</sup>

By the end of the story, Mr. Standwick had certainly learned much about Southern history, and subsequently apologized to the Marshall's for his regions "unnecessary, unjustifiable and cruel" invasion of the South.<sup>125</sup> Although the book failed to enjoy a lengthy shelf life, it certainly made its

mark on both the South and the North. In fact, Kittrell's juvenile novel was interpreted into a stage play titled *The Southerner* and was performed in New York City only one year after its publication.<sup>126</sup>

## JUDGE KITTRELL, SUH, OVERSEES HIS PLAY

He Wrote the Book the Play Is  
Made from and Knows the  
South, That's Why.

CORRECTS THE "PROP" MAN

And Animadverts Some on the Mock-  
ing Birds That Sing in Texas—Noth-  
ing Doing in Nightingales There.

Headline for *New York Times* article advertising the play based on Kittrell's juvenile novel, called "The Southerner." It was performed in New York City only one year following the book's publication and proved very successful across the South.

These children's books depicted blacks in a degrading stereotypical manner that welcomed and encouraged white children to laugh at black characters. The virtual exclusion of realistic portrayals of black Americans in books written for children was coupled with the South's *de jure* styled segregation limiting white and black interaction. It then should come as no surprise that children readers, from 1900 to the 1930s, would grow up with a deficiency of respect for the black population. However, the role of the children's librarians in enabling the transmission of the South's conservative tradition of white superiority, through the new genre of literature written explicitly for children, is somewhat unexpected.

It would be difficult to believe that these titles would not have found their way into the New Orleans Public Library in the early 1900s. Demonstrating the presence of these works in the library's children's department is incredibly difficult, as the library was operating without a catalogue during that time. However, *The Ten Little Niggers*, while likely a vexing example for the modern reader, could not have been denied a shelf-life at the NOPL as it was a part of the Mother Goose collection. And, Bannerman's *Little Black Sambo* appeared in at least one of the NOPL's "popular reading list."<sup>127</sup>

The list of popular children's books only contained the top twenty-five circulated books for boys and girls, while the department had collected over 15,000 titles by the mid-1920s. But, these books were not simply placeholders on the library shelf. In demonstrating the children's love for

reading as well as the library's success in mobilizing the entire collection of children's books, Gill noted that in a single year that "on three occasions . . . so many books have been issued that the shelves were swept entirely bare of books of the first, second, third, and fourth grades."<sup>128</sup>

*Diddie, Dumps, and Tot* as well as *Ned* are representative of the children's plantation story, which paralleled the revisionist history being pushed through the local school system by the UDC during the early twentieth century. That the two stories never made it on the library's list of popular children's book is of no consequence because the racially-biased content encouraged by the UDC certainly found asylum within the NOPL. The Daughter's campaign for good textbooks and 'true' history in local schools brought the UDC's version of history inside the New Orleans Public Library along with the Daughters' fundamental focus on white superiority, privilege, and black subservience. When a New Orleans public school made course changes the library responded, "We have been purchasing these books as rapidly as we could."<sup>129</sup>

Children's books such as those surveyed here proved to be entertaining reads for Southern children at the turn of the twentieth century. As their authors intended, however, these books conveyed instructive lessons of morality, etiquette, and an unabashed racial justification of white superiority, privilege, and black subservience. The white children who read these works would have finished reading with an elevated ideal of white Americans, which was coupled by a strong bias against black Americans. With this literature filling library collections, bookstores, and classrooms, one may rightfully wonder whether white children readers in the early 1900s ever had a chance in throwing off the prior generation's anti-black prejudices.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup> The era scrutinized here stems from three dramatic developments marking the years 1900-1939 as unique, namely increases in: book distribution; readership; and a white racial ideology marring the era's literature, book lists, and user community. Furthermore, the impact of such biased library services for children had only begun to be realized by 1954. Indeed, white children reading library books during the twentieth century's first four decades grew into the white racist communities who resisted the modern Civil Rights Movement actively, systemically, and violently. On the other hand, scholars such as Michelle Martin have revealed that significant progress for black children reading library books was not made until the 1940s, "parents who wanted to seek out good books about black life written by African Americans had almost no options at all." See Michelle H. Martin, *Brown Gold: Milestones of African American Children's Picture Books, 1845-2002* (New York: Routledge, 2004): xi.

