1998

Carl Martin Luck Memorial Library, San Juan Bautista, California : a case study

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.31979/etd.k285-77pu>
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**CARL MARTIN LUCK MEMORIAL LIBRARY
SAN JUAN BAUTISTA, CALIFORNIA
A CASE STUDY**

A Thesis

Presented to

**The Faculty of the School of Library and Information Science
San Jose State University**

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Library and Information Science

by

Betty Lorraine Knutson

May 1998

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ABSTRACT
CARL MARTIN LUCK MEMORIAL LIBRARY
SAN JUAN BAUTISTA, CALIFORNIA
A CASE STUDY

by
Betty Lorraine Knutson

This thesis analyzes social factors influencing library development in San Juan Bautista, California; addresses the role of women in library establishment and maintenance; and constructs a narrative history of the library from the late 1800s through the present.

Library development in San Juan Bautista followed the pattern outlined by Lewis Stieg in 1952, and further developed by Ray Held in 1963. A major departure was found in the area of urban growth: San Juan Bautista's population has never reached two thousand, yet it has supported a public library for nearly one hundred years.

Research indicates that the role of women in founding a library began with a women's reading group in the 1880s. Creation of an all female library auxiliary in 1896; the philanthropy of a native daughter in 1974; and contemporary involvement of women offer evidence of sustained commitment by women to public library service in San Juan Bautista.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The writing of the history of the Public Library in San Juan Bautista has taken me on an often difficult but never dull journey. I acknowledge and express gratitude to the following people for their assistance with this work: Glenda Alatorre, Dorothy Avilla, Laura Botelho, Joe Cullumber, Renee Holthouse, Irma Konrad, Ken and Bonnie Laverone and the late Louise Perry, all from San Juan Bautista; Diane Dooling of Hollister; Donna Van Noy of Salinas; and Dr. Mark Still of San Mateo College, San Mateo, California. The staffs of the John Stienbeck Public Library and the Salinas High School Library in Salinas, California, the Carl Martin Luck Memorial Library in San Juan Bautista, and the San Benito County Library in Hollister, California, were most helpful during my research. To my thesis committee members, Dr. Linda Main, Dr. Debra Hansen, and Ms. Barbara Franco, I offer gratitude for their thoughtful suggestions and encouragement throughout the process. Finally, heartfelt thanks to my family for their patience and support during the development of this project.

B.L.K. May 1998

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CARL MARTIN LUCK MEMORIAL LIBRARY
SAN JUAN BAUTISTA, CALIFORNIA
A CASE STUDY

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

The importance of individual library history

In 1949 Andrew Horn published an article in the California Library Bulletin, titled "Library History; an unexplored field of research," in which he lamented the neglect of library history. Commenting on the "rich tradition" of the library profession in its education and scholarship efforts, as well as its social service, Horn suggested a number of reasons for librarians to seriously consider writing the history of their particular individual library, one of which is the following:

One of the characteristics of a profession is its literature, and by its literature a large segment of the public will measure its importance. A neglected aspect of this literature, and a field of study to which almost any librarian can contribute, is library history. Until detailed histories of individual libraries are compiled thoroughly and accurately, the larger history of American librarianship will not be chronicled (p.96).

The historical aspect of library literature has practical implications for the whole of librarianship. The understanding of a library's past events within the framework of the social, economic, and cultural context of its development provides tools for effective public relations, administration, and interlibrary co-operation (Horn, 1949). Shera (1952) attached great import to the utilitarian characteristic of the histories of individual libraries as a means whereby the "development of the library as a social institution" can be

determined (p. 24). In other words, when sufficient data on individual libraries has been garnered and interpreted, generalizations regarding the development of library systems as a whole will emerge and contribute to the understanding of the evolutionary process of their development.

Kaser (1978) uses the "biological analogy" to support his argument for the study of individual libraries. According to his thesis, the study of individual specimens provides "basic facts" leading to the grouping of species and on up to phyla. He contends that "we cannot know what happens in libraries (*plural*) [parentheses and italics in original] until we know what happened in Library A, Library B, Library C" (p. 186). Studies of individual libraries provide the factual material which forms the basis for "more encompassing kinds of research" (p. 186).

The pragmatic ramifications of the history of a profession are three-fold according to Conmy (1972). Such history is (1) an aid to problem solving, (2) provides perspective to professional knowledge, and (3) gives a sense of appreciation for the work of earlier participants in the development of the profession (pp. 208-209). Benedetti (1970) sums it up as follows: "To present the history of a public institution is to share a heritage with its users for present and future appreciation and understanding." This writer trusts that the current study will provide just such a vehicle of "appreciation and understanding" for the users of the library, in particular the public library in San Juan Bautista, as well as providing a resource for future studies of individual public libraries in California.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of this historical case study is threefold: (1) to contribute to the recorded historical knowledge of public libraries in California by compiling a history of the origins and development of the public library in San Juan Bautista, California; (2) to carry

out an investigation of the role of women in both the founding and the development of the library; and 3) to ascertain the societal forces leading to the founding of the library and how they influenced its development.

With respect to the first focus: Although there exists a number of brief library reports, newspaper articles, and minutes of library-related meetings containing historical material about the library, no detailed history of the San Juan Bautista Public Library has ever been written. One goal of this study is to bring together as much of this scattered material as possible to create a cohesive record of the library.

The second focus finds its roots in research carried out by Musmann in 1988. In her investigative work she found that 63 per cent of the public libraries established in California by 1910 were preceded by social libraries established by women's clubs. The library in San Juan Bautista is one of those early public libraries claiming this heritage. This current study is an attempt to show that women not only played a major role in the founding of the library, but have continued to maintain a high profile of activity throughout its one-hundred-year existence.

The third focus of this work is to examine how closely societal elements relating to the establishment of California public libraries in general fit into the pattern of development for the San Juan Bautista Public Library in particular. Stieg's (1952) research (discussed in chapter 2) indicated that those "causal factors" seen as important to early library development in the eastern United States did not always hold true for the founding of California libraries. For an overview of his conclusions see chapter 2, pages 35 and 36.

Importance of the study

The importance of the study lies in its capacity to ferret out sufficient information to create a written history of the San Juan Bautista Public Library, thereby adding to the body of library literature about California public libraries. The study also carries Musmann's research a step further by providing additional information on the continuing role of women in the development of a particular California public library whose roots are found in a social library created by a women's club. Finally, the information gathered through this investigation of the origins and development of the public library in San Juan Bautista provides the framework for a case study in which to test the "tentative theories" regarding the presence of those societal elements deemed important by Ditzion (1947), Shera (1949), Stieg (1952), and Held (1963) for the establishment of a public library.

Scope and Limitations

The scope of this study will cover the years from 1896 to the present and will address the origin and continued development of the San Juan Bautista Public Library for this period of time. It examines as many aspects of the library's development as the available sources of information allow. The study is limited to the public library in San Juan Bautista and does not cover the library of Mission San Juan Bautista.

Methodology

Research for this study followed historical methodology using primary and secondary sources as they were available to the researcher. Minutes of the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary, newspaper articles, California State Library records and material located in the San Juan Bautista Historical Society were searched for information

pertinent to the study. The local history collections of both the Hollister County Library, Hollister, California, and Steinbeck Public Library in Salinas, California, were searched for relevant information. In addition, interviews were conducted, in person and via telephone, with those residents of San Juan Bautista who have historical knowledge of both the area and the library. Profile worksheets (see Appendix D) were developed to gather information about the librarians and the major benefactress, Miss Francisca Luck who, in 1974, bequeathed her family estate to the city for a library/museum/park complex. This writer acknowledges that there may be other sources of information that she did not locate; however, all resources found were fully investigated. The resulting data was then analyzed and synthesized to create a case study report and history of the public library in San Juan Bautista, California.

Definition of terms

The following definitions are taken from a variety of sources as indicated in the parenthesis. Italics are this writer's explanation of how particular items are used for this study.

Case study: The gathering and organization of all relevant material to enable analysis and explication of individual units. (Webster's). *The individual unit in this study refers to a single public library -- the public library in San Juan Bautista, California.*

County library: "A library provided to supply the reading needs of people dwelling in a county. In America, a free public library service provided for county residents and financed from county tax funds; it may be administered as an independent agency or in co-operation with another library agency" (Prytherch, 1995, p.176).

