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The Girls' Guide to Power: Romancing the Cold War

by

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Dedicated to
Mary Stolz
and Ursula Nordstrom.

Abstract

This dissertation uses a feminist cultural materialist approach that draws on the work of Pierre Bourdieu and Luce Irigaray to examine the neglected genre of postwar-Cold War American teen girl romance novels, which I call “female junior novels.” Written between 1942 and the late 1960s by authors such as Betty Cavanna, Maureen Daly, Anne Emery, Rosamond du Jardin, and Mary Stolz, these texts create a kind of hieroglyphic world, where possession of the right dress or the proper seat in the malt shop determines a girl’s place within an entrenched adolescent social hierarchy. Thus in the first chapter, I argue that girls’ adherence to consumer-based social codes ultimately constructs a semi-autonomous female society, still under the umbrella of patriarchy, but based on female desire and possessing its own logic.

This adolescent female society parallels the network of women who produced (authors, illustrators, editors) and distributed (librarians, critics) these texts to teenaged girls. Invisible because of its all-female composition, middlebrow status, and “feminine control,” yet self-governing for the same reasons, the network established a semi-autonomous space into which left-leaning authors could safely (if subtly) critique American social and foreign policies during the Cold War. Chapter Two examines the first generation of the network, including Anne Carroll Moore, Bertha Mahony, Louise Seaman, and May Masee, who helped to create the children’s publishing industry in America, while Chapter Three investigates the second generation, including Mabel Williams,

Margaret Scoggin, and Ursula Nordstrom, who entrenched children's and adolescent literature in publishing houses and library services.

In Chapter Four I explore the shifting concept of what constitutes “quality” within these texts, with an emphasis on the role of authors, illustrators, and critics in defining such value. Chapter Five investigates the use of female junior novels within the classroom, paying particular attention to the role of bibliotherapy, in which these texts were used to help teenagers solve their “developmental tasks,” as suggested by psychologist Robert J. Havighurst. A brief conclusion discusses the fall of the female junior novels and their network, while a coda addresses the republication of these texts today through the “nostalgia press.”

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In my first year as a PhD student, I used to sneak into the Salter Reading Room to furtively analyze the acknowledgement sections of past dissertations. I thought that those acknowledgements could tell me something about what it meant to obtain a PhD, what the process was like, what types of relationships other students had formed with their material, with the people who guided them, and with each other. I wasn't searching for pre-formed answers—I wasn't quite *that* naïve (although close)—but I recognize now that my readings were my attempt to situate myself within a community that I couldn't fully recognize yet, a community that was, at that time, only a hazy concept. Five years later, the people and organizations listed here are those who have helped me to experience some part of that community. They are the ones who have made me feel most included, most part of some larger discourse, and most loved.

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Table of Contents

Introduction.....	1
Chapter One.....	17
“To Tell Your Love”: Clothing, Boys, and the Female Dominant Society within Female Junior Novels	
Chapter Two.....	68
Women Who Insist on Mattering: The First Generation of the Network	
Chapter Three.....	113
“Born Talented and Creative”: The Second Generation of the Network	
Chapter Four.....	169
Defining Quality: Authors, Illustrators, and Critics	
Chapter Five.....	215
A Spy in the House of Love: Female Junior Novels in the Classroom	
Conclusion.....	277
“Pray Love, Remember”: The End of the Female Junior Novels and Network	
Coda: The Nostalgia Press.....	303
Works Cited.....	312

List of Figures

- Figure 1. Anne Emery. *First Love Farewell*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959. Illustration by Georgeann Helms. 176
- Figure 2. Betty Cavanna. *Stars in Her Eyes*. New York: William Morrow, 1958. Illustration by Isabel Dawson. 177
- Figure 3. Rosamond Du Jardin. *Wait for Marcy*. New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1950. Unknown illustrator. 178
- Figure 4. Carolyn Keene. *The Hidden Staircase*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1950. Illustration by Bill Gillies. 179
- Figure 5. Helen Wells. *Cherry Ames, Student Nurse*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1943. Illustration by Ralph Crosby Smith..... 179
- Figure 6. Betty Cavanna. *Lasso Your Heart*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1952. Illustration by Harold Minton. 180
- Figure 7. Anne Emery. *High Note, Low Note*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1954. Illustration by Richard Horowitz. 180
- Figure 8. Amelia Elizabeth Walden. *Three Loves Has Sandy*. New York: Whittlesey House, 1955. Illustration by Paul Galdone. 182
- Figure 9. Betty Cavanna. *Passport to Romance*. New York: William Morrow, 1955. Illustration by Paul Galdone. 182
- Figure 10. Mary Stolz. *To Tell Your Love*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950. Illustration by Ilonka Karasz..... 190
- Figure 11. Mary Stolz. *Pray Love, Remember*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954. Illustration by Ilonka Karasz..... 190

Figure 12. Mary Stolz. <i>Ready or Not</i> . New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953. Illustration by Ilonka Karasz.....	191
Figure 13. Mary Stolz. <i>Ready or Not</i> . Chicago: Peoples Book Club, 1953. Illustration by Victor Olson.	192
Figure 14. Cover. <i>New Yorker</i> . December 26, 1953. Illustration by Ilonka Karasz.	193
Figure 15. Cover. <i>New Yorker</i> . December 16, 1961. Illustration by Ilonka Karasz.	193
Figure 16. Mary Stolz. <i>The Day and the Way We Met</i> . New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956. Illustration by Ilonka Karasz.....	194
Figure 17. Cover. <i>New Yorker</i> . November 23, 1963. Illustration by Ilonka Karasz.	194
Figure 18. Cover. <i>New Yorker</i> . April 10, 1965. Illustration by Ilonka Karasz. ..	195
Figure 19. Cover. <i>New Yorker</i> . January 23, 1937. Illustration by Ilonka Karasz.	196
Figure 20. Mary Stolz. <i>Rosemary</i> . New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955. Illustration by Ilonka Karasz.....	196

Introduction

Nothing was farther from Marcy Rhodes' mind, that May night, than the white net formal. She sat sprawled comfortably crosswise in a slip-covered chair, deeply engrossed in her favorite magazine. The white shirt she wore had long since been discarded by her father, her blue jeans were deeply cuffed. Floppy moccasins hung from her toes. At fifteen Marcy was dark and slim, with brown hair curled under in a soft bell. Hers were the sort of looks that might easily develop into real loveliness as she grew older. Marcy, however, would gladly have traded high cheek bones, wide dark eyes and golden tan skin for the blond, blue-eyed prettiness possessed by her closest friend, Liz Kendall. (Du Jardin *Wait* 9)

So begins the first chapter of Rosamond Du Jardin's 1950 novel, *Wait for Marcy*. The paragraph includes all of the usual trappings of romance novels written for teenaged girls during the Cold War period: a named dress—the “white net formal”—that hints at a future social triumph; slip-covered chairs and magazines, emblems of a prosperous middle-class lifestyle; men's shirts, cuffed jeans, and moccasin shoes, the uniform of the American teenager; the suggestion that if a girl waits long enough, beauty will someday come to her, magically transforming her (Cinderella-style) into the belle of the ball; and, of course, the social envy of one girl toward another who is prettier, or more popular, or has access to better clothing.

Between 1942 and the late 1960s, hundreds of books recounting the woes and social successes of pretty, white, middle-class American girls were published and distributed to teenagers across the United States and Canada. With their standardized tropes and similar-looking dust jackets, these texts form their own category of adolescent literature, written in the period before the rise of the “new realism” and canonical young adult literature. I call these earlier, post-war/ Cold War romance novels the “female junior novels.” Written by authors such as Betty Cavanna, Maureen Daly, Anne Emery, Rosamond du Jardin, Janet Lambert, Mary Stolz, and Amelia Elizabeth Walden,¹ these texts of junior proms and class rings created a new world of adolescence, in which adults were simply secondary characters whose purpose was to annoy or console the main protagonist: the modern, American, teenaged girl.

I use a feminist cultural materialist approach, drawing particularly on the work of Pierre Bourdieu, to examine these neglected female junior novels. My dissertation is split into three parts. The first part examines the content of the novels, focusing on the teenaged protagonist’s simultaneous search for true love and fight for social dominance within her highschool milieu. In examining the methods through which these girls assert their power, I argue that girls’ adherence to consumer-based social codes ultimately—and surprisingly—serves to construct a semi-autonomous female society, still under the umbrella of patriarchy, but based on female desire and possessing its own logic.

¹ Beverly Cleary, Madeleine L’Engle, Jean Nielsen, and Phyllis Whitney were other well-known female junior novelists, as well as many other authors who wrote only a few novels each.

The semi-autonomous adolescent female society within the novels parallels a network of women who produced and distributed these texts to teenaged girls. The second part of the dissertation investigates the librarians, editors, booksellers, and critics who collectively formed what I call the “female junior novel network.” The network can be traced back to the rise of children’s services in American library systems. While female junior novels materialized in 1942 (with the publication of Maureen Daly’s *Seventeenth Summer*), the female junior novel network actually existed from the turn-of-the-century. Thus the women who worked to produce and distribute teen girl romance novels during the 1940s, 50s, and early 60s are part of a much longer history of children’s literature in America. Moreover, since young adult literature during that time was not yet considered to be separate from children’s literature, the editors, critics, librarians, and booksellers who handled it were the same women who worked with picture books and early readers. Ursula Nordstrom, for example (who was Mary Stolz’s editor at Harper and Brothers), was thus also the editor for such books as E.B. White’s *Charlotte’s Web* (1952), Maurice Sendak’s *Where the Wild Things Are* (1963), and Louise Fitzhugh’s *Harriet the Spy* (1964).

The female junior novel network itself may be split into two historical phases: first, those American women who founded children’s book publishing and extended children’s librarianship from the turn of the century to roughly 1940, including Anne Carroll Moore, Bertha Mahony, Louise Seaman, and May

Massee;² and second, those who continued and expanded the realm of children's books and library services from 1940s through the late 1960s, notably Mabel Williams, Margaret Scoggin, and Ursula Nordstrom. The division separating the two phases is fuzzy; it is partly generational, in that many—but not all—of the women who formed the first phase retired around the time that the second phase emerged. It is also partly ideological, in that the way in which the women viewed their professional roles underwent a shift between the two generations, from the perception that they were creating and promoting children's books because they were female (and therefore had an inherent link with children), to their own recognition of their abilities as based on experiences and qualifications, rather than gender.

Invisible because of its all-female composition, middlebrow status, and “feminine control,” yet self-governing for those same reasons, the network established a semi-autonomous space into which left-leaning authors—like Mary Stolz—could safely (if subtly) critique American social and foreign policies during the Cold War period. Thus the third part of the dissertation investigates the girls' possible perceptions of these critiques by examining the use of the female junior novels within the classroom, paying particular attention to the role of bibliotherapy and to the politics of education during the Cold War period.

² Since many of the members of the network married after they had started their professional careers, I choose to use their unmarried surnames throughout this dissertation. For example, although many critics might refer to Bertha Mahony Miller or Louise Seaman Bechtel, since I investigate their careers both before and after their marriages, I refer to them as Bertha Mahony and Louise Seaman throughout.

Terminology: “female junior novel”

A note on the term, “female junior novel”: I use this term to reflect four aspects of these novels: their emergence as a specific group of texts; the changing opinions regarding their literary quality; their status as “girls’ books,” and their creation and distribution by a network of women. The “junior novel” in “female junior novel” refers to the name originally given to this subgenre of books. Female junior novels emerged in 1942 with the publication of Maureen Daly’s *Seventeenth Summer*. While various incarnations of other authors’ female junior novels appeared before 1942,³ Daly is usually recognized as the wellspring of the genre. Her novel, as well as the novels that came after hers, became collectively known as “junior novels.” The term “junior novel,” however, predates even Daly. It is, instead, the result of the American publishing and library realms’ recognition of teenagers as a distinct reading group.⁴ This recognition led to the marketing of a new subgenre of books known as the “junior novels,” the first of which was Rose Wilder Lane’s *Let the Hurricane Roar*, published in 1933 by Longmans, Green. Longmans used the term not to establish a new genre per se, but rather to increase sales of the book in multiple markets. Consequently, *Let the Hurricane Roar* was published simultaneously as both an adult novel and “the first of their series of ‘Junior Books’” (Cart 17). Thus while Lane’s novel may have been the first text to be classified as a “junior book” or “junior novel,” its identification as

³ Two chapters of Rosamond du Jardin’s 1950 novel *Wait for Marcy*, for example, appeared in 1932 and 1946 issues of *Redbook Magazine*.

⁴ This recognition will be discussed in greater detail in chapters two and three.

such does not refer specifically to what would become the female junior novels. Instead, it pinpoints a new space in the literary continuum between books intended for children and books intended for adults. Following the publication of S.E. Hinton's *The Outsiders* in 1967, that space would eventually be termed "young adult fiction" or "young adult literature," thereby erasing its ties to its earlier predecessor, the junior novel.

The dominance of the later title, "young adult literature," gestures toward a movement in the late 1960s away from the prevailing tropes of the female junior novel, and toward the supposed realism of later literature. In that movement is a moral judgment concerning the value of female junior novels, creating a dichotomy that emphasizes realism over romance. Such a dichotomy, however, is problematic when one acknowledges the changing nature of what is considered to be realistic, as well as the underlying didacticism inherent in the criticism of young adult literature. Later criticism of female junior novels focuses on their "saccharine didacticism" (Donelson 71) and lack of realism as contrasted against the "true" realism of canonical young adult literature. Jack Forman, Paul Zindel's biographer, articulates this contrast, noting that "*The Pigman* was a ground-breaking event because—along with S.E. Hinton's *The Outsiders*—it transformed what had been called the teen 'junior novel' from a predictable, stereotyped story about high school sports and dances to one about complex teenage protagonists dealing with real concerns" (qtd. in Cart 55). Implicit in Forman's criticism is, obviously, that young adult fiction is more realistic than junior novels, but also

that “complex teenage protagonists” and “real concerns” are automatically *better for* adolescent readers.

Forman’s allegation that female junior novels refrained from articulating “real concerns” is problematic when considered against earlier criticism during the female junior novel heyday. At that point, female junior novels were often lauded for their ability to replicate the adolescent lifestyle of their time, and were used for bibliotherapy.⁵ Margaret A. Edwards, head of young adult services at the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore (and a great proponent of junior novels) believed that the school or library could use these novels to: “(1) to teach the apathetic the love of reading; (2) to satisfy some of the adolescent’s emotional and psychological needs; (3) to throw light on the problems of adolescence; (4) to explore the teen-ager’s relationship to his community; (5) to lead to adult reading” (“Let” 174). Edwards’ analysis of the benefits of reading female junior novels seems to be based primarily on a reader-response analysis. While I do not want to suggest that a text’s use value is an aspect of realism, I do think that, at the time of female junior novel publication, a connection was perceived between a text’s presentation of a social reality and its supposed use in helping teenagers to solve their developmental tasks. Thus to Edwards, as well as to many female junior novel defenders, the books themselves may not have expressed the height of realism, but were *realistic enough* to be used as tools for adolescent development.

⁵ Bibliotherapy, or therapy through reading, entered the education system in the 1950s. Proponents of bibliotherapy suggested that reading books about the problems of adolescent protagonists would help teenagers to achieve their own developmental tasks, as outlined by psychologist R.J. Havighurst. Bibliotherapy (along with its ties to female junior novels) will be discussed in greater detail in chapter five.

Dwight L. Burton, a professor at the University of Hawaii, similarly situates female junior novels within a continuum of realism. Burton defined the junior novel in 1960 as a story that “basically explores and perhaps solves the personal problems of adolescence,” and further suggested that “within the boundaries of its conventions, the junior novel is realistic, pointing toward adjustment and featuring the minor triumphs which are the best that most people can hope for” (Burton 57).

While reader-response-based support for female junior novels at their time of publication attempted to suggest that the novels did include a sense of realism—if only “within the boundaries of [their] conventions”—contemporaneous opposition, based primarily on new critical analysis, denounced any such realism. Richard S. Alm, a professor⁶ and member of the Committee on Senior High School Book List of the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE), called this type of text a “sugar-puff story of what adolescents should do and should believe rather than what adolescents may or will do and believe” (315). Alm’s critique focused on bad writing, suggesting that “such stories reveal the novelists’ lack of knowledge or insight into adolescent behavior as well as a lack of writing ability.... Their stories are superficial, often distorted, sometimes completely false representations of adolescence. Instead of art, they produce artifice” (315). Alm may be completely correct in his judgment of female junior novels, but just as the supporters of these novels conflate realism with the novels’

⁶ Alm, like Burton, was a professor at the University of Hawaii. As editor of the *English Journal*, Burton used Alm’s scathing critique of junior novels (“The Glitter and the Gold,” September, 1955) as the lead in Burton’s first issue as editor of that journal (Early et al 11).

use as tools in adolescent development, so too Alm conflates realism with the ability to teach teenagers what constitutes “good” literature. He does admit that some female junior novels are better than others, citing in particular Maureen Daly’s *Seventeenth Summer* and Mary Stolz’s early novels. Still, Alm focuses primarily not on the content per se, but on creating a distinction between the good and the bad:

To distinguish between the superior and the inferior story, one must consider the novel both as a literary piece and as a vehicle for the presentation of a problem.... To the extent that a novel meets these criteria the writer reveals his ability to deal with the personal problems of an adolescent within the context of literary art. (349-50)

Alm’s attention to literary art was further bolstered by a report from the 1965 Commission on English of the College Entrance Examination Board (CEEB). The report, titled *Freedom and Discipline in English*, challenged the reader-response camp’s support for female junior novels, stating:

Claims are frequently advanced for the use of so-called “junior books,” a literature of adolescence, on the ground that they ease the young into a frame of mind in which they will be ready to tackle something stronger, harder, more adult. The commission has serious doubts that it does anything of the sort. (qtd. in Jackson 353)

As Susan McEnally Jackson notes, the commission believed that “if educators were to make a considerable part of the curriculum junior fiction, they would ‘subvert the purposes for which literature is included in the first place.’ The aim should ‘not be to find the level of the students but to raise that level’” (Jackson 353). By 1965 the new critical camp had won the struggle to define the dominant opinion regarding the realism of female junior novels. In winning that struggle, it effectively erased the recognition that female junior novels might profess a reality that possessed any literary merit, leading Michael Cart in 1996 to acknowledge that young adult literature

would remain securely locked in a cell of smugness like the rest of complacent American culture and society in the 1940s and ‘50s. The 1960s unlocked that cell, liberating young adult literature and opening the doors to what has come to be called the “new Realism.” In fact, since there was no “old” realism, I think it is sufficient to say that the real birth of young adult literature came with its embrace of the novel of realism, beginning...in the late 1960s. (Cart 39)

Thus “old” realism was erased, and canonical young adult literature was established with Hinton’s *The Outsiders*, a full twenty-five years after Daly’s *Seventeenth Summer* and the rise of the female junior novel.

I should note that the term, “junior novel” still exists today, but refers to a different type of book. Whereas the majority of female junior novel readers

during the post war-Cold War era were between 13 and 16 (or 16 and 18 in the case of Mary Stolz), current junior novels are usually intended for children in approximately grades three through seven. Most recently they exist as early-reading book tie-ins to movies. Thus using the term “female junior novel” today while “junior novel” is still in use may be confusing, but I use the “junior” prefix both to allude to the novels’ original historical context, and to retain a sense of the pejorative value originally—and continually—granted to them.

While the “junior” prefix focuses on the history and opinion of female junior novels, my reason for placing “female” before “junior novel” is quite obvious: female junior novels were girls’ books. The concept of girls’ books, as contrasted against boys’ books, may seem straightforward today, but the separation itself stems from the production of the elder siblings of female junior novels: series books. Before the twentieth century there was a schism between publisher and reader when it came to gendering books. That is, publishers recognized that selling books based on gender could be profitable (Newbery’s “A Pretty Little Pocket Book” came with a ball for boys, or a pin cushion for girls; Alcott’s *Little Women* derived from the extremely successful sales of the Oliver Optic series and her publisher’s subsequent request that she write a book specifically for a girls’ market, etc.), but the readership was still somewhat family-based, so that while girls definitely read “books for girls,” boys—including brothers and fathers—also read them, although often with less

frequency.⁷ It wasn't until the production of the series novels of the early twentieth century that publisher intent solidified gendered readership, particularly with dual series based on gendered titles (*The Motor Boys* versus *The Motor Girls*; *The Outdoor Boys* versus *The Outdoor Girls*, etc.). Interestingly, while the content in the girls' series of the 1910s and 1920s moved away from the traditional domestic sphere of past literature for girls, and became closer to the traditional boys' books in its focus on outside spaces and adventure, the divide in readership grew stronger. Generally boys read books for boys, but not books for girls (regardless of a lessening gap in content). Girls read books for boys *and* books for girls. By the time the female junior novels rose in the 1940s, the content had shifted back to domestic fiction, but the gendered division remained entrenched for authors and publishers, girl readers, and reading gatekeepers (parents, librarians) alike.

Thus female junior novels were written, marketed, and distributed specifically to female teenagers, not male readers. The "male junior novel" certainly existed, but it possessed a male protagonist and focused more on sports and car stories. The most popular male junior novelists were all men, including Howard Pease, Jim Kjelgaard, Stephen Meader,⁸ and Armstrong Sperry. Henry Gregor Felsen's *Hot Rod* (1950) or John Tunis's *Iron Duke* (1938) are prime examples of this genre. Still, although *Hot Rod* and *Iron Duke* were extremely

⁷ Rob Hardy, for example, makes a good case for a Victorian male cult of nostalgia for lost girlhood, as exemplified particularly in *Rebecca of Sunnybrook Farm*.

⁸ Meader is particularly interesting because his first novel, *Black Buccaneer* (1920) predates most other junior novels—male or female—by twenty years. Cecile Magaliff notes that "twenty of his twenty-seven novels were written prior to 1951 although it should be pointed out that twelve of the twenty-seven were written in the nineteen-forties" (14-15).

well known during their time, their popularity could not compare with that of many female junior novels. It seems that male junior novel writers and readers tended to be, ultimately, far less prolific than their female counterparts.

The final reason behind my use of “female” as the prefix to “junior novel” is to gesture toward the network of women authors, editors, illustrators, critics, librarians, and, to a small extent, booksellers, who worked together to produce and distribute these novels to teenage girls during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. I will examine this network in more detail in chapters two, three, and four, but the basic premise that I want to stress here is the extent to which these women, working together, are integral to our understanding of the female junior novels. Indeed, focusing on only a female junior novel author, or a reader, or analyzing only the content of these books produces an anemic analysis that further supports the excision of these texts from the young adult literature canon. The network of women who produced and distributed these books is as much a part of these novels as the dates and dresses and class rings that can be found within them. Thus the literary history of these novels is, essentially, a history of that network of women.

Chapter breakdown

The first chapter, “To Tell Your Love,” focuses on the content within the female junior novels by examining their supposedly trivial elements, including clothing, as codes. These codes, which can be verbal, gestural, or commodity-

based (such as the right shoes or dress) are used by the protagonists to assert or gain dominance within an adolescent social hierarchy. The adolescent society itself functions according to Pierre Bourdieu's concept of the field, and is divided into the field of male adolescence, and the field of female adolescence. The field of female adolescence functions according to a girl's accumulation of "boy capital." It suggests that what appears to be a lack of female agency within the field of adolescence may actually mask a version of a semi-autonomous female society which is both subordinate to and reliant on the male dominant class, but whose power is the result of female desire.

Chapter Two, "Women Who Insist on Mattering," examines the first generation of the female junior novel network, focusing in particular on the pioneering efforts of Anne Carroll Moore, Bertha Mahony, Louise Seaman, and May Masee. From their careers in children's services librarianship, children's book editing, and bookselling, these women developed the foundations of both the network and of children's literature in America. Although they often stumbled into their professional areas alone, their willingness and ability to form connections across different areas (librarianship, publishing, etc.) formed the basic bonds of the network.

The third chapter, "Born Talented and Creative," analyzes the second generation of the network, examining the continuing fears of "feminization" that plagued that generation, as well as the role of the "independent" professional woman. It traces the network's involvement in the establishment of young people's library services—particularly the rise of library lists and teen lounges—

through a case study of the New York Public Library. It also furthers the dominated aspect of the female dominant society (as previously established in Chapters One and Two) through a case study of Ursula Nordstrom, director of the Department of Books for Boys and Girls at Harper & Brothers. Finally, Chapter Three establishes the methods through which librarians and editors networked with each other.

Chapter Four, “Defining Quality,” traces the unique roles played by critics, authors, and illustrators in the network. It examines similarities in dust jacket illustrations, and uses Ilonka Karasz’s designs for Mary Stolz’s novels as a case study to investigate the use of illustrations as shorthand for quality. The concept of quality is further scrutinized through an analysis of the two types of critics who reviewed female junior novels—female librarians who were part of the network, and male academics who remained outside—as well as through an exploration of what each group believed constituted “quality.”

Chapter Five, “A Spy in the House of Love,” investigates the use of the female junior novels as aids in girls’ successful completions of their developmental tasks of adolescence, as defined by developmental psychologist R. J. Havighurst, and as used in educational bibliotherapy. This chapter examines the historical background of bibliotherapy, its role in the progressive education movement, and its eventual shift from education to librarianship. It also analyzes the latent Cold War politics imbedded within Daly’s and Stolz’s female junior novels, ultimately suggesting that, contrary to their stereotype as texts that avoid

referencing the socio-political culture in which they were produced, female junior novels were saturated by the politics of their time.

Finally, in the conclusion, “Pray Love, Remember,” I discuss the eventual demise of both the female junior novels and of the network of women who produced and distributed them. As a coda, I include a short investigation into what I call the “nostalgia press,” female-run online organizations that republish the female junior novels. The presentation of the nostalgia press through new media raises questions concerning the role of adult nostalgia in children’s literature, ultimately questioning the boundary between children’s and adult’s literature.

Chapter One

“To Tell Your Love”:⁹ Clothing, Boys, and the Female Dominant Society within Female Junior Novels

In one of very few pieces of scholarship which seeks to analyze adolescent girl romance novels, *American Childhood: Essays on Children's Literature of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Anne Scott MacLeod provides a detailed analysis of female junior novels, which she calls “post-World War II girls’ novels.” She notes the following tropes, which I list below:

- the voice of the narrator is often the voice of an adult
- the plot takes place over the span of months, rather than years
- the protagonist is often a girl of fifteen or sixteen
- she lives contentedly with her parents and a brother or a sister or two in a tolerant and supportive home
- puberty is only acknowledged symbolically, through a concern with physical appearance and an interest in dating
- she attends the local high school, where she has a few friends but neither great popularity nor a steady boyfriend
- her lack of popularity and a boyfriend causes her to enter a period of uncertainty about herself and about her values
- her crisis is a social crisis, forcing her to define herself within the teenage milieu (and therefore in the larger society)

⁹ *To Tell Your Love* was the title of Mary Stolz’s first novel, published by Harper & Brothers in 1950.

- ultimately, the protagonist moves from a misguided concept of happiness to a true one
- her real task becomes not to discover herself, but rather to accept herself as she is and to return to her original, family-supported values

I quickly list these tropes for two reasons: first, MacLeod does an excellent job of summarizing these main aspects of female junior novels in her own work; and second, the tropes reinforce the *Leave It to Beaver*-style stereotypes surrounding middlebrow cultural productions intended for the teenagers of the post-war era. Although a study of these tropes would be interesting in itself, I prefer to focus on how these elements interact to form a curtain which, when pulled away, reveals a deeply classed and fearful society.

MacLeod reads these novels as texts that are detached from their historical surroundings, and which demonstrate “with particular clarity the ambiguity of children’s literature as cultural documentation” (50). She notes that these novels are focused on domesticity and happy endings, not the controversial issues (the Cold War, the nuclear bomb, the Civil Rights movement, McCarthyism, among so many others) that we usually associate with their period of publication. The result of this focus is that “even in a politically quiescent atmosphere, and even for a literature traditionally more concerned with individual experience than with social issues, postwar writing for teens was remarkable for its silences and was exceptionally unrevealing about the anxieties of its time” (50).

I agree that female junior novels *seem* to be unrevealing, but I would also argue that their silences demonstrate a vital awareness of the culture in which they were produced. Silence, as absence, is not necessarily synonymous with “lacking in content.” Rather, in the female junior novels, absence itself conceals complex power relations. As Michel Foucault notes, “silence and secrecy are a shelter for power, anchoring its prohibitions; but they also loosen its holds and provide for relatively obscure areas of tolerance” (101). The silence regarding post-war-Cold War “issues,” then, may allow these novels to retain their placid veneer of giggling bobby-soxers and fathers-know-best while simultaneously demonstrating the Machiavellian manipulations within the adolescent society of the time.

Silence in female junior novels is also relative. While these texts may seem silent to the adult reader of the twenty-first century, they were not necessarily silent to the adolescent reader of the mid-twentieth century. Just because these novels do not appear to express historical “issues” explicitly does not mean that these issues do not pervade the background of the novels. Female junior novels are, after all, products of their historical moment, and as such they possess an intrinsic base of “what goes without saying.” Today’s adult scholar may search for allusions to juvenile delinquency or nuclear anxiety, but the act of searching hides the power dynamics that underlie the controversies of the post-war/Cold War period—power dynamics that teenage readers themselves may have perceived and accepted almost unconsciously, simply as something that was “in the air,” and therefore with no need to be stated. Instead of analyzing these texts in terms of what they lack, then, I propose to examine the components that

seem most superficial, inconsequential, and—paradoxically—most essential, and to attempt to understand how these trivialities work together, and what coded narrative they produce.

Each female junior novelist incorporates a slightly different mix of seemingly trivial components into her texts. Maureen Daly describes the local teen hangouts; Anne Emery includes adolescent clubs (such as 4-H) and a focus on good schoolwork; Rosamond du Jardin weaves tales of “baby femme fatales,” and their effect on steady boyfriends; Amelia Walden’s protagonists are predominantly involved in organized team sports; Betty Cavanna often provides her protagonists with an eventually-recognized special talent (as varied as singing, skiing, drawing, or training dogs); and Janet Lambert—superficially the most historically revealing author, in terms of noting the historical issues of the Cold War era—almost always places her protagonists within a military world. I cannot say that Mary Stolz’s novels are free from these seemingly trivial components, but, somehow, they seem to lack the superficial elements that define the female junior novel genre. As MacLeod surmises, Stolz’s novels are “an exception to some, though not all, of the generalizations....Stolz’s protagonists are usually older (out of high school), a difference that seems to have allowed her greater frankness with some subjects” (221). Still, Stolz’s novels are part of the female junior novel genre because they emphasize two overarching components which define the basis of almost every novel: clothing, and boys.

“Trivial” components: clothing

The novels’ intense focus on clothing may be one of their most superficial qualities, but it is also one of their most revealing. Clothing’s most basic function, in female junior novels, is to demonstrate levels of maturation. In Anne Emery’s *Senior Year* (1949), Jean Burnaby’s immaturity is revealed in her refusal to take care of her appearance, particularly in relation to her clothing: “she refused to do anything about her hair. Said she hadn’t time—she’d rather read. She wouldn’t put on lipstick. And she didn’t care if she wore the same dress two days in a row, when everyone knew *that* simply was not done” (11). Sandy Herzog in Amelia Elizabeth Walden’s *Three Loves Has Sandy* (1955), conversely, demonstrates her burgeoning maturity—what her friend Fred hails as her “blooming”—by taking new pains with her appearance. Her maturation culminates in a new dress and equally new popularity at the end of the novel:

The boys flocked around her and they were all attentive and lavish with their compliments. They liked her new yellow dress. The color and style were perfect, they said. They admired the way she was wearing her hair. It left her breathless and a little bewildered, but happier than she had ever been before. (156)

Sandy’s maturation is not only biological and psychological, it is also aesthetic. She spends long hours learning colour theory from Fred so that she may apply it

to her own clothing choices. While Fred-the-artist provides a form of aesthetic mentorship for Sandy, most female junior novel protagonists lack such teachers. They rely, instead, on always-glamorous mothers¹⁰ or wise older sisters to help them learn to make “proper” aesthetic choices in purchasing clothing.

A protagonist’s ability to choose appropriate clothing is of utmost importance in female junior novels. The function of clothing in these texts is akin to the magical token of recognition in folk and fairy tales, so that—like a glass slipper—a well-chosen dress announces its wearer as one of the chosen few, the popular, the dominant. Here Pierre Bourdieu’s theories of taste and lifestyle in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* are particularly helpful in understanding the magical role that the dress plays in these female junior novels. Bourdieu attempts to demonstrate that power relations within society often operate through processes other than repression. Wealth, as the basis of power, can be cloaked through conversions of capital, and can therefore exert its power lastingly through the guise of symbolic capital. Where this disguised power affects the protagonists of the female junior novels is in regard to aesthetics. The relations of symbolic power place different aesthetic temperaments into a hierarchy, so that supposed inequalities such as talent or taste are legitimized as “natural,” thereby consecrating social difference. Yet this conversion of economic capital into symbolic capital, and the consequent naturalization of aesthetic

¹⁰ Mothers who are girlish in appearance is another common trope that runs throughout most female junior novels. Kathy McCall, for example, in Betty Cavanna’s *Accent on April* (1960), thinks that “other people’s parents always seemed far older than her own to Kathy, although in point of years she knew this was not the case. Still, it must be hard for anyone to believe that trim, slender Annette McCall with her short, flyaway hair and merry laugh was the same age as matronly Mrs. Walker, who lived next door” (10-11).

temperament, requires the complicity of all agents. This complicity is partly based on the habitus—the residue of an agent’s inherited class past which functions below the level of consciousness, and which shapes all perception in the present—and its influence on the drive to acquire symbolic capital. The symbolic capital itself, however, possesses only an arbitrary value, yet that very arbitrariness is “misrecognized” because of the habitus’ shaping of perception. Thus class differences are legitimized under the guise of individual taste or ability, and cultural consumption serves to defend and entrench social difference.

Clothing, then, acts as a visible indicator of a protagonist’s place within an adolescent social hierarchy. It dictates who can be friends with whom, who can date whom, and even where one can sit in the local teen hangout. Maureen Daly’s *Seventeenth Summer* (1942) demonstrates the social power provided by clothing. Angie Morrow, the novel’s protagonist, recalls the social failure of two girls who do not follow the rules of proper footwear:

One of them had on flat black oxfords—and everyone knows that no high school girl should wear anything but saddle shoes or collegiate moccasins!... No one said hello or offered to move over to make room so the girls turned, talking to themselves very busily and giggling a little, and walked out. But their faces had a stiff, hurt look. (Daly 92)

While the novel itself narrates Angie’s own climb up the adolescent social hierarchy, it is interesting to note Angie’s mingling of sympathy and derision. She may feel pity for the girls, but their refusal to wear proper footwear—or, for that

matter, their pallid complexions and lack of lipstick—cannot be condoned: “I knew just how they felt for until I had met Jack it was the same way with me—except that I wouldn’t be stupid enough to wear black oxfords. Any girl who does that almost deserves not to have fellows look at her” (Daly 92). Angie’s attitude suggests that the fault lies completely with the girls. Although no one welcomes them, no one outwardly ridicules them either. They are simply left to “find their own level.” In this particular description of the event, adolescent society does not ostracize the girls; rather, they exclude themselves through their failure to either know or to follow commodity-based social codes.

What Angie’s derision seems to ignore is the financial status of the girls’ families. Perhaps the girl with the flat black oxfords cannot afford saddle shoes. Such a consideration, however, is not overly applicable to female junior novels, in which families are solidly middle-class. Although there are various exceptions,¹¹ most families are able to financially support their adolescent daughter whenever she needs to purchase a new dress for the big dance. The girls themselves possess endless money for cokes or malteds at the drugstore, and the boys rarely seem strapped for cash when they present their dates with corsages made from orchids or roses.¹² The underlying social element implied by Angie’s derision is thus that of a common democratized culture, in which clothing, as a commodity-based social code, is accessible to and by everyone, and therefore should be followed by

¹¹ Notably Cavanna’s *Going on Sixteen* (1946); Cleary’s *Jean and Johnny* (1959); Nielsen’s *The Golden Dream* (1959); and Stolz’s *Pray Love, Remember* (1954) and *Rosemary* (1955).

¹² Corsages made from carnations may also be presented, but signify that the boy is temporarily cash-strapped, and that future corsages will be made from more appropriate flowers. (See Du Jardin’s *Wait for Marcy*.)

pale high school girls who want to be accepted by dominant members within the adolescent society.

That the adolescent culture is anything but democratic may be revealed when one returns to Bourdieu's concept of taste, and considers it in relation to a dominated-class girl's perfect dream confection of pink tulle, white lace, or gold lamé: the "Right Dress." In Bourdieu's terminology, the Right Dress could be renamed the Legitimate Dress. Like Cinderella's glass slipper, it is the object of hope that promises to magically transport a protagonist into the upper echelons of the adolescent society. Of course, the "true" Right Dress is that which is legitimated by the dominant class and which, as a result, can never be held by dominated protagonists. Once the Right Dress is achieved by the dominated, it will no longer be the Right Dress. Still, the act of hailing a dress as a Right Dress precludes a dominated protagonist from recognizing her inherent inability to enter the adolescent aristocracy.

The role of the Right Dress in the lives of lower-class protagonists reveals the extent to which wealth is hidden within symbolic capital. Rosemary Reed, a dominated protagonist from Mary Stolz's *Rosemary* (1955), regards her chosen dress as the gateway to the college society from which she has been continually denied:

she saw herself floating—flying—over a dance floor in her flame-colored dress among the college people. They would whisper and say, "Who is she? Who is that lovely girl, and where has she been till now?"

Now everything began. She and Lenore would get to know people at the college. Girls—it was possible—would stop by of an evening for a Coke and gossip. And boys—well, Jay was enough. (Stolz 8)

For farm-girl Julie Ferguson in Betty Cavanna's *Going on Sixteen* (1946), similarly, her own Right Dress allows her access to the popular crowd:

She could see herself at the party, vivacious in the plaid dress, popular. Not only Dick, but lots of the other boys wanted to dance with her. She was able to think of the cleverest things to say! She was the Julie Ferguson she *felt*, not the one she seemed to other people. It was very gratifying to be a success. (Cavanna 29)

The Right Dress is no guarantee of social success, but its existence suggests hope. The dress is “seeming” instead of “being,” a social bluff designed to allow the wearer to trick her way into the dominant society. Bourdieu notes that “since the surest sign of legitimacy is self-assurance, bluff—if it succeeds... is one of the few ways of escaping the limits of social condition” (253). Thus the magical power of the Right Dress is to escape from domination; to *appear* as a dress that would be worn by a member of the dominant class, thereby winning the recognition of that class and legitimizing both itself and its owner.

Furthermore, that magical power is something that can be felt, viscerally, by the protagonists. In her article, “Commodity Fetishism and Commodity Enchantment,” Jane Bennett studies the ways in which customers experience a feeling of power from the purchase of commercial items. She notes the “sense of

vitality, the charged-up feeling, that is often generated in human bodies by the presence or promise of commodity consumption” (10). In the female junior novels, this “charged-up feeling” acts as consumer enchantment. It provides the magical excitement of finding the Right Dress and the related triumph of performing the bluff.

In this “seeming” as “being” bluff, the very fabric of the Right Dress becomes of utmost importance: it provides entry into the dominant society for the protagonists, but inevitably reveals that bluff to members of the dominant society. Technically, the fabric of Julie’s dress—cotton—is acceptable, but the print separates her from the popular crowd. While Julie’s friend Anne, a popular girl, wears an all-white dress, Julie’s dress is “a plaid gingham....there was a deep blue in it, and a rust red, and a lot of tan and white” (Cavanna 27). Julie admits that “gingham was something she had worn half her life” (27) and describes the tan as the same color “as the sable in Scarlet’s coat” (27).¹³ Both the gingham print and the colours within it represent Julie’s farm life, and separate it from the cosmopolitan monochromatic colours of the town girls’ dresses.

The bluff of Rosemary’s dress, on the other hand, is demonstrated by its fabric: “‘Nylon acetate,’ the saleswoman explained, taking a size twelve from the rack. ‘Looks just like a slubbed silk, doesn’t it?’” (Stolz 7). Nylon was a relatively new fibre¹⁴ during the postwar period. Its original classification as “artificial silk,”

¹³ Scarlet is a champion show dog who is boarded at Julie’s farm.

¹⁴ Nylon’s origins lay in the search for filament material for the humble lightbulb. This material eventually became nylon, the first truly synthetic fibre. During the Second World War, it was used for parachute fabrics, cords, and as a replacement for silk in women’s stockings. For a

coupled with its greater availability and cheaper price, meant that it could never attain the prestige accorded to silk. Thus although Rosemary's dress may *appear* like silk, the fact that it is made from nylon acetate automatically defines it as a bluff. It cannot be accepted by the dominant society, and neither can she by wearing it. In fact, one can argue that the Right Dress is what I term a double bluff: an attempt by each girl to trick her way into the dominant society, and a simultaneous self-bluff of hope, a self-deception that swindles the protagonists into believing in the bluff's power.

Although both Julie and Rosemary place great faith in their dresses, Bourdieu is clear that their bluffs must inevitably fail. By aiming too high, by "exhibiting the external signs of a wealth associated with a condition higher than their own" (252), the girls battle against innumerable social agreements that are "designed to regulate the relations between being and seeming" (252). And, indeed, each dress fails its wearer. Julie is not a brilliant social success, but rather a shy girl pasting a smile on her face. Rosemary is snubbed by the college girls and briefly assaulted by her date. The enchantment fails; neither dress fulfills its role as magical token of recognition. Poignantly, neither girl is able to understand *why* the dress must fail. Moreover, as members of the dominated class, that particular knowledge must always be withheld from them.

The Right Dress must inevitably fail as a token of recognition for two reasons. First, both protagonists lack intimate knowledge of the social codes which define taste. As a form of cultural capital, taste is used as currency to

detailed description of the evolution of synthetic fibres, see volume two of David Jenkins' *The Cambridge History of Western Textiles*.

exhibit or attain higher rank in the social hierarchy. In its simplest form, it is the acquired ability to differentiate. Since its acquisition is based on the habitus, however, Rosemary and Julie, as members of the dominated class, can never possess the taste of the dominant class. Thus when Rosemary arrives at the dance and compares her dress with those of the others girls—“it really was pretty, just as pretty as any, and nicer than some” (Stolz 19)—she cannot know that no matter how attractive her dress may seem, it will not work her hoped-for magic.

The second reason for the failure of the Right Dress lies in its role as the token of recognition. As such a token, it is paralleled with the glass slipper or golden ring of Cinderella folk and fairy tales. The difference, however, is that while Julie and Rosemary are both members of the dominated class, most folk and fairy tale Cinderellas belong to the dominant class. As Jane Yolen states:

“Cinderella” is *not* a story of rags to riches, but rather riches recovered; *not* poor girl into princess but rather rich girl (or princess) rescued from improper or wicked enslavement; *not* suffering Griselda enduring but shrewd and practical girl persevering and winning a share of the power. (296)

The crucial meaning of the token of recognition, then, is that it only recognizes members of the class *for which it was produced*. Cinderella is a member of the dominant class; thus, the glass slipper is used to identify her status as such.

Rosemary and Julie, conversely, are members of the dominated class. They may try to gain entry to a higher class through their uses of the double bluff, but

ultimately both of their dresses—as self-purchased tokens of recognition—must identify them as citizens of the dominated class, and therefore exclude them.

Post-war background to the field of adolescence

The adolescent culture within the female junior novels is thus anything but democratic. Instead, it is driven by commodity-based social codes which disguise the economic factors that underlie a rigidly hierarchical social structure. Still, while wealth may provide the base for symbolic capital, it does not necessarily control the adolescent society. Here, Bourdieu's theory of fields may be a helpful model in revealing the hidden power dynamics that support the hierarchy within the adolescent society. A field, for Bourdieu, is an essential spatial metaphor referring to the structure and functioning of a social setting. It is a space in which the effects of an individual's inherited class past, education, and behaviour (as well as innumerable other aspects that form a person's identity) are mediated. A field is relational in that it is structured into dominant and subordinate positions. Assuming these positions, the elements of the field (individuals, groups, institutions) struggle to control forms of capital and, through that capital, to be legitimized and to possess the right to consecrate.

Bourdieu usually only examines young people in relation to the habitus or to the accumulation of certain types of capital (with regard to the education system in particular). Still, his concept of a field is useful in understanding the relational power at work in the female junior novels—that is, why the Right Dress is or is not the right dress; why a certain seat at the malt shop determines a

character's social mobility; why jutting out one's lip is a sign of the ability to consecrate. Acknowledging and examining what I here call the "field of adolescence" is helpful in understanding the teenage struggles for dominance within these texts. Adolescence itself became both a developmental life stage and a site of consumer struggle from the late 1930s onward. Thus the shape and function of the field of adolescence is based, like adolescence itself, not on its age status (although such age is intrinsically important to the field), but on the emerging American conception of adolescence as a new and profitable venue for consumption.

Although psychologist G. Stanley Hall popularized the notion of adolescence as a separate life stage as early as 1904, his emphasis was on biological aspects. Studies of adolescence as a developmental stage did not appear until the late 1940s, with R.J. Havighurst's examination of developmental tasks in 1949, Eric Erikson's study of identity crisis in 1950, and Jean Piaget's effort on cognitive development in 1958, among others. The fact that adolescence was recognized biologically—but not yet developmentally—during the early production of the female junior novels may seem slightly anomalous unless one considers the emergence of adolescence as a consumer phenomenon during the late 1930s and early 1940s.

In *Teenage*, Jon Savage notes that the children of the mid- to late 1920s baby boom reached their adolescence in the 1940s, with a record seventy-five percent of the total fourteen-to-seventeen group (approximately ten million teenagers) attending high schools during that time (363). This successful

educational attendance rate was based on various American federal policies that attempted to combat national unemployment during the Depression by keeping older adolescents in school. One result of these policies was the development of a new teenage culture, based on cliques developed within the school and, with the recognition of that culture, a new focus on the adolescent consumer demographic.

The rise of business-centered marketing to teenagers may be viewed in the immediate post-war period through the work of two seminal figures: Helen Valentine, the first editor of *Seventeen* magazine, and Eugene Gilbert, an early teenage market researcher. Valentine was extremely successful in establishing *Seventeen* as an adolescent magazine. Under her management, *Seventeen* sold out of its first edition (of 400 000) in its first two days, its second edition (of 500 000) in the next two days, and established a total circulation of over one million within its first sixteen months (Palladino 103). In the magazine world, however, selling to a readership is only half the battle. One must still sell adspace to retailers. Through her success in persuading retailers that teenagers were a serious market, Valentine helped to establish the field of post-war adolescence.

Youth culture historian Grace Palladino notes, “*Seventeen* spearheaded a campaign to measure teenage opinions, tastes, and buying habits and to use that information to promote an alternative view that presented the younger crowd as capable, reliable potential consumers who had a vital interest in learning how to shop” (102). Valentine’s campaign to survey *Seventeen*’s readers helped to establish a specific adolescent demographic, although, as Estelle Ellis, the promotion director for *Seventeen*, remembers, ““Nobody was talking about

demographics; nobody even knew the word. They didn't talk statistics...because that's not what was sold" (qtd. in Palladino 104). Still, Valentine and *Seventeen* effectively ushered in a new era through their recognition of—and economic interest in—the field of post-war adolescence.

Eugene Gilbert took the idea of adolescent demographics one step further. In 1946, at the age of nineteen, he started his own market research company, called Gil-Bert Teen Age Services. Like *Seventeen*, he focused on the adolescent market. What he did differently, however, was to hire teenagers to perform research by surveying their peers. Within a year, he had 300 teen researchers, and accounts with Maybelline, Marshall Fields, United Airlines, and Quaker Oats. By 1956, *Time* reported that his column, "What Young People Think,"

lined up 271 U.S. and Canadian newspaper outlets with 17 million circulation. In several cities editors vied for the weekly column. The Washington Star snapped it up without even seeing a sample, and the New York Journal-American splashes [sic] a red bannerline atop its masthead last week to herald publication of Gilbert's first column.

("The Press").

Gilbert's column helped to establish the field of adolescence not only through his recognition of the access he could gain by using teenage researchers, but by his condition that he would only employ *popular* teenagers—what he called the "Joe Guns" ("Teen-Age"). Thus Gilbert's research into adolescence, on which multiple

corporations based their commodities, was built on a foundation of a very specific group of teenagers: the popular kids, and the peers they decided to survey.

Regardless of whose adolescence defined the ostensible field of adolescence, the importance of the new teenage culture, in relation to consumerism, cannot be ignored. During wartime, while fathers were away fighting and mothers were out working, teenagers enjoyed increased income from part-time jobs. Post-war prosperity meant that teenagers continued to work at their after-school jobs, but were not asked to help financially support the family. Thus teenagers became something of a paradox in that, for the first time, they possessed “an economic power at odds with their dependent status” (MacLeod 51). Of course, this economic power was somewhat gendered. While boys may have worked at the grocery store or the soda fountain, girls were less likely to hold part-time jobs during high school. Indeed, the separation is evident in most of the female junior novels, in which boys earn money in such varied jobs as working on a farm (Cavanna’s *Going on Sixteen* and Nielsen’s *The Golden Dream*), at a florist’s shop (Du Jardin’s *Wait for Marcy*), in construction (Cavanna’s *Love, Laurie*), or exercising horses (Walden’s *Three Loves Has Sandy*), while female protagonists rarely hold such jobs.¹⁵ Sally and Jean Burnaby, in Emery’s *Senior Year*, set up a babysitting business in an attempt to earn extra money for clothing, but the business inevitably interferes with their dates. Still, Sue and Jean Jarrett, in Cleary’s *Jean and Johnny*, would love to be able to supplement their wardrobes

¹⁵ Mary Stolz’s *And Love Replied* (1958) is a notable exception, in that the protagonist’s main friend, Beatrice, works at a drugstore soda fountain. Beatrice is forced to quit her after-school job after her boss, Mr. Perkins, asks her to marry him, and she refuses.

by earning babysitting money. Their father, however, refuses to allow it, “since the Friday night some strangers down the street had engaged Sue to stay with their children and had not come home until two-thirty in the morning” (12). Sue and Jean eventually sew choir stoles (at a dollar apiece), and Jean uses her pin money to purchase her Right Dress.

That adolescent girls were less likely to earn money from part-time jobs does not mean that they did not consume. Instead, most of their purchases (and particularly their clothes) are acquired by their parents—and particularly by their mothers. Numerous female junior novels include a shopping scene between a mother and a daughter,¹⁶ and it is telling that girls who have little money (and lack correct clothing) are often the girls whose mothers have died at some hazy point in the past.¹⁷ This consumption on the part of mothers for their daughters is, on one hand, a method by which the authors demonstrate the loving home of the female junior novel. Mothers always provide, whether that provision takes the form of food, clothing, or simply advice. On the other hand, such shopping may become a form of conspicuous consumption, not on the part of the female protagonist, but on the part of her parents. In this sense, the female protagonist becomes, herself, a type of commodity or, as Miller and Nowak state in their analysis of 1950s culture, “the child became a type of luxury, virtually an extension of the parents’ spending habits” (272).

¹⁶ The shopping scene can also occur between a girl and a mother substitute, particularly an older sister or a very young aunt.

¹⁷ The poor girl who lacks a mother is particularly evident in Cavanna’s *Going on Sixteen*, Stolz’s *Ready or Not* and *Rosemary*, and Walden’s *Three Loves Has Sandy*.