Augusta Baker, children's librarian pioneer, made remarkable headway against the racial bias of the literary and cultural institution to which she was introduced. However, by the time Baker took up her mantle, the period addressed in this article had ended, and the damage had been done. Therefore, this article offers an analysis of the gross racial inequities of early twentieth-century children's librarianship, which Baker's work addressed. Only when we situate the emergence of professional children's librarianship within its racialized context will a greater respect for the pioneering work of Augusta Baker be possible.

- <sup>2</sup> Michael H. Harris, *Histories of Libraries in the Western World*, 4th Ed. (Lanham, MD & London: The Scarecrow Press, Inc., 1999).
- <sup>3</sup> Margaret Barton Korty, "Benjamin Franklin and Eighteenth-Century American Libraries," *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 55, 9 (1965): 21; Herman V. Ames, "The Public Career of Benjamin Franklin: A Life of Service," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 55, 3 (1931): 196.
- <sup>4</sup> "A Brief History and Description," *Boston Public Library*, accessed on 14 June 2011 <http://www.bpl.org/general/history.htm> 196; Walter Muir Whitehill, "The Making of an Architectural Masterpiece: The Boston Public Library," *American Art Journal* 2, 2 (Autumn, 1970): 13.
- <sup>5</sup> Henry M. Gill, *Librarian's Annual Report: New Orleans Public Library, Simon Hershheim and Fisk Library, 1912 - 1927*. In the City Archives, New Orleans Public Library: 7.
- <sup>6</sup> Henry M. Gill, *Librarian's Annual Report: New Orleans Public Library, Simon Hershheim and Fisk Library, 1907 - 1911*. In the City Archives, New Orleans Public Library: 6.
- <sup>7</sup> Henry Gill, *Annual Report for 1908*, 21.
- <sup>8</sup> Karen Cox, *Dixie's Daughters: The United Daughters of the Confederacy and the Preservation of Confederate Culture*. (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003).
- <sup>9</sup> George B. Utley, "The Expanding Responsibilities of the American Library Association," *Library Journal* 48, 10(15 May, 1923): 452
- <sup>10</sup> Henry Gill, *Annual Report for 1920*, 7.
- <sup>11</sup> Henry M. Gill, *Librarian's Annual Report: New Orleans Public Library, Simon Hershheim and Fisk Library, 1907 - 1911*. In the City Archives, New Orleans Public Library: 16-18.
- <sup>12</sup> John E. Murray, "Family, Literacy, and Skill Training in the Antebellum South: Historical-Longitudinal Evidence from Charleston," *The Journal of Economic History* 64, 3(September, 2004): 797.
- <sup>13</sup> D. W. Dyer, Ph.D., "White Illiteracy in the South," *Confederate Veteran* 36, 6 (1928): 218.
- <sup>14</sup> D. W. Dyer, "White Illiteracy," 218.
- <sup>15</sup> D. W. Dyer, "White Illiteracy," 218.
- <sup>16</sup> D. W. Dyer, "White Illiteracy," 2
- <sup>17</sup> John Murray, "Family, Literacy, and Skill Training," 773.
- <sup>18</sup> John Murray, "Family, Literacy, and Skill Training," 796.
- <sup>19</sup> John Murray, "Family, Literacy, and Skill Training," 774.
- <sup>20</sup> John Murray, "Family, Literacy, and Skill Training," 773-774.
- <sup>21</sup> John Murray, "Family, Literacy, and Skill Training," 796.
- <sup>22</sup> Government Printing Office, "Population in 1910," 1187.
- <sup>23</sup> Government Printing Office, "Population in 1910," 1195.
- <sup>24</sup> Government Printing Office, "Population: General Report Statistics by Subjects," in *Fifteenth Census of the U.S.: 1930*, vol 2, series # 115, compiled by Ross Publishing (New York: Ross Publishing Inc, 2003): 1229.
- <sup>25</sup> Leonard Marcus, *Minders of Make-Believe*, 64.
- <sup>26</sup> Leonard Marcus, *Minders of Make-Believe*, 85-86.
- <sup>27</sup> Leonard Marcus, *Minders of Make-Believe*, 85-86.
- <sup>28</sup> Leonard Marcus, *Minders of Make-Believe*, 79.
- <sup>29</sup> Leonard Marcus, *Minders of Make-Believe*, 110.
- <sup>30</sup> Leonard Marcus, *Minders of Make-Believe*, 123.
- <sup>31</sup> Leonard Marcus, *Minders of Make-Believe*, 135.
- <sup>32</sup> George B. Utley, "The Expanding Responsibilities of the American Librarian Association," *Library Journal*, 48, p 449.
- <sup>33</sup> Tommie D. Barker, "Library Progress in Georgia," *Library Journal*, 48, p 121.
- <sup>34</sup> George Utley, "The Expanding Responsibilities," p 452.
- <sup>35</sup> American Library Association. (1939, adopted; 1944, 1948, 1961, 1967, 1980, 1996, amended). *Library Bill of Rights*. Retrieved from <http://www.ala.org/ala/issuesadvocacy/intfreedom/librarybill/index.cfm>
- <sup>36</sup> George Utley, "The Expanding Responsibilities," 452.
- <sup>37</sup> Jill Lepore, "The Lion and the Mouse: The Battle that Reshaped Children's Literature," *The New Yorker*, 21 July 2008.
- <sup>38</sup> Donnaræ MacCann and Olga Richard, *The Child's First Books: A Critical Study of*