Librarian: "One who has the care of a library and its contents, selecting the books, documents, and non-book materials which comprise its stock, and providing information and loan services to meet the needs of its users" (Prytherch, 1995, p. 377).

Public library: "A library provided wholly or partly from public funds, and the use of which is not restricted to any class of persons in the community but is freely available to all" (Prytherch, 1995, p. 523).

Social Library: "A definition that reflects the broadest current usage is a collection of materials, often housed in a reading alcove or room, assembled for use by any person able to meet the established requirements, which usually involved the payment of money" (Davis, 1994, p. 582).

Over the years of its development, the library in San Juan Bautista has been identified by a number of different names. The official name at the present is "Carl Martin Luck Library," however, "San Juan Bautista Public Library" is also used in reference to the institution. When appropriate, this work refers to the library by one of these two titles.

Arrangement of the remainder of the paper

The rest of this paper is arranged in the following manner: Chapters two and three are a survey of the library literature as it pertains to public library development in general (chapter two), and to California library development in particular (chapter three). The literature review is presented in Passet's (1994) format of the evolution of library historiography, in which she outlines three stages of library development: descriptive narratives, historical analysis, and historical revision. Among the topics covered are social library development, library legislation, the beginning of free public libraries, county libraries, library philanthropy, and women in librarianship.

Chapter four is narrative in nature, presenting a brief history of San Juan Bautista from 1797 to 1900, and the development of the public library from the early 1880s

through the present. The history of the library is traced from its women's club origins through the reading room, or social library phase, its organization as a free public library, affiliation with the county library system, the legacy of Francisca Luck and the resulting Carl Martin Luck Memorial Library. In addition, brief biographies of librarians who have served from the beginning of the library to the present are included.

Chapter five provides an analytical discussion of the theories of library development in California as presented by Stieg (1952) and Held (1963), and explains how these theories apply to library development in San Juan Bautista. The research of Musmann (1982) and Watson (1994; 1996) provide guidelines for reviewing the influence of the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary, a strong women's support group for the library, and the contributions of Francisca Luck, major benefactress of the Carl Martin Luck Memorial Library.

Conclusions and recommendations for further study complete chapter five, which is followed by a Reference List and Appendixes.

CHAPTER 2

THE LITERATURE OF GENERAL PUBLIC LIBRARY HISTORY

The evolution of library historiography

The evolution of public library historiography has produced three broad types of historical documentation: 1) descriptive historical narratives; 2) historical analysis; and 3) historical revisionism. In her contribution to The Encyclopedia of Library History, Passet (1994) delineates these types of library literature within related chronological periods of library development and provides examples of works illustrating each type. The current review of California public library history literature follows Passet's general outline. A brief explanation of the type of historical documentation under discussion appears at the beginning of the appropriate section in the general works portion of this work. Selected works from both general library literature and California-specific library literature, exemplifying each category of library historiography, are reviewed in their respective sections. By placing this review of California public library literature within the broad developmental framework of library historiography for the United States, it is anticipated that the reader will gain an understanding of their similarities. Just as the development of California's public library system followed the pattern of library development in the eastern states, i.e., from private libraries to social libraries to tax supported public libraries, so has the evolutionary pattern of library historiography in California, with few exceptions, followed that of library history for the United States in general: from narrative writings through historical analysis and on to historical revisionism.

Descriptive historical narratives

Comprising much of the public library development documentation of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the descriptive historical narrative most often finds expression in government reports, commemorative or celebratory works, and journal articles focusing on various aspects of librarianship. These works are "consensual [and] factual . . . containing little analysis and interpretation" (Passet, 1994, p. 261). According to Ditzion (1947) descriptive narratives are devoted to the "celebrations of great book collections, important libraries and library patrons, and to accounts of progress in librarianship" (p. ix). Du Mont (1977) refers to such writings as "house histories" and "optimistic accounts" serving as "promotional pieces" for the institution (p.4).

Among the earliest descriptive narrative accounts of library development in the United States is the 1876 landmark work of the United States Bureau of Education titled Public Libraries in the United States of America, Their History, Condition and Management. This volume of nearly 2,000 pages is a collection of essays about various aspects of librarianship including cataloging, library building development, works of reference, and the "professorship of books and readings" (pp. 230-240) among others. Pages 1012 through 1142 comprise the "General Statistics of all Public Libraries" including founding date, type (public, subscription, law, etc.), number of volumes, yearly additions, annual circulation, funding, and annual expenditures. A list of librarians in the United States covers pages 1143 through 1174. A chapter on the "Public Libraries of Ten Principal Cities" (pp. 837-1009) presents histories of libraries in Baltimore, Boston, Brooklyn, Charleston, Chicago, Cincinnati, New York, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and San Francisco, each of which offers a wide range of informative material for the researcher. The work makes no attempt to address social factors affecting the development of libraries. Its main concern is with presenting "the history of public libraries in the United

States; show their present condition; discuss library economy and management; and present as complete statistical information of all classes of public libraries as practicable" (p. xiii). In spite of some deficiencies the work, as a whole, "represents a landmark in the writing of library history. . . . the practicing librarian can still read it with profit, and the historian of American librarianship dare not ignore it" (Shera, 1973, p.132).

In 1894, eighteen years after the 1876 Report, Fletcher's Public Libraries in America was printed. Noting that the "public library . . . is the result of a long evolution" (Fletcher, 1894, p. 9), he traces the development of the tax-supported free library from its roots in the early social library through the labyrinth of library legislation to the modern institution so familiar today. Factors influencing the move to free public libraries included the lyceum lecture movement which created a "thirst for culture"; the establishment of school district libraries as a means to continuing education beyond basic schooling; library legislation permitting municipalities to tax their constituencies in support of libraries; and private benevolence: "no other public object seems to attract the gifts and bequests of the wealthy as does this" (Fletcher, 1894, p. 18).

Fletcher (1894) sets library legislation within a framework of five phases, four of which were in place, a fifth to be realized at a later date. The passing of acts of incorporation of social libraries constituted phase one, followed by the enactment of legislation to establish school district libraries in phase two. Phase three was the passage of permissive laws enabling towns to tax the population for support of libraries. In phase four legislation to establish State Library Commissions "to furnish . . . such advice and general assistance as may be required" (Fletcher, 1894, p. 24) was passed. The fifth phase, "not yet reached although plainly foreshadowed" was the "ideal library law" (Fletcher, 1894, p. 27) which would obligate towns to provide and care for libraries just as they are obligated to do for schools.

Fletcher's (1894) work addresses the library's responsibility to provide appropriate reading materials for its community; as well as discusses library buildings, classification and catalogues, library management, librarians, the American Library Association, and special libraries. This work appears to be the earliest attempt to see the library "historically as a social agency, conditioned by and emanating from its social milieu" (Shera, 1973, p. 134). It would be almost forty years before another "sociological interpretation" of library history would be attempted.

Works by Bostwick (1923), Conner (1931), and Daniel (1961) also find their place in the genre of descriptive historical narratives. In 1923 Bostwick wrote, "The modern public library believes that it should find a reader for every book on its shelves and provide a book for every reader in its community, and that it should in all cases bring book and reader together" (p. 1). His work, The American Public Library, is an overview of various aspects of library development which contributed to the implementation of this belief. He traced the history of these developments from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when the library began to move away from being an institution for a privileged few to one providing accessibility to the general populace. Among the topics discussed by the author were the institution of special services for children, minorities, the business community, and the physically impaired. Library support in the form of taxes, philanthropy, and donations, as well as the need for financial accountability by libraries, were also subjected to Bostwick's (1923) examination. Expanding library service was investigated by the author and documented in chapters that focused on the establishment of branch libraries, traveling libraries, and county library systems. Bostwick's (1923) work provides an accounting of factors related to library development without making any attempt to analyze how they affected that development. It does, however, offer the researcher an organized presentation of facts about many aspects of modern librarianship.