Daughters portrayed as the family dress-up doll are found throughout various female junior novels. In Amelia Elizabeth Walden's *A Boy to Remember*, Karin moves to live with her grandparents and, in supposed celebration, her grandfather buys her a whole new wardrobe.¹⁸ While Karen's grandmother tells her that "it's a long time since we've had someone young to fuss over" (27), it is a salesclerk who reveals another intention behind the wardrobe:

Then, as the head of the department stood by, smiling at Karin and holding her grandfather's check in her hands, she said a disturbing thing to Karin.

"You look charming in it, Miss Berglund. You're fortunate to be the granddaughter of Mr. Berglund." (28)

Karin realizes that her new clothing is not simply for her; she is also part of a show intended to demonstrate her grandfather's status in the community.

Just as Karin's wardrobe is as much for her grandfather as it is for her, so too Dody Jenks' election as Snow Queen in Stolz's *Pray Love, Remember* is, for her mother, as much her own election as it is Dody's. While Dody's various family members congratulate her, Mrs. Jenks gloats, "And think what Mrs. Mann and Mrs. Gates will say...Oh my, wouldn't I just like to see their faces—" (114).

¹⁸ Karin's grandfather bought with a lavish hand that first amazed, then startled her. Everything she tried on, that was becoming and fit well, he wanted to buy for her. In less time than most people would take to select one good dress, he had bought her a navy broadcloth suit and a heathery tweed, a half dozen school dresses in the finest woolens Karin had ever touched, four skirts with cashmere sweaters to match, shoes, handbags, gloves, stockings. (27)

Dody's election is a conquest not only for Dody, but for Mrs. Jenks herself, who feels as if

she'd been, too often, overlooked by Mrs. Mann and Mrs. Gates when they'd passed on the street or met in the school at meetings and things. Not snubbed, she realized dully, but unrecognized. This was heart's ease, this triumph of Dody's.... Bosom lifting, Mrs. Jenks said to them, "Oh yes, we're definitely moving a step up in *this* town's society, let me tell you—" (114-15).

Dody's Snow Queen dress becomes a family affair. The family cannot afford a new dress, but Dody's older sister-in-law, Joyce, purchases material and makes one for her, while "in an access of proud confusion... Mr. Jenks contributed money for a cheap but dazzling pair of rhinestone earrings" (118). The family's collective pride in Dody is thus demonstrated not in what she has done, but, on the night of the Winter Ball, in how she *looks*:

when she went down and stood in the living room door, her assembled family looked up in stunned silence. Then Larry, scratching his head, said hoarsely, "Cripes!" Marjorie said over and over, "She's beautiful. She's the most beautiful thing I ever saw." Mr. Jenks blew his nose, and Mrs. Jenks put her hands to her face and sobbed. (118)

Dody is not only a member of the family, but also the emblem of that family's social status within their community.

As emblems, however, these girls are not without their own consumer agency. Although female protagonists like Dody and Karin fulfill the role of family status symbol, they are still in charge of the actual clothing that is purchased/made for them. Joyce may provide the idea and labour for Dody's dress, but it is still Dody who designs it. Similarly, although Mindy's shop-owner cousin Alix in Cavanna's *The Country Cousin* (1967) must slowly teach Mindy how to emulate the more sophisticated styles of Philadelphia girls, by the end of the novel it is Mindy whose hand-made dress design is purchased by a large New York clothing manufacturer, and whose future at Parsons School of Design consecrates her status as taste-maker.

The paradox that adolescent girls may be both status symbols and tastemakers (with implied agency and simultaneous lack thereof) may itself be an aspect of the post-war construction of adolescence. As David Cross suggests in *An All-Consuming Century: Why Commercialism Won in Modern America*, "the child had become a 'consumer trainee' and would eventually be a 'consumer tutor' for Mom and Dad" (106). Such tutoring may be found in Stolz's *The Sea Gulls Woke Me*, in which a horrified Jean is escorted to the children's department by her mother:

"Children's clothes?" her mother inquired of the elevator operator.

Jean swallowed tightly. It didn't honestly seem possible that her mother, the most loving of parents, could go on humiliating her this way.... Perhaps the elevator man would think

they were buying things for some child—a nephew, or a little bubbling niece. For some *child*. It wouldn't occur to him, surely, that the question made reference to her. (7-8)

Jean's mother, regardless of her status as “the most loving of parents,” is a failed consumer; she does not understand the new product called “adolescence.”

When Mrs. Campbell and Jean do find the correct area of the department store—“a Salon of bouffant, of sleek, of pastel and jet skirts and veilings ... beneath a dashing title, ‘Debs’ Delight’” (8)—Mrs. Campbell is unable to recognize it, suggesting that ““those clothes are a bit mature, surely’” (8). As a salesgirl emerges, Mrs. Campbell gives up all pretense of consumer ability, “gratefully [subsiding] to a pink leatherette chair” (9). The salesgirl produces a dress which appeals to Mrs. Campbell but which Jean, as the teenage arbiter of fashion, finds horrifying:

A rose taffeta dress with sleeves that buttoned at the wrist, a high neck, a row of little buttons down the front and a series of flounces at the hem. Jean stared, appalled. She looked sharply at the salesgirl....Mrs. Campbell's eyes moved from her daughter to the displayer of much taffeta. “But it's lovely, darling,” she cried, smiling at the salesgirl as though they shared a mutual amusement at a young girl's unreasonableness....“I'm not going to be a bridesmaid,” Jean said, her tone not steady but with determination

unshaken. “And this is May, not October. I’d better look myself.” (9)

Jean is not one of the dominant girls (and thus will never be able to purchase a Right Dress to secure her popularity), but, unlike her mother, she is a trained adolescent consumer. She knows that the rose taffeta dress is completely inappropriate just as, later unpacking several pairs of “levis,” she is embarrassed by their newness. Her friend Mona suggests that Jean “run them through the Bendix with lots of chlorine, they’re simply crunchy with newness” (64), to which Jean responds, “I wanted to. My mother wouldn’t let me” (64). Jean *knows* the consumer codes of adolescence, even if her mother does not. Thus the extent to which Jean is characterized as Cross’s “consumer trainee” is obvious; the extent to which she is a “consumer trainer” is less so. While Mrs. Campbell allows Jean to make her own decision in purchasing her dress, she still refuses to allow her to modify her jeans.

What Jean, Karin, Dody, and their fellow protagonists demonstrate is the extent to which female consumption defines the field of adolescence and, of equal importance, the extent to which female adolescence defined consumption during the post-war period. The clothing industry is a particularly useful domain for tracking the intrinsic—yet gendered—relationship between consumerism and adolescence. In *Centuries of Childhood*, Philippe Ariès traces the emergence of childhood through the clothing depicted in various works of art.¹⁹ Ariès suggests

¹⁹ Although Ariès’ work has suffered various rebuffs since its publication in 1960, its observations remain intriguing. See Nicholas Orme, *Medieval Children*. New Haven: Yale UP,

that, by the end of the sixteenth century, boys were recognized as separate beings and provided with special clothing to emphasize their distinction from adults. Yet, like the clothing of the working classes, the clothing worn by boys lagged behind that worn by their adult counterparts, so that an eighteenth century boy may have worn clothing styled in the fashion of a seventeenth century working man. Girls' clothing, conversely, did not receive the same treatment of distinction. Ariès posits that this gender disparity was based on the lack of education for girls:

Without a proper educational system, the girls were confused with the women at an early age just as the boys had formerly been confused with the men, and nobody thought of giving visible form, by means of dress, to a distinction which was beginning to exist in reality for the boys but which still remained futile for the girls. (58)

Ariès' emphasis on the differences in clothing between the genders is particularly interesting when compared with Daniel Thomas Cook's *The Commodification of Childhood: The Children's Clothing Industry and the Rise of the Child Consumer*. Cook traces the gendered emergence of twentieth century children's clothing through trade magazines such as *Earnshaw's* and *Stores*. He notes that adolescents were not provided with a "teen" size range until the 1940s, and that range was specific to girls' apparel. Boys lacked the "teen" distinction, moving from children's wear (up to roughly ages eight to ten) directly into the menswear department. Thus Cook's history of the emergence of female

2001, and Stephen Ozment, *Ancestors: The Loving Family in Old Europe*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2001.

adolescent clothing in the twentieth century reverses the centuries-long trend of children's clothing distinctions provided only for boys, as outlined by Aries.

It also emphasizes the importance placed upon clothing as a representation of identity. Cook notes the segregation of clothing departments, which started in the 1930s, but which rapidly increased in the 1940s and 1950s. He provides the example of Strawbridge & Clothier of Philadelphia as typical of this trend: the store physically separated the teen clothing section from the girls' section in 1937, furnishing each with its own buyer. In 1951, the same separation was provided for teen and subteen clothing (125). Thus the identity of the young consumers shopping within Strawbridge & Clothier was determined by specific age-style merchandising which itself relied on the distinction between stages. A young girl could therefore move from the girls' department to that of the subteen, the teen, and finally to the junior department (which at that time was intended for college-aged women), before moving on to women's wear. Girls' clothing became not only a sign of class and gender identity; it functioned as a maturity marker on the road from childhood to adulthood—a marker measuring not some hazy developmental stage, but rather consumer maturity.

The functioning of the field of adolescence

Consumerism—and consumer maturity—play a large role in the operation of the field of adolescence, but it cannot account for the complete functioning of the field. The structure of the field of adolescence within the female junior novels

is predicated on the struggle for dominance. In such a struggle, the symbolic power held by the dominant members is both demonstrated and sustained by a social apparatus constructed from myriad adolescent codes. Clothing is, of course, one aspect of these codes, but there are many more. Indeed, female junior novel protagonists dwell in a kind of hieroglyphic world, in which possession of the right shoes or dress, the correct “slang” and voice inflection, or the proper seat in the malt shop all determine or reflect one’s place within a firmly entrenched adolescent social hierarchy. The codes are not subtle, and are not meant to be. Their function is to clearly delineate what is—and what is not—socially acceptable and, more importantly, *who* is (and is not) socially satisfactory.

Although most dominated female junior novel protagonists recognize that the codes exist, they cannot always understand—or perceive—the codes. Prue Foster, in Cavanna’s *Lasso Your Heart*, purchases a new dress for her cousin Cissy’s debut but fails to realize that she lacks the ability to perceive the codes of the young adult society into which she is entering. Prue’s mother, Nan, perceives Prue’s inadequacy, and attempts to warn Prue:

“Don’t be concerned if, at first, you shouldn’t seem to quite—fit in with Cissy’s crowd. Remember your life has been a good deal different—freer in some ways, more sheltered in others. Some boys and girls acquire a veneer, a sort of surface sophistication.” Nan faltered. “It doesn’t mean a thing, really,” she said defensively. (27-28)

But Nan is wrong; in the female junior novel, it means everything. Prue eventually recognizes her lack, but such recognition fails to help her because she cannot access the social codes: “Prue was aware that somehow [Cissy and her mother] managed to fit a pattern of social behavior with unconscious precision. It was an art she envied but couldn’t copy” (35).

Prue’s experience of the “something” that fits the “pattern of social behavior with unconscious precision” points toward the more intangible, non-commodity-based codes that function within the field of adolescence. Gestures and verbal utterances also exist as codes, demonstrating dominance not only in terms of who uses them, but who uses them *well*. Jean Campbell, the shy, unpopular protagonist of Stolz’s *The Sea Gulls Woke Me* (1951), recognizes the power of both verbal and gestural social codes. While watching Pat, a popular girl, Jean recognizes the power embedded in gestures, as well as the division between who can and cannot properly use those codes: “She opened the door, stopped, put out her lower lip thoughtfully. Jean recalled that Sally Gowans did that too, when she was thinking. It was not a gesture most girls could carry off, but Sally and Pat had no difficulty” (62). Jean is similarly introduced to the power embedded in verbal expressions by her unpopular roommate, Mona:

“I’m sure we’re going to be very happy here.” She smiled without humor, then relented at Jean’s expression.

“I’m sorry. It’s just that they’ve got me doing it too. Only on me it doesn’t look good.”

“Doing what?...”

“Oh, saying things like ‘pleased me to meetcha, I’m sure,’ or, ‘he’s a nice guy, everything but the kitchen sink.’ Clichés, I guess...”

“I see,” said Jean, who almost did. It was like thrusting out your lower lip. Pat could do it, and Sally Gowans, and Holly Pitts. But Mona or Jean could not. (65)

Whereas *The Sea Gulls Woke Me* often uses verbal and gestural social codes to create a dichotomous division between the popular girls (Pat, Sally, Holly) and the unpopular girls (Jean, Mona), Mary Stolz’s 1957 novel, *Because of Madeleine*, demonstrates that the codes can be used for more than categorization; they can be used as weapons in the struggle for dominance. In *Because of Madeleine*, the protagonist, Dorothy Marks, narrates the events of the first day she met her eventual best friend, Celia Harris. Celia, a new girl at school, wears a clip in her hair that is considered unsuitable by Madge Whittier, one of the popular girls. In describing the first interaction between Celia and Madge, Dorothy reveals the power of subtle gestures in the struggle for dominance:

Madge Whittier...had taken one look at the barrette and lifted her eyebrows...Celia recognized the significance of that sly arching.... That was when Celia won my heart. First of all, she flared her nostrils. It was a gesture that quite outclassed Madge’s eyebrow technique.... She didn’t overdo it. A faint, patrician flare that was gone almost before you noticed it, except that you did notice it. Madge

certainly did. And then Celia said, “Fancy clip?” and waited for Madge to answer. (14-15)

The entire struggle is silent; no words are spoken until Celia’s “fancy clip?” The transition of dominance from Madge to Celia is revealed only through gestures, and it is clear to all three girls that Celia’s nostril flare trumps Madge’s eyebrow raise.

These subtle, gestural codes then, like commodity-based codes (such as clothing) are the embodiments of distinction, distinguishing levels of dominance within the field of adolescence. Those who possess the ability to recognize, interpret, and use the codes gain dominance; those who do not remain dominated. There remain, however, two significant problems in regard to this scheme. The first problem, of course, is to question which came first: the code that establishes dominance, or the dominance that establishes the code. Do Pat and Sally thrust out their lower lips because doing so is a code that demonstrates their dominance, or do they, as members of the dominant, consecrate this lip movement as a code for the legitimate? I suspect that both the code and the dominant are two sides of the same equation, rising simultaneously. Regardless, in the female junior novels they act together to perform a kind of symbolic violence, so that dominated characters do not recognize that they are subject to the symbolic power held by the dominant. Thus Jean, in recognizing that she cannot access the same codes as Pat or Sally, becomes complicit in this “misrecognition” of symbolic power.

The second problem is that these codes are gendered. David Cross notes that, during the postwar era, parents “unconsciously recognized that childhood

was increasingly a period of training in consumption rather than preparation for work” (106). While Cross refers to childhood generally, I suspect that, in the female junior novels, such training is aimed toward female children in particular. Male characters are consumers—they purchase cars, for example—but the codes that express dominance for males always relate to codes that will provide them with power in the outside world. Male codes are those of productive skills; they include winning athletic tournaments or running the school newspaper. Female codes, conversely—the Right Dress, the saddle shoes, the lower lip-thrust—are both consumer-based and unproductive. Thus while male dominance is the ability to use productive social codes to eventually allow male characters to leave the field of adolescence, social codes employed by female characters in the struggle for dominance are unproductive, and ultimately trap female characters within the field of adolescence—or at least until they marry.

This social code split between those whose codes allow them to approach adulthood independently (males), and those whose codes prevent them from entering such a threshold state unaided (females) is, obviously, a product of the overwhelmingly patriarchal values flowing through each novel.²⁰ While

²⁰ Amelia Elizabeth Walden’s female junior novels profess some of the most obvious—and often the most disturbing—support for male-oriented social organization. In *A Boy to Remember* (1960), the female protagonist, Karin, argues with her boyfriend, Steve. Miss Matthews, Karin’s English teacher, offers Karin advice, noting that “the male ego is the most tender thing in the world, so we women have all got to learn to handle it gently” (136). After her talk with Miss Matthews, Karin realizes that

Miss Matthews had been letting her know that Karin herself was partly responsible for the quarrel with Steve. But more than that, Miss Matthews was telling her that she ought to grow up and learn to be a woman and accept her role as a woman. If she was going to fall in love with a boy like Steve, a boy not easy to handle or understand, she would have to accept the responsibility of getting along with him. (137)

adolescent female characters are always referred to as “girls,” adolescent male characters are very often referred to as “men” instead of “boys.” Father/daughter relations help to entrench this gendered division. When a male and female teenager leave to go on a date, as Jean and Homer do at the end of Beverly Cleary’s *Jean and Johnny*, the girl’s father inevitably tells the boy to ““Take good care of my daughter,”” to which the boy/man replies, ““I will, sir’ said Homer seriously” (Cleary 252). Fathers, in these novels, continue to treat their daughters as girls, while simultaneously treating their daughter’s dates—regardless that they may be the same biological age—as men responsible for “taking care” of the girls.

While male characters may achieve adulthood independently, adulthood for female characters is relational; they only enter through implied future marriages. By the end of Anne Emery’s *Senior Year* (1949), Scotty, protagonist Sally Burnaby’s once-and-future boyfriend, declares:

“there didn’t seem to be anyone around that I had as much fun with as we used to have last year. And then you got different.”

Sally laughed and looked at him directly.

“Could you say I began to grow up?” she teased.

“Could be,” said Scotty, with unaccustomed seriousness.

“Anyway, here we are again. And it feels good.” (194)

The seriousness of Scotty’s tone, coupled with his status as the “man,” consecrates Sally’s process of becoming. Her achievement of womanhood is accomplished a few pages later when, at the senior prom, Scotty gives Sally his Literary Society pin, telling her, ““you’re different. I don’t even know how you

feel about it now—but I want to tell you anyway. I'd like you to be my girl and wear my pin. That's how it is'" (207). Sally accepts and,

leaning toward her, he kissed her for the first time.

"You're my girl," he said, and it was a promise.

Sally nodded. "Tomorrow we graduate—and then we've got all summer—and all next year—" his voice trailed off.

Sally knew what he was thinking: all the rest of our lives.

She thought so too, but she could wait now for him to say it. (207-208)

Sally's ability to "wait now for him to say it" acknowledges her move into womanhood, but also emphasizes the gendered power dynamic of the field of adolescence. That is, male and female characters never struggle against each other in female junior novels; they only battle against characters of their own gender. The lack of struggle between the genders is predicated on the seemingly automatic dominance of the males, as well as the lack of a common social code system. Betty Wilder, in Mary Stolz's *And Love Replied*, is one of the few characters to both recognize and, more importantly, to *care* about the gendered social division around her:

It was, as Carol frequently complained, a man's world. And in this man's world, Betty thought now, a girl has to take what she can get by wiles, subtlety, coercion, or blandishment. But she can never, not ever, say simply, honestly, and aloud, This is what I'd like. (51-52)

Most of the female junior novel protagonists, however, profess Bourdieu's "that's not for the likes of me" slogan, which Leslie McCall characterizes as "the dominated classes' practical consideration of their lack of opportunity to join in the cultural and economic life of the dominant classes" (849). She adds that these "social divisions appear obvious and self-regulated by individuals and social groups" (849), and thus, with the exception of some of Stolz's protagonists, female characters rarely question this gendered social arrangement. Some novels even celebrate the division between the genders. In several of Amelia Elizabeth Walden's novels, for example, the female characters' lack of influence in comparison to the males' total dominance is touted—nauseatingly—as a source of power for the girls:

"I mean that women have a powerful place in the world. A much more powerful place in many ways than men have, Sandy. Take you and Bill, for instance. Bill needs you. He needs your understanding and affection and tenderness—all the womanly qualities you have to offer. He has boys who are friends, but that's not enough.... He wants you to act like a girl, to talk like one and dress like one." (*Three Loves* 89)

The obvious gender divide in these novels means that, while all the characters may be present within the field of adolescence, the struggles for dominance within each gender grouping (that is, males battling for dominance against other males, females battling for dominance against other females) may

remain unrecognized. Thus what appears to be a lack of struggle *between* the genders may actually mask complex struggles *within* each group. The fact that the female junior novels already set up a visible male/female binary suggests that the field of adolescence can actually be considered as two separate—yet overlapping—fields, based on gender. Just as male and female characters possess their own sets of social codes, so too the field of male adolescence and the field of female adolescence possess their own functioning.

Boy capital and the field of female adolescence

The functioning of the field of female adolescence is based primarily on what I call “boy capital”: a girl’s ability to date—that is, to *accumulate*—multiple dominant-class boys. The more higher-ranked boys who are willing to take a girl to the movies, or the malt shop, or—and this is the really important, Cinderella-creating event—the prom, the more dominant the girl becomes within the field of female adolescence. Jane Purdy, in Beverly Cleary’s *Fifteen* (1956), recognizes the difference between her social standing (as a girl without a date) compared to that of Marcy Stokes, who drives around in a “green convertible driven by Greg Donahoe, president of the junior class of Woodmont High School”:

Greg waved, and as the couple drove on down the hill Marcy brushed a lock of hair out of her eyes and smiled back at Jane with the kind of smile a girl riding in a convertible with a popular boy on a summer day gives a

girl who is walking alone. And that smile made Jane feel
that everything about herself was all wrong. (2)

Not only is Marcy driving around with a boy in a convertible, she's with a dominant-class boy. Jane, conversely, is on her way to a babysitting job, alone. The social division created by boy capital is obvious: "Marcy belonged. Jane did not" (3).

There are two main methods by which girls may raise their social position: either through painstakingly-planned social coups involving dating the right boy, or through a seemingly innocent accumulation and possession of boy capital (and accompanying acceptance from dominant-class girls). Dody Jenks, in Stolz's *Pray Love, Remember* (1954), is one of the most trenchant examples of a dominated class girl whose ability to manipulate her dominant class society rivals that of the Marquise de Merteuil or, in a more contemporary analogy, *Gossip Girl*'s Blair Waldorf. Dody is a surprisingly dominant figure within the field of female adolescence. She may come from a working-class background, may live in a multi-generational house that is "gaudy, overcrowded, ungraceful" (18), in which the table is set immediately after each meal for the next, making "their dining room (separated from the hall only by three dark wooden columns rising from a half-wall) look like a boardinghouse dining room" (33), but within her adolescent society Dody is still "the high school girl who would incontestably be elected Snow Queen that year" (39). The other members of her field of female adolescence know that Dody lacks the dominant class habitus that they possess, but they accept her for two reasons: first, she entrenches their own statuses at the

top of the adolescent social hierarchy; and second, Dody possesses great ability to manipulate boy capital.

Dody's "friendships" are based on the principles of mutual benefit. Unlike many other protagonists in adolescent girl romance novels, Dody does not "hang out" at her friends' houses after school. Indeed, except for drinks at the drugstore, Dody's two best friends, Eva and Bea, do "not often see her, and it was tacitly understood that Dody would rarely go to their houses because she did not want them at hers" (41). Eva and Bea are fully cognizant of Dody's dominated-class family, but just as Dody uses her friendships with them as a kind of social capital, so too they use Dody's appearance to retain their own symbolic capital and dominant class positioning: "but it amused the three of them to be seen together, partly because of the contrast in their looks. Eva very dark, Bea stunningly blonde, Dody with her auburn curls. They made a pretty contrast" (41).

Dody Jenks, more than any other character in *Pray Love, Remember*, recognizes the power embedded in the manipulation of boy capital:

But there were other girls, as pretty, a good many with more pleasing backgrounds...more clothes, better manners, homes to which they could freely and without embarrassment invite people. None of this had prevailed against Dody, who knew by instinct how to charm boys. And, she had told herself simply, charm *them* and the girls will have to like you, whether or not they do. (40)

Dody is masterful in charming men, and acknowledges it as an inherent talent: “how had she known that directness was the lure which would bring Ben to her side? . . . She simply knew, as she knew Roger liked vivacity, Mr. Newhall a sort of ingenious coquettishness, the young policeman at the corner a bright-eyed dependence” (56). This seemingly inborn knowledge of how to attract men exists in almost all of Stolz’s popular characters. Lotta Dunne in *Who Wants Music on Monday?* (1963) purposely looks at a boy with “an oblique and fetching glance—a practiced glance, one that had not yet failed her” (207), while Honey Kirkwood in *Hospital Zone* (1956) knows how to “lift her head in the way she knew was winning” (174) and to “look into his eyes a fraction of a second longer than an introduction demanded” (174).

While Stolz’s popular girls seem to have no difficulty in attracting their male counterparts, it is important to note that possession of boy capital does not automatically equate with entry into the adolescent aristocracy. Although Dody Jenks is partly correct in suggesting that the dominant class girls are forced to accept an outsider if she dates a dominant class boy, possession of too much boy capital risks the danger of a reputation of promiscuity. In *Rosemary* (1955), Rosemary Reed attempts to gain social mobility through a dominant class boy, Jay, but unknowingly pushes her possession of boy capital too far:

She was aware of talking a little too much, a little too loudly.

Aware, too, that many of these boys were holding her closer than they should, but she laughed with them excitedly, and thought how Jay would certainly have to be proud of his date,

his vivacious, popular, sought-after-date.... She danced endlessly, and though the girls at the table ignored her more pointedly than they had earlier, Rosemary assured herself she didn't care. (24)

Whereas Rosemary's date with Jay has the potential to pave the way into the adolescent aristocracy, her attempts to appear popular by gaining more boy capital create a barrier to that class.

In traversing between the classes, female characters must learn that not all boy capital is created equal. Dating Jack Duluth in Daly's *Seventeenth Summer* allows Angie Morrow to gain a foothold into the adolescent aristocracy, but she accidentally pushes her boy capital too far when she also dates Tony Becker. Following that date, Jack stops calling, dates Jane Rady, and Angie's position within the adolescent social hierarchy shifts. Eventually Angie's friend Margie elucidates that shift: "'Boys *like* [Tony],' she explained with elaborate patience, 'and girls like him too—but, well, they don't *go out* with him...unless they're *that kind*...no one thought you were the kind to go out with a fast boy like that, Angie!'" (Daly 112). Although unintentional, Angie's desire for more boy capital leads to exclusion, rather than to the inclusion she desires. Boy capital may be a weapon in the struggle for dominance within the field of female adolescence, but it can just as easily misfire.

Girls on the market: Irigaray and the female dominant society

Examining the field of female adolescence separately from the overall field of adolescence demonstrates not only the role of boy capital, but also a surprising twist to traditionally perceived post-war gender roles. Although boys are powerful in the teenage societies of the female junior novels, their power is that of accessories to legitimation: they are not legitimizers themselves. Instead, they exist somewhat above the hierarchy, in a kind of super-terrestrial twilight where their presence affects the lives of the girls, but where the girls have less effect on them. Consequently, while dating a boy can help a girl to gain the necessary symbolic capital to climb the hierarchy, it is the girls on the top rung of the ladder who ultimately determine each social climber's place, not the boys who help them. Or, as Betty Wilder eloquently phrases it in Stolz's 1958 novel, *And Love Replied*, "boys might be kings, but it was the girls who ruled the court" (123).

When, in *The Sea Gulls Woke Me*, Jean Campbell confronts Sally Gowans during the high school dance,²¹ Jean realizes that Sally's sympathy for her could be her entrée into the popular crowd:

Jean thought later that she probably had her chance there to escape through the dark mirror into the Wonderland of acceptance. This

²¹ Jean, hiding in the lavatory during the dance, overhears Sally and a few other girls mocking both her dress and her date, Rhet Coyne. When Jean steps out of the lavatory, the rest of the girls, "giggling a little through nervousness, or perhaps remorse, ran out, looking at one another as they fled" (Stolz 26). Sally, however, stays, and attempts to apologize.

girl was Sally Gowans, acknowledged leader of the school. . . . But Jean, at the moment she might have received help, was too numbed by the evening to realize it. (27)

The fact that Jean fails to accept Sally's help does not negate the fact that it is Sally's judgment of Jean, more than the influence of Jean's date, Rhet, and certainly more than Jean's own opinion of herself, that establishes Jean's place within the social hierarchy.

What appears to be a lack of female agency within the field of adolescence may actually mask a version of a semi-autonomous female society. Studying the field of female adolescence reveals this society—what I call the “female dominant society”—as functioning within patriarchy, yet still remaining somewhat separate from it. Luce Irigaray's theory of women as commodities helps us to better understand this alternative society. In “Women on the Market,” Irigaray suggests that the use, consumption, and circulation of women constitute the basis of a purportedly heterosexual society. Women provide the unknown “infrastructure” of this society: their otherness smoothes relations between men and stimulates exchanges of other forms of “wealth.” While women function exclusively as “products” and are thus prevented from participating in their exchanges, men provide the “work force,” exempting themselves from such transactions. A woman's value is therefore determined entirely by her status as a product of man's “labor,” and such value can only be perceived during the operation of exchange. Her body is split into two types: the natural body and the socially-valued exchangeable body. The exchange value is added to the natural body,

subordinating the natural as a nonvalue. The exchange value itself is not the property of a woman, but is rather a representation of the desires of at least two (male) exchangers. A woman's "development" ultimately exists in the passage from natural value to social value.

Although Irigaray does not directly refer to a particular stage in her description of female development, I would speculate that she is gesturing toward adolescence. The implications of such a gesture are troubling, since a girl's physical maturation would therefore coincide with the devaluation of her natural body and the elevation of her exchange value. If one of the purposes of the female junior novels is to teach girls how to become women, then Irigaray's theories suggest that these novels teach both the devaluation of a girl's natural body and an accompanying celebration of the male recognition of her body as a desirable object. In these books, to achieve womanhood is to perceive the body only in terms of its use to men; that is, as a socially-valued exchangeable object.

Regarding the relations between women, Irigaray states:

uprooted from their "nature," [women] can no longer relate to each other except in terms of what they represent in men's desire, and according to the "forms" that this imposes upon them. (188)

Returning to the concept of the Right Dress within Stolz's *Rosemary* and Cavanna's *Going on Sixteen* reveals the Right Dress as a form of packaging, constituting the physical manifestation of female attractiveness—of the "form" that has been imposed on Julie and Rosemary by their patriarchal society. It places all significance on the visual, stressing the shape of their bodies over other

perceivable elements. As self-imposed packaging, the Right Dress is an advertisement that is purposely developed and promoted, but whose reason for existence must remain unknown and unquestioned.²² This packaging becomes, moreover, an attempt to encourage competition between female characters, for, as Irigaray states, “the interests of businessmen require that commodities relate to each other as rivals” (196). The narrative framework of *Rosemary* reflects this rivalry in that the foundation of the secondary plot is the competition between Rosemary and her foil, Helena Williams, for first Jay Etting, then Sam Lyons, and, in Helena’s recollection, for a boy they knew in high school.

For Julie, this rivalry is the source of loneliness and alienation from the other girls at school, girls with whom she used to be good friends:

For some reason Sidney and Anne and some of the other girls seemed to be growing away from Julie. Even when she tried, it was hard for her to put her finger on how this was being done. There were just a lot of little things—a difference in the way the girls walked, a new shrillness to their voices when any of the boys happened within earshot.

(Cavanna 22)

The girls’ obvious preoccupation with boys foregrounds their movement from natural bodies to socially-valued (by men) bodies. In this early section of the novel, Julie attempts to join them in this transition, to become part of the group by

²² Recall the concept of the “double bluff”: a character’s attempt to trick her way into the dominant society, as well as a self-deception that swindles the character into believing in the power of the bluff.

ameliorating her physical appearance for men, and by purchasing a dress intended to enhance that facade. It is unsurprising that Julie chooses fabrics which Mrs. Sawyer denounces as “sleazy,” and “too old for a freshman” (26), since Julie is hoping that her dress will invest her with the visual sensuousness of a body she thinks is desirable to men. In terms of colour, Julie gravitates toward white, the colour associated with her friend Anne. It is a desire she recognizes as dangerous within the context of their ever-present—albeit unacknowledged—female rivalry.²³ Regardless of their competition, however, Julie longs for the white dress not merely for its aesthetic value, but because it is *Anne’s* colour.

Julie’s longing is a start toward fulfilling Irigaray’s vision of a society in which women are not the exchangeable commodities in relations between men. Regarding such a society, Irigaray questions: “*But what if these ‘commodities’ refused to go to ‘market’?* What if they maintained ‘another’ kind of commerce, among themselves?” (196). The female societies in both *Going on Sixteen* and *Rosemary* provide an imperfect solution to these questions. The girls remain the products of men’s transactions, but they also initiate their own society—the female dominant class. Such a class is both subordinate to and reliant on the male

²³ Although Cavanna’s inclusion of the unacknowledged rivalry between Anne and Julie is short, she seems to emphasize Julie’s knowledge of it:

Miss Moore shook out a white piqué. “Now that’s nice,” Mrs. Sawyer said. “You might try that on.”
 “But my dress is white,” Anne objected.
 “That wouldn’t matter,” said Mrs. Sawyer. But Julie knew it would. (27)

Later, while her own dress is being wrapped, Julie “looked toward the white piqué with a certain amount of longing” (28).

dominant class, but its power is the result of female *desire*.²⁴ Julie desires Anne's dress colour because Julie wants to be part of the female dominant class. The fundamental objective underlying the Right Dress and its place within the double bluff is not the aspiration to gain entry into the male dominant society, but to become an associate of the *female* dominant class. The girls are used as commodities, exchanged between their fathers and lovers (there's a reason that neither protagonist possesses a mother in these novels), but implicit within those transactions is a paradoxical cry to share a female society. Thus Julie desperately wants her Right Dress, on her body, to attract boys like Dick, but that attraction is simply her tool for accessing the female dominant class ruled by Anne and the other popular girls. Rosemary, similarly, perceives the physical attraction Jay Etting demonstrates toward her body as her entry into the female dominant class in which girls from the college "would stop by of an evening for a Coke and gossip" (Stolz 8). Rosemary's dream of belonging is almost entirely female-oriented:

She wanted to sit, on a winter's night, as girls must be doing this moment, pajamaed ridiculously like the girls in ads, crowded into one lovely bedroom, eating things out of bakery boxes and drinking coffee and talking, talking....

Rosemary, want some more cake? Rosemary, could I

borrow your yellow jacket? Rosemary... Rosemary...

Rosemary... (122)

²⁴ This desire is not necessarily sexual. It can be read as a female version of Eve Sedgwick's theory of male homosociality, in which women mediate men's desire for each other.

Of course, this female dominant class can never exist in isolation. Its hierarchy remains dependent on the symbolic capital controlled by the male dominant society. In this sense, Rosemary's double bluff does not completely fail. Her Right Dress does enhance her physical attractiveness to Jay Etting, which should theoretically allow her access to the male dominant society, and through it, into the female dominant society. However, her failure stems from her refusal to fulfill her role as a commodity and to provide her body to Jay Etting, satisfying his suggestion that she had been "practically begging for it all evening" (26). The result of her decision is that she is barred from entering the female dominant society, and the remainder of the novel describes her attempts to accept her dominated status.

The residual plot that follows Julie's failure is somewhat more positive. Like Rosemary, Julie wants to be part of the female dominant class, and attempts to use the double bluff to achieve this desire. Her double bluff fails, but Julie triumphs by the novel's conclusion. The difference between the two protagonists lies in their symbolic capital: Stolz keeps Rosemary trapped within Irigaray's cycle of commodity exchange, denying her the ability to possess or access any kind of capital; Cavanna, conversely, endows Julie with artistic talent, accompanying symbolic capital, and the freedom to use that capital to remove herself slightly from her role as a commodity. It is not a full removal; Julie is still exchanged between her father and Dick Webster, but her artistic capital wins her a poster competition (and an accompanying five dollars), leads her to become chairman of the school poster committee, art editor of the school newspaper, and,

ultimately, a member of the dominant female class. Her achievement is symbolized in the final pages of the novel by her inability to fit into her original

Right Dress:

It was the same dress—the plaid gingham—the only long dress Julie had. It was going on two years old now—and Julie was going on sixteen. She had to draw in her breath when she fastened it under her left arm. (219)

Neither the female dominant society in *Going on Sixteen* nor its counterpart in *Rosemary* lies far enough outside the influence of the male dominant societies to fulfill Irigaray's utopian vision, but both provide a starting point, a hint, a suggestion of an alternative.

The gaze, the prom, and the queen

The one event at which this suggestion of an alternative is briefly fulfilled is that magical moment, always at the end of a female junior novel, known as the prom.²⁵ This is the visual culmination of a desiring female gaze that spans the female junior novels. This gaze, usually described in moments of female protagonists watching other female characters, seems to be neither homosexual

²⁵ by “prom,” I also refer to any of the big dances, not necessarily only the junior or senior proms (although the senior prom is, by default, *the* defining event of female adolescence within these novels).

nor homosocial,²⁶ but is rather a gaze of status desire. That is, the gazers do not wish to be friends or lovers of their object; they want to *be* her, but her-as-her-status rather than her-as-her-personality/self. In several instances in Betty Cavanna's *A Girl Can Dream* (1948), for example, Rette Larkin gazes at her object of status-love, Elise Wynn: "She followed Elise with her eyes, marveling at her apparent poise. Elise never seemed self-conscious or gawky. She had a gentleness about her, a sweet, almost kittenish quality that the boys liked" (22). Rette's gaze implies a contrast between the two characters, and a need to understand both what makes them different and, more importantly, how Rette can become more like Elise. Later, just before the big dance, Rette watches Elise descend the stairs in a new dress:

Elise held up the skirts of a pink-and-white candy-striped taffeta, with a dust ruffle of vivid green. With her fair hair falling to her shoulders and her young shoulders creamy against the silk, Rette thought she looked more like a fashion model than a mere senior in Avondale High.

Elise caught the glance of frank admiration and smiled at Rette. "You like it?" (121)

²⁶ although one could easily read both homosexual and homosocial desire in many of these novels, and particularly in those by Janet Lambert and Betty Cavanna. In Lambert's *Candy Kane* (1943), Candy's recollection of her first meeting with Anne is strangely ecstatic: Anne was golden-brown and black. Black hair like Barton's, brown eyes that danced, and a smile—Candy felt faint from joy because, oh miracle, Anne's smile was for her. Anne had come to see her....Candy clasped her hands around her thin little knees and sat looking at Anne like a thirsty flower in a warm spring rain. (36-37)

Rette's gaze of admiration demonstrates the transition from attempting to learn how to be like Elise to accepting Elise's complete (and somewhat inborn) dominance. For dominated girls within the female novels, this transition represents the moment, just before the prom itself, when the struggle for dominance ceases momentarily, and the apotheoses of the female dominant society—those beautiful and popular sovereigns, the prom queens—are watched and celebrated in all their glory.

These prom queens are the girls who, according to Lotta Dunne's Aunt Muriel in Stolz's *Who Wants Music on Monday*,

sail lightly along the surface of their youth, never
suspecting the existence of undercurrents, riptides, rapids.
The cheer leaders, the prom and hop belles, the flirts, who
look forward to the next date, the next dress, anticipate
college as a more glamorous extension of high school and
marriage as a state of being adored by a perfect man. (54)

They become, in their fateful moment of prom crowning, not only the object of other girls' desire, but the object of their own. In *Girls: Feminine Adolescence in Popular Culture and Cultural Theory*, Catherine Driscoll examines the role of the bride in popular culture. She notes that the bride can be understood as both the object of patriarchal desire and as an instance of identified passivity, but she also suggests that "the desire to be the bride that looks at the bride is not a desiring gaze defined by this standard heteropatriarchal narrative, and perhaps contains no narrative of sexualized possession at all" (187). The same, I suspect, may be said

of the prom queen within the female dominant society. She is no longer a commodity passed between men, although she may view her position as a sort of commodity in itself, since it entrenches her as a governing figure in the female adolescent society. Still, even if she holds that view, she is the only one who enacts the possessing. Her prom king or date—for there has to be a male figure to provide her with the appropriate boy capital to enable her to gain her position—is simply an accessory; as Driscoll explains, the bride (prom queen) “is her own ideal and love object, and any groom (the one who loves me) is a means to that idealization” (187). Thus although Dody planned and implemented a social coup to secure her dominant-class date, Ben, in Stolz’s *Pray Love, Remember*, Ben is completely forgotten in the instant of her social crowning. Instead, the moment becomes solely about the rightful homage that must be paid to Dody Jenks, Snow Queen, most dominant member of the female dominant society:

The music changed to Strauss, the big doors swung wide, and Dody, with the faintest of smiles, surveyed her domain. As at home, there was complete silence, except for the music, and then a long breath of capitulation.... There had been lovely queens in Plattstown High other years, but without question, Dody Jenks, in her frosty green sheath with the rhinestones sparkling like icicles against her hair, was a Snow Queen from a fairy tale. (121)

Irigaray’s vision may not be completely fulfilled, but the female junior novels certainly express an alternative to a society in which women are

exchangeable commodities in relations between men. In the next chapter, that same alternative—the female dominant society—will be discussed in relation to the network of women who produced and distributed the female junior novels to teenaged girls throughout America.

Chapter Two

Women Who Insist on Mattering: The First Generation of the Network

Partway through Betty Cavanna's *Going on Sixteen*, Julie Ferguson, the protagonist, plays hooky from high school to travel into Philadelphia. Julie's intention is to sell her drawings of dogs to a publishing house that specializes in dog stories. She eventually shows her drawings to the house's art director, who gently suggests that she come back in the future, after she has graduated from art school. The passage emphasizes Julie's growing maturity (and accompanying immaturity), her developing talent as an artist, and her desperate attempt to save her favourite dog, Sonny.²⁷ Outside the plot, however, it also portrays the female-driven world of children's books. From the moment Julie enters the double doors that lead into the tenth-floor offices of the publishing house, all the people she encounters are female. The switchboard operator is female, the stenographer is female, the secretary to the art director is female, and the art director—Mrs. Lytton—is female, complete with a “severe black dress” and fingernails that “though short, were painted a vivid pink” (Cavanna, *Going* 105).²⁸ The passage thus provides a brief fictional picture of members of the female junior novel network at work.

²⁷ Sonny is a Collie puppy who is boarded at Julie's farm. Julie attempts to sell her drawings in an effort to make enough money to buy Sonny from his owner. Although she fails, Julie and Sonny do eventually end up together.

²⁸ One wonders whether Cavanna slipped a cameo of herself into *Going on Sixteen*, since she, like Mrs. Lytton, was an advertising manager and then art director at the Westminster Press in Philadelphia.

This chapter explores the first generation of the network: those women who developed the foundations of the network, from its establishment in American children's services librarianship, through bookselling, and into the rise of children's book departments in American publishing houses. The second generation, which I will discuss in the next chapter, is larger, involves more complex associations, and is the "true" network to the extent that it demonstrates the functioning of the network at its peak. This first generation, conversely, is composed of formidable individuals who slowly established the network's modes of functioning (largely through trial and error), and who often did so based as much on personal relationships as they did on professional partnerships. Once they were ensconced in their career areas, these women were able to network across areas, thereby forming the connective bonds of the female junior novel network.

It is important to recognize that the female junior novel network was rarely acknowledged during its time, and was certainly never legitimated with a title or a professional association. Its "members" may have viewed themselves as comrades in the production and distribution of children's literature, but they rarely articulated a need or desire to entrench their group. Thus, on the basis of the available evidence, we cannot know whether the network was intentional or unintentional. What is apparent is that the network was a system that emerged from the intersecting careers of women working in numerous children's book-related fields, including writing, librarianship, illustrating, publishing, criticism, and book selling, among other related areas. These women interacted—

networked—both within and across their professional areas, but rarely outside of them. Thus the network was open in terms of the free exchange of ideas (and sometimes the exchange of authors and illustrators) across publishing houses and libraries, but somewhat closed and insulated from the larger realms of adult book publishing and librarianship. As I discuss in this chapter, this insulation helped the women involved in the first generation to establish the network, and to mold it into a “female dominant society.” The repercussions of such insulation are addressed in the next chapter.

Early female junior novel network: librarian background

Perhaps one of the more interesting aspects of the first phase of the female junior novel network is that it was not started by authors or editors. It was, instead, first established by librarians, and it remained primarily within the librarian realm until the early 1920s. While there are numerous reasons for the network’s early failure to expand into other areas, the overarching explanation is one of women’s professional history: by the turn of the century, women were (more or less) accepted as librarians, whereas it took longer for individual women to gain footholds in other professions, particularly in publishing.

As Kay Vandergrift suggests, librarianship, like its feminized sister fields, teaching and nursing, was open to women because it relied on seemingly female traits, notably “hospitality, altruism, idealism, and reverence for culture,” as well as “industriousness, attention to detail, ability to sustain effort on even the most

boring tasks” (684). From an institutional standpoint, female librarians were cheap workers who rarely questioned those (overwhelmingly men) in positions of authority. Female librarians, embodying the contradictory roles of cultural repositories and submissive, non-intellectual hostesses, were expected to accept a salary that matched those contradictory roles. In 1913, for example, the average salary of a trained female librarian was \$1081, compared to \$600 to \$1020 for a trained public health nurse, and only \$547 for a public school teacher. The minimum subsistence wage (1908-1914) for women living apart from their families was \$416 to \$520 per year (Passet 210-211). Female librarians, then, seemed to be in a good economic position, at least as compared with other female professionals. Examining these salaries in the context of gender, however, provides a far different reading. Jacalyn Eddy recounts that in 1907, the Boston Public Library (BPL) employed 219 people (excluding department heads), of whom 134 were women. While the average salary was \$585.34, a gender breakdown reveals that the male salary was \$610.12, while the female salary—for performing similar tasks—was \$575.22. City pay increases in 1908 allowed women’s salaries to rise by about one-tenth (roughly \$55). Men’s salaries, however, increased by one-third. Thus the “average salary of a librarian” at the BPL in 1908 was \$719.43, but that amount obfuscates the growing chasm between male librarians (earning a salary of \$903.66) and female librarians (earning \$630.45 for, once again, similar work) (Eddy 45).

Current scholarship assumes that many female librarians appeared to accept these gender discrepancies as normal. They seemed to believe that the

“missionary work of pushing out the library frontiers” (qtd. in Passet 211) contributed to society, and was thus more important than being paid equal wages with men. This focus on service, rather than on proper remuneration, was, moreover, the seemingly genteel, feminine thing to do. Furthermore, the prevailing attitude that a career in librarianship was not reducible to a profit motive became all the more appealing to many aspiring women who possessed leftist ideals. Perhaps the most problematic use of female librarians’ general willingness to work for less was to promote more positions for women. As far back as 1877, Justin Winsor, a librarian, editor, and historian, observed that female librarians were ““infinitely better than equivalent salaries will produce of the other sex”” (qtd. in Passet 210). The implication was one of simple capitalism: libraries should hire more women, since women were a better value for the institutional dollar.

It would be easy to suggest that female librarians, seemingly powerless to change their salaries or working conditions, were thus complicit in their own subjugation. Such a statement would be misleading. These early librarians recognized the inherent inequality of their jobs and salaries, and some did attempt to change the condition. While, on the whole, many librarians believed that unions or protests were inappropriate for librarians, some unions were formed, including the Library Employees’ Union (LEU), whose major focus included challenging female librarians’ low salaries. The union, formed in New York City in 1917, was led by Maude Malone, a woman who had helped to reinvigorate the

suffragette movement.²⁹ The union membership was predominantly female (its first executive board was entirely composed of women), and it worked closely with other groups, including the Women's Trade Union League of New York, the New York Federation of Women's Clubs, and the Federation of Women's Civil Service Organizations. Thus the union itself, in its majority-female status and work across librarian and suffragette lines, was an obvious precursor to the female junior novel network.

The extent to which the Library Employees' Union (LEU) fought against the ideology of its time may be perceived with particular clarity (if not melancholy) by its resolution offered to the American Library Association following the dismissal of librarian Adelaide Hasse. Until her dismissal in 1919, Hasse was the head of the Economics Division at the New York Public Library (NYPL), as well as the only female head of a division at the NYPL. She was an active member of the LEU, and was openly critical of both the NYPL and her profession generally, particularly in regard to library service and to the condition of female library workers.³⁰ In 1918, Hasse was dismissed from her position with two months severance pay, no pension, and no explanation for the dismissal. Soon after, the LEU brought a resolution against sex discrimination to the American Library Association conference of 1919. Hasse historian Clare Beck notes that,

²⁹ Malone eventually resigned from the American Suffragettes when she realized that they were most interested in attracting “a well-dressed crowd, not the rabble” (qtd. in DuBois 201).

³⁰ In 1916, Hasse wrote an article for the *Hunter College Bulletin* in which she stated that “The men in the library profession...command the big salaries.... Equal pay for equal work is absolutely essential in this profession as in any other” (qtd. in Beck 110).

although Hasse's name was never mentioned, it was clear that the LEU was referring to her dismissal in its resolution:

“Women may get as far as branch librarianships. Beyond that they cannot go. With one exception, and that an unimportant department, all the heads of departments in the New York Public Library are men, the director is a man, all the members of the boards of trustees are men. Selection of these upper officers is not made on the basis of superiority of intelligence or ability: it is simply made on the basis of sex.” (qtd. in Beck 114)

The actual resolution was as follows: “Be it resolved: We are against the system of removing women without cause and are in favor of throwing open of positions in library work, from Librarian of Congress down to that of page, to men and women equally, and for equal pay” (qtd. in Beck 114). Beck further suggests that “this may be the strongest feminist resolution ever presented to ALA” (114). The fact that women made up four-fifths of those who had the power to vote on this resolution may have given the LEU some hope that it would be passed. The outcome, however, was a resounding defeat: the final vote was 121 to 1, against the resolution.

In attempting to determine exactly why the motion failed, Beck notes that the reasons for the women's opposition are uncertain. One may be that the focus of the discussion became about unions, rather than sex discrimination. The discussion was dominated by three men in particular—Richard Bowker, Arthur

Bostwick, and George Bowerman³¹—and so it is difficult to know what female ALA members thought. Bostwick, in particular, linked unions to the idea of radicalism, which may have stirred anxiety concerning the Red Scare. Compounding the discussion was the generally negative attitude held by many middle-class professionals toward unions. Librarians, in particular, generally still viewed the role of a librarian as one of selfless service. Regardless, by 1929 the New York Library Employees' Union disbanded, having failed to gain significant support from public library workers.³²

As the failure of the Library Employees' Union demonstrates, most attempts to improve female librarians' salaries were not made by female librarians as a collective. Instead, librarians attempted to improve their salaries individually. The dominant method was to constantly change one's position in search of more lucrative employment either in a different library, in a different type of library work, or both. Unfortunately, this practice of changing positions reinforced low salaries, and generally failed to help the individual librarians who tried it (Passet 214).

It may seem that librarianship would not be a popular field for turn-of-the-century working women, but educated women entered it in crowds. By the early twentieth century, librarianship was an established profession that (seemingly) paid slightly better than nursing and far better than most public school teaching.

³¹ Bowker was the founder of the *Library Journal*, and eventually used his editorial to attack Hasse, arguing that “she deserved to be fired because she was a woman who always had to have her own way” (Beck 115); Bostwick was Chief of Circulation at the NYPL; and Bowerman was head of the District of Columbia Public Library.

³² For a more detailed history of the union, see Shanley, C. “The Library Employee's Union of Greater New York, 1917-1929” in *Libraries & Culture* 30.3 (1995): 235-264.

Better rates of pay meant that librarianship could demand more educated practitioners, and thus it proved to be a good career choice to educated, middle-class women. While such educated women remained far from the norm in late nineteenth/early twentieth century America, they were certainly becoming more apparent. Higher Education historian Linda Eisenmann notes that the Progressive Era of the 1920s marked a high point for female participation in collegiate life—a level not seen again until the 1980s. While post-secondary institutions were still predominantly closed to women, the Seven Sisters³³ accepted unprecedented numbers of female students, to the point that by 1920 female students constituted forty-seven percent of all college students (Eisenmann xvii).