- Pictures and Texts*, (New York: The HW Wilson Company, 1973): 6.
- <sup>39</sup> MacCann and Richard, *The Child's First Books*, 6.
- <sup>40</sup> Lillian H. Smith, *The Unreluctant Years*, (Chicago: ALA, 1953): 132.
- <sup>41</sup> Lillian Smith, *The Unreluctant Years*, 34.
- <sup>42</sup> Lillian Smith, *The Unreluctant Years*, 34.
- <sup>43</sup> Lillian Smith, *The Unreluctant Years*, 146.
- <sup>44</sup> Mary Niles Maack, "Frances Clarke Sayers (1897-1989)," accessed 2 June 2011 from <http://gseis.ucla.edu/faculty/maack/Sayers.htm>.
- <sup>45</sup> Anna P. Mason, "The Children's Librarian in the Community," *Library Journal*, 48, 17 (September, 1923): 701.
- <sup>46</sup> Anna Mason, "The Children's Librarian," 701.
- <sup>47</sup> Mary Hannah Johnson, "Southern Libraries," *Library Journal*, 28 (1903): 69-71.
- <sup>48</sup> Henry M. Gill, "Annual Report for 1908," *Librarian's Annual Report*. In the City Archives, New Orleans Public Library, p 18.
- <sup>49</sup> Christine A. Jenkins, "The History of Youth Services Librarianship: A Review of the Research Literature," *Libraries and Culture* 35, 1 (Winter, 2000): 103, accessed 2 June 2011, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/25548802>.
- <sup>50</sup> Henry Gill, *Annual Report for 1907*, 8.
- <sup>51</sup> Henry Gill, *Annual Report of 1907*, 18.
- <sup>52</sup> Henry Gill, *Annual Report for 1907*, 12; 14.
- <sup>53</sup> Annie Carol Moore, "The Work of the Children's Librarian," *Library Journal* 28 (April 1903): 163.
- <sup>54</sup> Annie Moore, "The Work," 163-164.
- <sup>55</sup> Annie Moore, "The Work," 160.
- <sup>56</sup> Annie Moore, "The Work," 163.
- <sup>57</sup> Helen M. Burgess, "Salary Growth in High School Libraries," *Library Journal*, 53 (May, 1928): 445.
- <sup>58</sup> Annie Moore, "The Work," 163.
- <sup>59</sup> Anna P. Mason, "The Children's Librarian in the Community," *Library Journal*, 28 (September, 1923): 705.
- <sup>60</sup> Gill, *Annual Report for 1907*, 16.
- <sup>61</sup> Henry Gill, *Annual Report for 1907*, 11.
- <sup>62</sup> Henry Gill, *Annual Report for 1908*, 18.
- <sup>63</sup> Henry Gill, *Annual Report for 1908*, 18.
- <sup>64</sup> Henry Gill, *Annual Report for 1909*, 8.
- <sup>65</sup> Henry Gill, *Annual Report for 1909*, 14.
- <sup>66</sup> Henry Gill, *Annual Report for 1910*, 7.
- <sup>67</sup> Henry Gill, *Annual Report for 1910*, 11.
- <sup>68</sup> Norman G. Kittrell, *Ned: Nigger an' Gent' man, A Story of War and Reconstruction Days* (New York & Washington: Neale Publishing Company, 1907): 227.
- <sup>69</sup> Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Vintage Books, 1976): 97.
- <sup>70</sup> Eugene Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll*, 99.
- <sup>71</sup> Eugene Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll*, 99.
- <sup>72</sup> Eugene Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll*, 101.
- <sup>73</sup> Eugene Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll*, 111.
- <sup>74</sup> Donnaræ MacCann, *White Supremacy in Children's Literature: Characterizations of African Americans, 1830 - 1900*, (New York & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1998): 33.
- <sup>75</sup> Dorothy M. Broderick, *Image of the Black in Children's Fiction*, (New York & London: R.R. Bowker Company, 1973): 3; these seven stereotypical characters were first described by Sterling Brown in 1933.
- <sup>76</sup> MacCann, *White Supremacy in Children's Literature*, 41.
- <sup>77</sup> MacCann, *White Supremacy in Children's Literature*, 42.
- <sup>78</sup> MacCann, *White Supremacy in Children's Literature*, 61.
- <sup>79</sup> MacCann, *White Supremacy in Children's Literature*, 70.
- <sup>80</sup> MacCann, *White Supremacy in Children's Literature*, 77.
- <sup>81</sup> MacCann, *White Supremacy in Children's Literature*, 125.
- <sup>82</sup> MacCann, *White Supremacy in Children's Literature*, 127.
- <sup>83</sup> Michelle H. Martin, *Brown Gold: Milestones of African American Children's Picture*