In 1931 Conner published her Outline of the History of the Development of the American Public Library. This work was meant to be an instructional tool, not a formal history of library development. Nonetheless, it provides a great deal of information that can serve as a springboard for investigative research on library development in the United States. As noted by the title, this is a work presented in outline form. It also offers brief essays on a variety of topics including the Colonial period of library growth, the organization of municipal library systems, methods of cataloging, education for librarians, and the development of library associations and societies. The second chapter of this work, "Factors in the Development of a Reading Public and of Libraries, 1800-1850," provides a list of social endeavors, including "the struggle for free schools" (Conner, 1931, p. 11), that influenced the growth of public libraries in the United States. She does not, however, explain how these endeavors effected the establishment of public libraries, but leaves it to the "instructors and students who use this preliminary edition [to] furnish corrections . . . so that it may be made into a work of permanent value" (Conner, 1931, p. ix). The value of Conner's (1931) contribution to works of library history lies in its wealth of factual material from which future researchers may draw in their efforts to address library development in America.

On June 19, 1956, President Dwight Eisenhower signed into law, Public Law 597, the Library Services Act. In 1961 Hawthorne Daniel published his Public Libraries for Everyone, a work that focused on public library development after the law went into effect. As with the two previous works discussed, this work also begins with an historical narrative about the beginnings of the public library in America. A discussion highlighting Melvil Dewey and the organization of the American Library Association is found in chapter two. The subject of the third chapter is library growth prior to World War II. In chapters four, five, and six the author discusses the origins and passage of the Library

Services Act, preparations for implementing the law, and the difficulties of carrying it out. As with most legislative acts, passage of the Library Services Act did not mean instantaneous implementation. The new law came under the duties of the "Services to Libraries Section" of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare's Office of Education. This broadened the range of the office's activities and necessitated a reorganization process before implementation of the Library Services Act could take place. In addition, librarians had to be trained, budgets drawn up, and educational seminars held for those who would be responsible for administering the program (Daniel, 1961). Chapters eight through twelve detail the implementation of the law on a regional basis, while chapter thirteen deals with "bookmobiles, progress, and the future" (Daniel, 1961, p. 165).

By virtue of its statistical nature and the fact that it contains little or no analysis, McMullen's (1976) article titled "The Distribution of Libraries Throughout the United States" finds its place in the historical narrative genre. The work offers a survey of changes in the distribution of libraries in the United States over the 100-year period dating from 1876 through 1975. The author also addresses three features of library development during the period under study: 1) changes in the number of kinds of libraries, such as public, special, and college libraries; 2) changes in control of libraries (roles of local and state governments, and voluntary organizations); and 3) changes in subject matter of special libraries (p. 26). This study presents tables showing changes in library distribution in relation to changes in population within four regions of the country: the Northeast, the North Central States, the South, and the West. Various kinds of libraries are discussed including social, public, college and university, college literary societies, business libraries, and "libraries of a charitable purpose" (McMullen, 1976, p. 42). McMullen's study reveals an increase in governments' roles in libraries during the period under discussion. Twenty-

four percent of libraries in 1876 were controlled by a government. This increased over the years to 35 percent in 1900; 61 percent in 1923; and 66 percent in 1951. A decrease occurred in 1974 (52 percent) largely because private libraries had increased more rapidly than public libraries.

A number of libraries on special subjects (law, religion, agriculture, etc.) are included in the study. One example will be detailed in this review: the libraries of science and technology. In 1876 there were about 100 science/technology libraries; by 1923 science/technology libraries were outnumbered only by law libraries; and in 1951, with 680 libraries, they led the special subject libraries "by a good margin" (McMullen, 1976, p. 49), medical libraries coming in second with 506 libraries. By 1974 science/technology libraries made up 17 percent of all libraries in the study's ten-state sample, up from 7 percent in 1951. Nearly 50 percent of those libraries were in California, a fact the author finds "not surprising because California had close to 40 percent of the population in the sample" (McMullen, 1976, p. 50).

This work offers the researcher a basis for consideration of the rapid spread of libraries across the United States; the appearance of libraries and, conversely, the disappearance of libraries in various regions; as well as where and how college libraries have been located in relation to the population.

Descriptive narrative library histories, though not interpretive nor analytical in content, offer a wealth of factual information from which the writers of interpretive and revisionist histories of library development have heavily drawn.

Historical Analysis

Historical analysis, referred to by Shera (1973) as "sociological interpretation" sets the establishment and development of the library within the context of the existing social

milieu. Employing social science methodologies, the library historian investigates "the library as a social agency . . . not an isolated phenomenon" (Passet, 1992, p.261).

During the 1930s a new approach to library historiography emerged whereby historians, using scientific research methodologies, began to examine possible social "causal factors" contributing to library development. In 1931 Bordon expressed concern over "the consistent failure of librarians to inquire into the economic and social beginnings of the library movement in this country" (1931, p. 278). His application of "sociological and historical" research principles to the study of library development reveals five social elements as probable cause for the "phenomenal growth" of the library during the period of 1850-1890: 1) The "work and example of the federal government" especially with regard to the publishing of the landmark work discussed in the previous section; 2) the interest of private individuals such as Ticknor, Pratt, and Lenox; 3) the establishment of public schools; 4) the growing voting power of the citizenry; and 5) greater wealth and leisure resulting from industrialization and shorter working days (p. 281).

Bordon was not alone in his concern over the "superficial investigations" of library development in the United States. Butler (1933) considered an in-depth knowledge of the historical origins of the library essential to a full understanding of the profession itself. Such knowledge would be acquired through investigative research of not only those areas identified by Bordon, but also the philosophy of library supporters and their notions of what a library should be (Du Mont, 1977). Additionally, a full investigation of curriculum changes within the educational system, as well as the level of education of the population, should be studied in an effort to determine the extent of their influence on the formation and growth of the library. By placing the development of libraries within the broader social context of their time, both Bordon (1931) and Butler (1933) deviated from

traditional library historiography and set in motion the trend for analytical research throughout the 1940s and later.

With the recognition of library history as a valid subject in the curriculum of colleges and universities, and the establishment of doctoral programs in library schools, the history of librarianship became, largely, the enterprise of academia (Passet, 1992). Dissertations by Ditzion (1947) and Shera (1949) are models for historical analysis of public library development in the United States. Focusing on early library development in New England, both studies reveal a number of possible factors contributing to library development including, among others, the importance of education, local pride, and a desire for self-improvement. However, Shera (1949) notes "the one basic element was economic potential" (p. 200). Ditzion (1947), too, lists "the abilities of communities to provide financial support to libraries" (p. 190) at the top of his list of "multiple motivations" for library development. These findings appear to support earlier theories posited by Bordon (1931) and Butler (1933) regarding reasons for the growth of the library movement.

Williams (1986) examines the "social conditions theory" in his "Public Library Development in the United States, 1850-1870: An Empirical Analysis." According to Williams the social conditions theory is not a theory but a rationale "for the selection of a set of variables considered to be most important to an explanation of library development" (Williams, 1986, p. 178). He notes the theory does not outline the "relative importance of the variables" (p. 178) nor state why they influence library establishment and development. Building on his interpretation of the works by proponents of the social conditions theory, Williams (1986) develops a theoretical rationale which he tests in his study. His rationale basically states that increased education creates the need for greater information resources, the development of which depends upon the economic ability of the community. Greater

economic ability will be achieved by the pooling of funds and other resources. The resulting growth of educational systems and libraries, especially in urban areas where rapid growth of mass communications media contributes to the education process, provides the educated populace required for industrialization and the establishment and maintenance of libraries. The independent variables, therefore, are economic ability, education, literacy, mass communication, urbanization, industrialization, and taxation (pp. 183-185). The goal of the study is to show "positive correlations between library development . . . and measures of these conceptual variables" (Williams, 1986, p. 179). His investigation indicates that education influences library development overall, but for public libraries economic ability was the greatest factor, and for college libraries mass communications proved to be the "top predictor." In his closing remarks, Williams notes the complexity of library development and concludes, "there is some merit to the classical explanations about the influence of the traditional socioeconomic factors on library development" (Williams, 1986, p. 197).

The worth of this work should not be underestimated. The author's theoretical rationale provides a framework within which future investigators of the founding and development of public libraries in the United States can carry out their research.

Historical Revision

Historical revision refers to the "practice of updating history on the basis of accurate, well-researched facts" (Katz, 1991). Two aspects of historical revision will be considered in this portion of the literature review: 1) The social control theory, and 2) feminist reconstruction: writing the women in.