It should be noted that, before 1900, only a small percentage of the women who entered librarianship came from backgrounds of either college education or library training schools. As Joanne Passet notes, before library education became the norm, most women became librarians based on their femininity, local availability, and cultured backgrounds. Many communities accepted impoverished widows or the daughters of prominent citizens as their librarians, to the point that Connecticut librarian Caroline Hewins lamented that there were “many inefficient middle-aged women in libraries, who were put there because they had no means of support” (qtd. in Passet 208). By the early decades of the twentieth century, however, entering a career as a professional librarian usually

³³ The opportunity for women to attend college gained momentum with the establishment of the “Seven Sisters” colleges. Vassar College, established in 1865, was the first of these women’s colleges, but by 1894 Wellesley, Bryn Mawr, Radcliffe, Barnard, and Smith had opened specifically for female students, and Mount Holyoke Female Seminary—originally the model on which Vassar and Wellesley were based—had converted to a college.

required a woman to possess at least one year of college, at least one year of library training, and knowledge of foreign languages. The Williamson Reports in 1921 and 1923³⁴ established new reforms to library schools and the training of librarians, including the affiliation of library training schools with degree-granting institutions and the admission requirement of a bachelor's degree, preferably in broad liberal arts.³⁵ Librarianship became one of the dominant career fields for middle-class, post-secondary-educated women in America.

Children's book historian Jacalyn Eddy suggests that the new legions of young, professionally trained female librarians were at the centre of an ambiguous mixture of new and traditional attitudes concerning both women and children. In an attempt to establish its public value, early library leaders had branded the library as the keystone of modern American education, its status relying upon its ability to "civilize" the masses and to create a "reading democracy." While the relative cheapness of female employment, coupled with women's status as moral and cultural repositories, had allowed libraries to employ many women, library

³⁴ Charles C. Williamson summarized the outcome of two Carnegie-commissioned surveys (1920 and 1921) on library schools. Although the Carnegie Corporation's Ten-Year Program in Library Service implemented many of Williamson's recommendations, thereby standardizing library schools and helping to further professionalize the field of librarianship, the reports were devastating for women who lacked the money—and therefore education—required to enter college first, as well as for schools whose mandates were of open accessibility to all men and women, regardless of previous education. Barbara B. Brand traces the downfall caused by the Williamson reports of what had been one of the preeminent library schools, the Pratt Institute, and the ramifications of that downfall for its predominantly all-female cohorts in her article, "Pratt Institute Library School: The Perils of Professionalization." *Reclaiming the American Library Past: Writing the Women In*. Ed. Suzanne Hildebrand. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Company, 1996. 251-275.

³⁵ For more information on the history of library schools (as well as a library education chronology), see Wilson, Anthony M. and Robert Hermanson. "Educating and Training Library Practitioners: A Comparative History with Trends and Recommendations." *Library Trends* 46.3 (Winter 1998): 467-505.

leaders grew increasingly wary that these female librarians might send the signal that libraries were, essentially, “feminine” spaces, rather than strong, civilizing “masculine” spaces. Their wariness was compounded by the growing amount of fiction in libraries, literature that was often conflated with femaleness, and which might “dilute the connection between the library and citizenship by luring patrons to read books merely for recreation rather than civic duty or self-education” (Eddy 20). The making of recommended book lists, moreover, was both a powerful tool for setting standards and evidence of further control by women.

Where female librarians made the most inroads in librarianship, and where they were therefore to be most feared, was in work with children. At a time when the nature of childhood itself was under fierce debate, library leaders attempted to counteract the “feminization” of library work by supervising children—particularly boys—from a distance. Eddy recounts an anecdote about the librarian’s desk in Denver, which was placed ““at such a distance that [the librarian] would seem not to be acting as an overseer, but simply as a good-natured person willing to give advice if asked”” (qtd. in Eddy 34). The paradox was clear: many female librarians attained their positions on the basis of their femininity (and thus supposed natural ability to work with children), but that very femininity was often seen, by the predominantly male library leaders of the time, as a threat to the library’s charge to create American citizens.

The ALA's Children's Section and the power of expertise

From this quagmire came some of the most powerful voices in librarian history. In 1900, the American Library Association (ALA) formally recognized librarians' work with children by establishing the Children's Section. The Children's Section was a result of efforts made by several librarians, including Caroline Hewins, a librarian of the Hartford Young Men's Institute.³⁶ From the 1890s onward, these women urged the ALA to acknowledge work with children as a specific area of librarianship. At the 1900 ALA conference in Montreal, Hewins called an informal meeting of eight children's librarians, thereby forming the Children's Librarians Club. The power held by these women was enough to finally convince the ALA to formally recognize work with children, and the Children's Section was established.³⁷

The Children's Section was not only important for legitimating work with children, but for entrenching a new female power group within librarianship. While other feminized professions, such as nursing or teaching, were still generally administered by men, children's library services became an enclave in which women were allowed to dominate the professional hierarchy. As Jacalyn Eddy suggests, "once the ALA accepted its role in children's work, it heartily recognized such work as an appropriate space in the public library for women,

³⁶ Hewins was a library pioneer on many levels. She founded the Connecticut Library Association in 1891; she is remembered as the first woman ever to speak from the floor of an ALA conference; and she was an ALA councilor from 1885 to 1888 and 1893 to 1902, and was vice-president in 1891 (Gambée 103-104).

³⁷ Christine Jenkins notes that children's librarians were, after cataloguers, the second specialization to organize within the American Library Association ("Precepts" 548).

creating, in effect, a group of experts (children's librarians) within a group of experts (the ALA)" (35). This concept of special expertise thus fulfills what women's employment history scholar Nancy Cott suggests was a feminist reason for women's entry into professions:

the professions themselves, expanded and reformed by the credo of science, bulked larger as sources of power and prestige. If women lacked power in the social world, the professions embodied the notion that organized knowledge is power. (Cott 216)

Thus the ALA, having formed in 1876, aided the move toward professionalizing librarianship, but the ALA's recognition of children's library services helped to professionalize *specifically female* librarianship. I do not mean to suggest that all female librarians worked within children's services (in fact the vast majority did not), or that the women who did chose that particular area of librarianship for feminist reasons. Still, the large majority of children's services librarians were women. The outcome of the Children's Section was that children's services became a source of organized knowledge—and therefore a kind of power—for women.

While Hewins and the other members of the Children's Librarians Club were certainly influential in establishing library services for children, it was the next generation of librarians—their mentees—who really established the beginning of the female junior novel network. Over the next thirty to forty years, women such as Anne Carroll Moore of the New York Public Library, Alice Jordan of the Boston Public Library, Effie Louise Power of the Cleveland Public

Library, Mary Elizabeth S. Root of the Providence, Rhode Island, Public Library, and Lillian Helena Smith of the Toronto Public Library enacted a new kind of children's librarianship that focused not only on developing relationships between librarians working in children's services, but between librarians, editors, authors, and booksellers. These women changed from looking inward, among themselves, to looking—and acting—outward, suggesting/cajoling/demanding that authors write new children's books for America, that editors publish them, and that booksellers sell them. It was these women, as much as the authors and illustrators and editors who produced the texts, who spurred the "Golden Age" of children's book publishing in America.

The first generation of the female junior novel network

The first generation not only created the early incarnation of the female junior novel network, they significantly advanced the concept of professional specialization within children's publishing and services. While the second generation of the network—the women who were actually involved in producing and distributing the female junior novels—did sometimes come from neighbouring backgrounds (librarians into editors, for example), they tended to work within their own professional enclaves, liaising with other members of the network who worked in different areas. This first generation, however, functioned in multiple roles simultaneously: as librarian/critic, bookseller/critic, librarian/editor, editor/critic, etc. At this point, the world of children's books was

still new enough that women could specialize in one area and also move across areas. A ready example of these multiple roles is an article title in the September, 1930 issue of the *Wilson Bulletin*: “Three Librarians in the Publishing World.” The article focused on May Masee, Emma V. Baldwin, and Bertha Gunterman. By 1930, Masee and Gunterman were both well known as editors (and, in fact, those are the roles for which they are primarily remembered now), yet the title of the article places them as librarians who also happen to work in publishing. Thus the movement of these women between areas helped to foster children’s publishing and library services as a professional female community, and as the early manifestation of the female junior novel network.

Although the amorphous nature of the female junior novel network means that the exact number of women who were part of the first generation can never be known, there were a few women whose formidable presence in the history of early children’s library services and publishing is relatively well-documented. I use the careers of four of these women, Anne Carroll Moore, Bertha Mahoney, Louise Seaman, and May Masee, as case studies to represent the four basic strategies of the female junior novel network. These strategies included: emphasizing professional specialization, purposefully making connections and liaising across disciplines, allowing work and prestige to remain relatively unrecognized outside of the network, and continually legitimizing and entrenching the network within the larger realms of librarianship, publishing, and criticism (to the extent that doing so did not conflict with remaining relatively unrecognized by people outside of the network).

Emphasizing professional specialization: Anne Carroll Moore

Anne Carroll Moore was, and perhaps remains, the most famous librarian in the history of children's library services in America.³⁸ She enrolled in Brooklyn's Free Pratt Institute in 1895, trained as a librarian for a year, and by the next year was invited to develop the children's library at Pratt.³⁹ During her time there she opened children's access to books, became involved in the kindergarten movement, and began liaising with schools by providing talks, special library services, and storytelling (Lundin 194). In 1906 the New York Public Library (NYPL) recruited Moore to be its Superintendent of Work with Children, and she remained working in children's services at the NYPL until her retirement in 1941.

Moore was, by different accounts, nurturing, difficult, formidable, petty, visionary, and dictatorial. Whatever one's opinion of her, however, it would be difficult to deny her success in building an empire of children's services during her thirty-five years at the NYPL. From the outset of her employment, Moore asserted her dominance in regard to library work with children. During her first years at the NYPL, children's library services were split into two camps: services within the library (headed by Moore), and work with public schools (headed by Edwin White Gaillard). In 1906, Gaillard became the superintendent of NYPL's

³⁸ Although much scholarship regarding the history of children's library services has focused on Moore, she was not, in fact, the first librarian to specialize exclusively in children's services. Instead, Effie L. Power—a remarkable librarian in her own right—was hired in 1895 to supervise the Cleveland Public Library's Junior Alcove (Jenkins "Precepts" 548).

³⁹ It is interesting to note that Pratt's one-year training course did not, in 1895, include the area of children's librarianship. It was not until after Moore had herself established the library's children's services that courses in children's librarianship started to be offered, in 1899-1900 (Lundin 191).

Work with Public Schools,⁴⁰ through which position he brought library resources to the schools, including classroom collections, aid for teachers, and model school libraries (Braverman 16). Although Moore and Gaillard thus technically worked at two ends of a children's services spectrum (inside the library versus outside the library), they clashed in their opinions regarding the purpose of library services. As library historian Miriam Braverman suggests, Moore and Gaillard experienced professional conflict not only through their overlapping jurisdictions, but also through their differing approaches to library services for children:

Moore thought libraries should be used informally and voluntarily, to promote the joy of reading. Under Gaillard, the New York Public Library emphasized library instruction, classroom collections, and curriculum-related services. In developing a service for children in the public library that was distinct from the school environment, Moore sought to have all services to children under her jurisdiction. (17)

The end result of this proprietary conflict was that Gaillard was "eased out" in 1913, and work with schools was transferred to Moore's Children's Services division.

During her time at the NYPL, Moore eliminated the age restrictions on borrowing books, which was a controversial decision (Eddy 37). She ventured into hitherto-disregarded settlement houses, and succeeded in proselytizing to thousands of New York's poor and immigrant populations regarding the "public"

⁴⁰ Gaillard's Work with Public Schools was the first such department in America.

nature of the public library (Braverman 15). She decorated the library's children's rooms and enlarged their scope to include not only spaces for individual reading, but for group meeting places and club homes. She emphasized the role of storytelling within the library, and brought literary figures, like William Butler Yeats, into the children's rooms (Eddy 36). Since Moore's long list of accomplishments has already been detailed by others,⁴¹ however, I prefer to focus on her influence on the professionalization of children's library services in America.

Moore's emphasis on the specialization of her profession is observable in her overall philosophy, which she termed her "Four Respects," and which she taught to all librarians who worked under her:

The first was respect for children. Second was respect for children's books. Third was respect for children's librarians as an integral element in the library's organization. Fourth was respect for the professional status of children's librarianship, which Moore herself worked tirelessly to elevate. (Walter 5)

While the first two "respects" seem obvious, the fact that Moore included the third and fourth ones—the role of children's librarians, and their professional status—is significant. They were, it seems, the two "respects" that caused Moore the most trouble in her early years at the NYPL. Mabel Williams, one of Moore's eventual successors at the NYPL—recalled in an interview with Patty Campbell that, in her attempt to establish children's library services, Moore originally

⁴¹ See Braverman, Eddy, Jenkins, Lundin, Marcus, and Vandergrift.

experienced resistance from branch librarians. Many of these librarians had worked through the years before children were freely allowed to access libraries, and before special services were created for them. As Williams notes: “for a long time the librarians were pretty elderly. They had no pensions, no way of leaving, and so they had to work” (qtd. in Campbell 8). The resistance changed when the library instigated a retirement system, and when the new librarians, trained in children’s services, started to enter the library system. Still, Moore attempted to sweeten children’s librarian positions by “staking out a territory with a job title and a salary grade” (Campbell 10), as well as by continually drilling her new hires in the Four Respects.

For Moore, however, work within the library system was only part of her role as a specialist in children’s library services. Another aspect was her influence on children’s literature publishing, both in terms of creating a foundation for children’s literature criticism, and for the continued publication of texts for children. Thus in 1918 Moore started publication of her children’s book reviews in *The Bookman*, through which she not only described her opinions regarding texts she had just read, but also wrote about children’s relationships with books and the state of children’s literature publishing generally. Christine Jenkins suggests that, in articulating her views on the field of children’s literature publishing, Moore effectively translated her profession’s literary standards. Those standards were not necessarily based only on Moore’s opinions (although she certainly possessed a following), but were also built on a collective concept of what constituted “good” literature for children:

Moore's vision of "what is a good book" was not simply her individual opinion, but was also a group opinion based on commonly held professional standards. When we look at the canon of inspirational literature for children's librarians, the actual texts were written by leaders such as Moore, Frances Clarke Sayers, Amelia Munson, Lillian Smith, Annis Duff, Ruth Hill Viguers, and Margaret Edwards, but the professional views and understandings expressed represented the collective wisdom of the profession as a whole. (Jenkins "Precepts" 549)

Moore worked diligently to express those professional views to other members of the female junior novel network—and to anyone else who would listen. In addition to her articles in *The Bookman*, she also wrote "The Three Owls" column in the *New York Herald Tribune*, and then in the *Horn Book Magazine*.⁴² She published endless lists of recommended titles. Some were based on themes, such as "Heroism" in 1914, or "Children's Books of Yesterday" in 1933. Others became annuals, such as "Christmas Books Suggested as Holiday Gifts," which Moore continued from 1918 to 1941 (Lundin "Anne" 196). She even published two children's books based on her famous doll, Nicholas Knickerbocker

⁴² Moore's articles in *The Bookman* ran until 1926, when the journal folded. "The Three Owls"—named for the three roles of author, illustrator, and critic—was published in the *New York Herald Tribune* from 1924 to 1930 (Lundin "Anne" 196).

(although the extent to which her children's books contributed to the professionalization of the network is questionable).⁴³

It may be a cliché to state that Moore worked tirelessly to promote children's services both at the New York Public Library, and then in her classes at the School of Librarianship at the University of California-Berkeley. She did, however, dedicate her life both to finding "the right book for the right child," which was her motto in dealing with her young patrons, and to establishing, promoting, and then expanding children's library services as a field for hardworking professional women. Moore was a pioneer in paving the way for women's work in children's services, criticism, and even publishing, but her career is also a testament to her determination to make sure that those areas continued to grow. That the gradual demise of the female junior novel network started around the time of her death in 1961 may seem coincidental, but also had something to do with the loss of a very powerful, determined voice.

Expanding careers and crossing disciplines: Bertha Mahony (Miller)

If Anne Carroll Moore was one of the most famous women to promote children's services (and, by extension, to start the female junior novel network), it may be Bertha Mahony, owner of the Bookshop for Boys and Girls, who, together with her librarian colleagues, pushed publishing houses to create the books needed by American children. An often-cited anecdote records how Mahony

⁴³ Nicholas Knickerbocker's unique role in the female junior novel network will be discussed in greater depth in Chapter Three.

decided to enter bookselling after reading an article in *Atlantic Monthly*. This 1915 article, written by educator/lecturer Earl Barnes, advised its readers that the influx of educated young women was creating possible underemployment for any career-minded women who did not enter the traditional professions of teacher, librarian, or social worker. One alternative, he suggested, would be a career as a bookseller, which would be both worthwhile and suitable, since it would be useful to the community (thus fulfilling the traditional service ideal of female professional work). Barnes then offered advice regarding training and successful business practices.⁴⁴

Not wanting to be a teacher, and lacking the education required to be a nurse or a librarian, Mahony used the ties she had developed with the Women's Educational and Industrial Union (WEIU) to start the Bookshop for Boys and Girls, in Boston. Although the shop's focus on children allowed Mahony to avoid both competition from other booksellers and social criticism concerning a woman in business—thus fulfilling Jacalyn Eddy's suggestion that Mahony's decision “represented a combination of risk taking and safety seeking, a variant on the tension between professionalism and domesticity” (56)—it is unlikely that she could have started the business, or made it financially successful, had she not had the backing of the WEIU. As one publisher's jobber commented, ““We didn't think so much of you but you had the Women's Union in back of you”” (qtd. in Eddy 57).

⁴⁴ See Barnes, E. “A New Profession for Women.” *Atlantic Monthly* 116 (August 15, 1915): 225-234.

The Women's Educational and Industrial Union was founded in Boston in 1877⁴⁵ with the purpose of "[increasing] fellowship among women and to promote the best practical methods for securing their educational, industrial and social advancement" (qtd. in Giesberg 162). As historian Sarah Deutsch notes, the WEIU was made up of professional women whose career choices made them already well-known in their own right (388).⁴⁶ By the time that Mahony became involved with the Union, it had changed from a volunteer organization focused on women's reform to an urban, business-like agency with more than a hundred staff on payroll. By 1903 the WEIU offered associate memberships to men, with the recognition that it was men who possessed access to the financial resources that the WEIU needed to expand further. When Mahony was made the WEIU's assistant secretary in 1906 (and was thus present at key committee meetings), she entered into a network of professional businesspeople who could help her to make valuable social connections. These connections came through when the Union agreed to support Mahony,⁴⁷ and the Bookshop for Boys and Girls opened in 1916 on Boylston Street, Boston.⁴⁸

⁴⁵ The WEIU was first formed in 1871 as the Women's Education Association.

⁴⁶ Three of the WEIU's eight original members, for example, were physicians.

⁴⁷ The WEIU did not support Mahony without conditions; while she was allowed to retain a salary, all other profits from the Bookshop were given back to the Union. Thus the Bookshop was one of many endeavors supported by the Union, and which, in turn, helped the Union to gross an approximate annual return of \$500 000 on its investments (Eddy 57).

⁴⁸ The placement of the Bookshop on Boylston Street demonstrates its original dependence on the WEIU. As Sarah Deutsch explains, as well as its original headquarters, "the WEIU bought second and third buildings, opened lunchrooms and employment offices, clinics and pure milk stations, and, by the turn of the century, turned Boylston Street in downtown Boston into virtually a woman's mile" (390).

The Bookshop was significant not only for its specialty of children's books,⁴⁹ or for the fact that it was run by a woman, but because it represented one of the first key ties between women working in different areas of the female junior novel network. Mahony may have possessed the financial backing from the WEIU, but she did not necessarily possess much knowledge regarding her chosen commodities. She thus toured several cities in an effort to meet leading librarians and booksellers who might be able to help educate her in children's literature. Her tour was a success: she met key figures including Alice Jordan, Caroline Hewins, Clara Whitehill Hunt, Frederic Melcher, and Anne Carroll Moore. Impressed by the look of Moore's children's reading room at the New York Public Library, Mahony imitated Moore's use of space and colour in the Bookshop. Alice Jordan's regular Saturday morning instruction regarding children's literature was particularly useful to Mahony, and Mahony continued to rely on her expertise over the years by placing Jordan on the Bookshop's advisory board. Eventually both Jordan and Moore would further help Mahony by writing articles for Mahony's new journal about children's literature, the *Horn Book Magazine*.

⁴⁹ It should be noted that, regardless of its title, Mahony soon realized that the Bookshop was not overly successful in its sales of only children's books. By 1921 she purchased a larger street-front space next door, sold adult books on the ground floor and children's books on the wrap-around balcony, and changed the sign to read, "The Bookshop for Boys and Girls—With Books on Many Subjects for Grown-Ups" (Bader 525).

Earning the job but not the title: Louise Seaman (Bechtel)

Before the advent of the *Horn Book Magazine* in 1924, however, came the birth of modern American publishing for children. In 1928, Bertha Mahony reflected back on the Bookshop's early stock (1916-1918), and recalled being puzzled over the lack of quality American children's books. Some American houses, such as Macmillan, Dutton, Doubleday, and Stokes imported large numbers of English books, while others, including Harper, Duffield, Scribner, and Houghton, rather haphazardly published miscellaneous children's books of varying degrees of "quality." Mahony surmised that the disorganized publication of books for children in American was because "children's books were not the responsibility of *one* able person" (Mahony 4) within the publishing house.

Before 1918, American publishing houses produced books for children either through their school departments, or through their general trade departments. Editors working in either department would occasionally publish a book for children, but there was no specialization or recognition of children's books as a legitimate area of publication. As a result, many professionals working in children's services—and librarians in particular—bemoaned the proliferation of books of "inferior quality," and wondered, like Mahony, why "material of unusual excellence [was] allowed to lie dully on publishers' lists for lack of new dress?" (Mahony 4)—that is, why publishers were not reproducing previously printed texts in new editions. Tudor Jenks, author and past-editor of *St. Nicholas Magazine*, told the *New York Times* in 1916 that:

What our children's books need is an improvement in quality, and considerable decrease in quantity, and possibly a sort of specialization—an adaptation, so that a different sort of book would be written for the town boy than that written for the country boy. It seems to me that some sort of specialization like this is inevitable. (qtd. in Marcus, *Minders* 332, n3)

Jenks was obviously talking about the specialization of books, rather than the specialization of a profession that published them. Still, the two—specialized books and a specialized profession—cannot be separated and, in fact, first came to fruition in the career of one woman: Louise Seaman.⁵⁰

Like Bertha Mahony, Louise Seaman's career is relatively well-documented when compared to the careers of many other members of the female junior novel network. Seaman rose to fame in 1919, when she was given the responsibility of founding Macmillan's children's department. Like the majority of children's book editors who would slowly appear over the next twenty years, Seaman did not possess a strong background in publishing, although she had long been interested in it. Seaman had originally attempted to enter publishing in 1915, after graduating from Vassar. She had been turned down by George Brett (Jr.), the

⁵⁰ Louise Seaman married Edwin DeTurch Bechtel in 1929, to become Louise Seaman Bechtel. Since she started her professional career before her marriage, I continue to refer to her using her original surname. She is historically known by both names, as can be attested in the numerous prizes and awards named after her, including the Bechtel Prize, awarded annually by the Teachers and Writers Collaborative of New York for an article related to literary studies, creative writing education, or the profession of writing; and the Louise Seaman Bechtel fellowship, awarded by the Association for Library Service to Children, to provide access for a children's librarian to the Baldwin Library of the George A. Smathers Libraries, University of Florida, Gainesville.

head of the New York Macmillan, on the grounds that she was socially above work as a typist or a file clerk, “the only sort of work we have here for women” (qtd. in Eddy 73). Turned down by several other publishing houses (for, one might suspect, similar reasons), Seaman taught elementary classes at a private school in New Haven for two years,⁵¹ until she was told that “because she had not married, it was time she ‘tried New York’” (Eddy 75). She returned to New York and once again approached Brett, but this time she brought with her a letter of recommendation from Becky Lowrie, one of her former Vassar classmates, and now a manuscript reader at Macmillan.⁵² This time Brett hired her, and Seaman started working in the trade advertising department, earning twenty dollars per week (Eddy 75). A few months later, she was moved to the educational department, where she now earned twenty-five dollars per week. Several months later, Brett proposed the new position of children’s editor to Seaman.

Although, by this point, Seaman had obviously demonstrated some talent in the field of publishing, Brett’s suggestion of the editorship appears to be based predominantly on her gender. When presenting the position to Seaman, Brett added that “I suppose that’s a subject on which a woman might be supposed to know something” (qtd. in Eddy 76). Seaman apparently replied that her teaching experience may have prepared her. Eddy suggests that Seaman’s response gestures toward one of the main differences between the new women editors and

⁵¹ Seaman’s stint in New Haven also allowed her to attend some graduate classes at Yale, with two drawbacks: firstly, some professors denied her entrance to their classes because she was a woman; and secondly, her teaching schedule made it difficult to attend day classes.

⁵² There is some discrepancy regarding whether Becky Lowrie was the reader, and the letter was from her (Marcus 77), or whether the reader was Lowrie’s husband, and the letter was from him (Eddy 75).

the children's services librarians (and bookseller) who preceded them. While Seaman seemed to view her position as being based on a meritocracy of ability, Moore, Jordan, Mahony, and many of their contemporaries still believed that their professional skills stemmed from their "natural" female aptitude to work with children. As Mahony states:

We do not mean to depreciate or minimize the splendid publishing of books which men have done but we do believe that men (with few exceptions) have been baffled and groping where children's books are concerned and that they have not had the vision to shape their organization so that the right people have had the necessary time for these books. There seems every *natural* reason why women, properly qualified, should be particularly successful in the selection of children's books to publish and their publishing. (5, my italics)

Mahony's caveat of "properly qualified" points to the fact that she wrote this passage in 1928, not 1919. By 1928, several publishing houses had already established children's book departments.⁵³ Similarly, by 1928 George Brett clarified his position on hiring Seaman, publically announcing in his own article in the *Horn Book Magazine* that he had hired Seaman based on her qualifications of education, past teaching, and publishing knowledge, rather than on her gender:

⁵³ Publishing houses that established early children's book departments include Doubleday, Page and Company (1922), E.P. Dutton & Company (1925), Longmans, Green (1925), Harper & Brothers (1926), Little, Brown & Company (1927), among others.

She had had several years of teaching. Her training at the house, in the educational, editorial, trade manuscript reading and advertising departments, had given her an idea of publishing routine. So Louise Seaman was appointed head of the first Children's Book Department. (Brett 25)

Mahony's and Brett's articles, along with Seaman's own description of the offer of her editorship (as described by Jacalyn Eddy), demonstrates the degree to which one may trace children's services and publishing from areas that are given to women because of their "natural" ability to work with children, to spheres that rely on educational and professional backgrounds to, eventually, the almost complete "feminization" of these areas (in the sense that the large majority of both the workers—and often the people involved in their training—are female). Synonymous with this movement, moreover, is the change in autonomy granted to these women. It is interesting to note, for example, that although Seaman was the first well-known editor of a children's department, she was not, in fact, *the* first editor.

Years before Brett approached Seaman, he approached a woman named Kate Stephens, who served as a children's editor under Brett. While Stephens was thus technically the first children's book editor in the United States, no children's book department yet existed within MacMillan (New York), and in having to clear all editorial decisions through Brett, Stephens lacked the autonomy employed by later children's book editors (Eddy 68). As a precursor to the female junior novel network, rather than a full member of it, what Kate Stephens's career

therefore demonstrates is the degree to which autonomy within the children's book realm was a requisite for membership within the network. The other pioneering members of the network established their autonomy early, and in doing so started to create a niche for themselves not only as professional women, but as specialists. By constantly having to clear decisions through Brett, Stephens was never able to gain neither the independence nor the professional status enjoyed by later members of the network.

Seaman herself lacked much of that autonomy in her first year as editor of Macmillan's children's department. Brett's proposal was based on his supposition that a woman may be able to be a children's book editor where a man had failed, but also on the maintenance of male prerogative. The result was that the full extent of Seaman's new position was hidden. As Brett stated to Seaman:

“You are a department head, but for the present, we shall not make that public, for only men are the heads of departments. You will be called editor, but you will be responsible, as [department heads] are, for your own manufacturing budget, your catalogue, et cetera.”
(qtd. in Eddy 76)

Similarly, before Seaman embarked on a working tour to Europe, Brett refused to give her a letter of introduction to Macmillan in London, stating that ““They'd never understand my allowing a—well, a young woman—to be head of a dept.”” (qtd. in Eddy 103). Thus Seaman was head of the first children's department in America in terms of the work that she did, but not, in those first months, in title.

Legitimizing the network: May Masee as gateway

While Louise Seaman was the first officially sanctioned editor and head of a children's department in America, she lacked the librarian background that formed the pedigree of so many future children's book editors. May Masee, conversely, became the second well-known children's book editor in America (and the first at Doubleday, Page and Company) after launching a successful career in librarianship. Masee taught elementary school for one year in White Water, Wisconsin, decided it was not what she wanted, and entered the Wisconsin Library School. Following her graduation, Masee spent two years as an assistant librarian at the Armour Institute in Chicago. After receiving encouragement from Theresa West Elmendorf,⁵⁴ Masee moved to the Buffalo Public Library, where she managed the children's room. In 1913 she moved back to Chicago to become the first full-time editor of the American Library Association's *Booklist*. She established the role played by networking in her career by convincing the *Booklist's* publishing board of the benefit of yearly trips to New York to meet publishers.⁵⁵ Through these trips Masee made contacts in both publishing and librarianship, including both Anne Carroll Moore and Louise Seaman. Masee's relationship with Seaman was important not only in terms of Masee's future success as an editor herself, but because Seaman influenced Masee's view of

⁵⁴ Elmendorf was the first female president of the American Library Association.

⁵⁵ Halsey suggests that Masee convinced the publishing board, "despite some librarians' reservations about the propriety of such contacts" (55).

children's literature—a significant deed, since Masee would go on to become one of the most prolific children's book editors in America. It was Seaman, for example, who gently shifted the early reputation of children's literature by informing Masee that she “ought to discard the old English term ‘juvenile’” (qtd. in Marcus, *Minders* 91). When Masee later became a children's book editor herself, she insisted that both her publishing houses⁵⁶ use the term “junior books,” rather than “juveniles,” thus starting the long history of using “junior” to refer to books which were intended for younger audiences, but which were not to be stigmatized as inferior literature.

Under Masee, the *Booklist* became so respected that by 1921 both the National Council of Teachers of English and the National Education Association recommended it as an aid in book selection and for use in high school reading tables. Masee followed her success with the *Booklist* by agreeing to become Doubleday, Page and Company's first children's book editor, in 1922. In so doing, she entrenched children's book editorship as a viable professional field for women. Before 1922, Seaman's editorship appeared to be a one-off, an anomaly rather than the standard. Masee's background in the three key areas of teaching, librarianship, and criticism made her a visible, influential woman in multiple fields, and her willingness to accept Doubleday's editorship legitimated the role of children's book editor. It also legitimated the role of a qualified *female* children's book editor, since, unlike Seaman, Masee appeared to have been given the editorship based on her qualifications, rather than on her gender. As

⁵⁶ Masee worked at Doubleday, Page and Company, and later at Viking.

paradoxical as it might appear, the fact that a woman gained her job because of her qualifications rather than her gender suggested that other women with similar backgrounds (particularly those who possessed librarian training) might also be hired for similar positions at other houses.⁵⁷

If Seaman was the originator of professional children's book editing, Masee became the gateway. Several women followed in Seaman's and Masee's footsteps, becoming heads of the children's departments of various publishing houses over the next ten years. In 1917 Helen Dean Fish was hired by Frederick A. Stokes Company as a manuscript reader, and by 1922 was named their first children's book editor.⁵⁸ In 1925 E.P. Dutton and Company hired Marion Fiery, who had worked under Anne Carroll Moore at the New York Public Library, following her training at the Pratt Institute. In that same year, Longmans, Green hired Bertha Gunterman, who had worked both as a librarian and as a bookseller

⁵⁷ Although it may appear positive that future editors seemed to be hired based on the recognition of their training and experience (rather than on their gender), this shift may also be the result of changing ideology regarding childhood. By the 1920s, childhood was being examined scientifically, particularly by behavioural psychologists. This medicalization of childhood meant that the concept of a "natural" knowledge of children was vilified, and motherhood in particular was attacked. Mothers were replaced by (usually male) psychologists and psychiatrists like John B. Watson, who became the dominant child expert of the 1920s. Watson advocated "habit training," in which babies and children were only fed and changed at specific pre-determined times, not when they cried. Mothers were trained as much as babies: "No feeding five minutes before schedule because a baby cried, chewed his fists and gave every indication of hunger. No feeding five minutes late—that was enough to prove any woman a Bad Mother" (qtd. in Tuttle, "America's" 23). Watson further advocated against demonstrations of female affection, suggesting that "If the baby cried—let him cry! All babies cried. . . . But by all means don't pick him up" and "If you must. . . kiss them once on the forehead when they say goodnight. Shake hands with them in the morning" (qtd. in Tuttle, "America's" 23).

⁵⁸ Fish continued in her position through Stokes' merger with J.B. Lippincott in 1941, and until her death in 1953. She wrote regularly for the *Horn Book*, and was the director and general secretary for Stokes (before its merger), the 1946 President of the Association of Children's Book Editors, and an annual chairperson of the Children's Book Council (Behrmann 70).

before becoming library correspondent for Houghton, Mifflin in 1921, and for Longmans, Green in 1922.⁵⁹ In 1925, Harper & Brothers hired Virginia Kirkus, a Vassar graduate who had been writing for *McCall's* and acting as a freelance writer/editor at Doubleday. Harcourt, Brace hired Elisabeth Bevier Hamilton to do contract work with public and school libraries in 1926, then placed her in charge of their children's books department in 1927.⁶⁰ That same year, Little, Brown & Company hired Lucile Gulliver as the publisher of its children's books, and Katharine Ulrich was given the same position at Coward, McCann. The gateway was officially open.

The list goes on: Laura Harris at Grosset & Dunlap (1928), Rose Dobbs at Coward-McCann (1930), Eunice Blake at Thomas Nelson & Sons (1933), Doris S. Patee at Macmillan (1933),⁶¹ Louise Raymond at Harper's (1933), Alice Dalgliesh at Scribners (1934) Dorothy Bryan at Doubleday, Doran and then at Dodd, Mead and Company (1934), Helen Hoke at Henry Holt & Company (1935), Louise Bonino at Smith and Haas and then at Random House (1936),⁶² Dorothy Waugh at Knopf (1937), Ursula Nordstrom at Harper's (1939), Marie J.

⁵⁹ Gunterman was head of the Order and Accession Department of the Louiseville Public Library for seven years, then worked at the Los Angeles Public Library. She worked at the Sather Gate Book Shop at Berkeley and at Himebaugh & Browne in New York.

⁶⁰ Hamilton also possessed a librarian background, having been Supervisor of School Libraries in New Brunswick for several years. She replaced Mrs. Harcourt, who had been supervising children's books for Harcourt, Brace.

⁶¹ Patee was originally hired in 1932 to do sales promotion for the trade department, but became Children's Editor following Louise Seaman's resignation in 1933.

⁶² Bonino was both a secretary and a member of the Smith and Haas board of directors. Although she did publicity, advertising, and read manuscripts, by 1935 her specialty was children's books. Smith and Haas merged with Random House in 1936, and Bonino remained in charge of children's book publication.

Jessup at Morrow (1941), Muriel Fuller at Nelson (1943), Margaret K. McElderry at Harcourt, Brace (1946), and Mary Pfeiffer at the Westminster Press (1953).

Establishing the functioning of the female junior novel network: collaboration

Out of all of this new activity in children's book editing, bookselling, and library services emerges the female junior novel network, which, in turn, establishes collaboration as its dominant mode. These women worked in a professional world heavily resistant to their gendered presence. They attained and expanded their positions by first creating, and then heavily using, the interconnectivity of the children's book world. Such collaboration is primarily anecdotal, however, and therefore difficult to historicize. It can be identified in the letters these early members wrote to each other, or the essays they wrote about each other. It was enabled by specific physical space, such as Anne Carroll Moore's famous office, Room 105 of the Forty-Second Street Central Library. For almost forty years, authors, editors, booksellers, and librarians trooped in and out of that office. Frances Clarke Sayers, Moore's biographer and eventual replacement as Superintendent of Work with Children, described the influence of Moore's office as "[reaching] out literally across the world.... Any efficiency engineer studying the flow of traffic in Room 105 would have suffered a nervous breakdown" (qtd. in Campbell 9).

Collaborative networking may also be observed in Bertha Mahony's *Horn Book Magazine*, whose inaugural issue went to press in October of 1924, six years

after Mahony had established the Bookshop for Boys and Girls. The first issue was eighteen pages long, illustrated, and the first magazine to be devoted entirely to the business of children's literature. The *Horn Book Magazine* continually published articles written by the biggest names in both the librarian and publishing sides of the children's literature industry, and particularly articles by Anne Carroll Moore, Alice Jordan, and Louise Seaman, as well as by Mahony, as editor, and Elinor Whitney, as assistant editor. Since all of these women had been publishing annotated lists in one form or another for years, they were already used to conversing in print. Moore, in particular, had been publishing monthly articles about children's literature in *The Bookman* since 1918. Following an offer from the Sunday *Books* magazine section of the *New York Herald-Tribune*, Moore started her "The Three Owls" column in 1924, writing the lead article and used her knowledge of the female junior novel network to commission various publishers, librarians, booksellers, authors, and illustrators to contribute articles to her column.

In some instances, members of the network collaborated with men (who tended to remain outside the network) who were generally sympathetic to what the women were trying to create. An early example is the establishment of Children's Book Week in 1919. The impetus for the annual celebration of children's books was from Franklin K. Mathiews, Chief Scout Librarian at the Boy Scout's headquarters in New York. In 1912, Mathiews was delegated to survey the field of boys' books. He was unimpressed by the books available to boys, and in 1913, while speaking at the annual convention of the American

Booksellers Association, he expressed the need for better books, stating: “I am not expecting that you gentlemen should stop the sale of all bad books, but you can surely slow them up some and can increase the sale of better books” (qtd. in Tebbel 14). His speech led to the establishment of the first book week dedicated to boys’ literature. Designated to run in November, 1913, the week was titled “Safety First Book Week,” and was accompanied by a catalogue called “Books Boys Like Best,” published by *Publishers’ Weekly*. A similar week ran the next year, titled “Good Book Week,” and *Publishers’ Weekly* agreed to publish another catalogue to accompany the week.⁶³

The war years intervened in the continuation of the book weeks, but in 1919 Mathiews again proposed a week to the American Booksellers Association, informing them that

“we have been telling the public again and again that we had four million men under arms. Let me tell you that, between the ages of ten and sixteen, there are ten million boys, with their parents, who constitute for you a perpetual field for exploitation.” (qtd. in Marcus, *Minders* 74)

Leonard Marcus notes that there were other ideas for special weeks suggested, including one for a “Patriotic Book Week” that would oppose the rise of “subversive” influences. Mathiews’ suggestion, however—and perhaps his nod to the “perpetual field for exploitation”—proved to be the most popular. Frederick

⁶³ The growth in catalogue distribution demonstrates the growth of Mathiew’s movement. 50000 copies of the first catalogue were distributed in 1913, while 75000 copies were distributed in 1914.

Melcher⁶⁴ amended Mathiews' proposal, suggesting a "Children's Book Week"—a week that would feature not only books for boys, but books for girls as well. A seven-person committee was eventually struck that included six men and, significantly, Anne Carroll Moore.⁶⁵ The majority of the work, however, seems to have been performed by Mathiews, Melcher, and Moore—collectively known as "the Three Ms," and by Louise Seaman, whom they soon invited to work with them.

While the original 1919 Children's Book Week was the result of female junior novel network members' collaboration with men who worked in related fields, subsequent book weeks fell further and further under the purview of the network. The emergence of both children's book editors and booksellers meant the creation of professionals who specialized in children's literature, but whether the (predominantly male) members of the American Booksellers Association attempted to continue promoting Children's Book Week themselves, or whether they simply handed it over to the (predominantly female) network, is unknown. What does seem apparent is the simultaneous expansion and isolation of the network over time, leading, eventually, to the demise of the network in the late 1960s and early 1970s.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ In 1919 Melcher was the secretary of the American Booksellers Association, and had recently become managing editor of *Publishers' Weekly*.

⁶⁵ The male members of the committee included Melcher (as chair), Mathiews (as vice-chair), F. Brett Stokes (head of Frederick A. Stokes Company), Maxwell Aley (an editor at Harper and Brothers), Harry Maule and Cedric Crowell (both editors at MacMillan).

⁶⁶ The demise of the network will be examined in the Conclusion.

The Depression and the rise of the network as a female dominant society

Although the Depression hit the female junior novel network with significant budget cuts (particularly in institutional areas, such as libraries and publishing houses), the network itself survived, albeit it in a slightly different form. In terms of population, librarians were particularly battered by funding cuts, to the point that they collectively experienced average pay cuts of twenty to thirty percent and, in some cases, up to sixty percent (Eddy 139). While some fifteen thousand librarians were shifted to the Works Progress Administration payroll (thereby retaining their jobs and salaries), many—particularly those in lower-funded rural areas—simply lost their jobs. The ideology surrounding these cuts, furthermore, reflected the historical ideology behind paying lower wages to turn-of-the-century librarians, who had been expected to give up pay to fulfill their female role of service to the community. Moreover, since public opinion polls indicated Americans' overwhelming opposition to women's employment, and to married women's employment in particular (Eddy 138), married librarians became particularly hard hit by Depression-era cuts.

Although there were significantly fewer of them, children's book editors fared little better than their librarian counterparts. While more Americans were reading books in libraries,⁶⁷ both purchasing budgets and employee numbers were

⁶⁷ Eddy notes that book circulation in urban libraries rose as much as forty percent (139).

severely curtailed.⁶⁸ Since libraries were still the main source for children's book purchases, these budget cuts affected the children's book departments of publishing houses. This influence of library purchasing cuts on publishing was further exacerbated by the glut of children's books from the previous ten years. As book historian John Tebbel suggests, the rapid expansion of the children's book industry during the 1920s was partly responsible for the sudden closure of children's book departments. Children's books had multiplied more rapidly than any other category of titles during the 1920s, and, as a result, publishing houses attempted to counter the economic downturn of the Depression by drastically reducing the number of children's books they produced. In 1931, for example, American publishing houses released 873 new children's titles and 245 new editions. By 1934, they published 466 new titles and 135 new editions. When slashing the number of new titles and editions failed, many houses simply shut down that category of their businesses altogether. Thus Harper and Brother's merged their Department of Books for Boys and Girls into their adult trade department; Alfred A. Knopf closed its children's books department completely; and Coward-McCann merged with Longmans, Green ("For Children" 27).

The curious effect of the Depression on the female junior novel network was not its demise, but rather a highlighting of its strength. By the end of the 1920s, the network had firmly established its early membership of librarians, booksellers, editors, and critics. While the layoffs and budget cuts of the 1930s compressed the network's numbers, they also started to demonstrate the extent to

⁶⁸ Library purchasing budgets were often cut by as much as twenty-five percent (Eddy 139).

which the network functioned as a female dominant society,⁶⁹ rather than as a collection of remarkable individuals. The network's status as a female dominant society was based on its semi-autonomous state: just as the girls in the female junior novels form their own society (which, in turn, possesses its own hierarchy and modes of functioning), so too the female junior novel network possessed its own mode of functioning that was separate from other book realms (and their librarians, editors, booksellers, critics, etc.). The members of the network still remained dependent on the forms of capital controlled by their (male) bosses, but they were granted a certain degree of autonomy in terms of how to run their own departments. The Depression years are therefore fascinating because they display attempts made by the people in charge of publishing and librarianship realms to save costs by controlling the network, as well as the network's responses.

These responses include rescuing the careers of women who had been cut from some area of the network, and who were attempting to re-establish themselves in a different area. Two of the most noteworthy examples of the network's response to outside attempts to control it are the Depression-era firings of Virginia Kirkus and May Masee. In 1925, Harper and Brothers hired Virginia Kirkus to head its new Department of Books for Boys and Girls. Like many members of the network, Kirkus possessed post-secondary education (having attended Vassar), and careers in multiple disciplines (she was an English and History teacher in Wilmington, Delaware, then a freelance writer and editor for Doubleday and for *McCall's* magazine) before she joined Harper's. Her triumph

⁶⁹ Refer to Chapter One for an explanation of the "female dominant society" within the female junior novels.

came when, just before the Depression, she convinced Laura Ingalls Wilder to allow Harper and Brothers to publish the *Little House* books—a series that earned money and prestige for Harper and Brothers even during the worst years of the Depression (Gerhardt 130).

Kirkus's victory was unfortunately short-lived. In 1931, Harper's rescinded their Department of Books for Boys and Girls, placing it under the auspices of the adult trade department. Kirkus's position was similarly cut, and she was offered a position in the religious books department. Kirkus refused. Instead, she created her own advance book review newsletter, which would eventually become known as the *Kirkus Review*.

The *Virginia Kirkus Bookshop Service*—the first incarnation of the *Kirkus Review*—was issued in 1933 to its first ten bookstore subscribers. Kirkus's ability to run her newsletter relied on her relationships with publishers, since she had to convince them to provide her with advance galleys, a concept which, according to Kirkus historian Lillian N. Gerhardt, was “an unheard of practice in 1932” (130). Still, Kirkus succeeded in persuading twenty publishers to supply her with the advanced copies she needed. While her early reviews included popular adult titles, she slowly became known for her children's book section—the main area in which her review service is still known today.

Kirkus's children's book reviews reveal the strength and stubbornness of the female junior novel network against outside interference. Although the network did not openly respond to Harper's cuts—and here it is useful to remember the amorphous nature of the network, in that it lacked an established

hierarchy or a collective voice—some of Kirkus’s first twenty publishers may have included network members. In Kirkus’s reputation and success with children’s book reviews, however, is an obvious convergence of members of the network to support one of their own. Kirkus’s newsletter was originally aimed at bookshops, but it was librarians—particularly children’s services librarians—who subscribed avidly, and for whom Kirkus filled an industry lack. As Gerhardt suggests, “the newsletter’s use by libraries for pre-publication alerts became especially valued by children’s librarians whose budgets did not stretch as fast as the number of children using libraries arrived for good books” (130). Kirkus was able to effectively use her network contacts in both publishing and librarianship to create a niche for herself while simultaneously providing a systematic review of children’s literature.

While Kirkus’s departure from Harper and Brothers was somewhat disturbing to members of the network, May Masee’s firing from Doubleday was shocking. Having founded the Junior Books department in 1922, Masee—and many in the female junior novel network—was completely surprised by her dismissal in 1932. By this time, Masee had become a giant in the field of children’s book editing, and members of the female junior novel network rallied to encourage her following her departure. Demonstrating both her support for Masee as well as her indignation at Doubleday, Anne Carroll Moore selected Masee to be the main speaker at the New York Public Library’s Children’s Book Week, then further promoted Masee by heralding one of her edited books, *Ola*, by Ingri and Edgar Parin d’Aulaire, as “the picture book of the year” (Marcus,

Minders 119). Moore's intervention was in November. By December, Harold K. Guinzburg, president of the newly-established Viking Press, asked Masee to become the founding director of Viking Junior Books, offering her "'absolute control to build the thing and a good percent of profits—(if any!) And meanwhile a living wage'" (qtd. in Marcus, *Minders* 119). Masee took the job, bringing with her significant writers and illustrators who had pledged their loyalty to her when she was fired from Doubleday.⁷⁰

Network members also used their connections to rebound from smaller cuts. Anne Carroll Moore, still the reigning queen of the network during the Depression, found her column, "The Three Owls," cut from the *New York Herald-Tribune* 1930. In 1935, however, she was once again writing critical columns about children's literature, and recycled her *Herald-Tribune* title into "The Three Owls' Notebook" for *The Horn Book Magazine*. Eddy suggests that Moore offered Bertha Mahony the "Three Owls" "as an expression of confidence in the future of the magazine" (153), but the extent to which Moore helped *The Horn Book Magazine* by providing the column, or Bertha Mahony helped Moore by providing space and, after a year, a paycheque, is ambiguous.⁷¹ Still, the end result was that "The Three Owls" re-appeared, and *The Horn Book Magazine's* circulation figures grew by nearly a third in the year after Moore became a contributor.

⁷⁰ Such writers and illustrators included the d'Aulaires, Robert Lawson, Marjorie Flack, Kurt Wiese, and Maud and Miska Petersham (Marcus 119).

⁷¹ Eddy quotes Moore's 1936 letter to Mahony as stating that Moore "was willing to do the column for one year without payment in order to strengthen the subscription list but told [Mahony] that when '[the column] really does pay it will not need to be a free contribution'" (153).

The Depression may have temporarily knocked the female junior novel network, but it also forced its members to turn inward rather than out, to rely on each other rather than on outside sources. It thus started to fulfill the notion of a female dominant society: the network remained dependent on the various forms of capital controlled by the patriarchal society in which it worked. After all, it may have found ways around certain cuts, but it certainly could not prevent the Depression or its effects in the first place. Still, in circumnavigating some of the damage caused by those cuts, the network strengthened its dominant mode of functioning—collaboration—while establishing a base for further autonomy. The development of that base will be explored in the next chapter, through the second generation of the female junior novel network.

Chapter Three

“Born Talented and Creative”: The Second Generation of the Network

Although the second generation of the network corresponds with the second generation of the children’s literature industry in America, I would like to stress that the focus of this chapter is on the role of the network in regard to female junior novels, not to children’s literature generally. Between 1940 and the late 1960s, the people involved in the children’s literature industry and the members of the female junior novel network overlap (with some division emerging in the separation of young adult librarians from children’s librarians). By the early 1970s, however, work in children’s literature production and dissemination enters what could be described as a third generation, with the emergence of the “new” realism. It is at this point that the female junior novel network ends, while the field of children’s literature continues to grow, and young adult literature emerges as its own distinct entity.

Before the split between children’s literature and young adult literature, however, and before the vast flowering of female junior novels and young adult library services from the mid-1940s onward, came a brief transitional period between the two generations of the network. This period, falling between the end of the Depression and the end of the Second World War, marked the continuation of certain anxieties from the first generation—particularly the fears of “feminization”—as well as the firm entrenchment of children’s literature departments within publishing houses, all of which eventually led to significant growth in children’s publishing and library services in America.

Continuing fears of “feminization”

In 1939 the University of California at Berkeley hosted the Institute on Library Work with Children, an ALA preconference sponsored by ALA’s Section on Library Work with Children. Four hundred youth services librarians attended the institute, which eventually became known as the “Sayers Institute,” in honour of the leader and moderator, Frances Clarke Sayers. The opening talk was made by Howard Pease, a prolific author of boys’ novels, whose books were edited by May Masee. Technically, Pease’s talk was about the absence of realistic fiction for young readers, but his rhetoric suggested a very different topic: the isolation of the female junior novel network.