*Books, 1845-2002* (New York: Routledge, 2004): xx.

<sup>84</sup> Leonard S. Marcus. *Minders of Make-Believe: Idealists, Entrepreneurs, and the Shaping of American Children's Literature*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2008): 84.

<sup>85</sup> Donnarae MacCann, *The Child's First Books*, 3.

<sup>86</sup> Michelle Martin, *Brown Gold*, 20.

<sup>87</sup> Tiffany M. B. Anderson, "'Ten Little Niggers': The Making of a Black Man's Consciousness," from *Folklore Forum*, Accessed on 10 June 2011 <http://folkloreforum.net/2009/05/01/%E2%80%9Cten-little-niggers%E2%80%9D-the-making-of-a-black-man%E2%80%99s-consciousness/>

<sup>88</sup> George M. Fredrickson, *The Black Image in the White Mind: The Debate on Afro-American Character and Destiny, 1817-1914* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1971): 246.

<sup>89</sup> Martin, Michelle, *Brown Gold*, 7.

<sup>91</sup> Henry Gill, Annual Report for 1908, 18; *Annual Report for 1921*, 11.

<sup>92</sup> Louise-Clark Pynelle, *Diddie, Dumps, and Tot or Plantation Child-Life*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1910).

<sup>93</sup> Louise-Clark Pynelle, *Diddie, Dumps, and Tot*, 95; This line actually describes the poor slaves being sold at auction. However, Pynelle used the "exceedingly happy" condition of these slaves on the auction block to reinforce the sublime condition of those slaves residing on the family plantation.

<sup>94</sup> Historians such as Eugene Genovese in *Roll Jordan Roll* have described the limited measures of resistance employed by Southern slaves to maintain some degree of self-respect, dignity, and autonomy. But here I do not mean that Pynelle has imbued her slaves with a resistive agency that countered the normal production and culture of the plantation system. Rather, Pynelle has drawn an image of the Mammy character who demonstrates an agency that forwards the plantation mission and worldview while being respected, revered, and even loved by the white slaveholders.

<sup>95</sup> Louise-Clark Pynelle, *Diddie, Dumps, and Tot*, 15.

<sup>96</sup> Eugene Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll*, 79.

<sup>97</sup> Donnarae MacCann, *White Supremacy in Children's Literature*, 95; MacCann argues that the Mammy character complemented the South's post-bellum faithful black servant; although, she contends that Mammy often had a brutal side when dealing with slave children.