Social Control Theory

Passet (1994) notes that "for the most part scholarship . . . reflected a positive outlook on librarianship" (p. 267). Nevertheless, Harris (1973) issued a challenge to traditional library history with his article titled, "The Purpose of the American Public Library: A Revisionist Interpretation of History." In this piece of revisionist history emphasizing the theory of social control, he proposes that the American public library was established by an "educated elite" to serve as a "stabilising agent in society" (Harris, 1973, p. 39), an agent whereby the "American way" would be ingrained into the minds of recent immigrants thus rendering them "harmless" to a social structure conducive to maintaining the elite status of the founders of the library. Librarians, according to Harris (1973), were a group of "authoritarian elitists" who, in their efforts to support the wishes of library founders, exercised a "superficial dedication" to the general public.

Garrison's (1979) Apostles of Culture: The Public Librarian and American Society, 1876-1920 examines the public library as an agent "for urban reform designed to cope with the problems of an industrializing society" (Garrison, 1979, p. xi). She notes that social control is practiced by all institutions, the library is no exception. According to Garrison (1979) the older upper-class leaders found themselves in a "precarious position" as "labor unrest" and "mass discontent" manifested themselves during the period under investigation. The founding and support of the public library was "one response to that troubling situation" (Garrison, 1979, p. xiii). Disorder caused by the "working class" was the result of ignorance. The library was to be a vehicle for educating the masses, and the librarian would be the educator, thus maintaining the status quo so favorable to the social elite.

Du Mont's (1977) work addresses the development of services provided by public libraries during the period from 1890 to 1915. Her investigation of the forces behind the

initiation of expanded library services brings her to the conclusion that "librarians thought of the public library as a social institution . . . propagating culture and supplying individuals with needed information" (Du Mont, 1977, p. 136) which served as a means for maintaining the status quo. She also looks at the role of philanthropy in the development of the public library, especially that of Andrew Carnegie, and concludes that he "envisioned the library as a supporter of the status quo. Once men had read of the economic laws and conditions, they would understand why things had to be as they were" (Du Mont, 1977, p. 62).

Feminist reconstruction

Writers of traditional American library history have paid scant attention to the place of women in the founding and development of the public library system in the United States. Ditzion (1947) gives short shrift to women by suggesting their "best contribution to the library movement was their eagerness to use the facilities of the public libraries" (Ditzion, 1947, p. 83). By supporting the cause of public libraries women's organizations were simply filling a void left by the loss of their influence as "an active force in their communities" (p. 83). If women's influence in library development was marginalized by Ditzion, their efforts were completely ignored by Shera (1949). He only briefly mentions women in relation to their contribution to the economy of New England (p. 9), and again with regard to their new educational opportunities in the 1700s (p. 42).

In the early 1970s, about the same time as the social control theories of library development appeared on the scene, Women's Studies became a vital part of the curriculum at many colleges and universities. Investigations into the history of women, and their role in all aspects of social, economic, and cultural activities related to the development of modern civilization, were initiated and carried out. Librarianship, too,

began in earnest to review the contributions of women to the profession. Works reporting the "historical role of women in librarianship" increased to such an extent that Davis and Tucker (1989) felt they warranted a chapter of their own in American Library History: A Comprehensive Guide to the Literature (Davis & Tucker, 1989, chap. 14). Titled "Women in Librarianship," this chapter lists a total of 52 works dating from 1920 through 1986, a meager offering in light of the fact that throughout the history of the American public library the majority of practitioners within the profession have been women.

However, the serious researcher will find abundant materials on women in librarianship in a number of anthologies and bibliographies devoted to the subject. Works by Heim and Wiebel (1979), Heim (1983), three annotated bibliographies published by the American Library Association and titled On Account of Sex (Goetsch & Watstein, 1993; Heim & Phenix, 1984; Phenix, Goetsch, Watstein, & Landry, 1989), and an anthology edited by Hildenbrand (1996), published under the title Reclaiming the American Library Past: Writing the Women In, offer numerous essays addressing the role of women in librarianship. Close scrutiny of these works reveals a characteristic common to traditional histories of the American public library: a glaring absence of accounts of the role played by women, individually and collectively, in the actual establishment of libraries. For the most part the writings focus on issues of concern regarding the status of women in librarianship and, to a lesser degree, the role they have played in the expansion of library services such as those offered for the benefit of children, youth, and scholars.

Two studies by Watson (1994; 1996) are excellent efforts to address the involvement of women in the actual founding of public libraries. Her 1994 work, "Founding Mothers: The Contribution of Women's Organizations to Public Library Development in the United States," records the work of women's clubs in the establishment of traveling libraries, State Library Commissions, and local public libraries.

She also reviews the role of clubwomen in seeking passage of library legislation allowing municipalities to levy taxes for the support of public libraries. In the state of Michigan she reports "the formation as early as 1863 of associations for the purpose of establishing public libraries" (p. 248). Such club activity was not unique to Michigan. In Illinois, Minnesota, Kansas, Texas, Oklahoma, and Idaho clubwomen organized library associations for the specific purpose of establishing public libraries. Special notice is given to clubwomen's involvement in Oklahoma as "remarkable" and extending "to almost every phase of state library activity" (p. 257). The State Library Commission, early library legislation, the building of a campus library for Oklahoma State University, and development of the State Museum and Historical Library owe much to the efforts of women's clubs in Oklahoma.

In her later study Watson (1996) chronicles "the library philanthropy of women of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries" (Watson, 1996, p. 159). Her research reveals a number of women whose personal financial donations were the foundation for the establishment of public libraries. Among these women she notes Helen Gould, heir to the railroad fortune accumulated by her father Jay Gould. Gould is credited with the establishment of two public libraries -- one in Roxbury, New York, the other in Irvington, New York -- as well as her "most significant library gift, a building on the University Heights campus of New York University" (Watson, 1996, p. 168) built in memory of her father. Throughout her lifetime Gould supported public libraries in various parts of the country as well as YMCA libraries associated with her father's railroad. During the first year of its existence the Dallas Public Library received a gift of \$1,000 from Gould, \$150 of which she specified for the purchase of children's books "since the use of the Library by young people was actively encouraged" (Watson, 1996, p.171).

In addition to Helen Gould, Watson (1996) lists four other wealthy women who were responsible for establishing public libraries: Isabella Blackstone financed the building of the first branch of the Chicago Public Library; Frances Skinner Willing built a public library in her father's memory in Manchester, Vermont, his birthplace; Mary E. Ryle established the "first public library in New Jersey" (Watson, 1996, p. 173) located in Paterson; and Emma Flower Taylor "fully funded" a public library in Watertown, New York. In the cases of Ryle and Taylor, each scorned the idea of appealing to Carnegie for funds. However, Taylor did follow the Carnegie pattern of requiring the city to provide a set amount annually for maintenance.

Women of modest wealth are also noted in the study. Sara Withers financed the establishment of two public libraries: one in her birthplace of Nicholasville, Kentucky, the other in Bloomington, Illinois, where she spent most of her adult life. Mary Ann Morse, about whom little personal information can be found, "left her entire estate" to the town of Natick, Massachusetts, for the purpose of "founding a literary institute" (Watson, 1996, p. 179). These are but two of several women philanthropists profiled in the study's main body; others are listed in the appendix along with descriptions of their efforts to establish public libraries.

CHAPTER THREE

THE LITERATURE OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY HISTORY

Descriptive narratives

The works discussed in this section include government reports, journal articles, and books published during the time period from the late 1800s through the 1970s. The focus of this section of the literature review is on the development of libraries in California, the earliest of which were private libraries. Selected works are, for the most part, presented chronologically by publishing date. Mission and other church related libraries are not included in this discussion.

Private libraries: California's first book of libraries

The first book devoted singularly to California libraries is Flora Haines Apponyi Loughhead's (1878) California Libraries in which she describes eighty-nine "principal" private libraries, most of them in the San Francisco area. Among those listed are the holdings of Hurbert Bancroft, Charles and M. H. DeYoung, Leland Stanford, Andrew Hallidie, Faxon D. Atherton, and others who played an important role in the cultural, political, and economical development of San Francisco and its surrounding settlements during the nineteenth century.

Her descriptions of the libraries include the types of materials and the number of volumes in the collections and, in some cases, detailed accounts of individual works which she found on the shelves. Thus, she notes that the "gem" of Hurbert Bancroft's religious collection is the "costly Concilios Provinciales Mexicano", four parchment folders containing records of the activities of three councilor gatherings held in Mexico during the sixteenth century (p.21). The information found in these manuscripts indicates the degree

to which a "then all-powerful church regulated secular and ecclesiastical administration of Spanish North America" (Loughead, 1878, p. 21).