By 1939, the network had started to enter its second generation. It had grown immensely during the 1920s and 1930s as more and more women attained jobs as children’s book librarians, editors, booksellers, and critics. With that expansion, however, had come an accompanying ghettoization. Children’s departments in both libraries and publishing houses slowly became the norm rather than the oddity, but while collaboration across internal areas still formed the basis of the network, the early collaboration outside the network (such as the organization of the early Children’s Book Weeks) had slowed dramatically. As Anne Scott MacLeod suggests, “children’s literature became an enclave. All the creative activity, all the knowledgeable producing and reviewing and purveying of children’s books, took place a little apart from the larger world of literature” (MacLeod 125). Thus when Howard Pease announced in 1939 that the children’s

book world was “wholly and solely a woman’s world—a completely feminine world” (qtd. in Jenkins, “Women” 821), he was not embellishing the gendering of the professions involved. As children’s services historian Christine Jenkins summarizes Pease’s argument:

According to Pease, children’s books were being written, edited, reviewed, sold, selected, and promoted almost entirely by women, and the results of this female domination was uniformly negative. Women’s “tender-minded feminine control” of the field was responsible for the lack of male juvenile book authors. The identification of the field with women made it generally unattractive to men, plus the fact that a male breadwinner could not work for the same depressed wages as an “amateur housewife writer.” (821-22)

Overall, the predominantly female population attending the Sayers Institute responded negatively to Pease’s statements. Sayers herself stepped in immediately, stating that “Mr. Pease is a very brave man. Mr. Pease, I have to admit that as an ardent feminist I rather enjoy this world that is so completely controlled by women” (qtd. in Jenkins 823). May Masee, by 1939 easily the most influential figure in children’s book publishing, responded to her own author by reminding both him and the audience that “it was women who had ‘rescued [the field] from mediocrity...and not without a struggle’” (qtd. in Jenkins, “Women” 824). Still, Pease’s accusation regarding the feminization of the field remained, and the members of the second generation of the female junior novel

network found themselves facing the same charges that had been leveled at their counterparts, the first children's services librarians, roughly twenty-five years earlier.

Pease's accusations were further exacerbated by ongoing editorials in *Elementary English Review*, a publication of the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE) that was founded in 1924 by C.C. Certain, an English teacher and school library supervisor, and aimed at elementary school teachers and school and public youth services librarians. Certain's opening editorial of the October 1939 issue, titled "What Are Little Boys Made Of?" attacked the winner of the 1939 Newbery Medal⁷² on the grounds that it had no appeal to "the average tousle-headed American boy" (qtd. in Jenkins, "Women" 828). He suggested that the main problem with how the Newbery was awarded was that it was selected by librarians, not by teachers, and that librarians were responsible for thus awarding the medal to books written by female authors, and which featured female protagonists. In the next issue of *Elementary English Review*, Certain followed his attack by claiming that recent Newbery winners were "highly sentimental," and would "most assuredly lead his tousle-headed American (male) child reader to regard all literature as 'sissy,' and either drive him to 'ten-cent thrillers' or away from reading all together" (Jenkins, "Women" 828). Lesley Newton, the Chair of the ALA's Section for Library Work with Children and a member of the 1940 Newbery Committee, replied that "It is perhaps unfortunate that so many of the books chosen recently have been feminine in appeal, but we must not forget that

⁷² The 1939 Newbery Medal was given to *Thimble Summer*, by Elizabeth Enright, published by Farrar & Rinehart.

there are little girl children, too” (“Newbery Award: Open” 162). Similarly, Betty Hamilton, a children’s librarian at the Carnegie Library in Atlanta, asked “why do the editor and others complain when a good book for girls wins the Medal? Why shouldn’t a girl’s book win? Don’t girls read?” (“Newbery Award Again” 193).

The Newbery controversy within the pages of the *Elementary English Review* came to an abrupt end when C.C. Certain died in 1940. His wife, Julia L. Certain, took over the editorship of the journal, shifting the tone of the journal to a less antagonistic stance. Although the controversy surrounding the medal appeared to die down, Christine Jenkins suggests that the struggle over the composition of the Newbery Committee—all women—was “a serious challenge to the professional authority of ALA children’s librarians” (“Women” 835). While Pease’s original concern regarding the medal was about the lack of realistic fiction available to children, his focus on the “tender-minded female control” of the children’s publishing and librarianship realms eventually served to highlight the predominantly female composition of those realms and, once again, the concern regarding the “feminization” of children through books.

The female editor of the female junior novel network

It is easy to understand why Pease felt surrounded by women in the children’s literature business. With the exception of Vernon Ives of Holiday

House,⁷³ all children's book editors of the second generation of the network were women. Children's library services were similarly dominated by female librarians. That the overwhelming majority of producers and distributors of children's literature were female, however, does not automatically mean that women were entirely dominant in the children's book field. The relationship between the female junior novel network and the larger publishing, bookselling, and librarian spheres is ambiguous; one must remember that, like the female dominant society within the female junior novels, the network experienced some autonomy in terms of its own inner workings, but it still fell under the larger umbrella of patriarchal 1940s and 1950s American society. Although women like Masee and Sayers publically promoted women's careers in publishing and library services, there was also the sense, to some degree, that members of the network subscribed to Pease's fears regarding the feminization of children's books and services. Thus during her 1946 Bowker Lecture at the NYPL, and seven years after Pease's original argument, Louise Seaman asked publishers the following questions:

1. Is there any reason why [children's book editors] should all be women? Would it not be better for the children if more were men?
2. Do you hesitate to put a man in this department because you would have to pay him more and let him be a director of your firm? (qtd. in Vandergrift 704)

⁷³ Ives and his partners, Helen Gentry and Theodore Johnson, founded Holiday House in 1935, as "the first American firm ever founded to publish nothing but children's books" (Fuller "Vernon" 2206).

This concept of what is “better for children” directly relates to the ongoing fear regarding the feminization of the children’s book world, and Seaman clearly believes that more male editors would be better than the current all-female situation. Kay Vandergrift suggests that these questions also reveal more than they ask in terms of gendered wages:

The concept of pay equity seems to have been alien to [Seaman’s] thinking. She placed more significance on getting men in editorial positions than on fighting for equal treatment. Did she place what was “better for children” above what was better for her and other women in children’s publishing? (704)

I am unsure that Seaman was less concerned with pay equity so much as that she recognized the political climate around her, and positioned herself accordingly. Her ordering of these questions is important: by first seeming to agree with the “problem” of the feminization of children’s books, Seaman places herself in the position of the “reasonable” speaker. She continues this position by then ostensibly advocating for male equity in the children’s publishing field. That male equity, of course, subtly suggests the inequality between male and female wages which, I suspect, may be the sharp point for which Seaman aims. Still, like the female junior novel network’s relationship with the larger patriarchal society under which it functions, Seaman’s relationship to wages remains ambiguous. Once she entered into an economically comfortable marriage, she always refused payment for her contributions to the *Horn Book Magazine* (Eddy 148). On one hand, her refusal might suggest a desire to help Bertha Mahony and the first

generation of the network; on the other hand, it might speak to the old belief regarding women's "natural" work, suggesting the question, as Eddy asks it, of "how much should women be paid for doing what was only 'natural?'" (148). Ultimately, Seaman's relationship towards both the feminization of the children's book field and male and female wages represents a larger ambiguity that infused the female junior novel network and its place within postwar American society.

Amidst the controversy regarding feminization, it was not until the second generation of the network established itself in the late 1930s/early 1940s that women started to gain a solid place in the publishing sphere. The first generation of female children's book editors—Louise Seaman, May Masee, Helen Dean Fish, Bertha Gunterman, Virginia Kirkus, etc.—were remarkable individuals, but although they participated in the early network by communicating with each other and with their librarian and bookseller counterparts, they were often the sole editor in charge of a very small department. Kirkus, for example, the founding juvenile editor at Harper & Brothers, headed a department which Leonard Marcus calls "typical in size for the time, [consisting] of an editor, her assistant, and a secretary, each with a desk and a telephone" (Introduction xxii). When, following the Depression, publishing houses slowly rebuilt and expanded their children's literature departments,⁷⁴ individual children's book editors started to gain their own staff. When Ursula Nordstrom took over Harper's Department of Books for

⁷⁴ Many publishing houses expanded their children's departments from the 1940s onward to the point at which those departments possessed their own divisions, often categorized as "el-hi," or texts intended for elementary school-aged children, versus texts for high school students. Textbooks were usually created in a separate department.

Boys and Girls in 1940, her department employed a staff of three. By the time of her retirement from that department in 1973, she presided over a staff of more than forty. The types of publishing jobs available to women also expanded slightly, so that women were increasingly employed not only as secretaries and stenographers, but also as manuscript readers and sometimes even editors. Still, even with the growth of children's book departments and the expansion of women into publishing-related careers, editorships remained relatively closed.

In 1941, Muriel Fuller, in conjunction with Marjorie Shuler and Ruth Adams Knight, published a book titled *Lady Editor: Careers for Women in Publishing*. Although the book functions primarily as a career guide, it is nevertheless fascinating for its inadvertent portrayal of the autonomy of the female junior novel network within patriarchal American society. Since 1935, Fuller had been conducting interviews with children's book editors for *Publishers' Weekly*.⁷⁵ In *Lady Editor*, she uses her publishing background to delineate the areas into which women may—and may not—enter publishing:

The various channels in book publishing into which a woman may go divide roughly into about eight different groups. The first is stenographic or secretarial work, by far the easiest entering wedge. Next is editorial assistant, which covers manuscript reading, copy editing, checking, interviewing, etc. Third is the manufacturing of

⁷⁵ Fuller's first article, "Helen Dean Fish: The First of a Series of Sketches of Children's Book Editors," appeared in the August 31, 1935, issue of *Publishers' Weekly*, and was soon followed by articles on Elisabeth Bevier Hamilton (September 28, 1935), Bertha L. Gunterman (October 19, 1935), and Dorothy Bryan (February 8, 1936). Fuller wrote over forty articles on children's book editors, spanning from 1935 to the mid-1950s.

books, where few women shine. Fourth is wholesale bookselling, a field in which there are practically no women. Fifth is promotion, publicity, and advertising, where women do very well indeed.

Sixth is editor in chief, a position rarely given a woman. Seventh is children's book editor, a whole fascinating world by itself. And eighth is textbook editor, a highly specialized division, requiring a background of teaching and modern education. (179)

Fuller's analysis is purposely gendered, of course (particularly in regard to book manufacturing and wholesale bookselling), but an interesting aspect of her breakdown is her examination of editorships. She is clear that the role of editor-in-chief is rarely given to women, but of the remaining departments, she only names children's books and textbooks. It seems that other departments—general trade, non-fiction, periodicals, etc.—do not even register as possible “channels” for women.

Fuller's suggestion that entry into any of these channels requires a “wedge” demonstrates a sense of determination, and an understanding that women must “pry” their way into publishing. Her use of anecdotes further suggests that attaining editor positions—even in the children's books department—does not necessarily equate with the professional success one might expect a male editor to experience. She observes, for example, that Rose Dobbs started as a stenographer at Coward-McCann in 1929, then took over as editor of the children's book list after the former editor left. As Fuller notes:

She devoted her time thereafter to the children's books, and to being secretary to Thomas R. Coward, president of the firm. She is really Mr. Coward's assistant as well as his secretary, in addition to being one of the finest children's book editors of the country. (182-83)

Dobbs' positions as children's book editor/assistant/secretary suggests that being "one of the finest children's book editors of the country" is on par with being secretary to the president of the firm. Of course, one must take into account the publishing scope of the children's department at Coward-McCann. Fuller's 1938 interview with Dobbs, printed in *Publishers' Weekly*, reveals that "Miss Dobbs limits her list to approximately six titles a year" (1523), presumably in addition to her backlisted titles. Louise Seaman, in contrast, published an average of sixty books per year (Eddy 141). Thus six titles seems small, suggesting that Dobbs' position as editor was more or less what one would call "part-time" employment today. Still, Fuller notes that Dobbs "[plans] the entire make-up of her books, [picks] the type face, binding cloth, style, etc., and [sees] them through from galleys and dummies, until they are ready for the bookstore. She also gets out the juvenile catalog single-handed, no mean feat as any editor can tell you" (1523).⁷⁶

The difference between leading (a department) and following (as a secretary *to* someone) does not seem to enter Fuller's examination. In fact, Fuller calls Dobbs' career a success story, but her view of Dobbs' success is somewhat

⁷⁶ Dobbs' catalogue includes the who's who of early twentieth-century children's literature, including Kurt Wiese and Wanda Gág, as well as the American revival of E. Nesbit's books, and editions of Andersen's fairy tales.

ambiguous: does it reside in her position as secretary, or as editor? As Fuller writes, “A success story from secretary to editor is that of Rose Dobbs. It is one which should inspire every girl who aims at a job of secretary to the editor or head of a publishing house, which in many cases is one and the same person” (182). It seems that the wedge could allow an editor to have control over the publishing list, but she might still be fulfilling two jobs simultaneously, rather than working full-time in one.

Fuller’s interview with a different editor, Frances Phillips, gestures toward the reasons why Dobbs (and other children’s book editors) may have been fulfilling multiple positions. Phillips, editor-in-chief at William Morrow from 1931 to 1957, argues three reasons why women rarely occupy the top positions in a publishing firm. The first is that “Men bear the financial responsibilities in most businesses, including publishing They put up the capital, so naturally they decide how it shall be spent. It’s only fair” (qtd. in Fuller 224). The “fairness” of Phillips’s statement seems to be assumed; neither Fuller nor Phillips analyzes the reasons behind why men, rather than women, bear those “financial responsibilities.” Phillips’ second reason is that women “have a narrower field of interests than men Women need to broaden their vision, particularly today, and think in terms of books” (224). Again, neither Phillips nor Fuller questions why women appear to possess a narrower field of interest or, furthermore, what exactly “narrower field of interests” suggests. The third reason I will quote in full:

Another reason why women do not get to the top in editorial work is that some authors prefer not to discuss their book ideas with a

woman. They will not take a woman seriously. There is the same prejudice against a woman editor in chief as there is against woman doctors, lawyers, and clergymen. Even women are prejudiced against women.

“The classic example in my experience,” Miss Phillips says, “is the letter from an author who wrote that I spelled *Frances* with an *e*, so I should be a woman, but obviously, no woman could be editor and director, so he was addressing his letters to Mr. Phillips.”

A woman must learn to work with men. She must learn not to be over-sensitive, not to brood outside of her job. And she must not be too emotional, either. (224)

Phillips and Fuller are obviously sympathetic to women who have to deal with such obvious sexism, and as such they seem to be trying to give practical advice and suggestions. Still, Fuller’s summation following Phillips’ example is reminiscent of Angie Morrow’s verdict regarding the girls who wore improper footwear in *Seventeenth Summer*: it is the girls’ faults that they do not wear saddle shoes. Similarly, the impetus in *Lady Editor* is on the female employee, and particularly on the way she reacts, making sure that she is not “over-sensitive” or “emotional.” Instead, Fuller suggests that a female editor must maintain a sense of proportion between her work and her private life, and goes so far as to suggest that “If a woman can be independent of her family so much the better, although it is the rare woman without a female dependent of some sort” (Fuller 225).

The “independent” professional woman of the female junior novel network

Fuller’s emphasis on female “independence” from family is not accidental; there is a sense in *Lady Editor* that a professional woman will put her publishing career before any aspect of her personal life (including marriage and family). Thus the book reads, at times, like an instructional manual on women’s duties in marriage:

Suppose you have secured That Job, and you are not a lowly stenographer to some under executive in a publishing house, but by one of those miracles which do happen you are secretary to the editor himself

Your first commandment is to resolve that you will indeed be the chief’s right hand. So much so that on those rare occasions when you simply have to be out of the office he will miss you like that member. In doing this you will learn to take everything off his mind and his shoulders that you possibly can. You are always alert, and do things willingly and pleasantly. You must learn to move fast

You must live your work. You are not just there from nine to five; your real life is from nine to five, and if this is true you will reveal it in your actions. Get on the job early. (181-82)

One may assume that professional men may also have felt that they must “live their work.” The difference, however, is in social pressure. It was often to men’s professional advantage to marry, while such an institution may have been less advantageous for women.

I include Fuller’s advice not only because it provides a sense of the gendered zeitgeist in which professional women worked, but because the notion that a career woman can only be successful by “marrying” her work prevails, to some extent, within the female junior novel network. A large percentage of the network’s members were unmarried, including many of the most prominent figures. Of the key members mentioned in the previous chapter, for example, Anne Carroll Moore, Alice Jordan, and May Masee all remained unmarried throughout their lives. The second generation of the network were similarly often unmarried, particularly the editors.⁷⁷

Obviously, being “married” to one’s work does not automatically mean that one cannot be married to a person. Still, with the exception of war time, many social conventions of the postwar period frowned on married women working. Historians G.J. Barker-Benfield and Catherine Clinton note that in 1950 approximately twenty percent of married women worked outside the home. This number rose continually over the next few decades, so that thirty percent worked in 1960, and over forty percent by 1970. Barker-Benfield and Clinton further observe the persistence of this trend through the postwar baby boom, when

⁷⁷ The list of leading editors of the second generation who were unmarried includes Ursula Nordstrom of Harper’s, Bertha L. Gunterman of Longmans, Green, Mary Pfeiffer of the Westminster Press, Helen Hoke of Julian Messner, Laura Harris of Grosset & Dunlap, Alice Dalgliesh of Scribners, and Margaret K. McElderry of Harcourt, Brace.

women gave birth (on average) to 1.9 children in 1940, compared with 2.5 children in 1960 (529). Since a large majority of editors came to publishing from backgrounds of librarianship and teaching—backgrounds which often required post-secondary education—the fact that “by the mid-fifties the majority of women who enrolled in colleges were dropping out before graduation to get married and start a family” (530), must have further reduced the number of women who were able to enter the female junior novel network.⁷⁸

Librarian case study: the New York Public Library

Whether or not these women were married to men or married to their work, there can be little doubt that children’s literature flourished in both publishing houses and libraries during the postwar era. Even with paper and printing shortages, the wartime era entrenched children’s book publishing and librarianship. The Division of Library Service to Children and Young People (DLCYP) was formed within the American Library Association (ALA) in 1941; the Nathan Strauss Branch for Children and Young People (a specially-dedicated branch of the NYPL) opened in the same year; the first twelve of Simon & Schuster’s revolutionary *Little Golden Books* were produced in 1942 in a run of 50 000; and the Children’s Book Council was formed by American publishers in 1945. This growth and entrenchment laid the foundation for the new genre of

⁷⁸ Of course, the statistics do not include untraditional relationships. Leonard Marcus’s compilation of Ursula Nordstrom’s letters, for example, sometimes refers to Nordstrom’s long-term companion, Mary Griffith. Whether or not a lesbian relationship existed between the women, however, is not specifically defined in *Dear Genius*.

female junior novels to emerge and entertain generations of teenaged girls who, like the protagonists within the novels, seemed to focus on clothes, boys, and their newfound dominance within the consumer marketplace. Although this dominance was perceived and, to some extent, created by marketers such as Eugene Gilbert or new media like *Seventeen*,⁷⁹ one of the first institutions in which it arose—and which directly paved the way for the female junior novels—was the library.

In examining the effect of libraries (and librarians) on the emergence and growth of the female junior novels, I choose to use the New York Public Library (NYPL) as a case study. This particular library system is helpful for several reasons. As one of the largest and oldest library systems in the United States,⁸⁰ the NYPL possesses both a relatively well-documented history and an extensive archive of its own inner workings. Of particular use to this dissertation is the NYPL's archive of the Office of Young Adult Services, which houses the correspondence, administrative files, annual reports, and book lists of the various coordinators. This archive is, to some extent, the history of key figures such as Mabel Williams and Margaret Scoggin. These women oversaw the development and implementation of young adult services not only in New York but, since the NYPL's programs were often used as a model, they indirectly promoted similar

⁷⁹ See Chapter One for a brief analysis of Gilbert's and *Seventeen*'s influence on the concept of adolescence.

⁸⁰ The first of the large library systems was actually the Boston Public Library, established in 1854. The plan to create the New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations (a combination of the resources of the Astor and Lenox libraries with a \$2.4 million bequeath from past governor Samuel J. Tilden) was not agreed upon until May 23, 1895, and the 42nd Street building was not officially dedicated until May 23, 1911. In the meantime, the NYPL consolidated in 1901 with the New York Free Circulating Library, and proceeded to operate thirty-nine Carnegie branches in Manhattan, the Bronx, and Staten Island ("History").

services in the rest of America. The NYPL is also representational in that the interaction between librarians within individual branches, as well as in their work with schools, demonstrates both the collaboration of the female junior novel network and growing division within the librarian sphere.

Establishing “Work with Schools”: Mabel Williams and the New York Public Library

The history of young adult services at the New York Public Library starts, perhaps unsurprisingly, with Anne Carroll Moore. As discussed in the previous chapter, when Moore became Superintendent of Work with Children, she also took over the NYPL’s work with schools. In 1916, she attended the Massachusetts Library Association meeting, where she heard Mabel Williams, a high school librarian, speak about the necessity for high school librarians to be acquainted with books for children (Braverman 16). As Patty Campbell puts it, “Anne Carroll Moore ... plucked Williams out of a conference and summoned her to New York Public Library to give structure to her conviction that there should be some way to keep older children from losing interest in the library as they grew up” (Campbell 2-3). Williams accepted the post of Moore’s assistant, and in 1919⁸¹ became Supervisor of the School Work Department, a position she held until her retirement in 1951.⁸²

⁸¹ This date is disputed: Braverman writes that Williams was placed in charge of work with schools in 1920 (16), while Campbell (8) and Hannigan (857) both suggest it was 1919.

While Williams's job was more or less to act as a liaison between the NYPL and the schools of New York, her overall agenda—as dictated by Moore—was to help young people move from the children's library to the adult stacks. As Williams recalls, “Miss Moore wanted to have an adult department for young people, because she didn't want to lose these children from the Children's Room, have them drop the public library entirely” (qtd. in Campbell 8). Thus part of Williams's job was to create services that would help to keep teens using the library both during their adolescence, and into their adult years. Young adult library services in the NYPL, then, developed in part based on the desire to create adult library-users.

Williams attempted to construct young adult services by first expanding the number of class visits to the library. Her efforts obviously worked: in 1921, 2445 classes visited the NYPL; in 1936, 7445 classes; and in 1947, 8804 classes. An ongoing problem, however, was the lack of young adult librarians trained to work with teenagers. As Edwin Anderson, director of the NYPL, noted in 1921:

the children's librarians ... are responsible for nearly all the work with the elementary schools, while the high school work is dependent on the good will and team work of the entire staff. The high school work is part of the big intermediate problem that will never be adequately handled until trained assistants can be appointed to give their entire time to the work. (qtd. in Braverman 20).

⁸² In 1947, Williams's department was re-named Office of Work with Schools and Young People. In 1951, the department became Office of Work with Young People.

Since the notion of adolescence (as a specific life stage with its own culture) was still in its infancy, Williams was well ahead of publishers in creating book lists and services targeted specifically at people between (roughly) the ages of twelve and nineteen. Being ahead of the trend, however, did not help her in finding young adult librarians. As Miriam Braverman notes, “children’s librarians were responsible for the class visits of elementary school children. Williams took care of the high schools herself until 1926, when [Amelia] Munson was added to the staff to work with continuation schools” (19). One of the problems in finding librarians willing to work with teens may have been what Patty Campbell calls Williams’ “conciliatory approach,” which Campbell notes was

a marked contrast to the methods of Anne Carroll Moore, who had begun her campaign for personnel in the branches by staking out a territory with a job title and a salary grade for children’s librarians—a contrast in style between the two specialties that has continued to undercut the stature of young adult services.

(Campbell 10)

Williams herself reported that “I went to every branch. I went all over...I had meetings, you see, and I’d try to get a representative from each branch or try to find someone who was interested in doing it” (qtd. in Campbell 10). As she had succeeded in expanding class library visits, Williams also eventually succeeded in convincing librarians to specialize in young adult services. Thus in 1930 the first young adult specialist (named the School and Reference Assistant) was employed

at the Chatham Square Branch, and by 1939 sixty-nine more school and reference librarians worked in the branches (Braverman 20).

While Williams's greatest library achievement was the slow creation and expansion of young adult services between 1920 and 1951, she was also responsible for two significant developments that aided that achievement: the *Books for the Teen Age* list, and the construction of teen reading rooms and lounges. Until the development of the junior novel in the early 1940s, *Books for the Teen Age* (first titled *Books for Young People*) was primarily composed of adult novels. Unlike the lists published by the Children's Department, this list did not stress supposed literary quality. Its books were still chosen by librarians, but, as Lillian Morrison, Williams' and Scoggins' eventual successor as Coordinator of Young Adult Services (1968-1982), suggests: "we took the cue from the individual" (qtd. in Braverman 85), that is, from the selections made by teens who used the library. Esther Walls, another librarian, noted that the selection "always [started] where the kids were, and that's the way you reach them. There was never any attempt to lift them up to an intellectual tradition, which is why we used such a preponderance of books on hot rodding, skin diving, sky diving, adventure and mystery and so forth" (qtd. in Braverman 85).

The list's selection process reflected one of the core values of the female junior novel network—collaboration—in that all young adult librarians in the NYPL system were involved. The books selected were first based on reports from the school and reference librarians' interactions with teens in both the branches

and in school visits. They would then attend meetings where, as Esther Walls recalls,

We'd get up and argue about treatment of books. We literally screamed at each other, and that was a good thing, I think. Nobody got mad personally, but it was all "Say, that's good," or "It's a lousy book, not well-written." The Young Adult services book meetings were always stimulating. (qtd. in Braverman 86)

The arguments regarding what books to include often reflected the criterion involved in their selection. As Walls expresses it, the criteria included: "Is the book readable? Is it well plotted? Are the characters true to life? And, if it were an adult book that you were reviewing, was it a book that young adults could read with understanding? Is it beyond their experience level?" (qtd. in Braverman 86). After Margaret Scoggin took over the list in 1951, a central criteria became the promotion of "positive values." Lydia La Fleur, a young adult regional specialist, noted that "'Positive' values are those that give young people hope, the feeling that they can accomplish something, and that counter 'false values'" (Braverman 87). Miriam Braverman observes that "emphasizing the positive implies that books also can have a bad influence. Books had such an influence, as Ruth Rausen put it, if they 'glorified sensationalism, violence, materialism,' or had passages of explicit sex" (87). Well-known titles that were not in the list include Thomas Wolfe's *Look Homeward, Angel* (1921), J.D. Salinger's *Catcher in the Rye* (1951), and Jack Kerouac's *On the Road* (1957). Mary Stolz's *Two by Two* (1954)—her only novel not to be published by Harper & Brothers/ Harper &

Row—was also one of the few of her novels that did not make it onto the list. It was, however, included ten years later, after it was re-edited (many references to and scenes of sex and alcohol were removed) and republished as *A Love or a Season*. As Stolz suggested on the dust jacket, this new 1964 Harper edition was intended for young adults,

to present them with concepts they have undoubtedly comprehended all along.... At the same time, we felt that there were in the book certain areas of sophistication which, although not beyond the understanding of people in their teens, would almost certainly be outside their interest. Some cutting [for the later edition] seemed called for and [was] done. Not, I feel, to the disservice of the book ... the love story remains, and that is what this book, by any name, was and is—a love story. (qtd. in Braverman 88)

Stolz's novel was, therefore, edited to remove the "bad influences," and instead to pronounce Scoggin's "positive values." Once that editing was accomplished, it was included in the list.

Considering the popularity of *Books for the Teen Age*, as well as the NYPL's general status as a leader in the field of young people's librarianship, the books that made it onto the list were much more likely to be purchased by libraries and schools across North America. Scoggin's focus on only including books that assert "positive values" therefore makes it difficult to dismiss the

notion of censorship.⁸³ The inherent didacticism of children's literature, however, coupled with the loaded use of the term, "censorship," during both the war and the Second Red Scare, makes it very difficult to morally qualify Scoggin's assertion of "positive values." Elaine Simpson, another librarian involved in creating *Books for the Teen Age*, describes the ambiguity surrounding the idea of censorship and book selection:

It became kind of a joke, that if a book had an "incident" you could hear it in quotation marks in our discussion, and we were very careful that the books with incidents didn't get on the list or in the collection. We didn't call it censorship. We called it selection, but it was protective selection. (qtd. in Braverman 89)

This "protective selection" could be questioned. Librarian Emma Cohn remembered that "librarians could continue their campaign to include books that had been rejected, and they were listened to" (Braverman 90). Ultimately, the defense of the list came down to either Williams or Scoggin (or, later, Morrison), who, since they were the coordinators, made the final decisions.

Books for the Teen Age grew significantly over the years, as it passed from Williams to Scoggin to Morrison, and as the number of books targeted specifically to the teen age group expanded. The first list (1929) was twenty pages, and contained sixteen subject headings and three hundred titles. By 1979, the list was sixty-four pages long, with 1250 titles (Morrison 48). Many of the subject headings, of course, changed rather dramatically over time. Whereas

⁸³ The role of the female junior network in relation to censorship will be discussed more thoroughly in the next chapter.

“Love and Sex” became a heading in 1970, a corresponding section in 1929 was titled “Novels and Love Stories”—with the sex definitely missing. “Manners” in 1938 became “Personality Plus” in the 1940s and 1950s, “Personality and Perspectives” from 1963-1968, and then “Personal Development” in 1969 (Morrison 48). One can perceive in the addition of new headings the rise of significant social movements in the United States, with new headings such as “The Negro in the U.S.” (1969), “Women” (1971), and “Popular Spanish Books (1973). Pre-atomic versus post-atomic times are also obvious, with “Explorations in Science” existing as the only science-related heading in 1929, versus twelve headings in 1979 (with “Atomic Energy” appearing in 1949 and, following Sputnik, “Exploration of Space” emerging in 1953) (Morrison 48). Perhaps the most interesting transition of *Books for the Teen Age*, as related to the female junior novels, is the combining of previously separate headings. Lillian Morrison observes that

“School and College Stories” was incorporated in 1935 into “Girls’ Stories.” In 1968, “Boys’ Stories” was added to include novels with a boy protagonist and a psychological emphasis. In 1971, thanks to the women’s movement, these books were all combined under “Junior Novels” (49).

These transitions are significant in reflecting the types of books that were published from the Depression through the Cold War: the fact that books related to school were under the auspices of “girls’ stories” until 1971, or that what eventually became known as the “new” realism was listed as “boys’ stories” in

1968, reflects the values of the time (as well as providing a window into the process of canonization, since it was these “boys’ stories” that now form the basis of what we call “young adult literature). It is also interesting to note that Maureen Daly’s *Seventeenth Summer* was first included on the list in 1945, and remained there for the next twenty-five years. Betty Cavanna’s books were also included in the 1940s, and “outstanding in the 50s were the fine books by Mary Stolz and Rosemary DuJardin’s popular titles” (Morrison 50).

While *Books for the Teen Age* reflected the politics of the young adult canon, it also mirrored, to some degree, the politics of librarianship. According to Williams’ preface in the first edition (in 1929), *Books for Young People*⁸⁴

is primarily for use in the adult sections of the Library, to suggest books to boys and girls when they are first transferred from the Children’s Rooms. It is not expected to replace any of the lists now used by the Schools. High School lists are naturally affected by the curriculum and the desire to give pupils an opportunity of knowing all forms of literature before leaving school. Furthermore, their use is dependent not only on inclination but also on compulsion, because of the various checking-up methods used in the schools. This list, on the other hand, includes only those books which boys and girls are known to have enjoyed either through their own discovery or the suggestion of a friend, a teacher, a librarian, or

⁸⁴ The differences in the titles of the list correspond with the evolution of various terms to refer to adolescent-aged people. The term “teenage” would not come into common usage for another thirty years after the publication of the first list.

through the impetus received from book talks or reading clubs.

(qtd. in Morrison 48)

Williams' preface is important in that it states many of her goals and problems as the Supervisor of the School Work Department. Her intention that the list be used as a method for moving young people from the children's library to the adult stacks is obvious from the outset. Her emphasis on reading for enjoyment as well as for education is also apparent. As Lillian Morrison observed in 1979,

It is hard to realize in these days of free reading, what school was like in 1929. Often one textbook was used. Classics were heavily emphasized for outside reading, and recreational reading related to personal interest was pretty much ignored. So a list of this kind filled a great need. (48)

What is perhaps most intriguing—and what speaks to the composition of the female junior novel network—is Williams' distinction between the public library and schools, and her emphasis that the list was an addition to lists already published by/for educational use.

In positioning the NYPL's list as a source that complemented other educational lists, Williams carefully navigated what was slowly becoming a growing divide between librarians and teachers. If it often feels that all things related to American children's books can be traced back to Anne Carroll Moore, this teacher/librarian gulf is no exception. Natalie Ziarnik suggests that Moore and her followers existed on one side of this chasm. They collectively emphasized the inner, imaginary lives of children by promoting folk and fairy tales, myths, and

legends, particularly during story time sessions in the NYPL’s children’s reading rooms (12-13). This focus on fantasy and “quality literature” was intended to help New York’s children—particularly those living in poverty.⁸⁵ It was a focus, moreover, that had never been questioned—or, at least, not until the 1920s.

Leonard Marcus notes that librarians had, by the 1920s,

installed themselves as the nation’s authorities in the children’s book field Then, just as their authority had come to seem beyond question, the librarians found themselves—or rather, their point of view—under attack. To some within the group’s leadership, it seemed inconceivable that this should be so.

(Mindors 100-101)

The attack—eventually known as the “Fairy Tale War”—came in the form of Lucy Sprague Mitchell, a vocal proponent of the progressive education movement,⁸⁶ a friend of John Dewey, a student of William James, and the founder of New York’s Bureau of Educational Experiments.⁸⁷ Mitchell advocated for children’s books that could be written and illustrated through the lens of the developmental principles of the “whole” child—that is, both the intellectual and

⁸⁵ One of Moore’s earliest crusades was to promote the services of the NYPL to children living in New York’s settlement houses. The result, as Miriam Braverman notes, was that thousands and thousands of New York children poured into the children’s rooms of the New York Public Library in the first two decades of the twentieth century and, after showing the librarians that their hands were clean, absorbed the American intellectual heritage passed on to them by this dedicated New Englander [Anne Carroll Moore]. (15)

⁸⁶ The history of the progressive education movement and its relation to female junior novels is described in greater detail in the next chapter.

⁸⁷ The Bureau was eventually known as the Bank Street School.

the emotional child. Her focus was scientific: while working in the preschool of the Bank Street School, Mitchell “listened to the children, collected thousands of their linguistic fragments, and analyzed the relationship between language development and a child’s emerging identity” (Ziarnik 10). In 1921, Mitchell used her analysis in the *Here and Now Story Book*, an assortment of age-graded poems and stories that modeled a new kind of developmental-based literature for preschool-age children (Marcus, *Minders* 101). That literature focused on realistic depictions of children’s lives, rather than on the fantasy and fairy tales that formed the base of public library services to children. Mitchell stated her case for realism in her introductory essay:

It is only the blind idea of the adult that finds the familiar uninteresting. The attempt to amuse children by presenting them with the strange, the bizarre, the unreal, is the unhappy result of this adult blindness.... [As] for brutal tales like Red Riding-Hood or for sentimental ones like Cinderella I find no place in any child’s world. (qtd. in Marcus, *Minders* 102)

Marcus notes that “Mitchell laced her explanatory text with many such high explosives, making no effort to conceal her contempt for what she took to be the librarians’ sentimental misjudgments” (102). The public librarians, of course, did not take well to being labeled “blind” when it came to the right kind of books for children, and thus an ideological war regarding what was best for children—and who possessed the credentials to say what was best—emerged. This war would

eventually lead to an educator-shaped gap in the female junior novel network that would never be completely filled.

Margaret Scoggin and Teen Reading Rooms

Williams continued both young adult services and the *Books for the Teen Age* list through the difficult Depression years. One of her major achievements during that time was to establish and promote teen lounges and browsing rooms in most branches of the NYPL. With the inevitable shut-down of continuation schools,⁸⁸ more and more teenagers found themselves unemployed, and turned to the library for what Hester Cam, the Aguilar Branch's school and reference librarian, deemed in 1934 "a shelter, then a refuge from too many brothers and sisters, after that a source of entertainment" (qtd. in Braverman 45). While both children and adults used specifically age-determined sections of the library, Williams recognized that teenagers were once again left out. Determined to promote Moore's focus on keeping teenagers as regular library patrons (and thus as future adult patrons), Williams created lounges and browsing rooms that could become special spaces for teens. They were purposely designed to be brightly-coloured, informal spaces, in which teens could read, but could also hold club

⁸⁸ New York State law required people under seventeen years of age to attend school. During the labour shortage in the 1920s, however, major companies—in conjunction with the state—set up continuation schools, in which these companies paid students for the time they spent in school while simultaneously providing job training. By 1926 there were roughly seventy thousand students in eleven continuation schools and four annexes, as well as in schools maintained by trade workers and by large corporations such as Western Union and Macy's (Braverman 28).

meetings and, by the 1950s, dance and listen to music. They were, essentially, public living rooms. That these spaces also acted as a form of containment was not lost on Williams, since, as she later stated in her 1945 annual report,

where there is a reading room for young people, the reference section in the adult department may be shared without friction, since the young people who do not conform to adult usage may be sent to the young people's room. Without this setup these young people are "thrown out" and frequently develop into discipline problems and gangs. (qtd. in Braverman 46)

By the late 1940s, the NYPL's teen reading rooms and lounges were representative of similar spaces across America. *Seventeen* dedicated three pages in its October 1947 issue to a report on the popularity of these rooms, including the "Collegiate Room" in Milwaukee (with a "built-in record player which is in constant use") and the "Young Moderns' Corner" in Muncie, Indiana ("a library with a cozy corner!"). It starts by describing the unique look of the teen room at the NYPL's St. Agnes Branch:

The usual tan walls and brown mission tables and chairs? Not here! This room sparkles with color—applegreen, soft cream... yellow... red... copper. The chairs are metal lounge seats, enameled yellow, and there are—actually—comfortable couches upholstered in red and green, and low coffee tables for games. And you can't find a "Quiet, Please" sign anywhere—in fact the room hums with conversation and unhushed laughter.

Even the books look animated. They were selected by the boys and girls who read and borrow them. No heavy A to Z collection, but books that you in high school read and like—romances, sports stories, personality and problem aids, career guides and the latest on Frankie and Bing. (Ivens)

The tone is, obviously, aimed at *Seventeen*'s (primarily female) adolescent readers, but the content of the article itself could have come directly from Mabel Williams or Margaret Scoggin. From the description of the Teen-Age Room's décor and book-selection process, to anecdotes about the friendliness of youth librarians ("his friendship with the librarian was cemented when she gave him some advice that cleared up a case of girl-trouble he was having"), and suggestions that teens push for similar services in their own towns ("if some high school clubs or outside groups put their teeth into such a project, started talking it up, held some meetings, they'd quickly start a ball rolling that could avalanche into a youth lounge complete with radio, club atmosphere and the right books"), *Seventeen* echoed Williams's, and later Scoggin's, approaches to establishing and promoting teen spaces. Even Anne Carroll Moore's mission to keep teens coming to the library (and thus creating adult patrons) is included:

What happens to many of you after graduation from public school? Chances are that some time back you tiptoed into the children's section of the library every week, sat in a little chair at a little table and read *Huckleberry Finn* or *Heidi*—with pictures! But now—good grief, you've outgrown that. You're in high school.

But if the library hasn't any place for you to graduate into except the adult section—you may play truant to reading-on-your-own. Sometimes years of reading time are lost; sometimes the taste for reading is lost forever. (Ivens)

The actual number of teen reading rooms and lounges that operated at any given time within the NYPL system tended to fluctuate. The high point came in 1940, when eight rooms/lounges were open in various branches. Generally, however, at least five branches boasted lounges consistently from 1934 into the 1950s (Braverman 46). The culmination point of experimental teen rooms (and, with the *Books for the Teen Age* list, one of the impetuses behind the development of female junior novels) came with Williams's and Scoggin's development of the Nathan Straus Branch for Children and Young People.

In 1940, Chief of Circulation Department Franklin Hopper told Mabel Williams that a building on East 32nd Street had been donated to the NYPL by the estate of Nathan Straus, and that it was available to her department. Williams decided to use it as an experimental library in services for young people. Miriam Braverman suggests that Williams's decision may have also been an attempt to keep Margaret Scoggin at the NYPL, since Scoggin was contemplating accepting the offer of a position elsewhere (52). Regardless of the reasons, the outcome was that the building became the “first public library dedicated exclusively for the use of young people” (Hannigan 859), and Scoggin was given “complete freedom to originate and experiment” (Williams qtd. in Braverman 52).

Margaret Scoggin and Mabel Williams shared a long history of young adult services at the NYPL. Like most members of the female junior novel network, Scoggin had attended university—Radcliffe—and possessed work experience in a related field (teaching) before she entered librarianship. She started with the NYPL in 1926, then moved between different positions and branches. In 1929 she spent a year at the University of London's School of Librarianship, and was appointed the NYPL's George Bruce Branch head of school and reference work the following year. She worked closely with Williams, who in 1935 promoted Scoggin to supervise work with industrial and vocational high schools, and in 1940 named her "the designer of both facility and services of the first public library dedicated exclusively for the use of people under twenty-one years old" (Atkinson 32), that is, the NYPL's Nathan Straus Branch.

Joan Atkinson observes that Scoggin "oversaw all phases of the work from gutting the old building to selecting furniture for the new" (32). Just as Anne Carroll Moore had created a specific aesthetic in the NYPL's children's reading rooms, Scoggin created a similarly specific teen aesthetic in parts of the Nathan Straus Branch, including bright colours, a record collection, a radio, and a film projector. The building was separated into three main areas: a Children's Room, a Young People's Reference and Circulation Room, and a Club Room (Braverman 53). As in the teen reading rooms of the other branches, each room was supposed to be inviting, particularly toward young people who were not regular library patrons. In her Nathan Straus diary entry for August 6, 1942, Scoggin noted

librarians' particular attempts to introduce the Nathan Straus Branch to young people who did not attend school:

The boys and girls who work in the factories along 32nd Street stand on the corner during lunch hour and never darken the library doors. They were given a book list flier by Harry Boyer, who works there too and knows the library. About eight came in to look over the books. They were “bashful”—each pushing the other, “go ahead, go ahead”—and they sat still as mice, didn't say a word, and hardly looked up from their books. Quite a contrast from the usual lunch hour habits. Several joined up, but we'll have to put over the “we're really very friendly” idea before they feel really at home. (qtd. in Braverman 54-55)

Between a reference collection geared specifically to high school students and active club memberships, the Nathan Straus Branch soon attracted young people from across the city, rather than from the local area it had originally been intended to support.⁸⁹ It also attracted “literally thousands of visitors from around the world [who] journeyed to observe and request services during the years 1941 to 1953” (Atkinson 32). Margaret Scoggin determined that the library “would serve the needs of both young people and professionals. It should be a laboratory where young people found a model collection of books old and new reflecting the

⁸⁹ Miriam Braverman notes the inhibiting effect of wartime dim-outs and threatened blackouts on evening programs at the Nathan Straus Branch. Class visits were also affected in 1942, when the Board of Education banned school visits to libraries and museums. These visits were reinstated in 1943 (57).

diversity of their interests, hobbies, problems, and hopes” (Atkinson 32). As a library that doubled as a laboratory, the Nathan Straus Branch thus reflected current trends in education and psychology, including concepts of “extensive reading” and developmental tasks, as well as the focus on the group as a basis for psychological study, treatment, and regulation (all of which will be discussed in Chapter Five).

Perhaps of most relevance to the female junior novel network, the Nathan Straus Branch became a physical catalyst for the creation of young adult literature. It was an entire library branch that required books for teens. One must remember that, in 1941, the year of the branch’s opening, very few texts existed that were specifically intended for teenagers. Thus to fill the library shelves in the young people’s section, most books had to be culled from the adult sections of the library system. While teenagers could certainly read “adult” books, those texts often included higher reading levels than some younger teens could enjoy, and the content did not always include plots that interested adolescent readers. By the time of its close in 1953, the development of “adolescent novels”—and female junior novels in particular—meant that a much larger percentage of fiction aimed specifically at teenagers could be placed on the library’s shelves.

The Nathan Straus Branch also replicated, to some degree, a space like Anne Carroll Moore’s office,⁹⁰ in which network members from various different areas could converge. Miriam Braverman notes that the 1943 annual report

⁹⁰ Moore officially retired in 1941, the same year that the Nathan Straus Branch opened. She often made impromptu visits to Room 105, however, “where, to the chagrin of Frances Clarke

mentions authors who came to the NYPL to get feedback on their books and editors and publishers doing first-hand research on young people's reading preferences, including both subjects and specific titles. These authors and editors responded with titles especially for teenagers. (59)

While I do not know whether any of the female junior novel authors sought feedback for their novels from the teenagers and librarians of the Nathan Straus Branch, it does seem likely that some of their editors and publishers approached the library for specifically that purpose. A June 4, 1953, letter from Margaret Scoggin to Ursula Nordstrom (Mary Stolz's editor), for example, states that Scoggin is returning

your copy of *Hunter* with various parts checked to indicate the places which, for one reason or another, give the whole book a somewhat unpleasant tone.... I should think that a little editing which would eliminate them would make the book thoroughly acceptable as a book for teenagers. Of course, they'll read it anyway; the book is reserved heavily in all our branch libraries. However, we haven't labeled it "Recommended for all Young People" because of these places which I've cited. (Scoggin)⁹¹

The letter may indicate an author other than Stolz, but it is obvious that

Nordstrom sought Scoggin's opinion in regard to re-publishing *Hunter* as a book

Sayers and her staff, Moore made it painfully clear that she expected everything down to the brass candlestick on the catalog case to remain just as she had left it" (Marcus 157).

⁹¹ "*Hunter*" likely refers to J.A. Hunter's autobiography, *Hunter*, published by Harper & Brothers in 1954.

for teenagers. Whether or not Nordstrom's secondary motive was to ensure that the book included enough "positive values" to be included in *Books for the Teen Age* remains unknown. Still, the connection between editors and librarians that was established by the first generation of the female junior novel network remained strong throughout the second generation, and spaces like the Nathan Straus Branch for Children and Young People further supported that relationship.

Editor case study: Ursula Nordstrom of Harper & Brothers

Just as innovations promoted by the New York Public Library provided a standard by which many smaller library systems modeled themselves, so Ursula Nordstrom's Department of Books for Boys and Girls at Harper & Brothers is representative of the largest and most prolific of the children's departments in American publishing houses during the early post-war period. Harper's had been among the first of the New York-based publishing houses to create a separate children's department (in 1926), under Virginia Kirkus. Following Depression-era cutbacks, in which Kirkus left to found her own book review service, the department was turned over to Ida Louise Raymond, a recent graduate of Bryn Mawr.⁹² When Raymond became head of the department in 1936, she chose as her assistant a young woman who had been working as a clerk in the College Textbook department since 1931: Ursula Nordstrom.

⁹² Raymond had been Kirkus's assistant.

Leonard Marcus notes the brilliance of Nordstrom's career in the introduction to his edited compilation of Nordstrom's letters:

Ursula Nordstrom, director of Harper's Department of Books for Boys and Girls from 1940 to 1973, was children's literature's Maxwell Perkins, the single most creative force for innovation in children's book publishing in the United States during the twentieth century. (xvii)

Although she may have been the "single most creative force for innovation," Nordstrom's professional career demonstrated the ambiguous autonomy of a member of a female dominant society. She was successful during her time at Harper's, publishing some of the most well-known authors of children's and young adult literature, including Margaret Wise Brown, Louise Fitzhugh, Crockett Johnson, Ruth Krauss, Maurice Sendak, Shel Silverstein, Tomi Ungerer, E.B. White, and Laura Ingalls Wilder. In 1955 she was elected to Harper's Board of Directors (she was the first woman to achieve that position), and in 1960 Harper's named her its first female vice president. In 1980 she was presented with the Association of American Publishers' Curtis Benjamin Award "in recognition of exceptional contributions to innovation and creativity in publishing" (Marcus, *Dear* 378, n1). Furthermore, if one measures publishing success in sales, Nordstrom noted that by the time of her retirement in 1973, the "Junior Books department under her directorship had achieved 'the highest profit percentage of any in this House'" (Marcus, Introduction xxxviii).

In an interview with Doris Orgel, Marcus relates Nordstrom's degree of autonomy as director of the Department of Books for Boys and Girls:

'The boys on the fifth floor' (adult trade editors) would come up with ideas but only occasionally.... Ursula did have to show she was making money, and did. Her division was as profitable as any. She didn't have to justify her editorial decisions to people above her—as editors must now. (Orgel 52)

Marcus notes, moreover, that Nordstrom's autonomy was due in part to her collaboration with librarians:

There was a much more focused institutional market (schools and libraries). Librarians and educators had great influence, whereas now it's the chain stores, outlets, franchises. Ursula was a brilliant networker with librarians. The influence of that now-so-diminished market affected the pace of publishing. Books had a longer life.

Editors were assured that librarians would reorder. (Orgel 52)

Still, regardless of her seeming autonomy to network with other members of the female junior novel network, or to run her department as she saw fit, Nordstrom's career also expressed the dominated side of the female dominant society. That is, her independence allowed her to create an empire in children's and young adult literature, but that empire was predominantly confined to the network. Outside of her collaboration with critics and librarians, and beyond her own department, she remained a woman working in a field dominated by patriarchal notions. As Marcus observes:

she seems never to have risen entirely above the second-class status traditionally accorded women in publishing. At one board meeting when a colleague asked her, the only woman present, to make coffee, Nordstrom had curtly replied that she did not know how. (xxxix)

In an interview with Marcus, Margaret Warner, who had once been Nordstrom's assistant, recalled the bitterness in Nordstrom's recognition of her dominated position toward the end of her time at Harper's. It is worthwhile to quote this section in full:

Here she was, running an incredibly successful seven-million-dollar department, which was a big deal in those days. She was a giant in her field, a recognized trailblazer. But inside the company, she wasn't admitted to the "club." Ursula had always expressed a very old-fashioned feeling of loyalty to Harper. She'd basically given her life to this company. Yet at the end, I know she felt she'd been patronized—and in the very end, she felt she was expendable. I think she was quite bitter—and that's not too strong a word—that she hadn't been recognized. She warned me to take a lesson from her experience. The message was: as a woman you're going to have [to] work twice as hard and be twice as good as a man, and even then do not assume you are going to get the same recognition or rewards. (UN Tapes 151)

Nordstrom's interactions with authors and librarians will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, but here I want to emphasize the degree to which Nordstrom's career is representative of not only other editors' careers, but of the paradoxical autonomy and simultaneous dependence/second-tier status granted to members of the network generally. While not all members objected to such contradictory positions, some—like Nordstrom—resented their placement. Perhaps the most powerful expression of Nordstrom's anger regarding the subjugated status afforded her as a female professional comes from a letter that she wrote to Katharine White, another powerful woman working in the publishing world: "I've been working for over 40 years and the worst curse I could put on any man is: 'In your next life may you be born a talented and creative woman'" (qtd. in Orgel 53).

Networking: editors

By 1943, fifty different publishing houses in America maintained full children's literature departments (Marcus, *Minders* 179), and a large majority of those departments were run by "talented and creative" women. Two years later, editors from thirty of those houses formed the Association of Children's Book Editors. In 1945, the Association formed the Children's Book Council, which functioned as a public relations office so that, as the Council's first director, Laura Harris,⁹³ suggested, "all groups and organizations, as well as libraries, schools and

⁹³ Harris was children's book editor at Grosset and Dunlap.

bookstores, will have access to current news of what others in allied fields are doing to promote increased reading and ‘more books for more children’” (qtd. in Marcus, *Minders* 179). The Council was thus obviously built on the same foundations as the female junior novel network: collaboration across areas related to the dissemination of books to children.