<sup>98</sup> Louise-Clark Pynelle, *Diddie, Dumps, and Tot*, vi.

<sup>99</sup> Louise-Clark Pynelle, *Diddie, Dumps, and Tot*, 17.

<sup>100</sup> Louise-Clark Pynelle, *Diddie, Dumps, and Tot*, 16; 18; 21

<sup>101</sup> Louise-Clark Pynelle, *Diddie, Dumps, and Tot*, 28.

<sup>102</sup> Eugene Genovese, *Roll Jordan Roll*, 76.

<sup>103</sup> Interestingly, the naming of the puppies by the white children reflects back to Mammy naming the white girls herself. Thus, Pynelle portrays the plantation system's interdependency within a context of mutual possession.

<sup>104</sup> Louise-Clark Pynelle, *Diddie, Dumps, and Tot*, 27.

<sup>105</sup> Louise-Clark Pynelle, *Diddie, Dumps, and Tot*, 28.

<sup>106</sup> Louise-Clark Pynelle, *Diddie, Dumps, and Tot*, 214.

<sup>107</sup> Louise-Clark Pynelle, *Diddie, Dumps, and Tot*, 213-214.

<sup>108</sup> Louise-Clark Pynelle, *Diddie, Dumps, and Tot*, 217.

<sup>109</sup> Louise-Clark Pynelle, *Diddie, Dumps, and Tot*, preface.

<sup>110</sup> Benajah H. Carroll, *Standard History of Houston, Texas: From a Study of the Original Sources*, (Knoxville, TN: H. W. Crew, 1912): 18.

<sup>111</sup> "Our Sacred Cause at Dallas, Tex. - Dedication of the Grand Monument," *Confederate Veteran* 6 (1898): 299-303; Judge Kittrell and the UDC did not only share an ideological doctrine and methodology of targeting Southern children as a means of shaping the future. The "Our Sacred Cause" article reveals that both Kittrell and the Daughters labored together. After the UDC formed in 1894, their first monument was constructed in Dallas, TX honoring: the private; Jefferson Davis; Robert E. Lee; Stonewall Jackson; and, Albert Sidney Johnston. The daughters referred to the day, 29 April 1897, as a "love-fest." Judge Kittrell "paid a masterly tribute to. . . the gallant Albert Sidney Johnston, and the veil was drawn away by the granddaughter of Stonewall Jackson."

<sup>112</sup> Norman G. Kittrell, *Ned: Nigger an' Gent' man, A Story of War and Reconstruction Days* (New York & Washington: Neale Publishing Company, 1907): 236.

<sup>113</sup> Donnarae MacCann, *White Supremacy in Children's Literature*, 85.

- <sup>114</sup> "Tributes to Faithful Servants," *Confederate Veteran* 8 (1900): 399-400.
- <sup>115</sup> "Tributes to Faithful Servants," *Confederate Veteran* 8, (1900): 400.
- <sup>116</sup> Norman G. Kittrell, *Ned*, 40.
- <sup>117</sup> Norman G. Kittrell, *Ned*, 241.
- <sup>118</sup> Norman G. Kittrell, *Ned*, 98.
- <sup>119</sup> Norman G. Kittrell, *Ned*, 100.
- <sup>120</sup> Norman G. Kittrell, *Ned*, 122-123.
- <sup>121</sup> Norman G. Kittrell, *Ned*, 11.
- <sup>122</sup> Norman G. Kittrell, *Ned*, 240.
- <sup>123</sup> Norman G. Kittrell, *Ned*, 241.
- <sup>124</sup> Norman G. Kittrell, *Ned*, 119.
- <sup>125</sup> Norman G. Kittrell, *Ned*, 119.
- <sup>126</sup> "Judge Kittrell, Suh, Oversees his Play: He Wrote the Book the Play is Made from and Knows the South, that's Why," *New York Times*, 26 September 1908. Accessed on 13 June 2011 <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F60F1FF6385A17738DDDAF0A94D1405B888CF1D3>
- <sup>127</sup> Henry Gill, *Annual Report for 1927*, 12.
- <sup>128</sup> Henry Gill, *Annual Report for 1925*, 9.
- <sup>129</sup> Henry Gill, *Annual Report for 1913*, 10.