In 1878 Hurbert Bancroft's collection contained 20,000 volumes on a wide variety of subjects: science, art, agriculture, math, music, history, and geography. California and the area of the Pacific Slope were of primary interest to Bancroft. For these specialties he gathered everything imaginable: books, letters, pamphlets, personal memorabilia, advertisements -- whatever addressed the history of the development of the western limits of the American continent. This vast collection is now housed in the Bancroft Library on the campus of the University of California in Berkeley.

Although Loughead's work is not a history of the public library movement in California, it provides important details about "public" libraries in existence at the time. In 1878, the familiar tax-supported public library of today was just beginning to emerge in California, however Loughead offers in her section titled "Public Libraries" descriptions of the California State Library, the University of California Library, and the San Francisco Mercantile Library, as well as the San Francisco Mechanic's Institute. Also included are short pieces on the Odd Fellows' Library Association and the libraries of the Knights of Pythias, YMCA, Art Association, Law Library, and the San Jose Library Association. Conmy (1970) notes that "Apponyi's [Loughead] work . . . made it possible for scholars to ascertain where some rare work might be on the one hand, and supplied an index of the extent of private culture in California on the other" (Conmy, 1970, p. 44).

Social libraries

Social libraries established in California followed the broad aims of American social libraries elsewhere in the country. Their purpose was to provide inexpensive reading materials to members of the community and to offer an alternative activity to the less desirable pastimes of the day, especially the frequenting of the local saloon. A variety

of social libraries materialized during the early stage of library development. There were reading rooms; fraternal libraries, often associated with the Odd Fellow's and Knights of Pythias organizations; association libraries, usually affiliated with a literary club; and professional libraries such as the Mercantile Library Association and the Mechanics' Institute.

In his report to the U. S. Bureau of Education, A. E. Whitaker (1876) noted that no free tax-supported libraries existed in the state at the time; therefore, the "principal libraries of San Francisco, and hence of the Pacific coast, . . . are those of the Mercantile Library Association, the Odd Fellows' Association, and of the Mechanics' Institute" (Whitaker, 1876, p. 992). By virtue of its being the oldest, having the largest collection, and "most nearly approximating a public institution" (Whitaker, 1876, p. 992), the Mercantile Library receives primary attention. The report on the Mercantile is replete with details ranging from difficulties in getting started -- societal instability, fires, and other "discouraging reverses" -- through twenty-three years of statistical tables showing collection, membership, and circulation figures. Fund raisers, building programs, book delivery, and the circulation process are described in meticulous detail. In June of 1868 a new building was completed and Whitaker (1876), providing a floor by floor account, reveals on which floors one will find the various collections. He also describes the three identical entrances "surmounted by arches" which bring the visitor into a "grand central entrance . . . 26 by 60 feet in extent, and 19 feet high" (p. 997) with an impressive staircase leading to the library itself. In addition, he reported that two stores and a large lecture room were located in the building. Whitaker (1876) admits to detailing the history of the Mercantile to such an extent that he has little room to address the remaining libraries.

In describing the Odd Fellow's Association, established in 1854, he notes it "has attained so eminent a position, and is represented by so universal a membership . . . throughout the entire coast [it] has become one of the great fountains of public influence" (Whitaker, 1876, p. 1002) and justly deserves a place in the 1876 report to the US Bureau of Education. At the time of the report the library held just under 27,000 volumes with a circulation of 7,000 volumes per month and a list of 3,735 members.

The Mechanics' Institute, organized in 1854, had as its objective "the establishment of a library, reading room, the collection of a cabinet, scientific apparatus, works of art, etc." (Whitaker, 1876, p. 1004). During the years between 1857 and 1876, the Mechanics' Institute, as "a representative of the industrial interests of the State" (p. 1005), hosted nine industrial fairs, each exhibiting the most recent domestic and foreign inventions on the market. Closing his report on the Mechanics' Institute, Whitaker (1876) notes that James Lick bequeathed a gift of \$10,000 to the organization, the "first bequest as yet recorded to a library in San Francisco" (Whitaker, 1876, p. 1005).

Twenty-three years later, in 1899, just as the era of the tax-supported public library was becoming a reality, and many of the early social libraries were closing, Public Libraries printed a group of essays under the umbrella heading of "California's Library Outlook" (pp. 209-230) which expressed grave concern for Whitaker's "principal libraries of San Francisco." In true narrative form, essays submitted by both Teggart (1899) and Clark (1899) detailed the demise of the Odd Fellows' Association Library, the difficult straits of the Mercantile Library, and the continuing progress of the Mechanics' Library. These essays provide abundant detail on circulation activity, collection content, membership rolls, and the financial affairs of the libraries.

Both Teggart (1899) and Clark (1899) appear to have some intimation of the decline of the social library which had been in existence in California for half a century. In

his musings over the plight of the subscription libraries Teggart considers the possibility that their "day has gone by" and perhaps nothing could be done to keep them alive much longer. Summarizing his "brief history of the general circulating libraries of San Francisco", Clark (1899) further comments, "What the future holds for the survivors is yet to be seen. But whatever it may be, the subscription libraries should be gratefully remembered for the benefits they have conferred upon society in the past" (p. 219). These essays offer the library historian a glimpse into the period of transition from the social library era to the tax-supported public library of today.

A much later work, Baker's (1959) "Rational Amusement in Our Midst," chronicles the growth of libraries in California during the 10-year period from 1849 through 1859. Because of its importance to later researchers such as Held (1963) and Wood (1978), an in-depth review of this work follows.

At the beginning of 1849 there were no lending institutions offering readers "books for information and pleasure" (Baker, 1959, p. 295), however by year's end a subscription library had been established in Monterey, and a reading room was open in San Francisco. These marked the beginning of the public library movement in California. The library in Monterey was the first library association to be established in the State with the express purpose of providing reading material to members of the community. Fees were nominal in an effort to encourage young people to use the library. In 1850 the second association library was formed in Sacramento by a group of businessmen. It soon became "little more than a periodical reading room" (Baker, 1959, p. 298). Disagreement over Sunday openings and controversy concerning the librarian plagued the library. Baker notes, "These difficulties were cut short by the fire of 1852, which consumed the books and silenced the arguments" (1959, p. 298). In 1851 the Vigilance Committee of San Francisco, whose activities helped create part of California's "wild" reputation, organized a

library for its members. Its exclusive character was criticized by *The Alta California*, a local newspaper. Nonetheless, the organizers continued with their plans and chose "The California Institute" as their name. The year 1853 saw the organization of the Mercantile Library completed with Colonel Joseph B. Crockett elected as chairman. The treasury held \$4,500 in subscriptions with the promise of an additional \$3,000. The library often purchased current fiction which was considered scandalous by "a few serious-minded individuals" (Baker, 1959, p. 300). However, the collection also included works on government, law, commerce, religion, philosophy, science, the arts, history, biography, travel, and literature. (p. 301). The Mercantile Library's success encouraged other groups to form libraries, since they wanted to read but did not feel welcome at the Mercantile. Baker (1959) notes that eleven new libraries were established between 1853 and 1856 (p.303). By 1856 there were fifteen libraries in the city, five of which could be considered "public."

Among the libraries formed during the 1853-1856 period was a library for Negroes with a collection of 250 volumes, including Gibbons Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, Ticknor's Spanish Literature, Hildreth's The History of the United States, and poetry by Scott, Tupper, Byron, and Milton (p. 303). Within a year the collection had increased to eight hundred volumes. Records are scant on this library, but Baker (1959) relates it was "mentioned as late as 1857" (1959, p. 303).

Other libraries organized in San Francisco during the 1853-1856 period included the YMCA Library Association (1854); the Odd Fellows Library (1854); the Mercantile Library (1855); the Society of California Pioneers library (1855); and the Hebrew Young Men's Literary Association (1855). Two libraries are recorded as belonging to volunteer firemen: "The Sansome Hook and Ladder Company, No. 3, and the Monumental Engine Company" (Baker, 1959, p. 305). In 1856, R. B. Woodward opened a reading room in

his "temperance hotel," the What Cheer House. Operating under the assumption that travelers wanted reading materials, he advertised his reading room throughout the state. Works of poetry, history, drama, biography, fiction, travel, and the classics comprised his collection. The Seaman's Reading Room and Library (1856) and the Swedenborgian Society (1858) can also be added to the ever-growing list of libraries.