The timing of the rise of the Association of Children's Book Editors and their accompanying Children's Book Council coincided with publishing houses' recognition of the profitability of children's books. As Bennett Cerf, co-founder of Random House, observed in 1949: “‘The tail is now wagging the dog. . . . Golden Books are now the biggest part of Simon and Schuster and Walter Farley's horse books are among the biggest moneymakers at Random House’” (qtd. in Marcus, *Minders* 180). Part of this profitability was due to the rise in the national birth rate, which was suddenly climbing during the 1940s, after the Depression era had produced the lowest ever ratio of children compared to the rest of the population (Tuttle, *Daddy* 24). The onset of the baby boom in 1941 drastically changed the composition of the American population, so that the increase in the birth rate between 1940 and 1942 was, according to the Children's Bureau, “the greatest reported for any period of equal length since the establishment of the birth registration area in 1915” (qtd. in Tuttle, *Daddy* 25). By 1944, the Census Bureau stated that “‘the 1943 birth rate was the greatest in United States history’” (qtd. in Tuttle, *Daddy* 25), and *Woman's Home Companion* announced that “‘We are in the midst of the greatest baby boom in our history’” (qtd. in Tuttle, *Daddy* 25).

Children's book editors used birth rate statistics to justify the value of their books to booksellers. At the American Booksellers Association convention in 1948, Margaret K. McElderry, the children's book editor for Harcourt, addressed the Association by first citing current birth statistics, including the new arrival of 333 000 American babies each month, and then by declaring “that she had come not to wax eloquent about her high-minded convictions but rather ‘to talk about children's books as profitable merchandise for the bookseller’” (Marcus, *Minders* 179). Leonard Marcus further points out that, to accompany the baby boom, children's book editors now published “a record one thousand new titles from which to choose” (179). McElderry's speech demonstrates the extent to which editors had ideologically changed from (somewhat altruistically) filling a need for children's books to recognizing and promoting children's books as profitable commodities.

Aside from the emerging baby boom, one of the main reasons for the growth of children's literature across the two generations of the network may have been the network's focus on collaboration. While the editors were necessarily in a more competitive field than the librarians, the editors still found ways to collaborate with each other. Helen Dean Fish (of Frederick A. Stokes), the 1946 president of the Association of Children's Book Editors, observed the difference between the way in which network editors interacted, compared to the lack of interaction between general trade editors at different publishing houses: “We got along so well that male leaders in the book business looked on us with wonder as

a group of women in competitive jobs who could actually trust each other and work together successfully!” (qtd. in Vandergrift 708).

The “trust” between network editors seems, to some degree, to have been predicated on the “fit” between authors and editors. In an interview with Betsy Hearne, Margaret K. McElderry recalled the unspoken agreement between editors that specific authors belonged with certain editors, and that those authors were not to be poached:

We were very close then. . . . We met once a month for lunch, 15 or 20 women. It was fun and you talked about all kinds of things. And if, for instance, an author of Ursula got disenchanted for a moment—as one did—and called me and said “I’d like to change and publish with you,” I said “well, that’s very nice and complimentary, but I think really you are a Harper/Ursula Nordstrom person.” Or if an artist called, you’d call the editor and say, “what about this?” We always did that. . . . We used to call each other, send flowers of congratulation Then you were friends with everyone. (Hearne 758)

Being friends with everyone often meant that editors would suggest that unsuccessful authors⁹⁴ try selling their manuscripts to rival editors at competing publishing houses. Thus in 1952, for example, Ursula Nordstrom published Natalie Savage Carlson’s *The Talking Cat and Other Stories of French Canada*. Carlson’s book eventually won the ages eight to twelve category of the *New York*

⁹⁴ By “unsuccessful,” I mean authors who were unsuccessful in convincing their current editor to publish their latest manuscripts.

Herald-Tribune Spring Book Festival award. Carlson then wrote another book, *Alphonse*, which she submitted to Nordstrom for publication by Harper and Brothers. In a letter dated December 9, 1952, however, Nordstrom informed Carlson that “with a heavy heart I must write you that we still think *Alphonse* (revised version) is not a worthy successor to *The Talking Cat*” (Nordstrom 59). While Nordstrom’s refusal is nothing out of the ordinary, what is interesting is the fact that she then suggests that Carlson contact her professional rival, Margaret K. McElderry, at Harcourt, Brace:

Well, let me know who takes *Alphonse*, if you are willing, will you? By the way, I hear via the grapevine, that Harcourt turned down *The Talking Cat* and I think they would be extremely glad to have a chance at *Alphonse*. You know Miss McElderry, don’t you? She does lovely books. (Nordstrom 59-60)⁹⁵

Nordstrom, of course, may have had several reasons for suggesting that Carlson try McElderry, not the least of which may have been an attempt to maintain friendly relations, should Carlson try to publish with Harper’s again.⁹⁶ What Nordstrom’s suggestion also shows, however, is the degree to which many editors in the female junior novel network knew each other’s book lists and types, and were willing to suggest their competitors as possible avenues for publication.

⁹⁵ In 1954 McElderry published Carlson’s *Alphonse: That Bearded One*, with illustrations by Nicolas Mordvinoff.

⁹⁶ Carlson did, indeed, publish several more books with Harper, including *Carnival in Paris* (1962), *The Orphelines in the Enchanted Castle* (1964) and *Chalou* (1967).

Although their primary source of correspondence was in relation to authors and illustrators, network editors seemed to enjoy keeping in touch with each other generally, even when their letters were not specifically connected to a book or an author. Members of the Association of Children's Book Editors (who were primarily based, like the publishing houses, in New York City) met monthly to lunch and discuss the world of children's books. Every summer they re-met at American Library Association conventions, and every November they joined each other in Astor's grand ballroom for the gala banquet during Children's Book Week (Marcus, *Minders* 191). Interestingly, Nordstrom and McElderry, the Macy's and Gimbels of the children's book world, were perhaps two of its closest editors. One example of their professional friendship followed in the wake of an unexpected controversy caused by McElderry's publication of a book she had edited, called *The Two Reds*. The title of the book, coupled with the author's name (Nicholas Mordvinoff), suggested possible Communist implications to many people, including the president of FAO Schwartz. Frances Chrystie—a very good friend of Ursula Nordstrom, and a network member herself—had displayed numerous copies of the book in the famous department store's windows. She was quickly directed to remove all copies from the display. Betsy Hearne observes that during this controversy "McElderry's network of women—including editors, critics, and librarians—supported her aesthetic commitment in vocal and powerful ways" (757). As McElderry recalled:

Louise Seaman Bechtel, who was reviewing for the *New York Herald Tribune*, wrote: "The publication of this book restores

one's faith in the experimental daring of American publishers.”

That sentence is engraved on my heart. Ursula Nordstrom, children's book editor at Harper, called me on vacation in Nantucket to tell me about the review. (757)

Seaman's review demonstrates the professional ties and similar aesthetic choices of the women in the network, particularly in regard to "experimental daring." Although Seaman was no longer a book editor by this time, her reviews still carried a lot of weight. Nordstrom was herself often considered to be one of the most daring children's book publishers of her time, and her vacation call suggests the closeness that these professional ties may have engendered.

Networking: editors and librarians

Professional ties also existed across different areas of the network, and particularly between editors and librarians. Like the first generation, many of the second generation editors had previously worked in librarianship. Margaret K. McElderry, for example, possessed an impeccable female junior novel network pedigree, having worked under Anne Carroll Moore for nine years at the NYPL before becoming head of the children's book department at Harcourt, Brace. Ursula Nordstrom, in contrast, lacked the librarian background that provided the professional base for most of her editor contemporaries. The lack of such a background was noted by members of the network, and particularly by Anne Carroll Moore, who pointedly asked Nordstrom what qualified her to edit

children's books. Nordstrom apparently responded by stating, "I am a former child, and I haven't forgotten a thing" (qtd. in Marcus, *Minders* 160).

Still, Nordstrom, like many network editors, was a proponent of collaborating with librarian colleagues. While the cooperation that occurred between editors and librarians may have been due to a shared interest in children's and young adult literature, both groups gained benefits from the exchanges. Since neither children's literature nor literature for young adults was yet fully institutionalized within universities, librarians and critics (who were often, themselves, librarians) remained, as in the first generation, specialists in charge of ranking the high and low of fiction for young people.⁹⁷ Thus editors sought to use the cultural capital possessed by established librarians by including these librarians' comments as brief endorsements on book jackets. In battling against the popularity of Random House's *The Cat in the Hat*, for example, Nordstrom developed a line of "I Can Read" books, which were similarly intended for beginner readers. Since *The Cat in the Hat* was based on a list of 225 words determined by Houghton Mifflin's literacy experts as those most easily recognized by children aged six, and thus could be touted as a book that used "controlled vocabulary"—a marketing bonus arriving two years after Rudolf Flesch's *Why Johnny Can't Read* (206)—Nordstrom needed an outside source to similarly promote her first "I Can Read" book. Thus for *Little Bear*, by Else Holmelund Minarik, Nordstrom turned to a current grand lady of the public library: Virginia Haviland, the readers' advisor for children at the Boston Public

⁹⁷ The other type of specialists—male academics—will be discussed in the next chapter.

Library and, in 1957, a judge for the *New York Herald Tribune's* Spring Book Festival Award.⁹⁸ On May 7, 1957, Nordstrom wrote the following to Haviland:

Would you be willing to give us a comment on this book which we would be able to use on the jacket? As you know, *The Cat in the Hat* by Dr. Seuss has several very impressive endorsements printed on the back of the jacket and we would, of course, like to have our book have the benefit of a few advance comments. (Nordstrom 96)

Haviland acquiesced, writing in part that “the story of Little Bear’s imaginative play feels far removed from controlled vocabulary; Maurice Sendak’s drawings give it special distinction” (qtd. in Nordstrom 96).

Network cliques

The fact that Nordstrom turned to Haviland, rather than to a librarian at the New York Public Library, emphasizes the extent to which longtime cliques still permeated areas of the network, even amongst the overall spirit of collaboration. The seed of the divide between the children's librarians at the NYPL and the children's book editors at Harper's was initially planted during the first generation of the network. After Anne Carroll Moore panned the Laura Ingalls Wilder books,

⁹⁸ In 1934 Haviland became a children’s librarian for the Boston Public Library (BPL), where she was trained by Alice Jordan. She was a librarian and then a reader’s advisor for the BPL, then taught at the Simmons College School of Library Science (1957-1962). Haviland also chaired the Newbery-Caldecott Award Committee (1953-1954) and the Children’s Services Division of the American Library Association (1954-1955). She became the first head of the Library of Congress’s Center for Children’s Literature in 1963, and remained there until her retirement in 1981.

Virginia Kirkus, then the children's book editor at Harper's, attempted to confront Moore regarding her disapproval of the books. She was prevented from doing so, however, by Moore's eight-inch wooden doll, named Nicholas Knickerbocker. The doll had been given to Moore as a holiday present in 1920, and had soon developed its own personality, so that

Nicholas 'wrote' letters to Moore's friends on his own stationery, and Moore insisted that her friends respond. Invitations of various kinds were sent to 'Anne and Nicholas,' and Nicholas received gifts—some extravagant—from artists, writers, and friends. (Eddy 116)⁹⁹

As the story was related to Ursula Nordstrom, each time Kirkus attempted to speak, “Moore would turn to the little Dutch doll and say, ‘Nicholas, Miss Kirkus wants to know. . .’” (Bader, “Only”). Barbara Bader notes that Moore did eventually place *Little House in the Big Woods* on a 1926-1939 “representative list” of books, but “with only a brief, tepid endorsement and no mention of others in the series” (Bader, “Only”). Moreover, of the 180 books included on that list, only four were published by Harper and Brothers.

If the seed of contention between the NYPL and Harper’s was planted by Moore and Kirkus, the full-grown forest emerged in the controversy surrounding Nordstrom’s publication of E.B. White’s *Stuart Little*. Nordstrom's relationship with Moore was already somewhat contentious because of Nordstrom’s publication of Margaret Wise Brown’s *Goodnight Moon* (Brown had been one of

⁹⁹ Moore eventually wrote a book about Nicholas, titled *Nicholas: A Manhattan Christmas Story*. It was published in 1924 by G.P. Putnam (Eddy 116).

Lucy Sprague Mitchell's protégés).¹⁰⁰ When Nordstrom published Brown, she essentially placed herself on one side of the fairy tale wars. Moore—and thus the NYPL—resolutely remained on the other side.

The *Stuart Little* debacle was famous as one of Moore's greatest mistakes, and its fame has been recently rekindled by an article in the July 21, 2008, *New Yorker*, in which Jill Lepore retraces the Moore/White/Nordstrom battle. Stuart himself originated years before the novel was published, in a dream White experienced one night about

a small character who had the features of a mouse, was nicely dressed, courageous, and questing. When I woke up, being a journalist and thankful for small favors, I made a few notes about this mouse-child—the only fictional figure ever to have honored and disturbed my sleep. (qtd. in Elledge 253)

Although White submitted his manuscript to both Oxford University Press and Viking, neither was interested. In the November 1938 issue of *Harper's*, White stated: “it must be a lot of fun to write for children—reasonably easy work, perhaps even important work” (qtd. in Elledge 254). Theodor Geisel (Dr. Seuss) showed the article to Anne Carroll Moore, who responded to White by urging him

¹⁰⁰ In a 1947 article in *Life*, Bruce Bliven Jr. gestured toward Mitchell's influence on Brown:

At the Bureau of Educational Experiments, Miss Brown learned what will tickle small children, entertain, enchant and make them jump. The Bureau, a hotbed of progressive education theory directed by Lucy Sprague Mitchell, combines a model nursery school and student teachers' course. Miss Brown enrolled in the course and was soon offered a job on the publications staff. Her special duty was testing child reaction to writing for children, including some things of her own that Mrs. Mitchell had encouraged her to write. (61)

to write a book for children: “I feel sure you could, if you would, and I assure you the Library Lions would roar with all their might in its praise” (qtd. in Lepore 4). Moore then sent White five more letters, copies of her reviews, and writing tips. As Jill Lepore observes, Moore was “attempting, as she often did, not only to cultivate this author but to claim him” (4). White's wife, Katherine Angell White (who at this time was reviewing children's books for *The New Yorker*), told Eugene Saxton, White's editor at Harper's, about *Stuart Little*. Saxton requested a copy of the stories. White provided what he had, but admitted that the book was only “about half done” (qtd. in Elledge 255). It would remain in that half-completed state until 1944, when White quickly finished it. *Stuart Little* was eventually published by Ursula Nordstrom for Harper and Brothers in 1945.¹⁰¹

The fact that Anne Carroll Moore had played a small role in pushing White to write a full children's book is not surprising. Just as she often goaded editors into publishing more (and theoretically “better”) children's literature, so too she often impelled writers to write it. The surprising turn is what Moore did after she saw the proofs for the book. Leonard Marcus notes that Nordstrom sent the page proofs to Moore

as a courtesy as well as in the hope, of course, of receiving the Owls’ blessing. Neither White nor Harper was prepared for Moore’s reaction, which she set down in a fourteen-page

¹⁰¹ Saxton originally handled the early versions of *Stuart Little*, but died in 1943. White thus sent the full manuscript to Nordstrom.

handwritten letter addressed, as one critic to another, to the author's wife. (*Minders* 176)¹⁰²

As E.B. White recalled, Moore's letter stated that the book was "non-affirmative, inconclusive, unfit for children, and would harm its author if published" (qtd. in Elledge 263). Moore also summoned Nordstrom to her rooms at the Grosvenor Hotel, warning her that *Stuart Little* "mustn't be published" (qtd. in Lepore 5). She then wrote to Nordstrom, outlining her two major complaints. As White historian Deb Aronson states, the first was that it "was unnatural for a mouselike creature to be born to a human family" (51). The second was that "the story ends in the beginning or middle of Stuart's quest and doesn't neatly tie up all the loose ends" (51).

Moore was not the only person to voice such complaints. Harold Ross, E.B. White's colleague at the *New Yorker*, was apparently so disturbed while reading the first chapter that he entered White's office by shouting, "God damn it, White, you should have had him adopted!" (qtd. in Elledge 264).¹⁰³ Edmund Wilson told White that he was "disappointed that you didn't develop the theme more in the manner of Kafka" (Lepore 6). While Ross and Wilson were obviously

¹⁰² The fact that Katharine Angell White had already aimed her reviewing cannon at Moore makes Moore's letter all the more interesting. When Gertrude Stein's children's book, *The World Is Round*, was published in 1939,

Moore applauded Stein's book. Katharine White found it numbingly insipid. . . . In her *New Yorker* column, White took aim at Moore: "A number of experts in children's literature have pronounced 'The World Is Round' a good book, but that does not surprise me, since, with a few exceptions, the critics of children's books are remarkably lenient souls . . . the critics . . . assume there is something good in every book written for a child. It is not a sound theory." (Lepore 4)

¹⁰³ Roger Angell's account of the Harold Ross's response is somewhat more subdued: "Harold Ross, who read everything, stuck his head into Andy's office one afternoon and said, 'God damn it, White, at least you could have had him adopted'" (Angell 129). Roger Angell is Katherine Angell White's son, and E.B. White's step-son.

extremely influential in the publishing world, it was still Anne Carroll Moore's opinion that held power within the female junior novel network. As Jill Lepore observes,

The real blow came when Frances Clarke Sayers, presumably acting on Moore's orders, refused to buy "Stuart Little" for the library, sending a signal to children's librarians across the country: "Not recommended for purchase by expert." (6)

Many American libraries followed Moore's advice for the first year or two after the book was published. Frances Clarke Sayers evidently purchased a copy of *Stuart Little*, but kept it hidden under her desk. When Louise Seaman was invited to the NYPL to deliver a lecture on book publishing, she found Sayers' secret, and revealed it to Franklin Hopper, the NYPL's director. Hopper read the book that night, then responded to Seaman with great frustration: "Have those who talk about its abnormalities no imagination? Did Anne Carroll Moore think she could rule his library from the goddam Grosvenor?" (Lepore 7). Hopper ordered Sayers to place *Stuart Little* on the library shelves. When Seaman delivered her lecture, she had to do so to a glaring Anne Carroll Moore, who was seated in the front row. Seaman purposely announced that she hoped *Stuart Little* would be awarded "all possible awards and medals" (qtd. in Lepore 7). Although both Seaman and Nordstrom held a lot of authority in the network—particularly in relation to the editors—*Stuart Little* was ultimately shut out of the Newbery Medal that year, thereby demonstrating that, within the library community, Moore still possessed the greater influence.

In the end, both Seaman and Nordstrom recognized Moore's continuing power, so that Seaman complained to Katherine Angell White about "these stupid unliterary women in charge" (qtd. in Lepore 7), while Harper's purposely used the controversy in their advertising campaign: "Some people—those who think they understand a thing if they can paste a neat label on it—will call 'Stuart Little' a juvenile. . . . They will be right. They will also be wrong" (qtd. in Lepore 8). While Moore won the battle, however, White and Nordstrom ultimately won the war, for Harper and Brothers sold a hundred thousand copies of *Stuart Little* in its first fifteen months of publication (Angell 129), and HarperCollins continues to publish the novel to this day.¹⁰⁴ The editors and librarians involved in the *Stuart Little* debacle demonstrate that although the female junior novel network functioned through alliances and cooperation, such collaboration did not necessarily negate power plays within the network. NYPL director Franklin Hopper's role, moreover, demonstrates the extent to which even ruling network women like Anne Carroll Moore were subject to the wishes of the men who continued to hold authority over the network. Those men, as well as the authors and illustrators of female junior novels, will be discussed in the next chapter.

¹⁰⁴ By 1952, Moore's reaction to *Stuart Little* had become something of a joke, although her power as a critic of children's literature was still evident in her reviews for *The Horn Book*. As Ursula Nordstrom wrote to E.B. White on October 23, 1952:

Rumors have reached me that Miss Anne Carroll Moore has certain reservations about *Charlotte's Web*. As her reservations about *Stuart Little* preceded a wonderful success for that book I am taking all this as good news for *Charlotte's Web*. . . . Well, Eudora Welty said the book was perfect for anyone over eight to under eighty, and that leaves Miss Moore out as she is a girl of eighty-two. (Nordstrom 55-56)

Chapter Four

Defining Quality: Authors, Illustrators, and Critics

In the last two chapters I emphasized the use of collaboration between librarians, editors, and critics as the primary mode through which the female junior novel network functioned. Although authors and illustrators were obviously part of the network, they tended to exist outside its daily interactions. They were separate for the simple reason that they created a product, but had less involvement in the mechanism of moving that product to its audience. In each of their own ways, editors, librarians, and critics were essentially middlemen—or middlewomen—who for varying reasons worked to place the female junior novels into the hands of waiting teenage girls, their parents, or their teachers. Thus while authors and, to some degree, illustrators participated in this process, they were also somewhat removed from it. They provided the content of the novels, but it was the other members of the network who liaised as intermediaries between the written/illustrated text and the girls who read them. In doing so, these middlewomen may have had as much influence as the authors/illustrators in molding the new category of literature for adolescents.

The molding process is evident in some of the early junior novels, including Rose Wilder Lane's *Let the Hurricane Roar* and John T. Tunis's *Iron Duke*. Longmans, Green published *Let the Hurricane Roar* in 1933. Bertha L. Gunterman, children's book editor for Longmans, noted that the novel was "on our adult list ... but was perfect for young people too, and we began looking for

more” (qtd. in Patterson 384). Thus in 1933, Longmans republished the book as “the first of their series of ‘Junior Books’” (qtd. in Cart 17), and thus became the first publishing house to use “junior books” as a marketing title.¹⁰⁵ Michael Cart notes that the “‘junior book’ or ‘junior novel’ ... survived as a rather patronizing descriptor of adolescent fiction for decades; as previously noted, it was not until 1966 that the term ‘Young Adult’ was finally used in connection with the ALA’s Best Books list” (17). While some people did use the “junior” prefix as a pejorative term—including John Tunis—I disagree with Cart that the term was inherently patronizing. One might recall that both Seaman and Masee—who held great influence over the network—refused to use the term “juvenile” because of its derogatory implications, and instead preferred the term “junior” to refer to the books intended for younger audiences.¹⁰⁶ Thus I suspect that, within the network, the term was simply used to signal the birth of a new category of novel that identified both a lack (in terms of what had been previously published for teens) and a new consumer base to which to market the texts.

Kenneth Donelson and Aileen Pace Nilsen note that Tunis was completely unaware of the new “junior” market when he published *Iron Duke* in 1934 and 1935: “Harcourt wanted to publish the book as a juvenile much to Tunis’s bewilderment and dismay, since he had no idea what a ‘juvenile’ book was. Thirty years later, he still had no respect for the term, which he called the ‘odious

¹⁰⁵ Cecile Magaliff observes that Lane’s *Let the Hurricane Roar* was re-named as a “novelette” when it was reviewed again eight years later (10). Thus although it may have been the impetus behind the term “junior novel,” I still cite Maureen Daly’s *Seventeenth Summer* as the first text in the category of “female junior novels.”

¹⁰⁶ Seaman and Masee’s “juvenile”/“junior” choice is discussed in the second chapter.

product of a merchandising age” (Donelson 68). Although Tunis’s use of “odious” clearly suggests that he was upset by this new category, his statement may have been ultimately correct: junior novels *were* products of a merchandising age. Merchandising, in the most general sense of production, promotion, marketing, and distribution to a specific group, formed the basis of the collaboration between the editors, booksellers, critics, and librarians of the network. That the novels they produced and circulated were products should never be ignored, both for the fact that the creation and dissemination of the texts were the reason for the network’s existence, but also because it was their status as products that helped to develop young adult literature as its own entity. If the female teenager was created as a brand new consumer, then the female junior novels were created as texts specifically for her consumption. Thus while the authors and illustrators may have played some part in branding texts as either adult or “junior,” it was ultimately the other members of the network—the intermediaries—who decided how the texts should be presented.

Author/editor relations regarding how to present the novels can be observed in Mary Stolz’s early interactions with Ursula Nordstrom. Stolz’s novels often fell into that difficult divide between adult fiction and young adult fiction. When she originally submitted what would become the manuscript for her first female junior novel, *To Tell Your Love*, she suggested that “it is, I think, at a late teen-age level, probably for girls” (Stolz 6 August 1949). Her “I think” is telling, since it suggests that although she provides the content of the novel, she is unsure of the marketing aim. Ursula Nordstrom responded by informing her that “We’d

like very much indeed to see your teen-age girls' novel. We do do teen-age books, but if it appears to us, after looking at it, that it's 'above' our level, we can then pass it on to the regular Editorial Department" (7 September 1949). In the case of Stolz's earliest novel, it seems that it is the editor—not the author—who decided at what level of reader Stolz's books should be aimed.

Of course, whether or not Nordstrom was correct in her choice of aiming Stolz's early works to teens, rather than passing them to the adult trade department, is more difficult to perceive. In what terms would Nordstrom's decision be either correct or incorrect? Would such judgment be based on sales, or inclusion in book lists? While many adult titles were included in the NYPL's *Books for the Teen Age*, for example, it seems less likely that teen-marketed books would often be included in other NYPL adult lists. Stolz herself switched between writing young adult and adult books. While her first publications (including *To Tell Your Love*, *The Sea Gulls Woke Me*, *The Organdy Cupcakes*, and *Ready or Not*) were each published by Nordstrom as teen novels, her 1953 novel, *Truth and Consequence*, was published by Harper & Brothers as an adult novel. In 1954, *Two by Two* was published by Houghton Mifflin as an adult novel,¹⁰⁷ and then re-published ten years later by Harper & Brothers as a teen novel. Just after publication of *Two by Two*, Anne F. Einselen, an editor for the *Ladies' Home Journal*, wrote to Stolz regarding possible serialization in her magazine. She gestures toward the critical reception of Stolz's novels as either adult or teen:

¹⁰⁷ Stolz offered *Two by Two* first to Harper & Brothers, who declined to publish it.

I've just finished TWO BY TWO, and sent it along with a resounding Yes. It's a powerful and perceptive piece of writing, and so adult that I can't see how any obstinate reviewers can this time disappoint you. READY OR NOT should never have been in the Juvenile columns. But this one can't be. (Einselen 1 September 1953).

Einselen obviously disagreed with Nordstrom, who published *Ready or Not* as a female junior novel. Still, Stolz seemed to trust Nordstrom's decisions, since together they produced eighteen novels for adolescent girls between 1950 and 1964, and over forty more children's books until Nordstrom's retirement (from her own imprint) in 1979.

Packaging female junior novels: illustrators

If the editors, librarians, and critics of the network worked together to present the new category of novels for adolescents to teenaged girls (and their parents and teachers), it was the illustrators who helped to package this category. In terms of female junior novels, the illustrators were, perhaps, the farthest removed component of the network. Firstly, many of them were men. While there were men included in the network, usually they composed only a tiny percentage of the area in which they worked.¹⁰⁸ The gender division between men and women who illustrated the female junior novels, however, seems to split at

¹⁰⁸ For example, Vernon Ives of Holiday House was one of the few male editors of children's books.

roughly half and half. Secondly, many illustrators created images for multiple publishing houses, rather than just for the authors at one. While collaboration was the basis of the network, these multiple contracts placed illustrators into a “for hire” role, rather than in the long-term relationships that many editors cultivated with their authors. Thirdly, there seemed to be a broad distinction between illustrators who created dust jacket designs, and those who produced the art for picture books. The outcome was that illustrators who produced jacket designs for the female junior novels were often less known than their story book counterparts (although there were exceptions).

Generally, the majority of the people who illustrated the female junior novels worked specifically within the field of children’s literature, rather than illustrating adult trade books. Isabel Dawson, for example, illustrated several of Cavanna’s novels, including *Stars in Her Eyes* (Morrow, 1958), *Fancy Free* (Morrow, 1961) and *Accent on April* (Morrow, 1964). Dawson also illustrated less known female junior novels, including Joan Houston’s *Crofton Meadows* (Thomas Y. Crowell, 1961) and Margaret Maze Craig’s *Three Who Met* (Thomas Y. Crowell, 1958), as well as children’s books, such as Sara Asheron’s *Laurie and the Yellow Curtains* (Grosset and Dunlap, 1961). Her most-seen cover illustration was likely 1961 Scholastic Book Services edition of Helen Dore Boylston’s *Sue Barton, Student Nurse*. Although most of the illustrators were not overly famous, the exceptions included Evaline Ness, known for writing and illustrating the Caldecott-winning *Sam, Bangs and Moonshine* (1966), and who also illustrated Betty Cavanna’s *Almost Like Sisters* (1963) and *Jenny Kimura* (1964),

and Beth Krush, recognized particularly for her collaboration with her husband, Joe Krush, on the American edition of Mary Norton's *The Borrowers* series (1953-1957). Beth Krush also created dust jacket illustrations for female junior novels such as Beverly Cleary's *Jean and Johnny* (1959) and *Sister of the Bride* (1963), and Anne Emery's *Senior Year* (1949).

Although some illustrators designed more than one female junior novel dust jacket, there seemed to be no single illustrator who led the way in determining what the outsides of these texts should look like. Still, although many different illustrators produced the dust jackets for these texts, the majority of their designs demonstrate a similarity, a specific look that identifies the texts as female junior novels. In terms of content, all of the dust jackets showcase a teenaged girl. Sometimes a boy may also be included, but the focus almost always remains on the girl. Occasionally she will be smiling, but most of the time she stares pensively toward one of the four corners of the jacket (most often one of the lower corners). She is always white, always wears a dress, and often holds a token of love, whether it is flowers, a ring, or a book. The placement of the typography in these novels, moreover, follows a standard pattern of inserting the title at the very top of the jacket, almost separate from the illustration. Georgeann Helms's cover illustration for Anne Emery's *First Love Farewell* (1959) demonstrates a typical design for a female junior novel jacket (see fig. 1).



Figure 1. Anne Emery. *First Love Farewell*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1959. Illustration by Georgeann Helms.

The girl is the prominent figure, although her boyfriend (as not-so-subtly signified by the heart shape surrounding him) is also included. She wears a dress and holds a playbill (which plays a role within the novel). She looks down, either pensively or—as suggested by the title—in sadness. The one aspect in which Helms’s design differs from the general cover art trend is in her placement of the typography in the lower right hand corner of the jacket, rather than along the top.

Although the jacket content of many of the female junior novels demonstrates elements similar to those shown in Helms’s illustration for *First Love Farewell*, the general artistic style may be separated into two major types: those that include full-colour tonal renderings and tend to focus on colour and value rather than line, and those that use a four-colour motif and focus primarily on line design. These styles follow two of what Steven Heller suggests were the dominant modes of jacket cover design at that time:

in the late 1940s, covers and jackets tended to be painterly, cartoony, or typographic—decorative or literal. Art-based approaches were considered too radical, perhaps even foolhardy, in a marketplace in which hard-sell conventions were rigorously adhered to ... most mainstream book publishers were reluctant to embrace abstract approaches at the expense of the vulgar visual narratives and type treatment they insisted captured the public's attention. (147)

The first style—what Heller might call the “painterly”—is represented by Isabel Dawson's design for Betty Cavanna's *Stars in Her Eyes* (1958) or the cover for Rosamond Du Jardin's *Wait for Marcy* (1950).

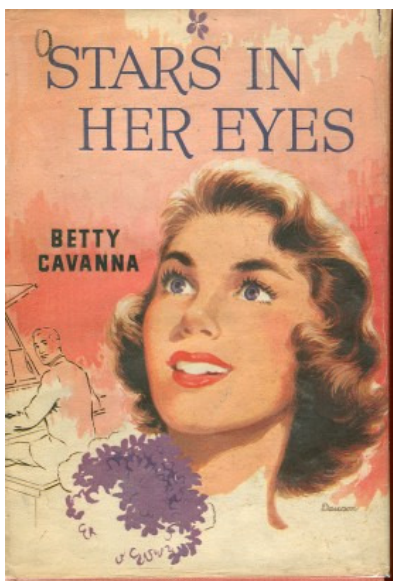


Figure 2. Betty Cavanna. *Stars in Her Eyes*. New York: William Morrow, 1958. Illustration by Isabel Dawson.



Figure 3. Rosamond Du Jardin. *Wait for Marcy*. New York: J. B. Lippincott, 1950. Unknown illustrator.

These jackets have the look of Coca-Cola ads, or covers from the *Saturday Evening Post*. They are painted in soft pinks and blues, and the tonal contrast emphasizes the rosy girlishness of the female protagonist against the less important, less coloured boyfriend. They are also similar to their contemporaries, the series novels. Those series published by the Stratemeyer Syndicate in particular tended to use the same style of illustration, as demonstrated by “Carolyn Keene’s” *The Hidden Staircase* (1950), and Helen Well’s *Cherry Ames, Student Nurse* (1943).

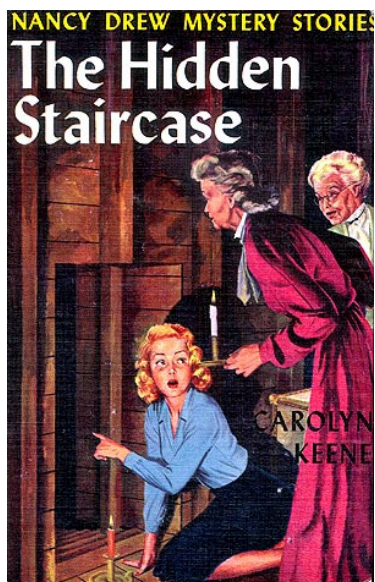


Figure 4 Carolyn Keene. *The Hidden Staircase*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1950. Illustration by Bill Gillies.

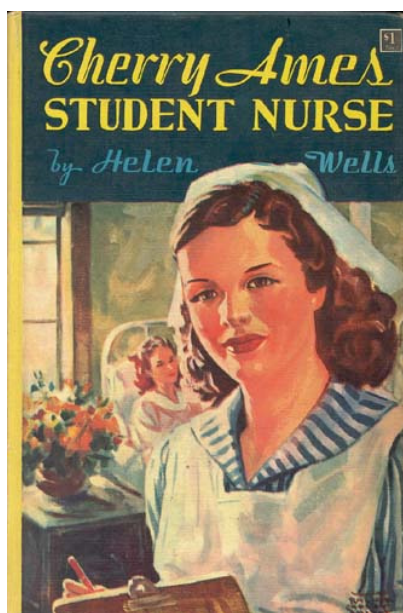


Figure 5 Helen Wells. *Cherry Ames, Student Nurse*. New York: Grosset & Dunlap, 1943. Illustration by Ralph Crosby Smith.

As in the female junior novels, the jacket art for these novels demonstrates a strong emphasis on colour modeling and a focus on the girl's face. Interestingly, book jackets that display this style of illustration sometimes lack the name of the

author, so that no part of the text lists the author, and no signature is evident on the artwork itself.

The second style—Heller’s “cartoony” style—may be observed in Harold Minton’s illustration for Betty Cavanna’s *Lasso Your Heart* (1952), or Richard Horowitz’s design for Anne Emery’s *High Note, Low Note* (1954).



Figure 6. Betty Cavanna. *Lasso Your Heart*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1952. Illustration by Harold Minton.

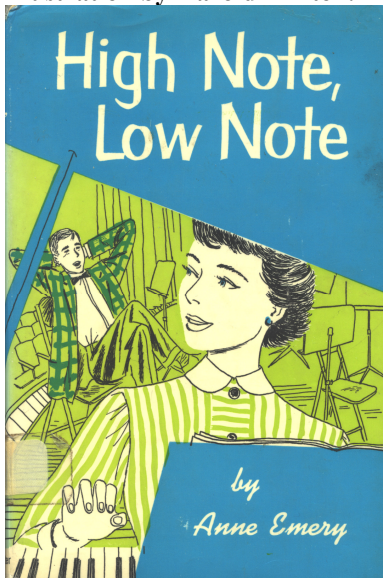


Figure 7. Anne Emery. *High Note, Low Note*. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1954. Illustration by Richard Horowitz.

This style is much more graphic than the first type, and relies on dark lines and flat colours. While many illustrators may have chosen to work in this style for specific design purposes, they may also have been influenced by the printing styles available to them. One may assume that the paper used for these jackets was white. Since letterpress and offset printing were the two main modes of printing, designs like the two shown above, which used only three colours (green, yellow, and black for the first, or green, blue, and black for the second) would minimize printing costs by requiring only three ink colours.

The two types of style (“painterly” and “cartoony”), coupled with the content of the girl, the pensive or smiling expression, the possible boyfriend, and the placement of the typography, established a specific female junior novel identity. The sameness of that identity was sometimes emphasized by illustrators who created similar figures for multiple texts. Paul Galdone, best known for his illustration of Eve Titus’s *Anatole* (1957) (which was nominated for the Caldecott), also illustrated Amelia Elizabeth Walden’s *Three Loves Has Sandy* and Betty Cavanna’s *Passport to Romance*, both published in 1955.

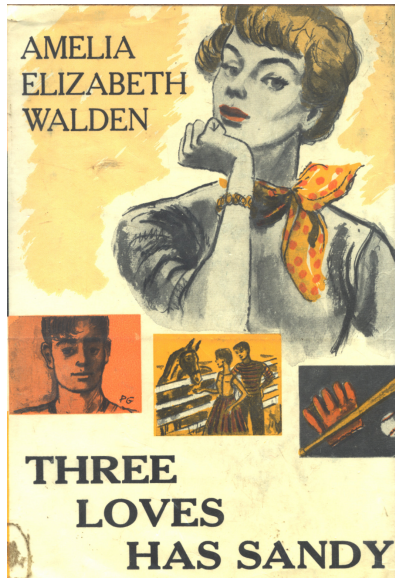


Figure 8. Amelia Elizabeth Walden. *Three Loves Has Sandy*. New York: Whittlesey House, 1955. Illustration by Paul Galdone.

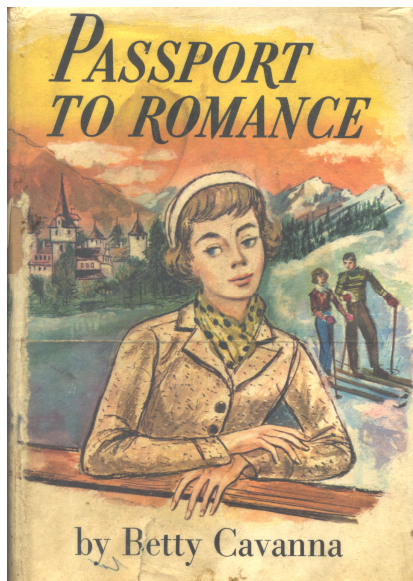


Figure 9. Betty Cavanna. *Passport to Romance*. New York: William Morrow, 1955. Illustration by Paul Galdone.

The girl's hairstyle and hair colour, design of the eyes and eyebrows, and even the inclusion of a polka-dotted scarf make Sandy and Jody (the protagonists of each novel) look very similar to each other. Whether or not the similarities were

intentional, they helped to create a sense of sameness between texts that are written by different authors and published by different houses.

Besides the marketing benefits of this sameness (in the sense that teenaged girls could recognize a female junior novel from ten feet away, even before they could read the name of the author), the people who illustrated these novels may have tapped into an overall sense of the positivity of sameness that seemed to permeate the post-war / Cold War era. Certainly a desire to belong by being just like everyone else pervades the adolescent society within the novels. This sense may be best articulated by Mary Stolz in *The Sea Gulls Woke Me*, who narrates how Jean Campbell, after cutting off all of her long hair, happily leaves the hairdresser “in an access of the poise that comes, at sixteen, from looking exactly like everybody else of sixteen” (37). Whether or not it was intentional, the female junior novel illustrators helped to package the novels by demonstrating a sameness that was supposedly desired by American girls of the post-war / Cold War period.

Editors, authors, and illustrators: Ilonka Karasz’s dust jackets for Mary Stolz’s novels

One of the few editor/author/illustrator combinations that challenged the dominant mode of sameness was Ursula Nordstrom, Mary Stolz, and Ilonka Karasz. Together, they challenged the cultural positioning of Stolz’s novels by literally wrapping them in the dust jackets designed by Karasz. By exploring

Karasz's illustrations for Stolz's novels in relation to Karasz's body of modernist work, I suggest that Karasz's dust jackets act as a signal to parents and librarians that Stolz's texts are somehow "higher" than the rest of the female junior novels.

While the love story is usually the central element of Stolz's novels, her narratives are inevitably fixated on class and brow level. They are filled with girls who lack social mobility, girls who improperly emulate the cultural trappings of the dominant by purchasing dresses made from nylon instead of silk, by maintaining split ends in their hair in an attempt to gain "the cloudy look that girls in love stories had" (*Ready* 36), by refusing to date the nice, unpopular boy next door because they would prefer to date the womanizing popular man. Stolz's world, for all of its pretty dresses and sweet boyfriends, can be harsh; in many instances in which her protagonists attempt to raise their positions within the novels' social hierarchies, they fail.

In an interesting parallel to her dominated class protagonists, Stolz herself often displays a similar attempt to push the conventions of her own writing. She demonstrates this push through numerous allusions to authors, and to modernist writers in particular.¹⁰⁹ The best example of her allusive writing may be her 1953 novel, *In a Mirror*. In this novel alone, Stolz alludes to Edward Moore, Camus, Kafka, Keats, O. Henry, Maupassant, Katherine Mansfield, Henry James, Beatrix Potter, Swinburne, and Elizabeth Barrett Browning. Moreover, one of the main plot points in the novel focuses on protagonist Bessie Mueller's intense love for

¹⁰⁹ A May 4, 1951, letter from Nordstrom to Stolz suggests that Stolz was also contemplating editing an anthology "to introduce young readers to modern poetry," and had already written the introduction to it. It was never published.

modernist writers, as contrasted by her intense dislike of her college Nineteenth Century Poetry class. When Bessie refuses to agree with her professor, Mr. Dunn, that Christina Rossetti is a poet, and instead calls her a poetess, he replies by asking:

“Would you name me a poet who is not a poetess?”

he asked me.

“Emily Dickinson.”

“Another?”

“Marianne Moore.”

“You like only moderns?”

“I love Keats. And Hopkins. They’re nineteenth century.”

“Hopkins isn’t really, do you think?”

“Well, no.”

“Nor Emily Dickinson.”

“I guess not.”

“What would you say if I told you Christina Rossetti never wrote a bad line in her life?”

I didn’t answer. (67)

Just as Stolz alludes to modernist writers, I suspect she and Nordstrom also tried to push the conventions of the female junior novels by using designs by Ilonka Karasz to illustrate Stolz’s dust jackets. Art historian Pat Kirkham calls Ilonka Karasz “one of the most important figures to answer the call for modern

American design in the 1920s” (270), while Ashley Callaghan, Curator of Decorative Arts for the Georgia Museum of Art, suggests that:

as a modern designer, Karasz is notable because of the persistence of her adherence to modern design, characterized in her work through a sophisticated simplicity, use of geometric forms, consideration of how the object would affect its owner or user, and employment of new materials and techniques. (132)

Karasz was a Hungarian-born artist who studied at the Royal School of Arts and Crafts and the School of Applied Arts in Budapest (Frankl) before establishing herself in Greenwich Village in 1913 as a designer, painter, and teacher. A modernist pioneer, in 1914 Karasz founded the Society of Modern Art, whose mandate was to “advance the cause of the new art and graphic design” (Long 46) and to “keep in touch with modern artistic European tendencies... and thereby encourage the development of the Modern Movement in this country” (qtd. in Brown 70). The Society attempted to follow its mandate through two actions: first, by inviting modern artists to exhibit in the Society’s gallery space, and second, by launching a magazine named the *Modern Art Collector* (Long 46).

Although the Society—many of whose designers were of German heritage—folded in 1918, possibly due to war-time anti-German resentment, Karasz continued to further applied modernist design. In the late 1920s, she started designing furniture, silver, and ceramics, and became a key member of the American Union of Decorative Artists and Craftsmen. When her furniture designs were included in a show of “art in industry” at Macy’s (New York) in 1928,

critics described her work as “the most iconoclastic of any in the exhibition” (qtd. in Kirkham 270). By 1930 art critic C. Adolf Glassgold included Karasz in his list of the nine American modern furniture designers most deserving of recognition (she was the only woman included). By the 1940s and 50s, Karasz had turned to wallpaper, and was hailed in a 1950 article in *Portfolio*, titled “Miro on the Wall,” as “the country’s leading wallpaper artist” (qtd. in Brown 85).

Throughout her numerous forays into furniture, ceramics, painting, silver, textiles, and wallpaper, Karasz worked steadily at illustrating covers for the *New Yorker*. Between 1925 and 1973, she designed 186 such covers for the magazine, providing, as Ashley Brown suggests, “a rare visual record of the progression of Karasz’s style” (87). Although—like Mary Stolz—her work was almost entirely forgotten by the time of her death (in 1981), Karasz’s modernist design work was well-recognized in the earlier half of the twentieth century.

Since there is little printed biographical information available on Karasz, Stolz, and Nordstrom—and extremely little regarding their relationships with each other—I do not know the background behind Stolz and Nordstrom’s decision to use Karasz’s designs for Stolz’s novels. By 1950, the date of Stolz’s first novel, Karasz had already established herself as a freelance illustrator and jacket designer for numerous adult and children’s books, including Mary Carolyn Davies’ *Picture, Verse and Song* (1923), Clement Wood’s *The Outline of Man’s Knowledge* (1927), George Orwell’s *Burmese Days* (1934), William Saroyan’s *The Beautiful People* (1941), and Jessamyn West’s *The Friendly Persuasion* (1945). Karasz’s professional association with Nordstrom seems to have been

established by 1946, when Karasz designed both the cover and illustrations for William Maxwell's *The Heavenly Tenants*, published by Harper and Brothers.

The relationship was furthered in 1949, when Karasz illustrated a children's picture book version of *The Twelve Days of Christmas*, also published by Harper and Brothers. The book included twelve full-page colour illustrations and won the American Institute of Graphic Arts (AIGA) award for best book of 1949. The next year, Karasz illustrated Fritz Peters' *The Book of the Year* (again through Harper), and started her decade-long work of designing dust jackets for Mary Stolz's novels.

I suspect that one link between Stolz, Nordstrom, and Karasz may have developed through the *New Yorker*. Between 1925 and 1973, Karasz designed 186 covers for the magazine. William Maxwell, poetry editor for the *New Yorker* since 1936, also published his children's book, *The Heavenly Tenants*, through Harper and Brothers, presumably edited by Ursula Nordstrom. Karasz designed the cover and illustrations for Maxwell's book, as well as for his adult novel, *Time Will Darken It* (1948), and four subsequent novels (although not all were published by Harper). Perhaps William Maxwell was the link that introduced Karasz to Nordstrom? Another possible *New Yorker* connection was through Katharine and E.B. White. In the same year as Karasz's first *New Yorker* cover (1925), Katharine S. White (then Katharine Sergeant Angell) started working as a fiction editor for the magazine. During her time with the *New Yorker*, she met her future husband, E.B. White, who officially joined the staff in 1927. The Whites became good friends with Nordstrom, particularly after Katharine White resigned

as fiction editor to become the children's literature reviewer for the magazine, and after Nordstrom edited and published *Stuart Little* in 1945—a year before she published Maxwell's *Heavenly Tenants*.

Somehow, whether it was through Maxwell, the Whites, or some other connection, Stolz and Nordstrom decided that Ilonka Karasz would be the best illustrator for not only Stolz's first novel, but many of her subsequent novels. This choice demonstrates an important change in the female junior novels: until the appearance of Stolz's novels, most of these romance novels used the "painterly" or "cartoonish" style of illustration discussed above. Karasz's style and content are significantly different.

While the typography for most of the female junior novels displays a standard pattern of inserting the title at the top of the jacket, almost separate from the illustration, Karasz's designs for Stolz's novels, often—although not always—place the title within the centre of the jacket, thereby incorporating it into the overall illustration. Karasz's cover for *To Tell Your Love* (1950), for example, places each word on a different step of protagonist Anne Armacost's front porch.

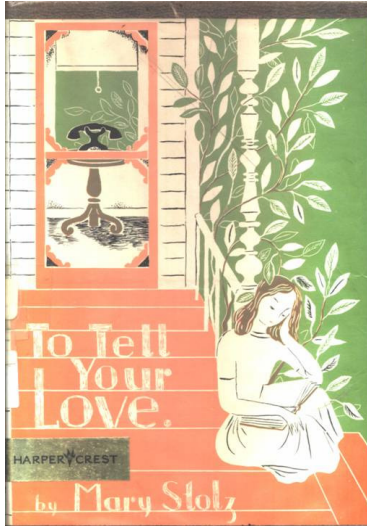


Figure 10. Mary Stolz. *To Tell Your Love*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1950. Illustration by Ilonka Karasz.

Karasz's covers lack the tonal value found in similar adolescent girl romance novels by other authors. The colours are different: instead of the soft pinks and blues, Karasz uses oranges, greens, browns, and reds. The colours are flat, and the emphasis becomes more on line. Karasz's illustration for *Pray Love, Remember* (1954) accentuates the line of the stairs, broken only by the typography of the title.

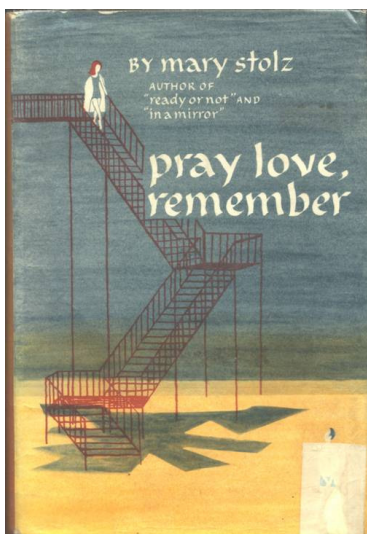


Figure 11. Mary Stolz. *Pray Love, Remember*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954. Illustration by Ilonka Karasz.

Her design for Stolz’s 1953 *Ready or Not* includes more texture than many of her other illustrations, but its emphasis is still obviously on line—chiefly vertical lines, as well as geometric shapes. These illustrations definitely do not display the “painterly” style expressed by their contemporaries, yet they do not seem to be composed in the “cartoonish” style either. They demonstrate a different sense of line, as something that is reminiscent more of creating a pattern than creating a narrative-based image. Karasz’s emphasis seems to be less on *what* she illustrates, than on *how* she illustrates it.

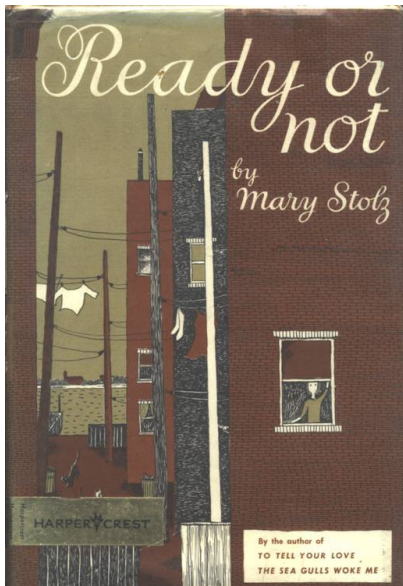


Figure 12. Mary Stolz. *Ready or Not*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953. Illustration by Ilonka Karasz.