During the period of great library activity in San Francisco, towns in the mining region were also developing libraries. At least seven mining towns organized libraries for their populations: Cold Springs (1854); Spanish Flat (1854); St. Louis (1854); Hawkin's Bar (1855); Columbia (1854); Shaw's Flat (1856); and Nevada City (1857). For each of the libraries in these mining towns Baker (1959) provides information on the organization process, who was involved, and what kinds of works made up the library's collection. An additional fourteen libraries are listed by Baker, some by name only and others with minimal detail accompanying their listing. The shifting populations in the mining towns resulted in the demise of all of these association libraries during the 1860s and 1870s; the one exception being the library in Nevada City.

Baker (1959) gives special attention to the library in Marysville which was the "first free library to be supported by a municipality in the state" (Baker, 1959, p. 310). Begun as a subscription library in 1855, the doors were closed within the year because subscription dues were not forthcoming. A reorganization took place and in February of 1856 the association was in operation again. By the end of 1856 it had 125 members and a collection of approximately 2,000 volumes with the circulation at 709 volumes. During 1857 difficulties over policies resulted in the president's resignation and the refusal of some members to pay their dues. Faced with inevitable dissolution, discussions were held to consider two possible sources of support to save the library: the City Council or the Masons. The City Council accepted the responsibility and the library directors deeded the

organization to the city, providing for all the citizens free access to its books. (p. 310). Baker notes further library activity in Sacramento and Stockton as well as in the agricultural region of California. Observing that the library movement in California was a "conscious effort to bring the comforts of civilization to the Far West" (Baker, 1959, p. 313), the author comes to the conclusion "that an excellent supply of reading [materials] . . . contributed directly to the energetic literary and historical output of many early Californians" (Baker, 1959, p. 313).

Baker's work is one of the most detailed articles available on the development of early libraries in California. He offers the researcher a wealth of material upon which to build an investigative work on California public libraries.

Legislation

Library legislation in California begins with the 1874 statute authorizing Los Angeles to create a public library. This special legislation, pertaining to only one city, was followed in 1878 by the Rogers Act, a portion of which applied directly to San Francisco. Both statutes were succeeded by a new library law passed in 1880, which in turn was replaced by library legislation of 1901. The 1901 law was amended in 1905 and further changes brought into existence the library legislation of 1909. The enactment of this series of library laws represented a gradual change in the state's attitude toward public libraries. (Held, 1973, p. 57). According to Held (1973) the 1878 Rogers Act was permissive, not mandatory, thus allowing municipalities to establish and maintain public libraries. The tax limitation was one mil on the dollar and the legislation limited the powers of library trustees. Municipal authorities were to oversee appointment of personnel, salary matters, and library buildings. New library legislation, replacing the Rogers Act, took effect in May of 1880. With this legislation the authority granted to the municipalities remained

permissive and the tax limitation was the same as with the earlier legislation. However, the trustees were to be elected just as other city officials instead of being appointed by the city council. The trustees were also given authority over library funds with the exception of real estate and building expenditures. Included in this new law were regulations regarding trustee meetings, and a requirement that the library provide an annual report to the governing body of the municipality.

In 1901 a new library law was enacted which still granted permissive authority to create a library, but also contained a compulsory feature requiring municipal authorities to establish a library if a petition requesting such action, signed by one-fourth of the electors, was presented to them. The legislative body of the city was also granted the option of closing a library if one-fourth of the electors requested such action. A two-year tax limitation suspension was included. After two years taxes would remain, for larger cities, at one mil on the dollar, while towns of 15,000 or less would pay two mil on the dollar. Under the 1901 legislation trustees were to be appointed for three-year terms, and were granted the previously denied authority to use library funds for buildings and real estate. Also, the 1901 law provided for women to be eligible as members of the library board; authorized interlibrary lending of library materials; and permitted non-residents of the city to check out books. In addition, this law gave authorization to the library to contract to provide library service to surrounding municipalities or the county. The law requested that a copy of the library's annual report be sent to the California State Library.

Held (1973) notes that the 1901 law was essentially the same for eight years, the 1905 amendments being minor details in regards to trustee activities. This law did request that a copy of the library's annual report be sent *immediately* to the State Librarian, in order to facilitate record keeping on the state level. In 1909 a fourth "major law" was enacted. The authority to create a library was still permissive, with the provision that one-

fourth of the voters could, by petition, obligate the creation of a library. To dissolve a library required a petition signed by 51 percent of the electorate rather than one-fourth as was previously required. According to Held (1973), these four major phases of library development "regulated the establishment and maintenance of municipal libraries during the formative period of the city library system" (Held, 1973, p. 57). Held's (1973) detailed chapter titled "The Legal Basis of Public Libraries" provides the most comprehensive account of California's early library legislative activity.

Public libraries

Works documenting the establishment and development of early free public libraries mainly take the form of journal articles. One of the earliest is Clark's (1899) essay on the San Francisco Public Library. He notes that the question of establishing a public library was under discussion during 1876 and by 1877 a bill had been drafted that, if passed by the state legislature, would provide the city officials authorization to create a free public library. The measure was passed and became known as the Rogers Act of 1878. The library board, named in the legislation, met in April of 1878 to organize and plan for the new library. The San Francisco Public Library was temporarily located on Bush Street and when funds became available in January of 1879, books were secured and shelved. However, the small supply of books and a "meager appropriation" made it impossible to loan books out until July of 1880. In 1888 the library moved to a wing of City Hall. In 1893 another move was made to yet another wing of City Hall which Clark (1899) found to be lacking in space, ventilation, and lighting, yet he states, "the conditions are vastly superior to the ones previously enjoyed" (Clark, 1899, p. 219). Clark notes that five branch libraries were in operation in May of 1899. According to Clark the library's progress was the result an "enlightened board" that had lifted restrictions on access to books, and made every effort to extend the library's services.

Kimball's (1899) report outlines the development of free public libraries in northern and central California. The public libraries of Alameda, Oakland, Berkeley, San Rafael, Santa Rosa, Sacramento, Stockton, Fresno, and Santa Cruz are included. For each he provides the date of establishment, current number of volumes, circulation figures, and financial status. In addition, he adds special notations about their locations such as the fact that Alameda is "one of California's most interesting cities, a favored place of residence for business men." He points out that San Rafael lies at the "base of Mt. Tamalpais" and has "an outlook on interesting scenery"; and about Berkeley he says, "There is but one Berkeley, and from the windows of its public library one may look out upon that 'road of passage and union between two hemispheres' -- The Golden Gate" (Kimball, 1899, p. 229). Kimball's (1899) report is typical of descriptive narratives: a lot of facts with no effort to analyze or interpret them.

Wood's (1978) "Public Libraries in California" presents California public library development in three phases. The first phase is that of "transplantation" which took place after the excitement of the gold rush had faded and the citizens of the new state began establishing cultural institutions with which they were familiar in the East. Libraries were among those institutions to be transplanted to California. Beginning with Reverend Willey's attempts to "civilize Monterey according to his standards" (Wood, 1978, p. 156) by the establishment of a library association, Wood notes that funds were raised and books ordered from New York publishing houses. Before they arrived Willey moved to the San Francisco area and did not see his project to completion. In 1854, when the capitol moved from Monterey, the town was no longer the center of political and cultural activity that it had once been. With the "demise of the town" the library association disappeared. After some thirty years, when the town became a tourist and fishing center, there was no library association "to assist in the cultural aspects of the resort's renaissance" (Woods,

1978, p. 157). The author touches on library development in San Francisco, and rental libraries in the mining region. He closes his "transplantation" phase with a brief account of the Mercantile Library Association in San Francisco. According to Wood (1978) the pattern of the early library associations spread throughout the state, creating libraries that were, for all practical purposes, public because annual fees were purposely kept low to allow as many people as possible access to reading materials.

In his second phase, "legal basis for the public library," Wood (1978) discusses the enactment of the Rogers Act of 1878, noting those aspects of the law which have already been discussed in this paper. Even though permissive legislation had been set in place, cities did not scramble to "tax themselves" to create a public library. With the passage of the law of 1880 more libraries were established and by the turn of the century about forty California communities had a tax-supported library.