Stolz’s *Ready or Not* is particularly useful for showcasing the stylistic difference between Karasz’s artwork and that used for many of the female junior novels. *Ready or Not* was published by two different companies: first, by Harper & Brothers, using Karasz’s jacket design, and then—while the Harper edition was still in print—by Peoples Book Club of Chicago.



Figure 13. Mary Stolz. *Ready or Not*. Chicago: Peoples Book Club, 1953. Illustration by Victor Olson.

The two covers are wildly different. The Peoples cover, by Victor Olson, is once again in the “painterly” style. It emphasizes colour, shape, and value, and focuses on two figures (likely the protagonist, Morgan, and her boyfriend, Tom), while the apartment buildings—which are an essential aspect of the narrative—remain in the background. The Karasz cover, on the other hand, highlights the buildings, and relegates the figure to a tiny gesture of a person (likely the other protagonist, Morgan’s younger sister, Julie) looking out a window.

Karasz’s focus on the apartment buildings also reflects one of two themes prevalent in many of her cover illustrations for the *New Yorker*. Her December 26, 1953, and December 16, 1961, covers both portray large apartment buildings

in which tiny figures (like Julie in *Ready or Not*) can be seen in the windows.

Both covers display Karasz's emphasis on line and geometric shape.¹¹⁰



Figure 14. Cover. *New Yorker*. December 26, 1953. Illustration by Ilonka Karasz.

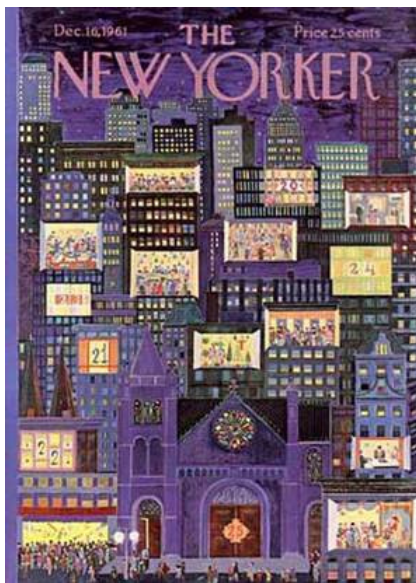


Figure 15. Cover. *New Yorker*. December 16, 1961. Illustration by Ilonka Karasz.

¹¹⁰ Karasz's illustrations for the December 21, 1935, and July 9, 1938, issues of the *New Yorker* similarly focus on apartment buildings, and emphasize line and geometric shape.

Another major theme, stylized trees, is similarly demonstrated in the 1956 edition of Stolz's *The Day and the Way We Met*, as well as the November 23, 1963, and April 10, 1965, issues of the *New Yorker*, among others.

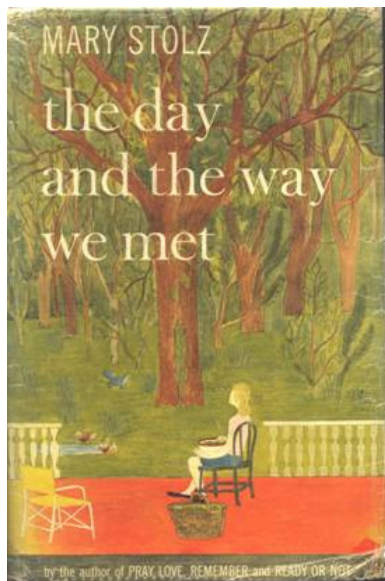


Figure 16. Mary Stolz. *The Day and the Way We Met*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1956. Illustration by Ilonka Karasz.

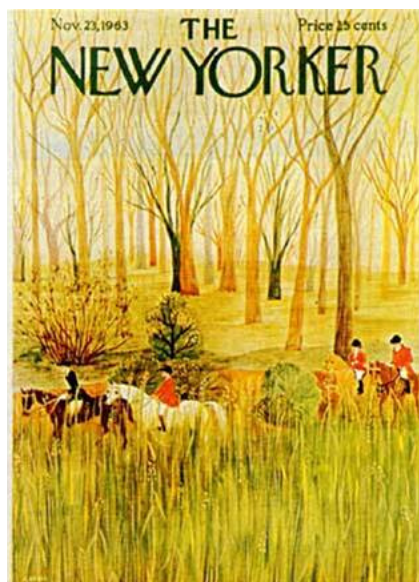


Figure 17. Cover. *New Yorker*. November 23, 1963. Illustration by Ilonka Karasz.

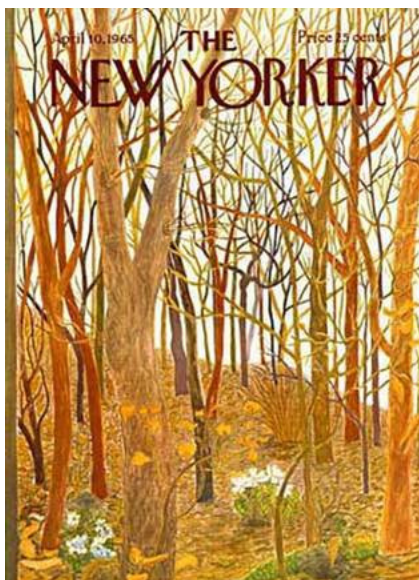


Figure 18. Cover. *New Yorker*. April 10, 1965. Illustration by Ilonka Karasz.

In each example, stylized trees dominate the upper half of the illustration, once again drawing the focus to Karasz's use of line, albeit in a more organic, less geometric mode than her scenes of apartment buildings. Design similarities may also be seen in Karasz's large sky illustration for Stolz's *The Sea Gulls Woke Me* (1951) and similar sky in the September 30, 1961, *New Yorker*, or the blue wash background of *Pray Love, Remember* (1954) and the *New Yorker* of September 28, 1957. It seems that Karasz's designs for Stolz's novels were no different than her illustrations for the *New Yorker*. She did not change the style of her work because she was designing for—ostensibly—teenagers rather than adults.

Perhaps the best example of Karasz's stylistic similarity is her January 23, 1937, cover for the *New Yorker* and her illustration for Stolz's 1955 *Rosemary*.



Figure 19. Cover. *New Yorker*. January 23, 1937. Illustration by Ilonka Karasz.

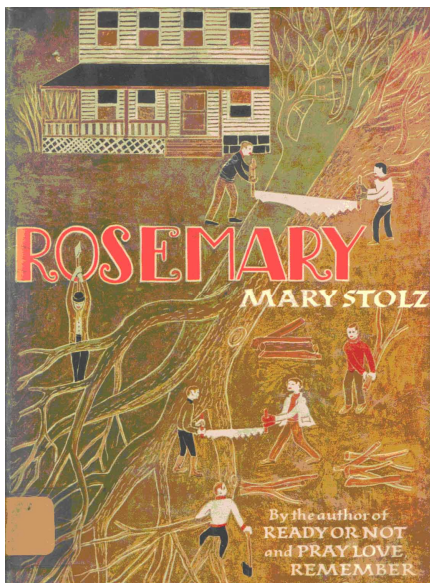


Figure 20. Mary Stolz. *Rosemary*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955. Illustration by Ilonka Karasz.

Although the colours are different, the balance and the direction in these two covers are quite similar. Both are designed with what John Updike, in his introduction to *The Complete Book of Covers from The New Yorker 1925-1989*, characterized as Karasz's "panoramic approach, portraying an entire scene or crowd" (qtd. in Callahan 52). Note the placement of the two-storied building in

the upper left quadrant of both covers. Note the main element—either the tree or the train—cutting diagonally through the cover, but also binding all of the disparate elements together. The point here is that, in designing jackets for Stolz’s novels, Karasz continued to use the unique style she had developed for her covers for the *The New Yorker*.

The New Yorker itself, then, may be helpful in understanding both why Stolz and Nordstrom chose Karasz, and how that choice may have affected the reception of Stolz’s novels. John Seabrook, a current staff writer at *The New Yorker*, suggests that the magazine’s high point of success, from the 1950s through the early 1970s, was based on being “blessedly free from that thing now called the Buzz” (18), and was instead predicated on assuming a disinterest in mass culture. Seabrook quotes William Shawn, the editor of *The New Yorker* from 1951 to 1987, as stating: “We have never published anything in order to sell magazines...to cause a sensation, to be controversial, to be popular or fashionable, to be ‘successful’” (qtd. in Seabrook 18). Hal Foster re-articulates Seabrook’s concept, suggesting that *The New Yorker* was part of a social system in which good taste was defined by the display of distaste for mass culture. The result was that “The New Yorker was able to teach this dis/taste without too much bitterness, and—here was the magic, or the ruse, of the magazine—this offer appealed to a good portion of the masses that were disdained by it” (Foster 5).

It may be that Stolz and Nordstrom chose Karasz as their illustrator to signal their seriousness, and to separate Stolz’s novels from the rest of the female junior novels. By choosing Karasz’s designs, with their focus on line and

geometric shapes, Stolz's novels looked like something avant-garde, like something the tastemakers would give to their children, something that did not suggest the mass culture of Coca-Cola girls. Perhaps Stolz and Nordstrom shared with *The New Yorker* that element that Pierre Bourdieu calls "an interest in disinterestedness"?

It does seem apparent that Nordstrom was intent on separating Stolz's novels from the rest of the teen girl romance genre. Writing to Stolz on June 2, 1950, she informed her of a plan to recreate the jacket of Stolz's first novel, *Tell Your Love*, as a frontispiece:

I love the jacket so that I kept grieving that it would eventually be thrown away, as are all jackets. So we are printing it especially to be tipped in to the book, opposite the title page, as a frontispiece. Isn't that exciting? Very few books for the teens have a frontispiece in color, and hardly any have such a lovely drawing in them anywhere! (Nordstrom 2 June 1950)

The design journal, *Graphis*, eventually featured Karasz's cover in an article on contemporary book jackets, and on the same page as covers designed by Salvador Dali (Callahan 58). Four novels later, Ilonka Karasz was still designing the jacket cover art for Stolz's novels. By this point, however, Nordstrom seemed nervous about the possible "dreariness" of Karasz's design for *Ready or Not*:

we're sending first class special delivery the jacket sketch by Ilonka Karasz. It is awfully rough but if you like the general content you can be sure the finished job will be as good as all her

jackets have been. I wonder if it looks a bit dreary? Bear in mind the sky will be blue and the bricks will be red and she'll draw the bricks carefully in black as roughly indicated. (27 February 1952)

In the margin, Nordstrom added, "phone me about this, will you?"

The word "dreary" would certainly not refer to most adolescent girl romance jackets of this time, and I suspect that Nordstrom's potential "interest in disinterestedness" was failing, and that she was concerned about the sales of *Ready or Not*. Still, the cover was approved, and Karasz continued to illustrate Stolz's novels. By the time that Stolz's fifth novel, *In a Mirror*, was due to go into production, Nordstrom subtly articulated her worries about sales:

I'm going to have one devil of a time with the Sales Department over the IN A MIRROR jacket, but since you say so, and so does the new Advertising Manager, I'll fight. I'm glad you like it so much, and I hope you're right and the Sales Department is wrong.

It wouldn't be the first time. (Nordstrom 30 April 1953)

To what extent Stolz and Nordstrom were successful in their marketing strategy—that is, in using an illustrator as a kind of shorthand for the quality of Stolz's novels—is a complex question, and points to a larger question of children's book publication: to whom are children's books marketed: parents, librarians, or child readers? Although Stolz's papers are divided between the de Grummond Collection at the University of Southern Mississippi, and the Kerlan Collection at the University of Minnesota, neither collection contains a breakdown of Stolz's sales, nor does the public Harper and Row records housed at

Columbia.¹¹¹ While I cannot estimate the number of people who purchased or read Stolz's texts, I do know that at least most Stolz titles were included in the New York Public Library's influential "Books for the Teen Age" list, and that Stolz was included in the Wilson Company's *More Junior Authors* (whose author selection was based on polling children's and young adult's librarians throughout the United States) (March 22, 1957). In terms of distribution, Harper and Brothers agreed to allow Stolz's novels to be published in paperback form by various companies, including Penguin, Tempo, Berk, and Dell. Stolz's teen romance novels were, moreover, translated and sold in over ten different countries, including Germany, Japan, India, Sweden, and Italy.

Networking: critics

One method for determining the reception of Stolz's novels as "quality" female junior novels is to turn to those whose careers were based on measuring such elements: the critics. Of course, whether or not any of these critics saw Karasz's jacket designs for Stolz's novels is unknown. In this case, their reviews regarding the literary value of these texts were based primarily on the content within the novels. Before examining the critical response to Stolz's novels,

¹¹¹ The Harper and Row records do include an undated document titled "Sales over 20,000 copies," which lists some of their bestselling books. The document was likely produced some time after 1966. Louise Fitzhugh's *Harriet the Spy* is at the top of the list, with sales reaching 46 647 copies since 1964. Stolz's female junior novels appear twice on the list (*Who Wants Music on Monday?* sold 30 973 copies since 1963, while *A Love, Or a Season* sold 23 331 since 1964). Two of her novels for younger readers—*The Bully of Barkham Street* and *The Noonday Friends*—also appear toward the top of the list.

however, one must understand the unique role played by critics in the reception and establishment of adolescent literature in America.

Certainly female junior novel critics may have been the most well-connected members of the network, but they also tend to be the most lost to history. Librarians, it seems, recorded significant amounts of information about themselves, in American Library Association studies, in annual library reports, in library journals, and even in memorializing books about key figures (particularly including Anne Carroll Moore), in which they provide anecdotes of children's services in times past. While editors provided less published information about themselves, their correspondence with authors is occasionally documented in university and publishing house archives. Critics within the network—by which I mean the women who actually reviewed the female junior novels for services like the Kirkus Reviews, or for publications such as the *New York Herald-Tribune*—tended, however, to leave very little trace of their professional lives. Since most critics held (or had retired from) positions in related areas, including librarianship and editing, often the only way to trace their connections to each other, or to the network as a whole, is to find them through these other positions.

The manner in which critics wrote about female junior novels can be split into two main categories: short review-style formats, printed in magazines and newspapers, in which critics focus on the positive and negative aspects of a single novel; and longer articles, printed in scholarly journals, in which critics refer to female junior novels in their attempts to either define adolescent literature or to suggest ways for using it. The first type, the traditional book review, was often

written anonymously, and thus finding the women who wrote them is problematic. Still, the few names that continually appear in reviews of the female junior novels include Ellen Lewis Buell, Virginia H. Matthews, and Margaret C. Scoggin of *The New York Times Book Review*; Siri Andrews, May Lamberton Becker, and Louise Seaman (Bechtel) of the *New York Herald Tribune Book Review*; Alice Brooks McGuire in the *Chicago Sunday Tribune*; Jennie D. Lindquist, Virginia Haviland, and Ruth Hill Viguers in *The Horn Book Magazine*; Mary Gould Davis for *The Saturday Review of Literature*; and Zena Sutherland in *Bulletin of the Center for Children's Books*.

With the exception of Ellen Lewis Buell, May Lamberton Becker, and Zena Sutherland (who were principally known as journalists and literary critics) and Louise Seaman (who was still recognized for her pioneering role as an editor), all of the critics listed above were librarians. Mary Gould Davis was a children's services librarian at first the Brooklyn Public Library and then the NYPL, Jennie D. Lindquist was head of the Children's Department at the Albany Public Library and a lecturer at the University of New Hampshire, Alice Brooks McGuire taught library services for children at Drexel University and the University of Chicago (Sparks 151), and Ruth Hill Viguers worked at libraries all over the world, including the Seattle Public Library, the NYPL, the International Institute for Girls (in Spain), the American Library (in Paris), and taught at the Boone Library School in Wuchang, China (Florence). Siri Andrews started as a children's librarian, earned a bachelor degree in librarianship from the University of Washington in 1930, and immediately began to teach classes in children's

services at that school (Daily 443). Andrews then became co-editor of the *Booklist* (for *The Horn Book Magazine*) in 1950, following Alice Jordan's retirement from the position (Smith 736).

Critics who lent their cultural capital as leaders in children's literature to blurbs for the back covers of books, or who attempted to define adolescent literature by writing articles in journals such as the *English Journal*, demonstrated a divide between members of the network and those who worked predominantly outside of it. Like those writing book reviews, critics within the network were female, and tended to come from the background of librarianship. Of particular note in their attempts to define literature for teenagers were Margaret Edwards and Emma L. Patterson. Edwards, Williams's and Scoggin's counterpart at the Enoch Pratt Free Library in Baltimore, and a leading proponent of adolescent literature, started her professional career as a high school teacher, but by 1944 had become head of Pratt's Office of Work with Young People.¹¹² During and following her tenure at the Pratt, Edwards wrote several articles, including "How Do I Love Thee?" (1952) and "Let the Lower Lights Be Burning" (1957) for the *English Journal*, and "The Urban Library and the Adolescent" (1968) for the *Library Quarterly*.¹¹³ Emma L. Patterson, an author of novels for teenagers,

¹¹² In 1932 Edwards joined Pratt's staff in the Circulation Department. She was appointed the Young People's Assistant in 1933, when the library's new central building opened. By 1937 Edwards was released from Circulation to work with young people full time, which also provided her with the opportunity to travel to the NYPL to meet Mabel Williams. In 1940 Edwards completed her work establishing branch collections for young people, and became head of the department when the Office of Work with Young People was made into its own department (Braverman 240-41).

¹¹³ It should be noted that, although Edwards was a major proponent of female junior novels, Patty Campbell observes that she seemed to get "stuck" on them, to the point of refusing to

including *Midnight Patriot* (1949) and *The World Turned Upside Down* (1953), as well as a librarian in Peekskill, New York, wrote one of the first articles specifically on the history of the female junior novels, published in the October, 1956 issue of the *English Journal*.¹¹⁴

The majority of the early criticism on adolescent literature (as featured in scholarly journals) was written, however, by male academics who demonstrated little interaction with the female members of the network. G.R. Carlsen of the University of Texas, Dwight L. Burton of the University of Minnesota High School, Richard S. Alm of the University of Hawaii, and Frank. G. Jennings at Columbia University possessed varying views regarding the quality of early literature for teens (including the female junior novels), with Burton and Carlsen taking a median stance and Alm and Jennings expressing highly negative opinions. Besides the fact that the female network critics seemed predisposed to be more celebratory in their analysis of this literature than their male counterparts, the types of texts that they reviewed as novels for adolescents also tended to be different. As Michael Cart observes, Alm identifies the emergence of young adult literature, but praises only adult novelists. Burton writes his foundational *The Novel for the Adolescent*, but “[devotes] the lion’s share of his attention to an analysis of work by four *adult* authors” (Cart 25). Thus while network critics such as Edwards and Patterson refer specifically to novels by Daly, Cavanna, Emery,

consider the canonical young adult literature that followed in the wake of S.E. Hinton’s *The Outsiders*: “In 1987, when asked to recommend the perfect YA books she still did not mention any young adult novel except Maureen Daly’s *Seventeenth Summer*, in spite of the twenty years of fine YA writing that had gone before” (Campbell 46).

¹¹⁴ See Emma L. Patterson. “The Junior Novels and How They Grew.” *The English Journal* 45.7 (Oct., 1956): 381-387, 405. Print.

Stolz, and Du Jardin, the most influential non-network academics refer to such authors fleetingly (if at all), and tend to focus more on novels originally intended for adults.

The relations between critics and members of the network also differed depending on whether the critic came from a background of female librarianship or male academia. That is, network critics seemed to interact with other members of the network, while academics demonstrated very little communication with the network. In a July 3, 1963, letter to Maurice Sendak, for example, Ursula Nordstrom tells Sendak that “if you come in to the office talk to Ferd who was at lunch with Mr. Woods, Miss Buell, and me too” (*Dear* 166). Miss Buell was Ellen Lewis Buell, who reviewed many books by Nordstrom’s authors, while Mr. Woods was George Woods, Buell’s successor in 1963 as children’s book editor of *The New York Times Book Review* (Marcus, *Dear* 166, n2). Similarly, in 1951 Jennie D. Lindquist and Siri Andrews jointly reviewed Beverly Cleary’s *Ellen Tebbits* for *The Horn Book Magazine*.¹¹⁵ Cleary had first met Andrews roughly ten years earlier, when Cleary attended the University of Washington School of Librarianship. Their relationship eventually had an indirect influence on Cleary’s writing, for as she remembers,

[Andrews] taught her classes in a brisk, businesslike way and must have had faith in me for she persuaded the Los Angeles Public Library to waive the residence requirement for me. However I could not afford the trip to Los Angeles to take the civil service

¹¹⁵ See Jennie D. Lindquist and Siri M. Andrews, “Ellen Tebbits.” *The Horn Book Magazine* 27.6 (Dec. 1951): 408.

examination. I became children's librarian in Yakima, a position I enjoyed—and where I found inspiration for the books I was to write in the children who used the library. That is the way it was in those grim Depression days. (Cleary, "Siri Andrews")

Of course, one of the main reasons for the seeming lack of interaction between academics and the network may simply be, once again, the problem of the archive, and the difficulty in finding evidence of relationships between academics and network members. On the other hand, it may also stem from the overlapping of areas within the network, compared to the apparent isolation of academia (in regard to children's literature). As Anne Lundin notes,

Curiously, [academics and librarians] never met, or hardly ever. The children's librarians prevailed for almost a half-century of growth and change. They witnessed the awakening of publishers to fine books for children; they even had a voice in what was published Most of the publishers were in the eastern United States, and most of the librarians were too. They had a lot in common, and together they promoted their wares and their mission. (*Constructing* xv)

As Lundin stresses, and as I attempt to emphasize in this dissertation, the manner in which children's and young adult literature developed in the United States meant that the librarians and the editors of the female junior novel network were inexorably linked to each other. It seems unsurprising, then, that the male academic critics, working outside the network (and, one might add, often more

separated from the teens who were reading these texts than their librarian counterparts), would have differing views regarding what constituted literature for adolescents, as well as what defined quality. As Pierre Bourdieu notes in *The Field of Cultural Production*,

Every critical affirmation contains, on the one hand, a recognition of the value of the work which occasions it ... and on the other hand an affirmation of its own legitimacy. All critics declare not only their judgement of the work, but also their claim to the right to talk about it and judge it. In short, they take part in a struggle for the monopoly of a legitimate discourse about the work of art, and consequently in the production of the value of the work of art.

(Bourdieu, *Field* 35-36)

As authorities of children's literature operating in two different areas (librarianship and academia), as well as in the joint field of adolescent literature, the two types of critics were essentially struggling against each other for a monopoly regarding what constituted quality literature for adolescents, as well as for the authority to make that determination. The separation between these two groups would eventually foreshadow—and dictate—the end of the female junior novels and the beginning of canonical young adult literature. That transition, as well as the demise of the female junior novel network, will be explored in the conclusion to this dissertation.

Two definitions of “quality”: Stolz’s female junior novels

Just as the manner in which they wrote reviews separated the two types of critics, so too did the content of those reviews. While the male academics generally ignored female junior novels except to belittle them,¹¹⁶ some of them did reserve enough space to suggest that Mary Stolz’s novels were of a higher quality than those written by other female junior novelists, including Cavanna, Du Jardin, Emery, and Lambert. Stolz’s novels are thus useful in a discussion of then-contemporary criticism because, in reviewing them, the critics display their division regarding what constitutes “quality” in a female junior novel.

In summarizing literature for adolescents, G. Robert Carlsen notes that “the greater the degree to which a book is introspective, probing the feelings and emotions of characters in facing their lives, the greater the popularity” (9). He explains that

Adolescent stories with shallow characterization, depending for their effect primarily on incident and action, are good filler reading, but the ones that remain favorites year after year are those that deal truly with the inner struggles of young persons. When such a book appears occasionally—as recently Marguerite Bro’s *Sarah* or Mary Stolz’s *To Tell Your Love*—the book immediately develops a devoted following among the teen-age readers. In many

¹¹⁶ Female junior novels were described as “confections of the No-Cal stamp” (Jennings 530) or “sugar-puff [stories]” (Alm, “Glitter” 315).

cases, such stories are read avidly in spite of apparently insurmountable difficulties in reading level. (9)

Similarly, in *Literature Study in the High Schools*, Dwight L. Burton suggests that “undoubtedly the most interesting and accomplished writer of junior novels is Mary Stolz” (66). He notes that her novels tend to be love stories interjected with social themes, and that one of her most prominent themes is “the estrangement of the adolescent heroine from her family” (67), so that “all the Emery-Summers patterns of the father and mother and of the family situation are smashed here” (67). Moreover, Burton’s summary statement regarding the difference between Stolz and the general female junior novelists is oddly reminiscent of the difference between Karasz’s dust jackets and those created by other illustrators: “Mary Stolz is a talented and original writer with a deep regard for the dignity of the adolescent. Done in richly subtle shades, rather than pastels, her work bodes well for the future of the junior novel” (68).

Burton and Carlsen both tend to be somewhat positive regarding female junior novels, and so it is not completely surprising that they both praise Stolz. The critic whose praise is more unexpected, however, is Richard Alm, whose September 1955 article in the *English Journal*, “The Glitter and the Gold,” states that “The last twenty years have seen not only the coming of age of the novel for the adolescent but also a flood of slick, patterned, rather inconsequential stories written to capitalize on a rapidly expanding market” (315). He rants that

most novelists present a sugar-puff story of what adolescents should do and should believe rather than what adolescents may or

will do and believe. Such stories reveal the novelists' lack of knowledge or insight into adolescent behavior as well as a lack of writing ability. These writers do not penetrate beneath the surface of the situation they create. Their stories are superficial, often distorted, sometimes completely false representations of adolescence. Instead of art, they produce artifice. (315)

Alm then proceeds to disparage texts by the female junior novelists, although he is slightly more sympathetic to Anne Emery, Betty Cavanna, and Maureen Daly. Then he comes to Stolz:

Mary Stolz, surely the most versatile and most skilled of that group, writes not for the masses who worship Sue Barton Barry but for the rarer adolescent who sees in Anne Armacost (*To Tell Your Love*) a girl of warmth and charm, in love unfortunately with a boy who is afraid to return her love. (320)

Alm further stresses that “the other characters . . . in *To Tell Your Love* are individuals, not types. In shifting her point of view from one to another and giving an intimate glimpse of the feelings and thoughts of each one, Stolz reveals a talent that few writers have” (320), and concludes by observing:

Stolz' other novels—*In a Mirror*, *The Seagulls Woke Me*, *Pray Love*, *Remember*, and *Organdy Cupcakes*—are significant contributions, too, to fiction for the adolescent. In all of them, she tells an engrossing story but, equally important, she presents characters who emerge as sensitively-drawn individuals. (320)

Three of the most influential male academic critics of adolescent literature, then, place Stolz's novels above many of her female junior novel contemporaries, as texts of a higher quality.¹¹⁷

Yet quality, of course, is relative. What the male academic critics praised in Stolz's novels is the same element that the female librarian critics viewed as problematic. That the female critics were, on the whole, almost unanimously celebratory of Stolz's novels is obvious in the endless rapture demonstrated in many of their reviews, and particularly in those by Ellen Lewis Buell and Margaret Scoggin. The one caveat that was repeated, however, was a fear that Stolz's writing—and particularly her use of allusion and metaphor—was too sophisticated for the average teen girl reader. In studying reviews of Stolz's novels, Cynthia Frease noted that “thirty-seven of the eighty-eight reviews mention specifically that the Stolz junior novels are for mature readers” (203). One of those reviewers, Margaret Ford Kiernan, writing a review in the *Atlantic Monthly* of Stolz's *In a Mirror* (1953), observed that

¹¹⁷ It is interesting to note that today's critics of adolescent literature continue to denigrate the female junior novels (when they note them at all), yet still separate texts by Mary Stolz from their general condemnation. Michael Cart, publishing *From Romance to Realism: 50 Years of Growth and Change in Young Adult Literature* in 1996, observes:

Aside from *Seventeenth Summer*, almost all the work in the romance category was ephemeral and eminently forgettable, with one important exception: the writings of Mary Stolz, which belong in the first rank along with Daly's, even though Stolz began writing a generation later, her first book, *To Tell Your Love* (Harper), appearing in 1950 Although Stolz's first books did address considerations of young love, it seems a disservice to label them “romance,” since even these early titles were set apart from the plethora of undistinguished others by their powers of characterization, style, and insight Stolz's skills as a novelist presaged the birth of that serious literature for young adults that would begin appearing in the late 1960s. (32-33)

[*In a Mirror*] is as penetrative and analytical as anything [Mary Stolz] has ever done. But is it a teen-age book? I confess I bogged down for a minute while I went through it because, as a stream-of-consciousness journal of a present-day college girl, it would surely have Henry James looking to his laurels. (547)

Regarding recommending it to teen readers, Kiernan adds:

Smoothly written and as fascinating as certain psychiatric case histories can be, I nevertheless would not recommend [*In a Mirror*] except to those teenagers of your acquaintance whose emotional balance is well established. They could handle it and would thoroughly enjoy it, no doubt, but for the more immature I think it is too introspective and somehow disturbing. (547)

Margaret Edwards, similarly, praises Stolz's novels in her 1952 article, "How Do I Love Thee?" but also observes that

while her stories are enjoyed, girls in Baltimore who read them do not send their friends to the library with the general understanding that their lives will not be worth living until they read these books. It may be that this author has limited her audience by writing a junior novel so mature in its concepts that it is best understood by college girls who choose their reading from lists of great books or best sellers and do not read junior novels, however good they may be. (336)

Focusing on Stolz's 1951 novel, *The Sea Gulls Woke Me*, Edwards adds:

Mrs. Stolz includes brief discussions of T.S. Eliot and Macaulay; she skillfully depicts the hopeless fascination that an “arty” author, an older man, has for a young college girl, thereby giving her story a very grown-up tone, which many girls read with pleasure and profit but not too often with a deep enough understanding, because they are unacquainted with some of her characters or have not come across some of her situations in their limited experiences. So while librarians and book reviewers compare Stolz with Maureen Daly, the young people themselves do not. (336)

That the young people seemed more likely to choose Daly over Stolz—particularly the younger readers—may be supported by readership statistics in Cynthia Frease’s 1961 dissertation about the popularity of Stolz’s novels. Frease surveyed librarians in twenty-eight public high schools and forty-six junior high schools in the state of Colorado. She found that “not a single librarian, junior high or senior high, considers Mrs. Stolz the most popular writer of junior novels for the girls in her school” (212), and that, moreover, “senior-high librarians completing the questionnaire . . . seem to feel that Mary Stolz’s novels are definitely more popular with their readers than do the junior-high librarians with their readers” (213). Frease’s statistics seem to justify her findings, in that she found that 24.4 percent of junior-high librarians thought that texts by Stolz were one of the most popular female junior novels, compared with 42.3 percent of senior-high librarians. On the opposite end of the spectrum, almost half of the junior-high librarians (48.8 percent) perceived Stolz as one of the less popular

junior novelists, compared to 27.0 percent of senior-high librarians. Although these statistics are based on librarian observation (rather than on the readers' opinions), they seem to support Edwards' claim that younger teens were less likely to read Stolz's novels compared to older teens.¹¹⁸ Thus, in her conclusions and recommendations, Frease seems to echo Kiernan's review in stating that

The Stolz junior novels should be suggested rarely to junior-high girls below the ninth grade level, not unless the reader is of superior ability and has been made acquainted with the Stolz writing technique. It is recommended that the reading of these novels be encouraged for mature ninth-grade girls and for senior-high girls of average reading ability. (viii)

While Stolz's novels may not have been as popular for younger teens as novels written by Daly or Cavanna, they were still—like the majority of the female junior novels—widely-read. Although most girls may have read these texts for recreational purposes, the popularity of these novels, coupled with their seemingly placid, all-American content, meant that they could be *useful*. The next chapter will thus examine the use of the female junior novels in the classroom, as texts through which teenaged girls could solve their “developmental problems” of adolescence.

¹¹⁸ Since the popularity of Stolz's texts was based predominantly on librarians' observations regarding the number of times that Stolz novels were checked out of the library, one might also wonder to what degree Karasz's dust jacket designs affected the readers' choices, particularly in regard to the age difference demonstrated in Frease's statistics.

Chapter Five

A Spy in the House of Love: Female Junior Novels in the Classroom

In her 1963 dissertation on Mary Stolz's female junior novels, Cynthia Frease includes a large table, titled "Developmental Tasks of Adolescence in Junior Novels by Mary Stolz." In this table Frease correlates the quantity of emphasis within the texts (where "x" is slight mention, "xx" is moderate emphasis, and "xxx" is major stress) with the developmental tasks of adolescence, as dictated by psychologist Robert J. Havighurst. According to Frease's table, Stolz's novels are particularly useful to teen girl readers for their emphasis on "more mature relations," "emotional independence," "family relationship," and—by far the category with the most "xxx"—"philosophy of life" (188-89).

Frease's overall assessment of Stolz's texts in relation to Havighurst's developmental tasks is summarized at the beginning of the dissertation, where she states,

The largest quantity of helpful material in the books as a whole pertains to acquiring a set of values and an ethical system as a guide to behavior, with the next heaviest emphases being given, in order, to the tasks of solving problems of family relationships, achieving emotional independence, and developing more mature relations with age-mates of both sexes. (vii)

Frease's emphasis on the value of Stolz's texts in teen readers' attempts to mature is a prime example of "bibliotherapy," which David Russell and Caroline Shrodes define in 1950 as

a process of dynamic interaction between the personality of the reader and literature—interaction which may be utilized for personality assessment, adjustment, and growth...it conveys the idea that all teachers must be aware of the effects of reading upon children and must realize that, through literature, most children can be helped to solve the developmental problems of adjustment which they face. (“Contributions I” 335)

This chapter examines the institutional use of the female junior novels through the concept of bibliotherapy. In examining its historical background, its role in the progressive education movement, and its eventual shift from education to librarianship, as well as investigating the latent Cold War politics imbedded within the female junior novels (and particularly those by Daly and Stolz), I suggest that, contrary to their stereotype as texts that avoid all reference to the socio-political culture in which they were produced, the female junior novels are in fact saturated by the politics of their time, as is the primary method through which they were institutionalized: bibliotherapy.

Emotional response versus literary quality: bibliotherapy in the female junior novel era

I choose to use Russell’s and Shrodes’ definition in this dissertation because it quickly became one of the dominant definitions of educational

bibliotherapy during the era of the female junior novels.¹¹⁹ Their article, “Contributions of Research in Bibliotherapy to the Language-Arts Program,” split between the September and October 1950 issues of *The School Review*, also demonstrates the educational culture in which this definition arises. While later proponents of bibliotherapy often focus on its use in conjunction with varying definitions of literary quality (and accompanying lists of textual examples), Russell and Shrodes avoid the common method of listing “good” books for bibliotherapy. Instead, they subtly question the notion of literary value by focusing on the quality of individuals’ responses to texts:

many literature periods are still of the sort Henry Seidel Canby calls “cross-word-puzzle scholarship,” with emphasis upon literary details rather than upon enjoyment and emotional response to a work of art. Even in the latter approach to literature, thoughtful teachers of the language arts are no longer sure that a particular selection or poem is a “good” one for all members of a class. They are realizing that the piece of literature which may have a profound effect on one child leaves another utterly unmoved. (336)

That Russell and Shrodes somewhat circumvent notions of literary quality does not mean that all critics working with bibliotherapy, or with the female junior novels, followed their pattern. The difference, however, is that Russell and Shrodes were interested in bibliotherapy first, and in the texts used for such therapy second. The male academic critics of the female junior novels,

¹¹⁹ The history of bibliotherapy—and the implications of that history on the female junior novels—will be discussed shortly.

conversely, were interested in the literary quality of the novels first, and in their role in bibliotherapy second.¹²⁰ Although bibliotherapists and some female junior novel critics may have used the same texts and the same overall theories (particularly R.J. Havighurst's theory of developmental tasks), they did not necessarily share the same focus. Their definitions of literary quality—or even whether or not it was necessary to consider literary quality in relation to bibliotherapy—remained quite separate.¹²¹ The bibliotherapeutic value of the female junior novels, then, was not necessarily related to their literary value (particularly not as dictated by the male academic critics). Thus while the male academic critics had differing views regarding the quality of female junior novels written by authors like Betty Cavanna, Anne Emery, or Phyllis Whitney,¹²² in 1950 Alice R. Brooks included texts by these women in a “highly selective but illustrative list of titles, the reading of which might assist youth in the achievement of the crucial adolescent tasks” (212).¹²³ The list summarizes the plot of each novel, but refrains from asserting a positive or negative literary status. It focuses, instead, on cataloguing titles under categories such as “New Relations

¹²⁰ The concept of “literary quality” and the difference between the male academic critics and the female junior novel network critics in regard to definitions of that quality will be discussed in greater detail in the conclusion section of this dissertation.

¹²¹ Of course, these definitions were also very closely linked. One might suggest that literary quality, for example, may influence a reader's emotional response to a text.

¹²² Just as Beverly Cleary wrote female junior novels before she became known for her children's novels, so too Phyllis Whitney wrote adolescent girl romance novels before she became better known for her mystery novels.

¹²³ Brooks' list was compiled by “a group of students in adolescent literature, collaborating with the University of Chicago Materials Center” (212).

with Age Mates of Both Sexes” (214), or “Desiring and Achieving Socially Responsible Behavior” (214).

Historical background of bibliotherapy

The fact that bibliotherapists may have been—during the 1950s—more interested in readers’ emotional responses than in determinations of literary quality is the result of the history of bibliotherapy and, in particular, its movement through various fields. The basic concept of bibliotherapy—that is, therapy through reading—stems from a remarkably long history, from the Greek concept of libraries as ‘medicine for the soul,’ to the Roman use of oration to improve mental health, to the application of the Koran as medical treatment in thirteenth-century Cairo. The origins of modern bibliotherapy, however, derive from the work of two men: Benjamin Rush, and John Minson Galt II. Lecturing in 1802, Rush is considered to be one of the earliest American advocates of bibliotherapy, recommending that hospitals establish libraries to provide for “the amusement and instruction of patients” (qtd. in Perryman 264). Rush’s concept of instruction was in reference to philosophical, moral, and religious education, not to medical information; this division between moral texts and medical texts would remain in place in hospital libraries well into the twentieth century.

While Rush promoted hospital libraries for physically ill patients, he also perceived the possible success in using bibliotherapy with patients declared mentally insane. Influenced by the York Retreat in England—after which at least

four American insane asylums were directly patterned (Weimerskirch 512)—Rush recommended reading for various mental ailments, including melancholy (for which he related the case of a woman who cured her melancholy by translating Telemachus); hypochondria (here Rush referred to a recommended reading of the Bible, comparing it to “an apothecary’s shop, in which is contained remedies for every disease of the body” (qtd. in Weimerskirch 513); and mania (the cure for which is not so much general reading as it is a change in subject matter “from the abstruse and difficult to lighter fare” (513).

Rush may have been the first American to suggest the use of books for therapy in hospitals (both for physically ill and mentally ill patients), but John Minson Galt II was the first American to write about the direct link between mental asylum patients and reading, thereby defining both the theory and practice of bibliotherapy (although not yet naming it). In his essay, “On Reading, Recreation and Amusements for the Insane,” published in 1853, Galt provides five reasons why reading therapy is beneficial to the insane: firstly, it “occupies the mind, to the exclusion of morbid thoughts and delusions” (qtd. in Weimerskirch 517); secondly, it passes the time or, in Galt’s words, it is “a source of comfort that beguiles many a lonely hour, in the long and monotonous track of life’s drear journey, spent away from friends of their youth in the cloistered retirement of an asylum” (qtd. in Weimerskirch 517); thirdly, it provides instruction; fourthly, it allows the officers of the hospital to demonstrate a kindly disposition toward their patients; and lastly, it keeps the patients occupied, rendering them more manageable.

Galt's coupling of moral instruction with pragmatic behavioural control became the basis of twentieth-century healthcare bibliotherapy. The term "bibliotherapy" itself stems not from either Rush or Galt, but rather from a 1916 issue of *Atlantic Monthly*, in which Samuel Crothers coined the expression, gesturing to "biblio-therapeutics" as a much misunderstood new science. Crothers' focus on the "misunderstood" nature of this new science highlighted a general division in bibliotherapy studies: between the arts and the sciences, or, more specifically, between its roots in library science and its roots in psychology.

Those roots started to merge during the First World War, when much of the force behind the development of bibliotherapy as a treatment for both physical and mental illness was provided by the American Library Association's (ALA) work with hospitalized military personnel. In 1917, the ALA's Executive Board appointed a committee to organize distribution of library materials to American soldiers, servicing more than 3,981 military points by the end of that year (Panella 55). In 1918 the hospital library portion was developed when the United States government granted the ALA permission to create libraries in base hospitals. After the armistice, the ALA gave its books to the army and navy, but continued to work with Public Health Service (PHS) hospitals for disabled soldiers. When the ALA was forced to suspend work in these hospitals during the late 1920s (due to economic troubles), there arose "so great a protest from commanding officers, patients and nurses over the threatened loss of their libraries that the Red Cross came to the rescue and financed the salaries of the librarians until the A.L.A. was able to...carry on the work" (Jones 131-32). As Arthur Young notes in *Books for*

Sammies: The American Library Association and World War I, “faith in reading as a therapeutic agent gained many converts during and after the war.

Bibliotherapy came of age during World War I, a direct consequence of the Association’s library service to hospitals” (58). It was also a direct consequence of the U.S. Veterans Administration’s new interest in researching the effects of bibliotherapy on patients diagnosed with various mental illnesses, research that lasted well into the 1940s and spawned hundreds of articles.

Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, bibliotherapy slowly spread from the field of mental health into two more areas: prisoner reform, and education. Perhaps the best example of the use of bibliotherapy in prisoner reform is from experiments in the San Quentin State Prison. In 1940, at the Congress of the American Prison Association, James A. Johnson, past warden of San Quentin from 1913 to 1925, suggested to the Committee on Institution Libraries that “the written word is so powerful an influence in all of our lives, [that] the use of the prison library should be regarded as a potent agency in the training of prisoners” (qtd. in Cummins 22). Herman Spector, the prison librarian who instituted the use of bibliotherapy in San Quentin, viewed his library as “a hospital for the mind,” and promoted literacy in the prison “to the point at which inmates were reading at an annual rate of nearly 100 books per man (i.e. two books per week), and submitting hundreds of their own manuscripts for publication every year” (Wetherbee).

The restriction and confinement inherent in the prison system emphasizes the ideological imperative implicit in bibliotherapy. In 1952, the *Wilson Library*

Journal published an article by Maurice Floch outlining the steps involved in furnishing books for prison group therapy sessions. Floch suggested that librarians should classify books by the role they could play in therapy, and pre-mark ““certain passages and sections of a book...[for] meaty and significant material”” (23), thereby ““separat[ing] the wheat from the chaff” to “save work for the inmate reader who is as a rule not very well trained to read”” (23). Significantly, as Eric Cummins points out in *The Rise and Fall of California’s Radical Prison Movement*:

No note was taken of the political implications of telling readers what was important in their reading. The librarian “provides the medicament,” the article asserted, advising prison librarians henceforth to “receive a certain amount of training in both criminology and mental hygiene, in addition to library preparation.” (23)

Floch’s medicalized language in the article, including terms such as “medicament” and “mental hygiene,” highlights the tie between the use of bibliotherapy in prisons and in mental institutions. It also, however, emphasizes the pathologization of prisoners and mental patients as aberrant (non)members of society in need of intervention—a pathologization that is echoed in the use of bibliotherapy for adolescents.

Cold War values and the pathologization of adolescence

The general use of bibliotherapy for young people started in the post-war period, and is perhaps best characterized by the definition articulated by David Russell and Caroline Shrodes in 1950, which I will repeat here:

Bibliotherapy may be defined as a process of dynamic interaction between the personality of the reader and literature—interaction which may be utilized for personality assessment, adjustment, and growth... it conveys the idea that all teachers much be aware of the effects of reading upon children and must realize that, through literature, most children can be helped to solve the developmental problems of adjustment which they face.

(335)

As listed in this definition, the three main uses of bibliotherapy—personality assessment, adjustment, and growth—suggest an incompleteness or disturbance in the personality of the teenaged reader. While I would argue that the overall application of bibliotherapy to teenagers during the post-war period was the result of well-meaning intentions, it also demonstrates the stigma that underscored the concept of adolescence during the first half of the twentieth century: the abnormality—and even deviance—of the adolescent stage. Such notions of abnormality are, of course, highly problematic when applied to individual teenagers. Still, as Nikolas Rose points out, the individual young person was not a

focus of study until well into the 1960s. Instead, what emerged from psychological research activities during and following the Second World War was the concept of the *group* as a basis for study, treatment, and regulation.

One may thus observe how the replacement of an analysis of the individual by an analysis of the group paved the way for a medical model of adolescence in which biological elements and time-specific ideas of maturation were emphasized, thereby standardizing adolescent development. As Tina Besley notes,

In establishing norms of desirable childhood and adolescent development and behavior, psychology devised new means of describing and understanding the nature of childhood, thereby differentiating between normality and pathology. If a child does not attain these norms, parents or educators may become anxious and seek professional guidance to manage this perceived discrepancy. (103)

Seeking professional guidance to manage any “discrepancies” furthered the notion of the adolescent in need of intervention; a deviant who must be systematically examined, recorded, and “fixed.” Returning briefly to the dominant definition of bibliotherapy, as articulated by Russell and Shrodes in 1950, the idea that bibliotherapy may be used for “personality assessment, adjustment, and growth” (335) and that “through literature, most children can be helped to solve the developmental problems of adjustment which they face” (335) suggests the role of developmental psychology—and likely R.J. Havighurst’s developmental tasks in particular. The underlying concept that the teenager must first be

assessed, however, then adjusted or altered before he or she can assume the role of a “normal” (that is, *adult*) human is the result of a slightly older medicalization of adolescence, one that was first articulated by G. Stanley Hall in 1905.

Hall is widely credited as the “discoverer” of adolescence. His two-volume work, *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education* viewed adolescence as a distinct, universal stage in which adolescents are controlled by their biological impulses, eventually resulting in emotional “storm and stress.” As Peter Stoneley notes, Hall’s adolescent “is intensely self-conscious, and tries out a variety of social possibilities in the assumption of different roles, poses, affectations, and mannerisms: adolescence is a ‘dramatic’ period” (6).

The mutability of personality and behaviour suggested by Hall’s influential “storm and stress” theory cast the adolescent period, as David Bakan proposes, in a psychopathological light, thereby supporting the legal abridgment of adolescents’ rights. Hall’s theories granted credence to the idea that adolescents were not fully in control, and therefore not entirely responsible for their behaviour. Like patients in mental institutions, adolescents’ rights were in the hands of others—usually their parents. When the American juvenile justice system was established (the first court appeared in Chicago in 1899; by 1945 all states possessed juvenile courts), the rights that had been held by parents were transferred to the courts. As David Proefrock notes:

many rights constitutionally guaranteed to citizens were denied to juveniles. A youth could be brought into the

system without having violated any laws...due process was not obligatory, and it was not necessary to establish guilt beyond doubt in juvenile court. (853)

Eventually the American Supreme Court's *In re Gault* decision of 1967 established due process for potential juvenile offenders as protected by the Fourteenth Amendment, and Hall's "storm and stress" theory was replaced by Erik Erikson's concept of life stage crises and role confusion as outlined in his 1950 publication of *Childhood and Society*. Still, the pathologization of adolescence in both the psychological and legal realms of the early twentieth century were already deeply entrenched in American society.

By the point at which adolescent girl romance novels were being used as the texts of bibliotherapy, however, the pathologization of adolescence was being further strengthened by the Cold War fear of Communism. Since adolescents' behaviour and rights were supposedly controlled by their parents, any deviation from the norm on the part of teenagers—whatever the "norm" might be—suggested that the cause of this digression lay with the parents and, moreover, that the underlying origin of adolescent "deviance" was the Un-American-ness of the parents.

While the leap from adolescent deviance to parental Un-American-ness may sound far-fetched, Julia Mickenberg makes an interesting case for it in *Learning from the Left: Children's Literature, the Cold War, and Radical Politics in the United States*. Mickenberg notes that during the Cold War period the family was often perceived as a microcosm of America, in which "proper childrearing

was the basis for good citizenship, the first and last line of national defense” (132-33) against the threat of Communism. She notes that the primary evidence against Ethel Rosenberg was her “supposed lack of maternal instinct, or her willingness to make her sons orphans for the Communist cause” (133). Likewise, the 1947 editorial in *Life* magazine declaring that “J. Edgar Hoover’s No. 1 job is protecting our atomic secrets; No. 2 is curbing juvenile crime” (qtd. in Mickenberg 133) similarly made explicit the links between a seeming lack of parental control and Un-American-ness:

As the Rosenberg example and Hoover’s obsession with juvenile delinquency suggest, at some level both national security and juvenile crime could be linked to bad parenting or, more broadly, poorly socialized children. Juvenile misbehavior suggested both a lack of parental control as well as a more general softening in the nation’s moral fiber, which had made possible Communist “infiltration” into all levels of American society and culture. (133).

Just as early library services for children were intended to help create proper citizens, so too bibliotherapy—particularly that aspect that was linked to the notion of developmental tasks—was not only intended to help children face their developmental problems, but possibly also to make them into good Communist-hating American adults.

Background to bibliotherapy: progressive education

The ideology behind the use of bibliotherapy in schools may be traced backwards through the history of education in America. The rapidly increasing secondary school populations in the early years of the twentieth century created new dilemmas for educators, particularly those teaching English courses. Unlike the small student population of the past, many of the current high school students had no intention of entering college. While much of the previous English curriculum had been aimed at helping students to pass college entrance examinations,¹²⁴ the Hosis Report of 1917, commissioned by the National Joint Committee on the Reorganization of English in the Secondary Schools,¹²⁵ sought to change the focus of the high school English curriculum to reflect, as Stephen Dunning puts it, “the high school . . . is rapidly becoming a common school” (21). As the Hosis Report states

That is what it was first planned to be, and that is what the people seem now determined to make it. From that point of view the folly of insisting that the high-school course in English shall be a college-preparatory course is evident. (qtd. in Dunning 21)

Part of the mandate behind accentuating the high school as the “people’s college” was that “since most graduates go ‘into life,’ rather than to college, the

¹²⁴ The previous curriculum was heavily influenced by the National Conference on Uniform Entrance Requirements in English as well as the College Entrance Examination Board.

¹²⁵ The Committee operated under the auspices of the National Council of Teachers of English (NCTE)

English course should be organized around basic personal and social needs—the school ‘will best prepare for either “life” or college by making its own life real and complete’ (Dunning 22). Although the majority of the Hosis Report focused on developing the reading, writing, and speaking skills of the individual, the spotlight on “personal and social needs” points toward an educational movement that was slowly gaining momentum in the United States during the first half of the twentieth century: the progressive education movement.

The progressive education movement was a complex, many-sided movement that spanned several decades, and thus encapsulating it in a single definition is almost impossible. William J. Reese suggests that it “came to mean the attempt to use the schools as a vehicle of social reform and individual improvement” (416), but also notes that “like scholars who study the ‘Enlightenment’ or ‘Romanticism’, historians of progressivism encounter a mansion with many rooms, often awkwardly inhabited by individuals with diverse philosophical, political, and ideological perspectives” (416). Still, in its narrowest form, progressive education refers to an educational reform movement associated with American political progressivism. As Reese suggests, its reform was primarily social; as James M. Wallace states:

progressive education was an effort by educators to respond to the growth of cities, industrialization, and the massive immigration coming into the country. Philosophers like [John] Dewey proposed and experimented with schooling that began with the needs and interests of children, engaged

them in discovery activities, and prepared them to participate in social change. (319)

Founded in 1919 by Stanwood Cobb, the Progressive Education Association (PEA)¹²⁶—the mouthpiece of the movement—grew to become a dominant voice in educational reform, culminating in a 1938 *Time* cover story contending that “No U.S. school has completely escaped its influence” (qtd. in Cremin 324). The PEA’s influence was due in large part to its research studies. During its moment of dominance during the 1930s, the PEA initiated three major commissions on American education: the famous Commission on the Relation of School and College,¹²⁷ which concluded that students from progressive schools succeeded as well in college as students from other secondary schools; the Commission on the Secondary School Curriculum,¹²⁸ which produced publications suggesting ways in which curricula could address both the needs of students and the ideals of democracy; and the Commission on Human Relations,¹²⁹ which produced a six-volume report addressing teaching material that could help attend the psychological needs of students (Kridel 322).

¹²⁶ The PEA underwent several name changes during its lifetime. Its original 1919 name, the Association for the Advancement of Progressive Education, lasted until 1931, when the association adopted the PEA title. In 1947 the association became known as the American Education Fellowship (AEF), but reverted to its PEA title in 1953, retaining it until the dissolution of the association in 1955.

¹²⁷ The Commission was also known as the Thirty-School Study or the Eight-Year Study. The Commission ran from 1930-1942, and was chaired by Wilford Aikin.

¹²⁸ ran from 1933-1940; chaired by V.T. Thayer.

¹²⁹ ran from 1935-1942; chaired by Alice V. Keliher.

Although there is no direct link between the PEA and bibliotherapy, the three PEA commissions provide the ideological background from which the use of bibliotherapy in education was derived. They also became a place of meeting for two key theorists whose work would eventually become the wellspring of educational bibliotherapy: literary critic Louise Rosenblatt, and developmental psychologist Robert J. Havighurst.

Rosenblatt was a Sorbonne-educated American literary critic who was hired in 1929 to teach at Barnard College, and who was eventually introduced to the PEA by her old Barnard roommate, Margaret Mead. In 1935 Rosenblatt joined the PEA's Commission on Human Relations. The work she did for that commission ultimately led to the publication of her book, *Literature as Exploration*.¹³⁰ As well as acting as Rosenblatt's challenge to the dominance of New Criticism in literary criticism, *Literature as Exploration* was an early example of transactional-based reader response theory in that it emphasized the reader's experience with the text rather than the transmission of knowledge. Building on John Dewey's ideas concerning experience, Rosenblatt suggested that, by consuming literature, readers "acquire not so much additional information as additional *experience*" (qtd. in Connell 30). This focus on the acquisition of intellectual and emotional experience through reading, sanctioned by the Progressive Education Association, provided the first framework for the use of bibliotherapy in the classroom.

¹³⁰ *Literature as Exploration* was first published in 1938 under the auspices of the PEA, but remains in print—and used—today.

Another precursor to bibliotherapy in education was R.J. Havighurst's establishment of developmental tasks. Havighurst defines a developmental task as

a task which arises at or about a certain period in the life of an individual, successful achievement of which leads to his happiness and to success with later tasks, while failure leads to unhappiness in the individual, disapproval by the society, and difficulty with later tasks. (6)¹³¹

Havighurst's ten adolescent tasks included, among others, "achieving new and more mature relations with age-mates of both sexes" (33), "achieving a masculine or feminine social role" (37), "achieving emotional independence of parents and other adults" (42), "achieving assurance of economic independence" (45) and "preparing for marriage and family life" (52).

Although Havighurst's and Rosenblatt's individual focuses (on developmental psychology; on literary theory) may seem diverse, the synthesis of their ideas became the basis for the use of bibliotherapy in education. This fusion was first made obvious by Gladys Johnson, a librarian for the Iowa State Traveling Library. In 1943 Johnson wrote about the problem of knowing which books to provide to a teenage reader to help him (or her) to achieve the developmental tasks. Johnson then defined the five tasks¹³² and listed titles that might be useful for each one. As Susan Jackson notes, "after this, the idea of

¹³¹ Havighurst included his first list of tasks in his 1941 publication, *Adjusting Reading Programs to Individuals*, but developed the concept more clearly in *Developmental Tasks and Education* (1948) and *Human Development and Education* (1953).

¹³² Gladys Johnson wrote her article in 1943, based on Havighurst's first 1941 publication. Havighurst did not expand his list of tasks until he published *Developmental Tasks and Education* in 1948.

using reading to meet the personal developmental needs of adolescence was firmly entrenched” (Jackson 269).

While Johnson may have made the obvious connection, a more unnoticed union lay in the funding for Progressive Education Association commissions. Funding for the first commission was made available through the interest of two members of the commission, William S. Learned of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, and Ben D. Wood, director of the Columbia University Bureau of Collegiate Educational Research. Wood and Learned helped to secure funding from the Carnegie Corporation because they hoped the PEA commission might be connected to research they were conducting on predicting which Pennsylvania high school students would likely excel in college. As Ellen Condliffe Lagemann notes,

for that study, Learned and Wood were in the process of developing a variety of tests, including intelligence, achievement, and “comprehensive” tests that were intended to measure a student’s “general culture” rather than his or her grasp of a specific field. Learned and Wood hoped that Eight-Year Study schools would also use these tests to satisfy the conditions necessary for their students’ college admission. (140)

Learned and Wood’s motives repulsed many of the other members of the commission, leading to a showdown in 1934 between the liberal and conservative members of the commission. A new director of evaluation was hired when the

liberal faction threatened to leave if Learned and Wood's tests were used. William S. Learned then resigned, subsequently discontinuing all Carnegie Corporation funding for the project. Funding for the commission was rescued by a Rockefeller philanthropy called the General Education Board (GEB) whose new assistant director (with a special responsibility for education) was none other than Robert J. Havighurst (Lagemann 140-41). The GEB, with Havighurst at its helm,¹³³ also became the major source of funding for the PEA's other two commissions, including Rosenblatt's Commission on Human Relations.

From the individual to the collective: liberal progressives, conservative progressives, and life-adjustment training

If bibliotherapy was derived from the liberal side of the PEA, its ultimate ability to be implemented during the Cold War era may have been due to its embedded conservative values. The change in the PEA's funding agencies during the 1930s highlights the fact that "Progressive Educationalists" were, themselves, split into two factions: conservative progressives and liberal progressives. David P. Setran defines the difference between the groups:

Conservative progressives, according to [Robert Church and Michael Sedlak], were characterized by a desire for social efficiency, predictability, managed expertise, and a willingness to impose values on the general public. Liberal

¹³³ Havighurst was the Assistant Director of the Rockefeller Foundation, General Education Board from 1934—1937, then Director from 1937—1941.

progressives, on the other hand, prized participatory democracy, joint deliberation, and a brand of social justice that would ensure the maintenance of these values. (437)

Setran traces the neglected history of moral training and character education during the reign of progressive education, noting that “standard historical accounts emphasizing the importance of corporate society, the efficiency fetish, and progressive methodology in this period have largely neglected the substantial movement for such training in these years” (436). Instead, Setran contends that the moral training of the pre-war years became a sweeping campaign for character education during the post- World War I era. The Committee on Character Education¹³⁴ was established during this time, and was designed to research into the new field of character education and to make suggestions regarding its direction. This change from moral training to character education emphasized a fundamental shift in educational focus, demonstrated in a move from the individual to the collective:

While nineteenth-century moral educators thought of the good society as a collection of moral individuals, each devoted to personal moral conviction, mainstream character educators by the 1920s had begun to define the moral person as someone who could fit smoothly into group efforts, conforming to public opinion and fulfilling efficiently the obligations of his/her role. (451)

¹³⁴ The committee was established by the National Education Association (NEA), and was chaired by Milton Bennion, Dean of the School of Education at the University of Utah.

The shift in funding agencies for the three PEA Commissions seems to suggest that, by the mid-1930s, the liberal progressives were dominant, and the conservative progressive faction of the PEA was being silenced. Yet the conservative progressive focus on character education—as well as its emphasis on conformity to the group—seems to appear again in R.J. Havighurst’s establishment of developmental tasks.

In reviewing Havighurst’s early work in the field of developmental psychology, it is interesting to note the extent to which he places emphasis on personal development as a means to social acceptance. He equates the development of the individual with social success quite clearly in his 1953 book, *Human Development and Education*: “Living in a modern society such as that of the U.S.A. is a long series of tasks to learn, where learning well brings satisfaction and reward, while learning poorly brings unhappiness and social disapproval” (2). Havighurst’s focus on the social can be viewed, of course, as simply a product of his time. One may remember Nikolas Rose’s suggestion that the individual young person was not a focus of study until well into the 1960s, and that what emerged from psychological research activities during and following the Second World War was the concept of the *group* as a basis for study, treatment, and regulation. Regardless of psychological methodology, however, Havighurst’s tasks seem to echo the character education forwarded by conservative progressives, who, in turn, contended that an educated, developed person was “someone who could fit smoothly into group efforts, conforming to public opinion and fulfilling efficiently the obligations of his/her role” (Setran 435). Educational bibliotherapy,

then, although seemingly a product of liberal progressive education, may also have had roots in conservative progressive education.

Furthermore, it is bibliotherapy's roots in both the liberal and the conservative sides of progressive education that may have allowed it to survive and flourish when the progressive education movement itself collapsed.

While the disintegration of the movement stemmed from attacks by both liberal supporters of the movement and conservative opponents against it, the culmination point of the liberal faction's attacks was a new educational reform called "life-adjustment training." In 1944 the Vocational Education Division of the United States Office of Education instituted a study on vocational education. Part of this study included a special conference held in 1945, in which Dr. Charles Prosser¹³⁵ introduced a resolution calling for additional regional conferences in which to brainstorm solutions to the large number of students who were not preparing to enter either skilled occupations or college. Prosser stated:

We do not believe that the remaining 60 percent of our youth of secondary school age will receive the life adjustment training they need and to which they are entitled as American citizens—unless and until the administrators of public education with the assistance of the vocational education leaders formulate a similar program for this group. (qtd. in Cremin 334)

¹³⁵ Prosser was a lobbyist for the National Society for the Promotion of Industrial Education.

Following a series of Prosser's proposed regional conferences, a national conference,¹³⁶ again sponsored by the Vocational Education Division, recommended the creation of a Commission on Life Adjustment Education for Youth, as well as the inauguration of a program designed to promote life-adjustment education at both state and local levels. The commission defined its mandate as "designed to equip all American youth to live democratically with satisfaction to themselves and profit to society as home members, workers, and citizens" (qtd. in Cremin 336). Its aims mirrored those of what would become educational bibliotherapy:

life-adjustment was concerned with "physical, mental, and emotional health," and with "the present problems of youth as well as their preparation for future living"; it recognized "the educational value of responsible work experience in the life of the community" as well as "the importance of personal satisfactions and achievements for each individual within the limits of his abilities." (Cremin 336)

Indeed, life-adjustment training may have been, along with Rosenblatt's ideas of reading experience and Havighurst's developmental tasks, another precursor to educational bibliotherapy. Yet what eventually spelled the demise of life-adjustment—and subsequently the downfall of progressive education—was the commission's declaration that life-adjustment education

¹³⁶ The national conference was held in May of 1946.

“emphasizes active and creative achievements as well as an adjustment to existing conditions; it places a high premium upon learning to make wise choices, since the very concept of American democracy demands the appropriate revising of aims and the means of attaining them.” (qtd. in Cremin 336)

As Douglas T. Miller and Marion Nowak state it, “the emphasis was on adjusting to existing conditions. In other words, the emphasis was on conformity” (257). By the 1950s, educational critics on both sides vehemently attacked life-adjustment training on the basis of its supposed conformity. Two Commissions on Life Adjustment Education for Youth existed between 1948 and 1954,¹³⁷ but by 1954 no new funds were provided for further commissions. The withdrawal of funds silently echoed the assault against life-adjustment in books and magazines of the 1950s. Psychologist Robert Lindner titled his 1956 book *Must You Conform?*, writing “You must adjust.... This is the legend imprinted in every schoolbook, the invisible message on every blackboard. Our schools have become vast factories for the manufacture of robots” (qtd. in Miller and Nowak 257). In his September 21, 1957 *Saturday Evening Post* article titled “Are the Public Schools Doing Their Job? No,” John Keats fervently states “What I find... is that our schools pamper the jackasses, stuff the geniuses under the rug, and meanwhile

¹³⁷ The first commission ran from 1948 to 1951, sponsoring conferences, cooperating with organizations such as the National Association of Secondary School Principals and the National Catholic Education Association, and sponsoring publications. The second commission ran from 1951-1954, enlarging itself with representatives from the National School Boards Association, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, and the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education. Its report ended with a section detailing “the unfinished business of providing education for all American youth” (qtd. in Cremin 338).

envelop everyone in that fatuous diaperism they call life adjustment” (qtd. in Miller and Nowak 257).

The demise of the progressive education movement and the PEA cannot be attributed solely to life-adjustment training. The PEA possessed, at its core, an inability to define its philosophies or mandates, possibly based on the ambiguity of progressive education itself. As Maurice Berube suggests, “progressive education had an element of vagueness that was to vex the organization” (21). That ambiguity meant that, when a specific plan was created within the overall movement—like life-adjustment training—that plan had the ability to overshadow all other aspects of the movement. Thus progressive education had, by the 1950s, become so ideologically intertwined with life-adjustment that it seemed impossible to extricate one from the other. It was attacked and mocked from a wide variety of sources, from educational groups such as the National Council for American Education and the American Education Association to patriotic organizations including the Sons of the American Revolution and the American Legion. Popular media also joined in ridiculing progressive education with the release of both the Broadway play and film versions of *Auntie Mame*, portraying a “caricature of a Freud-oriented Greenwich Village private school of the 1920s” (Cremin vii). Ultimately, it is unsurprising that PEA membership dropped dramatically from its peak of 10 440 members in 1938 (Berube 20) to an

estimated 600 by the mid-1950s (Kridel 322). The PEA folded in 1955, and its journal, *Progressive Education*, ended two years later.¹³⁸

Progressive education and the Red Menace

Although the attacks on progressive education were often predicated on the seeming conformity of life-adjustment training, by the later 1950s a deeper fear had surfaced: progressive education was equated with communism. In 1958 Colonel Victor J. Fox,¹³⁹ author of *The Pentagon Case*, asserted that progressive education “is education for socialism, and socialism is only a euphemism for communism” (101). Fox echoed the authors of two particularly irate books published two years earlier: Kitty Jones and Robert Olivier’s *Progressive Education is REDucation*, and Mary Allen’s *Education or Indoctrination*. Jones and Olivier asserted that “progressive educators were at work ‘making little socialists’ and criticized the plan of the ‘frontier thinkers’ ‘to indoctrinate this and future generations with their view’” (qtd. in Evans 100). Allen charged that ““there is overwhelming evidence to indicate that there is a well-organized, well-financed plan to impose a new social order on the people of America whether they

¹³⁸ *Progressive Education* refused to die without a fight, dedicating its October 1951 and January 1952 issues to analyzing the methods and reasoning behind attacks on progressive education. The editor of *Progressive Education*, Archibald Anderson, stated in the January 1952 issue that the attackers were a minority, but

a minority that is skilled in tactics which distort the evidence, and which obscure the real issues and prevent their being considered in a calm, objective... way. This is the technique of ‘confuse and control.’ It constitutes a serious threat to American education. (67)

¹³⁹ “Victor J. Fox” was a pseudonym.

like it or not”” (qtd. in Evans 100). Whether critics were fearful of socialism or communism (or the amalgamation of both), schools generally—and progressive education in particular—became the site of an ideological war between the left and the right. As Miller and Nowak suggest,

For Americans agitated by the reforms of the New Deal, perturbed by World War II’s lack of finality, alarmed by the Red menace, the school issue came to seem a tangible way of actively setting the world right. Progressive education was to be unveiled and destroyed. Then children would be taught not only the horrors of communism but of welfarism too. America would be saved, or so many believed. (252)

Of course, not all educators—or educational critics—disliked progressive education solely for its supposed tie to communism. Many, like University of Illinois historian Arthur Bestor,¹⁴⁰ simply believed that progressive education was a “soft” form of pedagogical philosophy.¹⁴¹ In his 1953 book, *Educational Wastelands*, Bestor renamed progressive education “regressive education” (44), and suggested that educational content should be returned from pedagogues to disciplinary specialists:

¹⁴⁰ Bestor was a professor of History at the University of Illinois between 1947 and 1962, but had ties to pedagogical theory from attending the Lincoln School at Teachers College, Columbia, during the 1920s.

¹⁴¹ Similar books included Bernard Iddings Bell’s *Crisis in Education* (1949), Mortimer Smith’s *And Madly Teach* (1949), Albert Lynd’s *Quackery in the Public Schools* (1953), Paul Woodring’s *Let’s Talk Sense about Our Schools* (1953), and Robert Hutchins’s *The Conflict in Education* (1954).

By accepting the unfounded pretensions of so-called professors of education, we have permitted the content of public school instruction to be determined by a narrow group of specialists in pedagogy, well-intentioned men and women, no doubt, but utterly devoid of the qualifications necessary for the task they have undertaken. (43)

While the educational establishment considered Bestor to be “a major nuisance” (Reese 223), the timing of *Educational Wastelands*, as well as his next book, *The Restoration of Learning* (1956), promoted a dramatic shift in both pedagogy and those in charge of it. These changes were then emphasized in the media and supported by various groups and prominent individuals outside of education. Public figures such as Sloan Wilson, author of *The Man in the Gray Flannel Suit*, suggested that progressive education had created students who were: “smothered with anxious concern, softened with lack of exercise, seduced with luxuries They are overfed and underworked. They have too much leisure and too little discipline” (36). The blame for these “smothered” students was placed on the shoulders of people who were trained in pedagogy rather than in the traditional disciplines, leading Francis Keppel, dean of the Harvard Graduate School of Education,¹⁴² to echo Bestor in claiming that “education is too important to be left solely to the educators” (qtd. in Lagemann 161).

¹⁴² Keppel was dean from 1948 to 1962, then U.S. Commissioner of Education until 1966.

The Soviet launch of Sputnik in 1957 provided the perfect opportunity to confirm the fears of the opponents of progressive education. Progressive Education was not only linked to possible communism, but it was also preventing American children from learning the “basics” they needed to help their country win the Space Race. In 1958 the Eisenhower administration officially tolled the death knell for progressive education with the passing of the National Defense Education Act (NDEA).¹⁴³ The Act provided funding to academic research in areas said to be vital to national security (particularly math, sciences, and foreign languages), with the intended goal of increasing enrollment in the math and sciences (Reese 226). This funding furthered the prestige of discipline-based academics by returning curricular focus to an early twentieth-century concentration on the traditional liberal arts disciplines.

The Act also served to promote education as the “first line of defense” against communist infiltration of America. Vice President Richard Nixon stated that America’s “most fundamental challenge lies in the field of education. Our military and economic strength can be no greater than our education system” (qtd. in Reese 226), while Admiral Hyman Rickover, venerated for his involvement in the development of nuclear submarines, used his 1959 collection of speeches, *Education and Freedom*, to remind Americans: “let us never forget that there can be no second place in a contest with Russia and that there will be no second chance if we lose” (qtd. in Miller and Novak 261). Rickover also included chapter

¹⁴³ The ramifications of the National Defense Education Act on the demise of the female junior novel network will be discussed in the conclusion section of this dissertation.

titles such as “Education Is Our First Line of Defense—Make It Strong” (qtd. in Miller and Novak 261).

Cold War fears and the survival of bibliotherapy

Although Cold War fears of communism encouraged Americans to make education “strong” by turning away from progressive education, bibliotherapy—whose roots and early development lay in progressive education—managed to survive and even flourish during the 1950s and 1960s. Considering educational bibliotherapy’s ties to the PEA and its ideological similarities with life-adjustment training, its continued existence during the early Cold War period is surprising. Unpredictably, however, it may have been the accusations forwarded by opponents of progressive education that allowed bibliotherapy to develop. In June of 1952 the *American Legion Magazine* featured an article titled, “Your Child Is Their Target,” accusing progressive education of “failing to teach the 3 R’s, using communist-influenced textbooks, and employing subversive teachers” (Miller and Nowak 251). While the 1950s movement from progressive education to a more traditional liberal arts curriculum seemingly answered the article’s accusation of “failing to teach the 3 R’s,” the fears of communist-influenced textbooks and subversive teachers remained. These fears allowed bibliotherapy to expand by creating a diversion, effectively hiding bibliotherapy from its possible antagonists.

The first wave of concern regarding communist-influenced textbooks surfaced during the 1930s and early 1940s with the publication of Harold Rugg’s

social studies textbooks. Rugg, a progressive educationalist, was charged by the Advertising Federation of America for including “anti-advertising propaganda” in his textbooks, and by the New York State Economic Council for “making a subtle sugar-coated effort to convert youth to Communism” (Evans 63).¹⁴⁴ In December 1940, the Rugg controversy spread when the National Association of Manufacturers (NAM) announced that it would survey eight hundred textbooks for signs of subversive teaching. On February 22, 1941, the *New York Times* ran a front-page headline stating “UN-AMERICAN TONE SEEN IN TEXTBOOKS ON SOCIAL SCIENCES: Survey of 600 Used in Schools, Finds a Distorted Emphasis on Defects of Democracy, ONLY A FEW CALLED RED” (qtd. in Evans 79). By 1948 the House Committee on Un-American Activities distributed a booklet titled *100 Things You Should Know about Communism and Education*, warning readers that “‘by slipping propaganda into classroom work and textbooks’... Communists (often ‘frustrated females,’ according to the report) threaten children’s ‘future as... independent American citizens’” (Mickenberg 134). While entire courses of study were being deemed subversive in California, the state of Texas passed a law in 1953 requiring that, before a textbook could be used in a Texas state school, the author of that textbook had to take an oath that he or she was not a member—and had not been for the past five years—of any group included on the attorney general’s list of subversive organizations. As Julia Mickenberg notes, “because of the sheer size of the California and Texas textbook

¹⁴⁴ Rugg was charged specifically by Alfred T. Falk, leader of the Advertising Federation of America, and Marwin K. Hart, president of the New York State Economic Council. He was attacked several more times in the popular press over the next fifteen years, including in articles in the *American Legion Magazine* and *Time*.

markets, such actions virtually assured that almost no schools in the country would purchase textbooks authored by Communists” (135).

Bibliotherapy survived this purge of progressive-education-influenced textbooks because the books of female educational bibliotherapy—the female junior novels—were trade fiction books, not textbooks. Texts used for bibliotherapy were the same books used in extensive or “free reading.” Whereas the traditional approach to literature in school was based on “intensive reading,” in which the entire class read and studied the same teacher-selected book, “extensive reading” used books chosen and subsequently read by individual students.¹⁴⁵ As individually-chosen texts, these trade books were much more difficult to scrutinize than textbooks because only one or two students per class might read them. Furthermore, trade books were purchased in very small quantities, so that a library would only carry one or two copies of an individual title. Ultimately, “since the number of different trade children’s books published

¹⁴⁵ Interest in extensive reading in the classroom stemmed from progressive educational reforms of the early 1930s, and was furthered through the articles and classes of Dora V. Smith, dubbed “The First Lady of the United States in the Teaching of English” by a fellow president of the National Council of Teachers of English (Pavonetti 89) and credited by Arthur Applebee as the first educator to seriously focus on the reading interests of adolescents. In 1932 Smith analyzed fifty-six English curricula across the United States and noted that extensive reading was gaining academic respectability. By 1939 Lou LaBrant reported that extensive reading was “recognized in many schools as an activity which is basic rather than substitute or supplementary” (qtd. in Jackson 275).

It should be noted, however, that extensive reading does not imply complete freedom in book selection. As Vera N. Thomas points out in her 1938 article, “Extensive Reading in Practice”:

many people believe that any wide reading program means that pupils are allowed to read anything their hearts desire, from *Gunlock Ranch* to *The Winning of Barbara Worth*. Our interpretation of extensive reading is pupil choice from a long list of carefully selected books of a wide range of difficulty and type. (574)

in any given year often reached the thousands, it was virtually impossible for cultural watchdogs to investigate each one” (Mickenberg 16).

The trade status of female junior novels may have aided bibliotherapy’s survival in terms of the texts used for bibliotherapeutic purposes, but what might have enabled bibliotherapy to flourish during the Cold War period was the intense concentration on the possible subversion of teachers. While fears of communist infiltration permeated America’s education system, America’s children’s and young adult librarians—often the distributors of bibliotherapeutic texts—were relatively neglected by watchdog groups. Thus bibliotherapy during the 1950s and 1960s shifted from the field of education to the field of librarianship, and it was this shift that allowed it—and those books used for bibliotherapeutic purposes—to survive.

Although it reached its paranoid peak in the Cold War period, the concept of subversive teachers was not new in the 1950s. Teachers had already played a part in the First Red Scare, when, during the 1930s, they collectively recognized their underpaid status and enlisted in unions. Many of the union activists believed their duty lay beyond improving teachers’ economic statuses, to the point that in 1935 the director of the New York Teachers Union declared:

We must of necessity take a stand on current social problems, especially educational problems, which are fundamentally social in origin. In this respect, we are not different from other unions, for the labor movement is a

mass movement that involves the whole social order. (qtd. in Mickenberg 93)

The seeming predisposition of the teachers' unions toward social change, coupled with internal strife and a minority of openly communist members,¹⁴⁶ exposed individual teachers to accusations of communist sympathies. The National Americanism Commission¹⁴⁷ of the American Legion stated that teachers "are making regular breeding grounds out of the classrooms for their un-American teachings... under the guise of so-called 'new thought, liberalism, and academic freedom'" (Mickenberg 95-96). The American Legion was joined by the Daughters of the American Revolution, the Veterans of Foreign Wars, and Hearst Press in creating an alliance that pressured states to require teachers to take

¹⁴⁶ The Teachers Union of the City of New York, Local 5, was an example of a union splintered by Communist and Communist-sympathizing members. By 1929, two factions were dominant in opposing the majority organization: the "Rank and File" faction, representing the Communist Party of America, and the "Progressive" faction, representing a group within the Communist movement. By 1933, the Teachers Union petitioned the American Federation of Teachers (AFT) to revoke its charter so that "a new local might be formed without the Communist element." In 1935, at its national convention, the AFT voted against the Teachers Union's request, causing eight hundred members to leave the Teachers Union and join the newly-formed Teachers Guild. In 1938 the Teachers Union was suspended from membership in the Greater New York Central Trades and Labor Council and expelled from the Joint Committee of Teachers Organizations of New York City. The Teachers Union's request for the revocation of its charter came before the American Federation of Teachers again in 1941, and this time the AFT agreed to the revocation. For more information, see: Teachers Union of the City of New York. *Records, 1921-1942*. 5445. Kheel Center for Labor-Management Documentation and Archives, Martin P. Catherwood Library, Cornell University.

¹⁴⁷ The National Americanism Commission was established in 1919, during the American Legion's first convention. The Legion recommended that the Commission's duty "shall be the endeavor to realize in the United States the basic ideal of this Legion of 100 percent Americanism through the planning, establishment, and conduct of a continuous, constructive educational system" (qtd. in Spring 40). Its goals included combating anti-American tendencies, educating immigrants and prospective citizens in the "principles of Americanism" (40), inculcating U.S. citizens in "the ideals of Americanism" (40), spreading "throughout the people of the nation the information as to the real nature and principles of American government" (40), and "foster[ing] the teaching of Americanism in schools" (40). As Joel H. Spring notes, "the Commission defined Americanism as patriotism and as obedience to law and the Constitution" (40-41).

loyalty oaths, to the point that by 1936 twenty-two states passed such legislation and bills had been introduced in eleven more.

The fear of subversive teachers increased during the war and post-war periods. At its 1950 general meeting, the National Education Association barred membership to Communists. In New York in 1949, the Feinberg Law required teachers to swear that they were not members of any of the organizations deemed subversive by the Board of Regents. In 1952 teachers contested the law as a violation of the rights to free speech and assembly. The Supreme Court, however, upheld the law,¹⁴⁸ stating that ““school authorities have the right and duty to screen... teachers since a ‘teacher works in a sensitive area’” (Linfield 108). Similarly, although the Supreme Court ruled in 1956 that it was unconstitutional to fire employees who invoked their Fifth Amendment rights, in 1958 that same Court upheld the 1953 dismissal of a Philadelphia teacher who had been charged with communist affiliation, had pleaded the Fifth Amendment, and had subsequently had been fired. The Supreme Court upheld the dismissal because the teacher had not been fired for pleading the Fifth, but rather for “incompetency” in refusing to answer his supervisor’s questions (Linfield 109). Looking back, it seems unsurprising that America suffered from severe teacher shortages from the beginning of the first Red Scare through the McCarthy era.

The Red-hunters’ focus on “subversive” teachers highlights the degree to which what a teacher *believed* (in terms of private politics) and what a teacher *did* (particularly methods and content of teaching) were conflated. This conflation

¹⁴⁸ Adler v. Board of Education

was not unique to teachers; rather, it was the foundation for President Truman's infamous Executive Order 9835, which required all federal employees to take mandatory loyalty oaths.¹⁴⁹ It is important to recognize this conflation of person and profession, however, because the area in which bibliotherapy thrived—children's and young adult's librarianship—is, significantly, also one of the few areas in which this person/profession conflation failed to take significant hold.

Educational bibliotherapy and librarianship

During the late 1940s, the U.S. Chamber of Commerce became involved in one of the earliest postwar anti-Communist campaigns, publishing and distributing anti-Communist pamphlets to hundreds of thousands of Americans.¹⁵⁰ One widely-distributed pamphlet, titled *A Program for Community Anti-Communist Action*, specifically targeted the “Reds” in community institutions, including libraries. Regarding librarians, this pamphlet suggested that “librarians are likewise not beyond public scrutiny...we should be concerned when...Pro-Communist studies are promoted in library literature as objective or recommended studies” (26-27). In comparison to many of the Red-hunting accusations against teachers, however, *A Program for Community Anti-Communist Action* includes a subtle—yet crucial—nuance within its argument

¹⁴⁹ Executive Order 9835 was signed on March 21, 1947. The oaths themselves often included a denial of membership in the Communist Party, or in any parties considered to be Communist “front organizations” by the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).

¹⁵⁰ The forty-page pamphlet titled *Communist Infiltration in the United States: Its Nature and How to Combat It*, for example, was first published in 1946 in a print run of 400 000 (Jenkins “International” 118).

against librarians. While other Chamber of Commerce pamphlets targeted both individual teachers and the entire education system, the argument in this pamphlet is not against librarians per se, but against library literature, and explicitly against the people who supply that literature: “the real danger in this field is not usually the attitudes of the librarians themselves. It is in the fact that *many of their important book review sources are infiltrated by Communists or sympathizers*” (emphasis in original, 27). The pamphlet thus separates librarians from library literature. In doing so, it positions librarians as powerless employees who blankly follow the instructions provided to them by subversive—and more powerful—outside groups, particularly reviewers. This focus on the allegedly subversive nature of reviewers, however, underscores the invisibility of the female junior novel network since, as Christine Jenkins notes, “many of the editors and most of the reviewers writing for their ‘important book review sources’ (such as *Booklist*, the *Horn Book Magazine*, and the *Library Journal*) were in fact current and former librarians” (“International” 118).

Further separation between children’s services librarians and children’s literature can be observed in the *Milwaukee Sentinel*’s attack on Meridel Le Sueur’s biography of Abraham Lincoln, titled *River Road: A Story of Abraham Lincoln*. Already under FBI investigation, Le Sueur had thus already been blacklisted, and could no longer publish adult books. Interestingly, however, her publisher, Alfred Knopf, agreed to continue publishing her children’s books (Coiner 83). Controversy regarding her children’s history books thus appeared following the publication of *River Road*, when the *Milwaukee Sentinel*’s

November 28, 1954, headline proclaimed “New Lincoln Book Has Pink-Tinged Pages” (qtd. in Mickenberg 125).

While the *Sentinel* refrained from advocating that *River Road* be publically burned, Julia Mickenberg notes that it did maintain that “‘intellectual freedom,’ a fine idea for educated, discriminating adults, should not apply in the same way to children, who are not yet schooled ‘in the manly art of intellectual self-defense’”(126). The *Sentinel*’s notion that only some people were capable of “intellectual self-defense” seems, to Mickenberg, to be gendered:

The reference to the “manly art of intellectual self-defense” suggested not only that children were ill equipped to do battle with Communist propaganda masquerading as children’s literature, but also that those female “child guardians” in the business of protecting children from evil influence in their reading ... were lacking the requisite “manly” virtues as well. Such apparent naïveté on the part of these women might explain why, prior to the Milwaukee incident, Le Sueur’s children’s books ... had received nothing but praise from reviewers. (127)

Once again, the notion was that (female) children’s librarians were not necessarily subversive themselves, but simply incompetent, or as “childish” as the children they were supposed to protect.

If one examines the power gained through the invisibility of the female junior novel network, however, then the perceived separation between librarians and reviewers—as well as the resulting reputation of librarians as ignorant naïfs—

provided children's services librarians with a small amount of protection when compared to other Red-targeted groups (including teachers). In "International Harmony: Threat or Menace? U.S. Youth Services Librarians and Cold War Censorship, 1946-1955," Christine Jenkins suggests that librarians employed three successful strategies of anti-censorship resistance: quiet resistance (deliberately ignoring anti-Communist campaigns), positive resistance (energetically promoting controversial books or authors), and active resistance (responding directly to an explicit challenge). She notes several examples of each type of resistance, and I suspect that it was the wide-spread use of the first strategy (quiet resistance), coupled with the notion that children's services librarians were not deliberately subversive, but simply naïve, that protected many librarians from the attacks faced by teachers. In one example, Jenkins relates the anecdote of a 1950s incident in which representatives from a veteran's group demanded that a librarian remove the children's picture book *Ilenka* because the protagonist was "a happy little Russian girl, and no little Russian girls could possibly be happy" (qtd. in Jenkins, "International" 121). As Jenkins summarizes,

The librarian said she would reexamine the book in light of this complaint, and the group left, apparently assuming that she would acquiesce to their demand, and the book would be permanently removed. Instead, she took the book home, read it, and thought about it. The book went back on the shelf. (121)

The attack, in this case, was never on the librarian—or at least not directly. It was on the book itself, and the inclusion of it within the library's shelves. The group's

seeming acceptance that *Ilenka* would be removed simply because they ordered the (female) librarian to do so further emphasizes the separation between children's services librarians as empty vessels, waiting to be told what to do with the books they used, and as thinking people with their own (potentially subversive) viewpoints.

I recognize the danger in generalizing that teachers were more likely to come under scrutiny because of the conflation between their beliefs and their careers, versus the separation of those same elements in the general view of children's services librarians. Still, article searches using "bibliotherapy" as a key word suggest that, while some articles continued to examine the role of bibliotherapy in education, most of the scholarship from the late 1950s onward shifted from both education and library journals to library literature only. Whether or not this shift was related to the demise of progressive education or to attacks on "subversive" educators, the general outcome seems to be that the use of bibliotherapy slowly faded from the field of education, while remaining a significant component of children's and young adult services librarianship.¹⁵¹

The latent Cold War awareness in female junior novels

As I demonstrate above, the use of bibliotherapy—whether in the classroom, or in the library—was saturated by the socio-political elements of its

¹⁵¹ Of course, one other major component may be the voluntary nature of library reading, particularly in contrast to texts mandated for specific use in the classroom. One might assume that voluntary reading would be a smaller threat.

time. I suggest, moreover, that the texts used for teen girl bibliotherapy—the female junior novels—are similarly inundated by these elements. In *American Childhood: Essays on Children's Literature of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, Anne Scott MacLeod gestures toward the challenge of using these texts as cultural documentation, noting the detachment of teen girl romance novels from their historical/cultural milieu: “even in a politically quiescent atmosphere, and even for a literature traditionally more concerned with individual experience than with social issues, postwar writing for teens was remarkable for its silences and was exceptionally unrevealing about the anxieties of its time” (50). Indeed, Daly’s and Cavanna’s texts, of which some were publishing from 1942 onward, are surprisingly silent regarding the Second World War, and Emery’s, Stolz’s, and Walden’s books, published during the 1950s and early 1960s, usually avoid direct mention of Cold War elements such as McCarthyism, suburban development, the Civil Rights Movement, or the bomb. Most of the novelists include hints, however, that the world they narrate is not as pleasant and white-picket-fenced as it may first appear. These intimations are often short, oblique references that appear suddenly, then disappear just as quickly. In Stolz’s 1955 novel, *Rosemary*, for example, one sentence in 212 pages refers to Cold War era politics: “a smear used to be what got on the floor when you dropped your bread and jam, but now it was what happened to people who got called up before investigating committees” (143). The rest of the novel ostensibly returns to narrating typical features found in teen girl romance novels—clothes, boys, and dances—yet the sentence itself highlights a latent Cold War awareness.

That latent awareness may be perceived if one reads these novels as allegories of the Cold War. Whether these authors consciously borrowed the concepts of containment and espionage from governmental foreign policy and transported them into the realm of adolescent American society is unknown, but it would be difficult to contest the dominance of these concepts within the zeitgeist of the Cold War era. Still, these allegories are subtle, and thus to perceive them within the female junior novels necessitates understanding the role and functioning of the adolescent society within these texts.

As discussed in Chapter One, the adolescent society in these novels is organized by an unquestioned and undisputed hierarchy. All characters are complicit in it, whether they view themselves at the top or, as is more often the case, at the bottom of the social scale. Characters use verbal, gestural, and consumer-based social codes to establish their dominance. As the tools through which a girl attains dominance, moreover, these codes—and the girls' manipulations of them—demonstrate the complex power relations that form the core of these novels, around which the female junior novelists weave their stories of first love. They also function as allegories of Cold War containment and surveillance.

Although the policy of containment had existed since 1941, it was not officially given a name until July 1947, when George F. Kennan—using the pseudonym “X”—coined the term in an article for *Foreign Affairs*.¹⁵² Kennan,

¹⁵² The article was reprinted in the July 28, 1947, issue of *Life Magazine*, with the byline: “Magazine article is causing a sensation because it is believed that it expresses the official U.S. view of why the Russians act as they do” (53).

then Deputy Chief of Mission of the United States to the USSR, stated that “the main element of any United States policy toward the Soviet Union must be that of a long-term, patient but firm and vigilant containment of Russian expansive tendencies” (X 575). Historian Howard B. Schonberger notes that Kennan’s containment doctrine was a global geopolitical strategy, based on the assertion that “the internal economic, political, and spiritual weakness of Western Europe, Japan, and the Middle East, not Russian military power, was the primary threat to postwar American security” (168). As Kennan stated in October 1947, “it is not Russian military power which is threatening us, it is Russian political power” (qtd. in Schonberger 168), and, by implication, the supposed ideological “weakness” of nations neighbouring the USSR. Thus although America’s focus was ostensibly on the USSR, it was jointly Russia’s political power and the assumed weakness of the nations surrounding it that would, as Kennan stated, “warrant the United States entering with reasonable confidence upon a policy of firm containment, designed to confront the Russians with unalterable counter-force at every point where they show signs of encroaching upon the interests of a peaceful and stable world” (X 581).

Kennan had actually articulated the main ideas of containment in the previous year, writing his famous “long telegram” as a reply to the U.S. Treasury Department’s inquiry into why the Soviet Union refused to support the newly-founded World Bank and International Monetary Fund. As Cold War scholar John Lewis Gaddis suggests,

the thesis of Kennan's "long telegram" was that the whole basis of American policy toward the Soviet Union during and after World War II had been wrong . . . the choice as to whether cooperation would continue was believed to be up to the United States: if Washington chose the right approach, then the Russians would come along. (19)

It is through America's belief in its own dominance—and accompanying ability to control its relationship with the Soviet Union—that one may read Daly's and Stolz's texts as allegories of the containment policy. Those who are highest in the adolescent hierarchy believe in their own dominance. As Dorothy's brother Brian articulates in Stolz's *Because of Madeleine*, the members of this dominant class "make the lists. They are empowered to accept, to reject, to pick up a pencil and jot down a name, cross out a name, and bring joy or despair to young and old all over the city" (122). I am obviously simplifying an extremely complex situation, but I think the allegory is useful: just as America believed that it had an inherent ability to control the Russian threat, so too the highest members of the adolescent hierarchy believe that they possess an inborn capacity to dictate who stands where on the social rungs. What Kennan's long telegram succeeded in exposing, however, was a fear within the dominant—whether that was the United States or the popular teens of these novels—that "the Soviet foreign policy bore little relationship to what the West did or did not do" (Gaddis 19), thereby questioning the supposedly innate superiority of the dominant. The essence of the containment policy, then, boiled down to a struggle for the power to legitimate, a struggle

reflected in the teen romance novels through the attempted “containment” of dominated girls who endeavor to manipulate their way into the upper rungs of the adolescent hierarchy.

Mary Stolz started writing in 1950, and thus a connection between her novels and the official policy of containment (as articulated by Kennan in 1947) is at least temporally plausible, and will be explored shortly. Daly’s *Seventeenth Summer*, conversely, was written in 1942, and therefore I cannot claim that *Seventeenth Summer* represents a direct allegory of containment. I do believe, however, that it depicts the repressive apparatus necessary to lead to the concept of containment: what Daly terms “the checkers”:

The younger fellows in our town have a system These are the “checkers.” They are the more popular crowd at high school and every evening about half-past seven they gather to stand talking together with elaborate unconcern, while in actuality they are sharply watching the cars going by to see what fellows and girls are out together; they watch to see who is having a coke with whom and to report any violations on the part of the girls who are supposed to be going steady.

It is almost like a secret police system—no one escapes being checked on. At least no one who counts. The checkers also keep their eyes open for new prospects among the young sophomore girls who are growing up and show signs of datable promise. They only watch out for the very pretty or very popular

girls, so it is the most serious catastrophe of all not even to be noticed by the checkers. (79-80)

That Daly's account of the checkers was published in the same year that the U.S. Office of Strategic Services (the precursor to the Central Intelligence Agency) was formed is coincidental. What may be less coincidental, however, is that *Seventeenth Summer* was published seven years after the founding of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and midway through the Dies Committee inquiry into the American Communist Party's possible infiltration of the Works Progress Administration.¹⁵³ Simply put, the concept of surveillance was in the air. Thus historian Ann Douglas suggests that there is a "correlation between national policies and individual psyches" (81), and argues that

such policies sooner or later affect every aspect of that society's cultural activity. If one remembers that the U.S. government stepped up surveillance of its citizens to unprecedented levels in the 1940s and early 1950s; that for the first time, it compiled psychological dossiers on everyone inducted into its military forces (sometimes sharing the information with the ever expanding FBI); that federal housing agencies were making maps of every neighborhood in the United States, ranking each according to its racial/ethnic homogeneity, social stability, and earning potential, and granting federal funds accordingly; that the nation was

¹⁵³ The Dies Committee was the colloquial name for the special investigating committee of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (before it became a standing committee in 1945). The committee was named for its chair, Martin Dies Jr.

tightening its drug laws and defining a host of beliefs and activities, most notably communism and homosexuality, as criminal, even treasonable--with all this in mind, my view of the influence that government policy had in private lives in this era may seem more plausible. (81-82)

Daly uses this seemingly permeating policy of surveillance in *Seventeenth Summer* to demonstrate the checkers' ability to police teenage girls and, furthermore, to create an atmosphere in which the girls police themselves.

The unique component within the checkers' system is that it only includes girls who are already part of the popular crowd. As a repressive apparatus, it does not seek to patrol class boundaries in the traditional manner of keeping the unwanted out, or at least not directly. Instead, by policing the actions of the girls who are already inside the boundary, the checkers parallel the surveillance of the Dies Committee towards suspected American members of the Communist Party. Just as most Americans were well aware of the House Un-American Activities Committee, so too Angie Morrow admits that she is well-versed regarding the checkers: "I knew what they were there for—Jane Rady had told me before I had even known Jack—and all the other girls knew too" (79). The obvious difference, of course, is that Angie—and all the other girls who want to "count"—desire to be watched by these boys.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵⁴ The functioning of the checkers (and the girls' docile response to them) can obviously be understood as an example of the panopticon, as theorized by Michel Foucault in *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1977).

The checkers' form of surveillance, focusing on the people within the boundary rather than without, thus imitates one type of repressive apparatus used within the policy of containment. While focusing on the possibly "subversive" actions of American citizens on United States soil may appear somewhat contrary to the *foreign* policy of containment, by 1947 national security had become domestic security. Nine days after adopting Kennan's concept of containment into the Truman Doctrine, President Truman enacted Executive Order 9835, establishing the first general loyalty program in the United States. Surveillance outside became equated with surveillance inside, all based on the fear of infiltration by an invisible, interior enemy.

Containment, espionage, and boy capital

In *Pray Love, Remember* (1954), and *Because of Madeline* (1957), Mary Stolz demonstrates containment—and its related tactic, espionage—from two points of view: that of the confirmed spy, and that of the potential spy. In *Pray Love, Remember*, Dody Jenks is the spy, the dominated-class girl who learns to manipulate social codes which had previously appeared to be known only to dominant members of the adolescent hierarchy. She is a successful spy because, according to Bourdieu's concept of the habitus, she should not know—or understand—the social codes that she manipulates. Madeline Portman, in *Because of Madeline*, is, conversely, a potential spy, the dominated girl who must be contained as a possible threat, but whose intentions do not necessarily involve

infiltration of the dominant class. Unlike Dody, Madeline is not the protagonist of the novel, but rather the absent centre around which all action takes place.

Madeline is the forced interloper into the private Bramley school, the girl who, according to Bramley queen Madge Whittier, demonstrates ““a stratospheric I.Q., which is why we’re being blessed with her company, but her family’s dirt-common””(37). She also possesses, according to Dorothy, “the most non-adolescent figure of any middle-teen-aged girl I’d ever seen” (77).

Where Dody and Madeline are both considered to be spies is in their ability to attract and influence boys—that is, to use boys as tools to infiltrate the highest ranks of the adolescent hierarchy. Dody’s control of boys is intentional: she recognizes and understands the ways in which “boy capital” can advance her social standing. As noted in Chapter One, Dody knows “by instinct how to charm boys. And, she had told herself simply, charm *them* and the girls will have to like you, whether or not they do” (*Pray* 40).

While Dody is masterful in charming men, with her “bracelet on her ankle ... and a twin sweater set that was too tight” (148), Madeline Portman, like Dody, also accrues boy capital. Madeline’s intentions, however, are never known. Dorothy, the narrator, perceives Madeline’s accidental meeting with Dorothy’s brother Brian to be Madeline’s attempt to infiltrate the dominant positions of the adolescent social hierarchy :

“Just because I recognize the perfect setup for Brian to
be—”

“To be what?” he asked simply, when I did not go on.

And I couldn't. I didn't know what I meant. I only knew that I felt anxious I was frightened. I'd read enough to know of depravity among the young, though I'd encountered none, and where my brother was concerned I was not prepared to give her any benefit of the doubt. I just plain didn't want him with her, didn't want her in Bramley, didn't want her in our lives in any way. (86-87)

Dorothy's desire to contain Madeline is thus based not only on Madeline's role as a potential spy who seeks to exploit Brian as an asset (that is, as boy capital), but on Madeline's difference as a member of the dominated—a difference that threatens Dorothy's polished social hierarchy:

She was a fighter, and at Bramley, permissive or not, fighters were simply out of step. We were not carbon copies of each other, but there was an over-all likeness among us that came of common backgrounds, common interests. . . . And I will be darned if I'll render an apologia for this state of affairs. It was natural, and I still think that in nearly every way it was right. (107)

Midway into each novel, Madeline's status as a spy remains unknown, but Dody's role as a successful spy becomes visible to all. Dody's triumph is articulated in her election and coronation as Snow Queen of the Winter Ball, wearing a home-made (and designed) dress. Although there is no money for a new dress, Dody's sister-in-law suggests sewing a simple sheath from a few yards of material, while "in an access of proud confusion . . . Mr. Jenks contributed

money for a cheap but dazzling pair of rhinestone earrings” (118). As noted in Chapter One, the family’s collective pride in Dody is demonstrated not in what she has done, but, on the night of the Winter Ball, in how she *looks*. Dody’s desire to entrench her status at the top of the adolescent social hierarchy thus merges with her family’s hope for mobility in the town’s social hierarchy, and both desires are fulfilled at Dody’s coronation as the Snow Queen.

After the ball, Dody knows that the dominant girls regard her as a successful spy, noting that: “in their eyes her dress and entrance at the Winter Ball had been a triumph not over necessity [in terms of her homemade dress] but over them” (123). The Winter Ball is a turning point because Dody—and, more specifically, Dody’s choice of a homemade dress—has made plain her heretofore hidden machinations, *and she still triumphs*. Dody is a threat not because she succeeds, but because every member of the adolescent hierarchy recognizes her manipulations, and can do nothing to stop (or to contain) them.

Transmitting the codes

Of course, while one of the requisites of espionage is intelligence gathering, another is the conveyance of that information to a foreign power. In Dody’s case, intelligence gathering includes recognizing and understanding the social codes of the dominant. That knowledge, however, does not necessarily make her into a spy. Rather, Dody becomes a successful spy because she both

accesses and then transmits the dominant codes to another dominated girl, her younger sister, Marjorie.

Throughout *Pray Love, Remember*, Dody describes Marjorie as clumsy and lacking in social graces. She is “chunky.” She has stringy hair. When Dody decides to teach Marjorie what she knows about the dominant aesthetic, her decision is not based on charity. Rather, Dody recognizes that she, Marjorie, and the rest of their family are “all in this together, as they say, and together, somehow, we’ll remain” (196). She tells Marjorie that she’ll help her by finding a job and purchasing some new dresses, with the caveat that “I’ll pick them, though” (197). By the end of the summer, Marjorie is thinner, wears her hair in a pony-tail, and sports the harlequin glasses that Dody purchases for her. Her changes may seem superficial, but they demonstrate the fact that Dody has transmitted her knowledge of the dominant aesthetic to Marjorie. In so doing, Dody successfully spreads the menace of further dominated-class girls infiltrating and then climbing the adolescent hierarchy.

Unlike Dody, Madeline seems to be fully contained by the end of the novel. Dorothy notes that Madeline “ceased to be novel. She retained all through school... that air of the interloper Mrs. Bramley stopped looking thunderstruck every time she saw her, and the boys stopped behaving as if Nell Gwyn had been reborn and bestowed upon them” (*Because* 190-191). Madeline seemingly no longer uses boy capital but, as Dorothy reveals, Madeline does end up with Lexy Carvell, the “richest, brightest boy in the school ... [who] could buy and sell all of us and outthink any of us” (16). Thus while Madeline appears to be

contained, she succeeds in using boy capital to infiltrate the hierarchy. She also becomes a catalyst whose presence forces the people around her to recognize the social system in which they all participate. In Dorothy's words:

Madeline Portman, individual, I thought. We never changed her. . . . I've been reflecting on her lately because I've just begun to see how she affected us. . . . Madeline, the first nonconformist we had met, made clear and pointed an likeness among the rest of us that until that time we were not actually conscious of. It was not a happy thing to discover about ourselves, but it resulted in some of us making an attempt to change. (200-1)

Threats false and real

Dody and Madeline may be successful spies in the sense that they transmit information (Dody) or infiltrate the hierarchy (Madeline), but they are threats only to the individual members of the hierarchy, not to the hierarchical structure as a whole. As much as they may appear to be nonconformists, Dody and Madeline—and almost all of Stolz's and Daly's female protagonists—possess a desire to conform to a closed system. The notion of changing that system, or creating a different one, never crosses their minds. Instead, they share the desires of those who dwell on the top rungs of the hierarchy: they *want* to master the consumer-based codes (hence Dody teaches Marjorie how to shop), and they *want* the social end-point of heterosexual marriage (hence Madeline will likely marry Lexy

Carvell). Thus, although they may be spies, neither Dody nor Madeline is a true threat in the way that the USSR's expansion of communism seemed to threaten America's capitalist structure. Ultimately, Dody and Madeline change the people involved in the adolescent social hierarchy, but never threaten the hierarchy itself.