The third phase, "professionalism and county libraries," is a discussion of attempts to provide library service to every county in the state. He gives a brief biography of James Gillis, who became State Librarian in 1889, then moves on to detail Gillis's work in establishing the county library system. Gillis began the "traveling libraries" modeled after those in New York. While these provided a measure of library service to rural areas, they were not "good enough for Mr. Gillis" (Wood, 1978, p. 161).

Wood (1978) closes his article with a brief account of the founding of a library school at the State Library in Sacramento. This was Gillis's lasting contribution to the "professionalization of librarianship" in the state. For many decades, graduates from the library school would be placed in important professional positions in the public libraries of California, leaving "an indelible stamp of professional excellence on the libraries of the land" (Wood, 1978, p.162).

County library system

County library service did not begin in California. As early as 1816 legislation was passed in Indiana permitting the establishment of county library service. In 1898 county extension work was in operation in Ohio, and, also in 1898, the Washington County Free County Library was established in Hagerstown, Maryland. (Kunkle, p. 105). California county library service was established in 1908, when the city of Sacramento contracted with Sacramento County to provide library material to outlying communities. The first county library branch, established in Elk Grove, Sacramento County, was located at the local high school whose principal, Harriet Eddy, became California's first county library organizer in 1909.

Eddy's (1955) work, County Free Library Organizing in California, is a personal account of the years she served as county library organizer for the State of California. This record, describing efforts to establish libraries in fifty California counties, includes many side comments about the people she met in her travels; the difficulties of working with some of the local politicians and librarians; and many of the personally rewarding experiences she had during the time she held this position. Her outline of the "plan" is simplicity itself: library service should be equal; it should be economical; and it should be complete. Equality meant the abolishment of any fees because many rural people did not have money for "extras." Equality also embraced the notion that "anything that can be circulated" (Eddy, 1955, p. 20) should be available to anyone who requested it. Economical meant eliminating the duplication of services, personnel, and labor that existed within the unrelated units of the municipality, the library district, and the school. Complete equated to the ambitious goal of organizing a county library system within every county of the state.

Eddy also discusses county library legislation and provides a comparison chart of the provisions of the 1909 law and the 1911 law. She explains two primary approaches to county library service: The contract approach, whereby the county contracts with a municipal library which then provides the required services; and the independent approach wherein a county library is established and sets up its own branches without assistance from a municipal library. A list of things to remember when organizing a county free library is included in Eddy's (1955) work. Her co-workers are remembered in special ways. For example, Eddy (1955) provides an account of Laura Steffens and her contribution to the county library effort, especially during her tenure as editor of News Notes of California Libraries (pp. 28-29). Finally, she discusses in chronological order, and in great detail, each of the counties she visited.

Kunkle (1969) also provides an excellent study of the county library system in California. Unlike Eddy, whose work is, in the author's own words, "[an] informal series of sketches meant to present the foundation upon which unified library service in California was based," Kunkle's work is more formal and presents great deal of information about factors influencing county library development. She discusses at great length the development of library legislation affecting the growth of county libraries, the leaders involved (e.g. James Gillis, Harriet Eddy), the role of the State Library Board of Trustees, and the Board of Library Examiners. Both Eddy (1955) and Kunkle (1969) offer the serious researcher a wealth of information and resources for effective studies of the California County Library System.

Historical Analysis

In 1952 Stieg wrote his "Notes on the Origins of Public Libraries in California, 1850-1900" in which he attempted to address social factors influencing the founding and

development of public libraries in California. He draws his list of factors from earlier works by Ditzion (1947) and Shera (1949). After investigating each factor individually he presents his conclusions. With regard to economic factors he finds that economic fluctuations or local business depression are not necessarily deterrents to the establishment of libraries. Perhaps a "stable income is no more essential than philanthropy" (Stieg, 1952, p. 264). According to Stieg (1952) universal public education is an influencing factor in the development of libraries in California. He suggests "it is more than coincidental" that compulsory public education was an important issue at the time of the passage of California's first general library law (p. 265). As for the influence of social libraries he "tentatively concludes" that while they may have been helpful in the establishment of libraries they were not essential (p. 266). Urban population seen as very important by earlier historians does not appear to be critical in the case of library development in California. Stieg (1952) concludes that effective leadership, whether by an individual or a group, was an essential factor in the establishment and growth of libraries. Local pride and self-improvement are both important, while scholarship and research are relatively unimportant in library development in California. Finally, with regard to legal status the author suggests the establishment of a library is "much more certain if the necessary legal steps are relatively simple and can be promptly executed" (Stieg, 1952, p. 267). More often the desire to organize a public library created the impetus to seek appropriate legislation. Locale aside, it appears that the "same social factors" influencing the founding and development of public libraries elsewhere in the country were at work in varying degrees during the formative period of libraries in California.

Two works by Held (1963; 1973) are models for historical analysis of California public library history. Although the call for library studies set within the social context of the institution came in the early 1930s, Held's writings did not appear until more than

thirty years later. To date, these two volumes are still the only comprehensive studies of public library development in California. His 1963 work, Public Libraries in California, 1849-1878, documents the development of social libraries in California beginning with the establishment of the Monterey Library Association in 1848. Held provides background information on the libraries of the mining region, the San Francisco area, the river towns, and other places in California. According to Held (1963) the library activity during the first fifteen years of California's statehood indicates a "natural phase of community life" (Held, 1963, p. 33); its importance lies not with any connection to later developing libraries, but with its ability to establish and maintain a "book-centered organization" functional for the time.

Special types of libraries are also studied: academic, government and institutional libraries, Sunday School libraries, and a variety of reading rooms. The relationship of these libraries to the "main library movement" is also explored. Academic libraries were found to be too specialized to provide service to the general public. Sunday School and commercial rental libraries were outside the library movement and provided service to a limited clientele. However, reading rooms and libraries affiliated with an organization, but open to the general public, were very much within California's "main library movement."

In his discussion of the organization and operation of social libraries, Held (1963) concludes that most of the libraries failed from lack of financial support, which, in turn, could be traced to lack of interest. Some, such as the first library association in Monterey, fell victim to their environment and disappeared with the demise of the town. Even larger social libraries, though self-sustaining for several years, could not hope to offer services to the entire community. This realization led to the drive for free, tax-supported libraries.

Held's (1973) The Rise of the Public Library in California is a study of the development of free, tax-supported libraries. Assessing the effect of the Rogers Act on

library development he notes that, in spite of legal support, the library was a neglected institution. Change was coming about slowly; the early years of tax-supported libraries can appropriately be interpreted as a normal period of transition from the social library era to the modern public library era. This second work of Held's (1973) also addresses the changing role of social libraries, the legal basis of public libraries, as well as buildings and philanthropy (p. v). The last chapter briefly explores the development of California's county library system. The works by Held are of vital importance to the researcher attempting to understand the growth of public libraries in the Golden State. As noted earlier, Held (1963; 1973) presents the most comprehensive investigation of California library development, and the forces influencing that development.

Historical Revision: Social Control Theory and Feminist Reconstruction

Social Control Theory

A review of the literature of California library history found only one work emphasizing the theory of social control as a reason for the establishment of the public library system in California. In her work on the role of women's clubs in founding libraries, Musmann (1988) states, "The motives that prompted WCTU members and women's clubmembers to establish reading rooms and libraries were similar to the motives that Harris (1973) and Garrison (1973) attributed to early libraries on the East Coast" (Musmann 1988, p. 200). A "fear of instability and violence" motivated California's clubwomen in much the same way as similar fears motivated early library supporters in the East (p. 201). In her analysis of statements by and about women library founders, Musmann concludes "they sought to influence and control social behavior by establishing libraries" (Musmann, 1988, p. 206).

Feminist Reconstruction

For the most part, women in California librarianship are addressed in the broader context of library development in the West. Passet's (1994) Cultural Crusaders: Women Librarians in the American West, 1900-1917, and her earlier (1991) article in the Journal of the West titled "Bringing the Public Library Gospel to the American West" are two such works. However, two other works which focus on the part women played in California library development are Musmann's (1988) "Women and the Founding of Social Libraries in California, 1859-1910" and Sallee's (1992) "Reconceptualizing Women's History: Anne Hadden and the California County Library System."