One of the only protagonists to present a real threat (in terms of altering the logic of the adolescent hierarchy) is Cassie Dunne in Stolz's *Who Wants Music on Monday* (1963). Cassie—short for, tellingly, Cassandra—follows very few of the social codes employed by female members of the hierarchy. Instead of asking for clothes for Christmas, she asks for ice skates and a book on Cezanne. Instead of eating hamburgers, she is a vegetarian. Instead of carefully composing her appearance, she is “a mess. . . . Skinny, sharp-featured, with that spiky hair, grubby fingers, never a trace of make-up. And those clothes! Horrible colors, and not even clean” (13). Cassie's older sister Lotta, a popular girl who follows the social codes with an almost religious solemnity, cannot understand her sister: “could she be, really, contented with herself? Looking like that? Having those peculiar interests and no friends to speak of and, really, no chance that a boy would ever adore her?” (13). Lotta represents the conventional dominant girl of the adolescent hierarchy. She is one of the girls who, according to her Aunt Muriel,

sail lightly along the surface of their youth, never suspecting the existence of undercurrents, riptides, rapids. The cheer leaders, the prom and hop belles, the flirts, who look forward to the next date, the next dress, anticipate college as a more glamorous extension of

high school and marriage as a state of being adored by a perfect man. (54)

Stolz continually contrasts Lotta and Cassie against each other. Lotta is beautiful; Cassie is plain. Lotta purposely creates an appearance of kindness and caring; Cassie believes only in forthright honesty, often to her own detriment. While Cassie excels academically (to the point that she takes advanced courses and will graduate early from high school), Lotta purposely attempts to look less intelligent than she is, affecting an ignorance that “[seems], beyond all bounds of credibility, to *charm* people” (17).

Perhaps the key difference between the two girls is that Lotta purposefully uses boy capital, and has no problem with “breaking one date in order to keep a better one that had come along” (60) while, for the most part, Cassie fails to notice boys altogether. Whereas Lotta knows how to lean “forward a little, tipping her blond head so that she looked at him with an oblique and fetching glance—a practiced glance, one that had not yet failed her” (207), Cassie is oblivious to the “young man who had liked the look of the back of her” (61), who “would have liked to meet her. He even turned and started back with this in mind, but she was away and gone without even seeing him” (63). That young man, Aaron, eventually becomes the potential love interest for both girls. Lotta believes herself to be in love with him, but Cassie eventually realizes that she loves him only in a sisterly manner. Although Aaron is obviously attracted to Cassie, and asks her for a date (until Lotta interrupts them), Cassie never fully reciprocates his attention.

Still, Aaron and Cassie share a sense of social codes that Lotta, well-trained in conventional female codes, cannot understand. Although Lotta may be dominant in the adolescent hierarchy, she is shut out by Cassie's and Aaron's shared pleasure in playing with words and social situations:

[Aaron] said a party was a roomful of people wriggling and making remarks. Cassie had laughed when he said that, and after a bewildered hesitation, seeing nothing funny at all, Lotta had laughed too. When Aaron and Cassie were together they made her feel lonely, out of touch. They said such odd and stupid things but clearly thought that other people would be stupid to disagree.

“Nice people,” Aaron would say, “do not eat T.V. dinners”

“Or send studio cards,” Cassie would add.

“Or call famous people by their given names.”

“Or belong to country clubs.”

They could amuse themselves in this manner for ages, and

Lotta found it all very unfunny. (250-51)

Cassie and Aaron are outsiders, but they employ an almost aggressive humor in setting themselves in opposition to the types of codes that are used by dominant members of the hierarchy, like Lotta.

As I noted earlier, positions on the adolescent social hierarchy are gendered, so that each gender employs its own conventions to express dominance. Female codes are consumer-based and ultimately unproductive, while male ones are those of productive skills—skills that will allow them to exit the adolescent

social hierarchy and to enter the adult realm. The codes, then, function according to difference. They act as a language, providing an interpretive framework in which both the addressers and the addressees are able to encode and decode messages of dominance. Cassie is unique because although she is female, she values productive art and academic skills—like the male characters. She paints portraits, establishes a studio for herself, reads excessively, and is more interested in producing art than in consuming goods. In displaying codes that usually represent male dominance, Cassie refuses the gendered difference that allows the hierarchical system to function. In a sense, she refuses to speak Lotta's language. The result is that Cassie exists outside, threatening to alter the logic of the entire system.

Of course, Cassie is a single person, and whether or not her example has the potential to radically alter the logic of the hierarchy is debatable. Her Aunt Muriel perceives Cassie's ability to do so, noting that "there must be something in Cassie herself . . . a throwback to a strong-minded woman in their family's past. An abolitionist, a suffragette had handed down her spirit to this tough little descendent" (52). That tough little descendent appears to change little by the end of the novel, but it is interesting to note the effect that she has on Lotta. Having been unsuccessful in her attempt to capture her seeming True Love, Aaron, failed to be accepted to a college, and suddenly demoted in social status from dominant leader to pitied has-been, Lotta is miserable. When Cassie asks her sister what she is going to do, Lotta replies: "Do? What is there to do?" (255). Cassie responds by emphasizing action—productive action. She tells Lotta "You can't just sit on

the floor and cry. You have to do something” (255). When Lotta still cannot conceive of what form this action might take, Cassie suggests: “Why not business school, like Alice Adams?” (255). Lotta eventually does decide to enter business school. Looking back, she considers

the wan and witless thing she’d been during these past weeks. And all because Aaron or J.H. or some boy didn’t seem to want her. She’d outgrown boys, that was what had been the matter. She’d outgrown them, and this town, and this house—everything here. (258)

In following Cassie’s advice to enter business school, Lotta leaves behind both unproductive feminine codes and the capital that she used to secure her dominance in the adolescent social hierarchy—that is, boy capital. It is Cassie’s suggestion, then, that allows Lotta to take her first steps in exiting the hierarchy and entering the adult realm independently—without a boyfriend/husband.

That Cassie and Lotta, characters published in a novel during the Cold War era, are able to escape the gendered codes is significant, since gender roles helped to define the difference between capitalism and communism during the Nixon/Khrushchev years. In *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*, historian Elaine Tyler May briefly narrates what became known as the “kitchen debate.” Standing in the model kitchen of a model home built for the American National Exhibition (which opened in Moscow in 1959), Nixon and Khrushchev debated the merits of their national ideologies. Gesturing to the washing machine, Nixon proudly suggested that it made housework easier for

women, whereas Khrushchev responded by affirming women's work outside the home, noting that the people of his country lacked such a "capitalist attitude toward women" (qtd. in May 21). Nixon appeared to misunderstand Khrushchev's implied derision, for he replied, "I think that this attitude toward women is universal. What we want is to make easier the life of our housewives" (qtd. in May 21). The dominant American viewpoint that eventually emerged (particularly through the press) was capitalism's superiority in granting women the "freedom" to remain at home, as housewives, compared to communism's inferiority in forcing women to work outside the home, with men. Since gender roles helped to define the opposing ideologies of capitalism and communism, Cassie and Lotta's refusal of (American/capitalist) female codes becomes all the more interesting—and subversive.

Remaining questions

Reading Daly's and Stolz's texts (as well as many of the female junior novels written by other authors) as allegories of containment suggests that, although these texts are often read as being detached from their socio-historical milieu, in fact they are saturated by the ideology of their time. In these novels, a character's knowledge of social codes determines her place within a complex adolescent social hierarchy, so that girls who successfully manipulate these codes rule from its upper rungs. Symbolic capital thus becomes the basis for an allegory of Cold War espionage and American-style containment in which dominated girls

threaten to infiltrate the social hierarchy or, worse, refuse the gendered codes through which the hierarchy functions, therefore threatening the logic of the entire social system.

One of the questions that remain, of course, is whether or not Daly and Stolz intended their books to act as allegories of containment and, perhaps more importantly, whether or not the teachers and librarians who used these texts to help teen girls solve their “developmental tasks” sensed the political ideology embedded in these stories of dances and dresses and Cokes at the drugstore. By inserting such ideas into romance novels for adolescent girls, were these authors providing more than allegories? Were the authors and librarians who suggested these texts participating in some sort of counter-offensive against the dominant Cold War values appearing all around them? Were the members of the female junior novel network the *real* “spies,” hiding behind their protagonists, creating information bombs of dominant-class codes cleverly disguised as romance novels, and sending them to teenaged girls across North America? Perhaps such an idea is preposterous. Or perhaps, in an era of loyalty oaths, committee hearings, and blacklists, coding such information in the form of romance novels was one method by which Daly and Stolz—as well as the librarians and teachers who recommended the texts to their girl readers—could express their “subversive” opinions without the threat of being contained themselves.

Conclusion

“Pray Love, Remember”:¹⁵⁵ The End of the Female Junior Novels and Network

The demise of the female junior novels and their network did not happen overnight, although to some of the editors and librarians it may have felt that way. Instead, it was a long process, appearing first in library services, but soon in publishing houses as well. The world had changed significantly since the publication of Maureen Daly’s *Seventeenth Summer* in 1942, and by the late 1960s neither the new adolescent literature being published nor the groups of people producing and distributing it would have seemed familiar to many of the second generation members of the network, much less to those of the first generation. The primary part of this conclusion traces the end of both the female junior novels and their network, while a short coda examines the current reprinting of the female junior novels through a new female dominant society I call the “nostalgia press.”

Non-network critics and the demise of female junior novels

The passing of the female junior novels is, of course, inexorably tied to the disappearance of the network of women who produced and distributed them, but for the ease of argument I will somewhat separate discussion of the texts from the network. As suggested in Chapter Four, the split between the network and non-

¹⁵⁵ *Pray Love, Remember* is the title of Mary Stolz’s 1954 novel, which Stolz dedicated specifically to Ursula Nordstrom.

network critics may have been one of the elements that helped to spur both the demise of the female junior novels and the rise of the “new realism” in young adult literature. While even the biggest proponents of the female junior novels—the female librarian critics within the network—often admitted that, as Margaret Edwards suggests, “the warmest defender of these stories would not recommend them for the Great Books list nor ask to be marooned with them on a desert island, but they have their good points” (“Let” 465), the network critics did think the books possessed a practical use value not found in other types of literature. Edwards notes their educational value, suggesting that the female junior novels are

wholesome, they show under-privileged girls how nice girls attract boys, how they converse, how they fit into their individual family circles with respect and affection for all. They show them how to approach the problems of dating with common sense, and the Lord knows, they tell them how to dress - the charcoal skirt and green sweater, the pink shorts and white tee shirt with a little pink ribbon tied around the pony tail, "the black velveteen jumper with the scoop neck and the full, full skirt that whirled so prettily over my crinoline petticoat. (“Let” 465)

The use of the female junior novels as tools, particularly in regard to a teen girl’s “developmental tasks,” were discussed in more detail in the previous chapter. The point here is that even though the librarians may have questioned the “quality” of these texts, they were more focused on their usefulness for girl readers.

The male academic critics, conversely, were often more invested in the notion of quality. When they considered female junior novels in relation to use value (and they did, with Alm and Burton in particular referring to psychologist R.J. Havighurst's list of "developmental tasks"), their focus often remained on literary quality. In discerning books that are most helpful to the teenage reader, for example, Alm states

To distinguish between the superior and the inferior story, one must consider the novel both as a literary piece and as a vehicle for the presentation of a problem ... To the extent that a novel meets these criteria the writer reveals his ability to deal with the personal problems of an adolescent *within the context of literary art*. (350, my emphasis)

Burton similarly focuses on the quality of adolescent literature, noting that

The point has been made already that the novel centering on personal problems—or any other kind of novel—must be judged finally on the basis of literary rather than psychological (or some other) criteria. In the good junior novel, the art of the storyteller is evident—the author's sensitivity to language, his power to build a compelling, suspenseful story from tragic, comic, or heroic events, the aura of verisimilitude with which he is able to surround the narrative. The realistic story, true to human experience, need not be pedestrian in style or plot. (59)

When I suggest that the separation between the two groups of critics would eventually foreshadow and, to some degree, dictate the end of the female junior novels and the beginning of canonical young adult literature, I do not mean to imply a direct correlation. Rather, the division within the critics implied a separation in what was considered to be “good” literature for adolescents. The librarians’ emphasis on the usefulness of literature in helping a teenager to accomplish her developmental tasks—that is, to become a conventional adult—was also connected with the ideal that Margaret Scoggin, when choosing novels for her *Books for the Teen Age* list, deemed “positive values.” The academics’ similar focus on developmental tasks was accompanied, instead, by a stress on literary value.¹⁵⁶ The praise for Stolz’s novels in both Scoggin’s list and the academics’ reviews suggests that “positive values” and literary value could be found in the same text. The academics’ approval, however, was predicated on the notion that Stolz’s writing seemed more realistic than that of her female junior novelist contemporaries, particularly in terms of characterization. Thus the amorphous concept of “realism” that would eventually be hailed in S.E. Hinton’s *The Outsiders* or Paul Zindel’s *The Pigman* first started to appear in the academic criticism of the female junior novels. Alm condemned these texts for being “sometimes completely false representations of adolescence” (315), “saccharine sentiments” (316) that demonstrate heroines who are “literally, too good to be true” (316) and situations that are over-simplified and glamorized. Jennings wrote about the elements that were purposely removed from these stories:

¹⁵⁶ The academics’ focus on the developmental tasks also implied an inherent social morality.

Sex never rears its curly head in these antiseptic volumes. Body chemistry is suspended, and personality friction is lubricated out of existence with the sweet syrup of ersatz “teen-talk” of dates and dances, and faint-hearted misunderstandings And all of this happens only to the clean-limbed, the well-bred, the comfortably-housed-and-clothed middle class miss and boyfriend. (530)

Even Burton agreed with the other academics, suggesting that “in much junior fiction basic realism is avoided, and . . . a rounded view of life is not given.

Insistence upon a too-narrow concept of ‘wholesomeness’ may tend to cripple the junior novel as a true form of literature” (56).

Of course, one may assume that librarians often wished for more realism in the female junior novels as well, of course, but their pragmatic focus on using the available texts—the texts that girls actually liked to read—to help their teen patrons meant that it was the academics who could use the concept of literary value to push for what would eventually become the “new realism.”¹⁵⁷ By 1967, G. R. Carlsen was starting to remove female junior novels from the canon of adolescent literature. In *Books and the Teen-Age Reader* (1967), Carlsen categorized three stages of adolescence, and four to nine categories of books that

¹⁵⁷ In terms of what girls actually wanted to read, the librarians may have been on the right track. As Susan McEnally Jackson observes of the early 1970s:

Young people may very well have been demanding realism and relevance. It appears likely, though, that for a few tumultuous years, concerned adults misread the signs and presumed a more all-encompassing interest in social concerns than really existed, particularly among younger teens . . . while books delving into social issues were now pouring off the presses, a good proportion of teenagers continued to read the old standbys. Surveys found that authors who had been writing in the fifties such as Betty Cavanna, Rosamund du Jardin, Anne Emery, and Henry Felsen remained popular. (365)

he thought would appeal to each stage. His categories included sports stories, animal stories, stories of olden times, science fiction, stories of foreign cultures, boys and cars, adventure stories, mystery stories, vocational stories, and stories of moral or ethical dilemmas. As Michael Cart notes, “Romance, amazingly, is not on Carlsen’s list of categories, although he does append a lengthy list of what he calls ‘girls’ stories’” (32). As “girls’ stories,” then, the female junior novels became an addendum, something that was linked to—but not part of—a canon of books for adolescent readers.

With the gritty “realism” of Hinton and Zindel in the late 1960s, closely followed by Cormier and Blume, the female junior novels seemed outdated, and slowly started to be forgotten. Certainly the texts of what quickly became canonical young adult literature were a positive addition in many aspects, particularly in their portrayal of protagonists from different races and ethnic groups, as well as from different socioeconomic levels—two components which the female junior novels often avoided. As noted in the introduction to this dissertation, while I am not convinced that early canonical young adult literature truly spoke to teens any more than the female junior novels did, perhaps Marc Aronson is correct when he states that

This generation [of the late 1960s/ early 1970s] was caught between a protected childhood defined by children’s books and a wider world seen in subversive comics; between the Mickey Mouse Club on TV and images of first the civil rights struggle and then the Vietnam war on the same sets. They did not recognize

themselves in any of the books then available for teenagers—
 which were very tame novels of dating at seventeen or becoming a
 nurse or boys who lived long ago and far away. (Aronson 53)

The end result is that while most critics of young adult literature are familiar with Hinton and Zindel, Cormier and Blume, few recognize names like Betty Cavanna or Anne Emery. Similarly, while *The Outsiders* and *The Pigman* continue to be published and read in schools across North America, people rarely recognize titles such as *Going on Sixteen* or *The Sea Gulls Woke Me*, both of which were popular in their time. I do not mean to mourn the female junior novels, or suggest that they should be read now, but I do believe that they played a fundamental role in the development of adolescent literature during the 1940s through 1960s, and should be remembered—and studied—accordingly.

Background to the disappearance of the female junior novel network: federal initiatives in education

Although 1967 could be used as an obvious end date for the female junior novel and start date for canonical young adult literature, the termination date of the female junior novel network is somewhat less obvious than the start date of the texts it produced. The Soviet launches of Sputnik 1 in October 1957 and Sputnik 2 in November of the same year provided an indirect—but influential—effect on the network. American anxiety regarding the “Red Menace” now focused on the supposed deficiencies of American school children, particularly in

the realms of math and science. To counteract these deficiencies, in 1958 Congress passed the National Defense Education Act (NDEA), which proposed spending “1 billion in the following four years to produce the needed scientists and technicians and to improve the general quality of American education” (McClure et al 106). As Christopher T. Cross notes regarding the momentousness of the bill, “for the first time since 1917, a major education bill would be enacted that was not strictly for the support of military issues, even though it took the aura of national defense and a space race crisis to get it passed” (12).¹⁵⁸

The bill focused primarily on higher education, but also allocated money to public schools for the purchase of non-textbook texts related to science and mathematics. That allocation, in turn, led publishing houses to focus on the types of books they thought schools would be likely to purchase with their new funds. Departments that produced these books varied between publishing houses, in that some were part of the children’s books department, while other houses had specific “el-hi” (elementary-high school) departments that were technically separate from both their children’s books and textbooks departments, but liaised with both. Although children’s trade fiction continued to be produced, the added emphasis on math and science may have influenced the content of manuscripts that were accepted for publication, and certainly affected the influence (and profits) of houses that had already been promoting math and science books for

¹⁵⁸ It is interesting to note that, amidst a milieu of Cold War paranoia, the NDEA passed far from unanimously. Instead, the Senate voted 62-26 (or approximately seventy per cent in favour), while the House voted 233-140 (roughly sixty-two per cent in favour). Senate Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson hailed the bill as “an historic landmark,” but dissenting Senator Barry Goldwater cautioned that “if adopted, the legislation will mark the inception of aid, supervision, and ultimately control of education in this country by federal authorities” (qtd. in Cross 12).

children—particularly William Morrow, Franklin Watts, Golden Press, and T.Y. Crowell (Marcus, *Minders* 211).

The focus on education continued throughout John F. Kennedy's presidency, so that, only one month after his inauguration, Kennedy gave a "Special Message to the Congress on Education," in which he stated:

Our progress as a nation can be no swifter than our progress in education. Our requirements for world leadership, our hopes for economic growth, and the demands of citizenship itself in an era such as this all require the maximum development of every young American's capacity Our twin goals must be: a new standard in excellence in education—and the availability of such excellence to all who are willing and able to pursue it. (qtd. in Bremner 1794)

Lyndon Johnson continued the focus on education during his own presidency with the passing of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) in 1965. As Kathy Latrobe notes, Title II of the ESEA provided "for the first time, direct federal assistance for the acquisition of school library resources, textbooks, and other instructional materials" (68). \$100 million was allocated in 1966 alone, of which \$77.5 million—ninety per cent of the acquisitions allocation—was given to school library resources (69). School libraries now possessed unprecedented funding with which to purchase new materials.

Together, the National Defense Education Act and the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (coupled with other "Great Society" federal initiatives enacted during the Johnson administration) created a new culture in both the

publishing and the librarian realms. The children's book business was booming, with total sales in 1964 reaching \$112 million which, as Leonard Marcus points out, was "only slightly less than the figure of \$117 million for adult trade hardcover sales" (*Minders* 238). As George Nicholson, head of Dell's new children's division (formed in the mid-1960s) recalled,

Government funding resulted in massive, often indiscriminate buying [by institutions] because the money always had to be spent by a certain deadline. Rather than decide which of the twenty-seven available books about the North Pole was best, schools and libraries bought them all. (qtd. in Marcus, *Minders* 242)

While the NDEA focused predominantly on math and science texts, the ESEA was a little more open in terms of text content (although the privileging of science books prevailed). The ESEA's emergence in the middle of the Cold War period, however, meant that many of the texts had to be pre-approved. As Marcus notes, "states received lists of approved trade books and substantial budgets for the purchase of multiple copies, always by a certain deadline" (*Minders* 238). In a letter to Russell Hoban, dated June 20, 1966, Ursula Nordstrom wrote that she "was very very happy that Harper had about 23 books out of a hundred. This Title 2 of the ESEA act is going to mean a great deal to all you authors and artists with books on approved lists" (*Dear* 220). She also noted the size of the available funding, observing that "Pennsylvania ALONE has about 4 million bucks to spend on the books on their list" (*Dear* 220).

The combination of large federal funding and a focus on math and science led to increased production of textbooks which, in turn, led to the beginning of large corporate mergers. Publishing houses that lacked textbook divisions soon started to merge with houses dedicated to that type of publishing. Thus on May 1, 1962, Harper & Brothers merged with Row, Peterson & Company, a company operating out of Illinois that specialized in textbooks. The new Harper & Row became extremely profitable. As Howard Foster, an investment researcher noted in a September 1966, field report for the publishing house, "Since the merger in 1962, sales have grown from \$26.7 million to last year's \$43.6 million, a gain of nearly 64%" (1). That gain was quickly reported by Louis J. Rolland in the Sept. 21, 1966 issue of *Financial World*, who informed potential investors that:

Harper has a very substantial stake in the dynamic textbook field. It's estimated that about 42% of its \$44 million of sales in the April 30, 1966 fiscal year came from texts, 21% came from trade books, 16% from juvenile works and the remaining 21% from religious works, medical books, encyclopedias etc. (20)

Rolland also gestured to Harper's continuing success, adding:

The management expects that the proportion of its textbook business will increase substantially in the years ahead as the firm has been devoting considerable effort to expanding in this field. For instance, at the beginning of this year, Harper's elementary and high school textbook division introduced a basic reading program

which it developed over a period of more than five years at a cost of \$7 million. (20)

Education had become big business. Rolland noted that while Harper's profits were close to \$1.59 per share in the previous year, "Wall Street is looking for profits of close to \$2.00 s share this year ... at the stock's current price of 26 bid over-the-counter, this would work out to about 13 times earnings" (20). It seemed that, from the mid-1960s onward, Harper quickly moved from a family-owned publishing house to a multi-million dollar corporation.

Mergers between large houses and textbook publishers produced a rapidly-changing organizational structure in each company, with many of the old power structures such as senior executives—as well as the female junior novel network—being replaced. Changes at Harper & Row represent similar changes occurring at other publishing houses. At Harper's, Cass Canfield Sr. stepped down as chairman of the executive committee to be replaced by Gordon Jones, who had successfully built up Row and Peterson.¹⁵⁹ As John Tebbel discerns:

There was one aspect of these changes that did not escape observers of the publishing scene. The house was now in the hands of business-oriented people, while those who combined business with editorial creativity were out of control, and one at least would soon be out of the company. The shift was complete when Harwood retired two years later, in 1969, and John Cowles, Jr., of the Minneapolis and Iowa banking and newspaper family, became

¹⁵⁹ Cass Canfield (Sr.), had served as President of Harper & Brothers (1931-1945), Chairman of the Board (1945-1955), and Chairman of the Executive Committee (1955-1967).

chairman of the board, with Jones as chairman of the executive committee. (371)¹⁶⁰

Publishing houses were always business oriented, of course, but by the early 1970s the new regimes seemed far removed from the “gentlemen publishers” of the past. The Cass Canfields and the George Bretts¹⁶¹ of the world were gone, replaced by new (and often complex) levels of upper and middle management.

The business of libraries

A similar business-oriented mentality had already swept through the public library system. Just as the female junior novel network had originated in the realm of librarianship, so too the changes that signaled its end first became visible in that area. These changes first came to notice when, in 1946, the NYPL established the Reference Department. As Joan Atkinson notes, while that department’s responsibility was to provide branch reference work, it “left ill-defined who was to provide it for young adults. From 1946 to 1951 [Mabel] Williams’ task was determining which services could be offered by her staff, which was down to twenty-five after a high of sixty-nine in 1939” (30). The loss of staff was due in part to the wartime lure of better salaries and working conditions in war industries, as well as the return of husbands following the war.

¹⁶⁰ Tebbel’s reference to “Harwood” is to Raymond C. Harwood, President of Harper & Brothers (1955-1967), then Chairman of the Board (1967-1969).

¹⁶¹ George Brett had been the first publisher to hire a member of the female junior novel network, when he hired Louise Seaman to head the children’s book division at Macmillan. Refer to Chapter Two for a discussion of Louise Seaman’s role in the first generation of the network.

The dual events of Mabel Williams' retirement and John Cory's accession as chief of circulation, both in 1951, signaled the slow demise of the type of work with teenagers that Williams had originally envisioned when she asked Scoggin to organize the Nathan Straus Branch. Cory, who had previously been head of the Manpower Standards Division of the Air Transport Command during the war, was brought to the NYPL to establish a new form of administrative organization. The NYPL was growing rapidly during the 1950s,¹⁶² and the City of New York was, according to Cory, "interested in reducing costs and initiating uniform and logical staff practices by imposing scientific management techniques" (Braverman 66).

Those management techniques included the use of "manning tables," which were lists that defined tasks performed by the different levels of library staff. They determined the number of clerks versus professional librarians assigned to each branch, as well as how many hours the professionals would spend at different types of service. Williams' vision of one young people's librarian per branch could not come to fruition because "the administration had determined that, system-wide, about one-third of the library use was attributable to children, one-sixth to young adults, and one-half to adults. In fact, as a result of [these] data, fewer librarians were assigned to young adult work" (Braverman 67). The manning tables were further problematic because they based promotions and salary raises only on administrative responsibilities, and not on service work. Miriam Braverman notes that "the school and reference librarians were penalized,

¹⁶² Twenty-one new branches would be built between 1950 and 1965 (Braverman 66).

for they helped with administrative duties but did not carry administrative responsibility for them, as did those in the combination young adult and assistant branch librarian positions” (69). The result was that, to be promoted within the NYPL, most young adult librarians also had to become assistant branch librarians, meaning that they could not specialize in young people’s services full time, and that, at the branch level, services for teens always came second to daily branch work. As a librarian at the Morrisania branch wrote in the 1956-1957 annual report, “work with young people will always be the half that will suffer, [because] so many of the duties of the first assistant *must* be done at a particular time, and often the young adult work is not done in order that the other can be” (70). The lack of full-time specialists in young people’s services also meant fewer class visits to the library. The decline was steep; 5 674 classes visited the library in 1950-1951, compared to 1 652 classes in 1954-1955, and only 868 classes in 1962-1963 (72). As Joan Atkinson notes, “at the time of her retirement, Mabel Williams had witnessed both tremendous expansion during the thirties and a disheartening cutback of service to young adults after World War II” (30-31). With the arrival of the manning tables, however, greater cutbacks were still to come. The corporate mentality that was about to sweep through the publishing houses had already hit large library systems, like the New York Public Library. Between that mentality and a general shift in teen library use from recreational space and texts to assignment-based reference work, the type of young adult services that Mabel Williams had envisioned, in which the library played a key role in the daily lifestyle of teenagers, seemed to disappear.

Nixon-era cuts

In 1966, as Harper & Row was celebrating its massive success in the textbook industry, Howard Foster, the investment researcher who had calculated the house's field report for that year, included a quiet warning amongst the good news he presented to Harper: "There are, of course, many uncertainties which still exist. Sales may not increase as rapidly if there is a cutback in Federal and state aid or if the various buyers are unable to spend the funds allocated to them" (2). Looking back, Foster seems eerily prescient. When the Nixon administration came to power in 1969, it hurriedly dismantled Title II of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act—the funds that had allowed school libraries to purchase unprecedented quantities of new materials. The American Library Association (ALA) had perceived the possibility of such cuts and, as Ellen Swain observes, "began preparing for battle as early as 1968 by focusing efforts on establishing an independent agency to direct long-range planning and oversight and to establish a national library policy" (52). The National Commission on Libraries and Information Science (NCLIS) was signed into law—by President Nixon—on July 20, 1970, with a mandate to serve as a continuing federal planning agency. Swain suggests that the NCLIS "became invaluable for developing goals and studies that addressed the needs and status of the nation's libraries" (52). It seems, however, that with an annual budget of only \$200 000 in 1972-1973 (which paid for five staff members and occasional meetings) the NCLIS possessed little power other than to suggest ideas. When Nixon announced that there would be no

recommended funding for ESEA Title II funds during 1974, it was individual members of the ALA—who happened to be attending the ALA Midwinter meeting in Washington when Nixon made his announcement—who “rushed to Capitol Hill, armed with budget figures hot off the press to inform their law makers from ‘both sides of the aisle’ about the latest plot perpetrated by the Administration to wipe out categorical library aid” (Cooke 147). With the help of media coverage, the ALA eventually won that round, convinced Congress to appropriate \$151.2 million (instead of zero), and saved some library programs from extinction (147). The ALA was not able to fight every funding change, however, and library funding continued to be cut due to the Nixon administration’s focus on educational reform and call to “halt ... ‘throwing dollars at problems’” (143).

Publishing houses were also indirectly hit by the Nixon-era cuts. A July 18, 1969, list titled “Suggested reasons for decline in Junior book sales,” found in the Harper & Row archives, lists the first reason as “Reduced Federal funds.” The second is that “Junior books for library and classrooms have a low priority in use of local funds compared to pre-federal fund years,” once again suggesting that schools and libraries were prioritizing math and science texts over trade children’s books. The unknown author further proposes that the low priority in junior book purchasing stems from the fact that “libraries [were] considered to be adequately stocked during previous years when funds were available,” and thus are less likely to purchase new texts. The fourth reason suggests that the decline is due to “Harper obtaining a smaller market share due to increased percentage of titles

available from other publishers.” Indeed, if the statistics included in the list are correct, then Harper & Row—one of the largest publishing houses in America—published fifty-four new titles in 1968, which comes to 2.33% of the industry total (2318 new titles). The implication is that of overproduction: as publishing houses rushed to make the most profit from purchases made through federal funding, their expansion became, to some degree, overexpansion. In an interesting parallel to children’s book publishing at the beginning of the Depression, the market had once again become saturated by the plethora of books available.¹⁶³ Similarly, just as the Depression signaled a crash in children’s book production, so too the late 1960s/early 1970s experienced a similar crash (although not to the same proportions). Parallels between editors may also be observed in Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich’s 1971 dismissal of Margaret K. McElderry, which Leonard Marcus hails as “the greatest act of managerial folly since the firing in 1932 of May Massee by Doubleday” (*Minders* 246).¹⁶⁴

The collective mindset of the network was shaken by the Nixon era funding cuts. In her June 19, 1969, letter to children’s science writer Millicent Selsam, Nordstrom expressed her frustration with the situation:

The Nixon Administration cut the Federal funds for books from 42 million to ZERO. There is a lot of pressure being put on congress and on the administration to restore at least part of these funds, of

¹⁶³ As John Tebbel writes: “paradoxically, it was the great successes of the twenties that were the root cause of the crisis in children’s book publishing which occurred in the early thirties” (“For Children” 26). This crisis is discussed in more detail in Chapter Two of this dissertation.

¹⁶⁴ Just as Massee was quickly hired by Viking, so Atheneum hired McElderry.

course. But I doubt that we will get any of them back for a very long time, certainly not until after this disastrous Vietnam venture is concluded. So sales are down and I can't paint you a pretty picture and say they are not! (*Dear* 274)

For Nordstrom, the Nixon cuts assaulted not only her book sales, but also her ideology. She writes to Selsam, "the whole swing in the country is simply heart-breaking School bonds are defeated over and over again in communities across the country. The whole trend is away from everything we've believed in" (274).

Further events reflecting the ideological transformation of the publishing world were demonstrated by employment disputes at the houses. Members of the Association of Harper & Row Employees went on strike on June 17, 1974, after they clashed with management regarding the terms of a three-year contract. Although the strike only lasted seventeen days, it was "the first employee walkout to affect the publishing industry since the days of the Great Depression" (Marcus, *Minders* 267). The Harper strike, moreover, was followed by a brief strike in October of the same year by workers at Macmillan. The cause of the Macmillan strike was the abrupt firing of one hundred book division people, including some working in the children's book division. As John Tebbel records it,

The firing had come virtually without warning and, as the *New York Times* reported, the action cast Macmillan's offices ... into 'confusion and turmoil. Weeping, people wandered the halls and

cubicles; some of those dismissed, or fearful of dismissal, slipped out for a quick drink or took tranquilizers”” (*Between* 366)

Less than a month later, Macmillan cut its trade list by fifty percent, thereby firing seventy-nine more employees (366).

The mass firings and subsequent strike were examined for two months by the National Labor Relations Board, who concluded in January, 1975, that Macmillan’s actions responded to increasing economic pressure. The general feeling amongst employees, however, was that the dismissals were attempts by the company to prevent the formation of a union. As Leonard Marcus observes, for seven months before the firings, the Local 153 of the Office and Professional Employees International Union (OPEIU) had been working to form a union at Macmillan. On Friday, October 11, 1974, OPEIU informed Macmillan management that it had contacted the National Labor Relations Board to ask for a referendum regarding unionizing workers in the house. On Monday, October 14, the management dismissed the first hundred employees (*Minders* 268).

Decisions regarding who to fire, furthermore, directly affected members of the female junior novel network. Besides the move to unionize, another issue that may or may not have led Macmillan’s managers to dismiss so many of its staff was a complaint filed the previous month by female employees. As Eleanor Blau, a *New York Times* journalist covering the story, reported on October 16:

In response to complaints of women employees, State Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz last month charged Macmillan with sex discrimination in its hiring and promotion policies in a complaint

filed with the State Division of Human Rights. Yesterday, his office moved to subpoena the chairman and president of Macmillan, Inc., Raymond C. Hagel, for a list of dismissed employees in connection with the discrimination charge. (40)

Macmillan's juvenile marketing director, Janet Schulman, was one of the employees who had participated in the discrimination charge, and who had also been fired (together with five members of her department) in the first wave of dismissals.

It seemed that most employees possessed little recourse against Macmillan. On the Friday before the Monday firings, Macmillan management had summoned Susan Hirschman,¹⁶⁵ director of Macmillan's children's books department, to a confidential meeting, in which she was informed that she would have to dismiss half of her staff and cut her list by fifty percent. Hirschman spent the weekend brainstorming alternative plans. She delivered her ideas the following Monday, but "when management, without responding to her, announced the company-wide firings later that day, it became clear that no one had bothered to consider her ideas" (Marcus, *Minders* 268). Hirschman and her managing editor, Ada Shearon, resigned in protest.

¹⁶⁵ Hirschman had been second-in-command to Ursula Nordstrom at Harper & Brothers/ Harper & Row from the mid-1950s until 1964.

No more immunity

As Hirschman's and Shearon's protests demonstrate, editors of the female junior novel network were not immune to the changes rapidly appearing in their publishing houses. While the network's connections had been able to protect some of its members in the past (particularly during the upheaval caused by the Depression), no such help was available now. One of the main differences between the network at the end of the 1960s/early 1970s and the network during its heyday in the 1940s was the loss of powerful individual voices. The first generation had been built by influential individuals in the areas of librarianship, editorship, and bookselling/criticism. The second generation had formed around those powerful individuals, and had worked to build collaboration between the areas. The voices that had once provided the main source of authority in each of these areas, however, were slowly starting to fade away.

Frederic Melcher, one of the few men who participated in the network, and who had, with Franklin Mathews and Anne Carroll Moore, started the first Children's Book Week in 1919, died in 1963. He remains perhaps best known for his proposal—and subsequent development—of both the Newbery and the Caldecott medals. He died a week before he was scheduled to announce the 1962 winners. May Masee, a publishing force right up to her retirement in 1960—and afterward, since she “did not take to semiretirement any more gracefully than had a number of her peers” (Marcus, *Minders* 217)—died on Christmas Eve of 1966. Margaret Scoggin, who during her forty-one years at the New York Public

Library had seen the prodigious expansion (and then decline) of young adult library services, died on July 11, 1968, at the age of sixty-three (Atkinson 34). And Anne Carroll Moore, the woman who had, in many ways, started the network, died on January 20, 1961, at the age of eighty-nine.

Not all voices were permanently lost, of course, but by the early 1970s many women in the second generation were leaving the establishments they had often helped to build. Margaret K. McElderry had been offered no choice when she was fired from Harcourt, Brace in 1971, but the reason for her dismissal, as offered at the time of her termination, demonstrates the new sense of publishing that seemed to be spreading at that time. McElderry may have been the first editor to have texts on her list that won both the Newbery and the Caldecott awards in the same year, but, as the young men who dismissed her explained, “the wave of the future has passed you by” (qtd. in Hearne 771).

In 1973, Ursula Nordstrom made the shocking announcement that she was taking early retirement from Harper & Row. The reasons for her decision are not entirely known, but Leonard Marcus suspects that the triggering event was a slight leveled at her during a Harper stockholders’ meeting, likely the mentioning of her name for a position on the board, but no actual voting for it (*Minders* 262). The larger context, however, may have been Harper’s shift, like that of so many houses, to a more business-oriented approach to publishing. Nordstrom did not entirely retire; she continued to edit a few books a year for her own Ursula Nordstrom imprint, but she did so from her new home in Connecticut, and thus separate from other editors and librarians in the network. In a December 26, 1974,

letter to her past assistant, Barbara Alexandra Dicks, Nordstrom expresses her nostalgia for the daily operations of the network:

I have adjusted to not being in the eye of the hurricane (of course I have created my own UN hurricane at this desk and in this bedroom-office) but I do miss the opportunity of LISTENING to young hopeful writers and artists.... Also to the young people in the Jr. Book Department, of course. Well, I listen by phone and by letters, but the head-to-head meant much to me. Everyone always gave me so MUCH stimulation and excitement that I almost had to give some of it back or I would have overflowed, and so much stuff going back and forth all the time. (*Dear* 361).

By the mid-1970s, the female junior novel network had virtually disappeared. Traces of it remained in the careers of people who continued to work in editing and library services, but the collaborative essence of the network seemed to have disappeared with the female junior novels themselves. The shift was probably first signaled by the number of men who started to become children's book editors. In 1962, Michael di Capua became the first male editorial staff member at Macmillan. When Susan Hirschmann left Harper & Row, Nordstrom replaced her with Ferdinand N. Monjo, who had previously been a staff editor. Walter Lorraine became the manager of the children's book department at Houghton Mifflin. When Richard Jackson, a graduate of the New York University's Graduate Institute of Book Publishing had telephoned Doubleday's children's book editor, Margaret Lesser, to inquire about possible internships in

children's book editing at her department, Lesser responded, "'What would I do with you?' she gasped, only half in jest. 'You're a man!'" (qtd. in Marcus, *Minders* 232).

The growth of the publishing industry from the mid-1960s onward meant that children's book departments were no longer small sections of publishing houses, but large areas in which dozens of editors worked. It may have been that the network's ability to collaborate as much as it did was predicated on its small size. Once it grew, once editors no longer liaised directly with librarians, or with each other, once members stopped knowing exactly what editor would publish what type of book, and once librarians and critics became unable to read the majority of the new texts that were being produced each year, the essence that formed the female junior novel network was gone. Children's books continued to be published, of course, but the professional culture in which they were now generated was no longer that of a collaborative female dominant society within a larger patriarchal publishing sphere. In that disappearance, perhaps, was hope: perhaps the dissolution of the female dominant society would mean that women could now gain access to the upper management echelons of publishing houses. As late as 1985, however, that did not appear to be the case. In that year, John Donovan, executive director of the Children's Book Council, articulated his disappointment at the continual barricade that women seemed to face in publishing:

Perhaps there are now more women not quite getting to the top than there were more than a decade ago. That's a kind of progress,

I guess....[But] that the women who work in children's books—those who have made fortunes for publishers—have not ended up running those same companies is an astonishment. (qtd. in Marcus, *Minders* 287)

One can only hope that, in 2010, women—and men—have worked together to smash that barricade. If they had been able to do so during the heyday of the female junior novel network, I suspect that the world of children's and young adult books and library services would have been very different.

Coda

The Nostalgia Press

When I first started this dissertation project, I wandered around the internet in search of old copies of the female junior novels. My usual sources of these texts—library sales—had run dry in the mid-1990s, when the books had become so outdated that even the good condition of their hardcover library bindings could not keep them on the shelves, nor could the librarians who had grown up reading them themselves (and who were now starting to retire). Thus, as I sat at my computer in 2005, I could find old copies of female junior novel titles in online used book retailers, as well as on large auction sites like Ebay. What surprised me, however, were a few websites that sold the same texts, but in *brand new editions*. That is, these new texts look the same: they have the same cover image and the same pagination as the originals. They also have the same content. The only significant difference is that the new editions are paperback, rather than hardcover.

Image Cascade (www.imagecascade.com) had, and continues to have, the largest selection of these re-printed female junior novels, by authors such as Rosamond Du Jardin, Janet Lambert, and Anne Emery. The company focuses on girls' series novels from the 1930s through 1960s, including those by Lenora Mattingly Weber, Helen Dore Boylston, and Catherine Woolley. The website lists all novels by both author and series heroine, and includes both an image of the cover art and a blurb about the content of each novel. The blurbs appear to be the

only new addition, since they do not correspond with the jacket flap content found on the original dust jackets.

Besides the image and blurb for each novel, the website includes several other components, such as “About the Authors,” “Reader Testimonials” and “Book Reviews.” What I find most interesting about the Image Cascade website is that every section in it seems to purposely emphasize one’s sense of nostalgia—even if one did not experience the 1940s or 1950s. The logo font is in a style reminiscent of 1950s glamour-style advertising. Each page includes images from one or more of the texts. The Book Reviews section reprints praise from the original critics, including those from the *Horn Book Magazine*, the *Kirkus Reviews*, and the *New York Herald Tribune*. The “About the Authors” section includes biographies of each author, and here, too, the text is celebratory and slightly nostalgic:

Our authors have lived rich lives with endless sources of creative inspiration. Just as their stories and characters are inspiring, so too are their own lives. They have been pioneers in their field—ahead of their time in career pursuits, independence, and persistence in the publishing world. We salute them for their endurance and fortitude, and thank them for sharing their gifts for story telling. We are grateful to our authors and authors' families for permitting us to bring back their works for all to enjoy. We are grateful to you for supporting them.

The original authors of these texts are not just the women who created them, they are noble pioneers, women who should be thanked and saluted. I cannot belittle the use of such rhetoric, since I also use it at certain points in this dissertation, but I can question its role in the sale of these texts. Why use such language to describe texts and authors that many people would view as silly, superficial, even insipid?

I am reminded of a line from the television show *Mad Men*, which in many ways is, itself, a form of commodified nostalgia. In the first episode of the second season, two of the protagonists, Don Draper and Peggy Olson, discuss the use of sex in advertising:

Peggy Olson: Sex sells.

Don Draper: Says who? Just so you know, the people who talk that way think that monkeys can do this. They take all this monkey crap and stick it in a briefcase, completely unaware that their success depends on something more than shoeshine. You are the product. You feeling something. That's what sells. Not them. Not sex. They can't do what we do and they hate us for it.

(“For Those Who Think Young”)

Nostalgia print companies like Image Cascade are obviously not selling sex—in fact, their emphasis on “heart warming stories of family, love, and timeless values” (“Bringing Back Your Favorite Books”) seems to suggest the opposite. Their use of old images and fonts, however, as well as the readers’ testimonials, suggests that the texts they sell—the female junior novels—are not actually

products so much as mechanisms through which purchasers can *feel* a sense of nostalgia. The nostalgia is the product; the texts are the method through which a person can access that nostalgia.

The readers' testimonials support this notion of commodified nostalgia. As one reader writes,

My mother and I have been searching for a set of these books for over 30 years I want to say how grateful and thankful I am that you have re-published them. It has been absolutely wonderful to delve into them again, and *relive many happy moments from my adolescence*. (“Readers Testimonials,” my emphasis)

Similarly,

I loved Sue Barton when I was young, and so did my friend, Carolyn. In fact, these books helped her decide to become a nurse. She's been a very good one for many years. Now I'm purchasing these as a gift at her retirement party! (“Readers Testimonials”)

In *Nostalgia: Sanctuary of Meaning*, Janelle L. Wilson traces the transition of nostalgia from pathology to emotion. Before the late nineteenth century, nostalgia was treated as a disease in which patients “dwell obsessively on images of home. Nostalgia. ... was a disorder of the imagination. Those suffering from it fantasized about home, leaving no psychological space for thoughts about the present world” (22). Wilson suggests that, in today's society, nostalgia is understood to be an emotion, fixed more on a sense of time than a sense of place.

She notes, however, the unwieldiness of the concept, particularly when one examines it against actual events:

That the nostalgia we experience is often for a past that did not exist (at least not exactly the way our nostalgic vision would suggest) also adds to the difficulty of grabbing onto and grasping the meaning of this term. Nostalgia ... is both cerebral and visceral. The head knows that what is being fondly recalled *wasn't really* that way, but the heart finds comfort in the feeling. (23)

Political scientist Kimberly K. Smith also traces the history of nostalgia, but perceives its transition from “a stable agricultural society to a highly mobile industrial one” (515) as a signal that nostalgia “is not simply a neutral description of a modern emotional quirk, but an ideologically charged construct” (515). As such, Smith suggests that nostalgia “reflects long-standing debates about whose memories count, what kind of attachments and modes of life are valuable” (515-16). Smith further notes contemporary studies of public memory, which she suggests “tend to identify memory—particularly nostalgic memory—as a conservative, solidarity-building element in politics, not as a legitimate basis for action” (518). She contends that the nostalgic subject may dismiss her own memories and longings because she interprets them as nostalgia, and therefore “[distrusts] them even as she experiences them. Nostalgia is a real phenomenon, no doubt, but it may stem from legitimate complaints about modern society” (522).

To me, Smith's analysis of the political role of nostalgia seems strangely parallel to Janice Radway's examination of women's romance reading. In *Reading the Romance: Women, Patriarchy, and Popular Literature*, Radway examines the complex social event of reading romance novels. She notes that reading romance fiction offers a certain amount of escape by allowing a reader to deny her present situation, while simultaneously offering instruction by improving a reader's knowledge and awareness of the world. As Radway suggests, "romance reading compensates... for a certain kind of emotional deprivation just as it creates the illusion of movement or change achieved through informal acquisition of factual 'knowledge'" (113). This combination of entertaining escape and factual instruction results, however, in a clash between two opposing value systems. The concept of learning through reading suggests a traditional value system which esteems hard work, duty, and thrift, while the opposing concept—the consumption of seemingly non-productive entertainment—is subversive to that traditional value system. To justify romance reading, then, is to affirm adherence to traditional values while simultaneously engaging in behaviour that is itself subversive to those values (118).

The act of engaging in nostalgia seems, in some ways, like reading romance literature. In both, one's legitimate complaints about modern society, or one's sense of emotional deprivation, are contested by a traditional value system that esteems action and hard work. Nostalgia is dismissed as "aberrant and unreliable emotionality" (Smith 522), while romance reading may be similarly dismissed for its seemingly non-productive status. In reading romances, however,

or, in the case of the nostalgia press, in re-reading texts from one's adolescence, these two concepts (romance reading and nostalgia) are granted a somewhat paradoxical legitimacy. The act of reading romances may subvert traditional values (while simultaneously clinging to them). Women who read female junior novels published by the nostalgia press, similarly, may experience and recognize legitimate feelings of longing for something "other" (while simultaneously dismissing those feelings as "purely nostalgic").

It seems to me, then, that the reader who claims to re-read the texts of the nostalgia press in an attempt to "relive many happy moments from [her] adolescence," actually uses the texts to express a form of rebellion against her current emotional situation. She returns to duplicate copies of novels she read in a seemingly better time, and in doing so she blocks her current age, relationships, career, etc. Perhaps, then, reading the texts of the nostalgia press is a kind of political act; a performance that expresses dissatisfaction with contemporary life.

Of course, one must also question how a woman re-reads these texts. Does she read them in exactly the same way as she did when she was a teenager? Or does she read with the new lens of adulthood? And, in relation to feelings of nostalgia, do these two different lenses matter? If, indeed, she does return to the female junior novels, and now finds them superficial and inane, does that affect her feelings of nostalgia? Does one's sense of nostalgia lie in the act of reading the texts, or in remembering what it was like to read them?

There are far too many questions to be investigated in this short coda. What is apparent, however, is that the republication of the female junior novels

through the nostalgia press positions those novels in a new light, and raises fundamental questions about the divide between teen reading and adult reading, and between young adult texts and adult texts. It also begs the question: why now? Why republish these novels now? Is it simply because the women who read these texts originally are now at an age that re-reading them provides a pleasurable reminder of their past? Is it that mothers and grandmothers want to provide their daughters with seemingly “clean” literature?¹⁶⁶ Is it because the rise of the internet has enabled companies like Image Cascade to operate on a relatively low-cost basis?

I suspect that any of the questions listed above could provide a partial answer to why the female junior novels are being republished now. I will also suggest one more, however: is it that something included in these adolescent romance novels for girls, written during the Cold War period, speaks to a need in women who are reading these texts in 2010? Do they suggest parallels between that period and our own? Does the republication of these novels today, as nostalgic commodities, suggest something about their readers’ dissatisfaction—

¹⁶⁶ Reader comments and retail outlets that sell texts published by Image Cascade suggest that there is a specific group of homeschool consumers who purposely purchase these texts because of their “cleanliness” and “quality” (as compared to novels for teens published today). One commenter on the “Dreamers into Doers” section of MarthaStewart.com (where Image Cascade Publishing has a profile as a “Dreamer into Doer”), noted that

I will have to get some of your books to read to my two daughters. We are starting home school this year and I am disappointed in the quality of books the home school program has me reading to them for language arts. Your books are a bright light in the darkness of today’s educational system. (Ewoldt)

Similarly, while Image Cascade texts may be purchased directly from their website, or from large retailers such as Amazon.com or second-hand booksellers like Allibris.com, they are also featured through Keller Books, “joyful purveyors of vintage children’s and traditional Catholic books” (Keller), who, as “a Catholic homeschool family (10 children and hoping...) ourselves, we buy/sell books that enrich, nurture, and inspire” (Keller).

even rebellion—against the world in which we now live? There is no way to tell, of course, but something in these texts, created by the women who established and developed the world of children's and young adult literature, remains relevant today.

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