Musmann's (1988) investigation of the development of early libraries in California found that "over half of the first libraries established in California" (p. 108) were begun by WTCU chapters, women's clubs, and, in five instances, individual women. In forty-four cities with public libraries during the period under investigation the antecedent social library had been established by women. Thirty-one of these social libraries had not been so identified in earlier research. Concluding that "women played a significant role in the founding of social libraries in California between 1859 and 1910" (p. 205), Musmann suggests further research on the five individual women responsible for establishing social libraries. She calls for the investigation of "exclusively male organizations" responsible for founding early libraries as well as those libraries organized by groups composed of both women and men (p. 205).

Sallee's (1992) biography of Anne Hadden is a work of "feminist reconstruction of library history" (Sallee, 1992, p. 352). As such, it presents the untold story of one of the professional women working to develop the California county library system at the turn of the century. Sallee chronicles Hadden's birth in Bandon, Ireland, in 1874; her immigration to the United States in 1891 with her mother, four sisters and one brother; her graduation

from Oakland High School; and subsequent enrollment at Stanford University in 1897. In 1898 Hadden accepted her first library position at Stanford. Her years at Stanford were followed by employment as librarian at Palo Alto Public Library where, under her leadership, the library moved into its new Carnegie facility in 1904. In 1912 she began "hands on training in county librarianship" (Sallee, 1992, p. 358), having received her certificate from the first class in county librarianship offered by the University of California. In September, 1913, she began her job as county librarian for Monterey County. The city library provided an unfurnished, doorless room at the rear of its facilities for the county library headquarters, and during remodeling Hadden set up office in the garden of the boarding room where she lived. The library, having overcome a number of obstacles, opened in October. Hadden's work as county librarian included setting up library branches in Monterey County, requiring "arduous, often dangerous trips" (Sallee, 1992, p. 263) to remote areas of the county. Nonetheless, within six months five branches had been established with six more in the process. In addition, four school districts had joined the county library system.

Hadden's influence in Monterey County went beyond establishing libraries for the loan of books. Each county library she organized "became a source of social contact for its community" (Sallee, 1992, p. 362). Letters received from branch custodians provide insight into county life in the early part of this century. Hadden also engaged herself in the "development of local history departments in the county's main libraries" (Sallee, 1992, p. 363). The library repositories would prove dear to the people, as their treasured histories were in a safe place. After her resignation as Monterey County Librarian in 1929, she made her way back to the Palo Alto Public Library where she worked until her retirement in 1943.

Conclusion

The works discussed in this literature review clearly outline the evolutionary process of library historiography in both general works and California-specific works. Descriptive historical narrative accounts of library development provide a broad spectrum of information which can serve historical analysts and revisionist writers in their attempts to furnish other explanations of library development. An examination of all three phases of library historiography offers the historian many investigative approaches to the study of a single library. It is within the framework of library evolution from private library to social library to free public library that this study of the Carl Martin Luck Memorial Library in San Juan Bautista, California, is carried out. The resulting piece of literature incorporates, as resources allow, the narrative, analytical, and revisionist approaches to library history.

CHAPTER FOUR

A HISTORY OF THE SAN JUAN BAUTISTA PUBLIC LIBRARY

The setting: Historic San Juan Bautista – 1797 to 1900

They came from far and near to celebrate the Bicentennial of Mission San Juan Bautista, the fifteenth, and largest, of the California missions that dot El Camino Real from San Diego to Sonoma. Marking the occasion of the 200th anniversary of the mission were many special events including the re-enactment of the founding of the mission on June 24, 1797. A Native American blessing marked the opening of the four-day event which included the dedication of a statue of Padre Fermin de Lasuen, founder of the mission; the blessing of the newly renovated Mission Chapel; and the reading in the Matsun language of the names of some of the Native Americans buried in the mission cemetery. Interspersed with these most solemn events were lively entertainment, food, and games (Rodebaugh, 1997). Two hundred years earlier Father Fermin Francisco de Lasuen officiated at the 1797 dedication in the presence of Indians from the surrounding area and military troops stationed at the mission site. The service simply included the blessing of the grounds and the nearby water, and the erection of a wooden cross to mark the site of the future mission.

Mission San Juan Bautista grew at a phenomenal rate. By the end of the first year a granary, a guardhouse, four houses, a chapel, and living quarters for the missionaries had been constructed. During the same 6-month period eighty-seven baptisms, twelve marriages, two deaths, and eighty-five conversions were recorded. Livestock acquired included one hundred and fifteen cattle, one hundred and forty sheep, four pigs, six mules, and twenty-one horses. By the time the dedication of the mission grounds was accomplished it was too late in the season to begin planting. Therefore, no agriculture

report was filed in 1797; however, in 1798 the harvest of wheat, barley, corn, beans, and peas totaled four hundred and seventy-five bushels. The livestock inventory during 1798 was more than double that of 1797 with a closing figure of seven hundred and fifty-three head. Spiritual activities increased also. Baptisms were up by three times the previous year's figure, as were conversions. Marriages increased four-fold, and deaths were recorded at nine times the earlier figure—up from two to eighteen. These figures represent the Indian population only, as there were very few Caucasians at the mission during the early years. The mission records in 1832, the last year of Spanish rule before the Mexican government assumed authority in California, listed a total of four thousand and seventeen baptisms, one thousand and three marriages, and two thousand eight hundred and fifty-four deaths since the mission's founding. The main causes of death for the Indians were European diseases for which the natives had developed no immunity. In 1835 an order was issued by the civil government that secularized the missions and Mission San Juan Bautista was assigned the status of pueblo. This action essentially ended the mission era in California. The mission at San Juan Bautista continued to serve the community as the parish church, but its dominance of nearly forty years was in decline (Hogan 1993). Nonetheless, the mission "was the seed from which a community grew" (*The Pinnacle*, September 1992).

The name of the community that developed around the mission was a source of "long-standing confusion" (Thomas, 1996, p. 302). According to Edward Lamb (as cited in Thomas, 1996), the confusion derived from differing city limit signs reading "San Juan" and "San Juan Bautista" as well as references to the town as the "Town of San Juan." In addition, the post office's official title for the community was "City of San Juan Bautista" (Thomas, 1996, p. 302). In June 1942 a special election was held and the official name of

the city became "The City of San Juan Bautista" (Thomas, 1996, p. 304). The title "San Juan Bautista" is used throughout this work in reference to the city.

As early as 1814 a small community had formed around the mission, but, like most of California, real growth took place in San Juan Bautista during the gold rush period. In 1848 the first English speaking family, that of Patrick Breen, members of the Donner Party, took up residence in San Juan Bautista. Located on the main thoroughfare of California, the town was a primary point for rest and the replenishing of supplies. Margaret and Patrick Breen often extended their hospitality to many travelers passing through the town. Their house became known as "The United States Tavern Inn" (Clough, 1996, p. 39). By the mid-1850s there were three hotels in operation. The town's "business district" also boasted four general merchandise stores, a blacksmith, wheelwright, gunsmith, livery stable, bakery, jewelry store, a horse shoer, and "Third Street was lined with saloons" (Clough, 1996, p. 41). In 1854 the New Idria quicksilver mines began production, employing 300-500 men, all of whom purchased their supplies and food from the merchants in San Juan Bautista, helping to create a stable economy.

The settlement continued to grow and prosper in the 1860s, but there were natural disasters and development setbacks to contend with. Heavy rains during the winter of 1861-1862 washed away hillsides, drowned livestock, and delayed the planting of crops for many weeks. Normal weather returned the following year, but a dry winter in 1863-1864 produced little grass to feed the cattle. Many ranchers sold their animals for under \$3.00 per head, while others drove their animals to Monterey to be slaughtered for their hides and horns (Clough, 1996). During the 1860s new churches were built while, at the same time, lawlessness increased. Both a Baptist church and a Methodist church were built, the latter being divided as Methodist North and Methodist South because of loyalties relating to the Civil War. Outlaw activity was aggravated by claims of cessionist

connections. Union Army troops were stationed at San Juan Bautista to both quell secessionist activities and discourage lawlessness in general. In 1865 the troops were removed. A fire in 1867 destroyed many buildings, and in 1868 a terrible smallpox epidemic decimated the population of the community. About 130 persons or "25 per cent of the population" (Clough, 1996, p. 57) died over approximately three months. Also in 1868 plans were set in motion to incorporate the town, and "by October 9, 1869, the town was incorporated as 'The Inhabitants of the Town of San Juan'" (Clough, 1996, p.57).

The 1870s were not kind to San Juan Bautista. The Southern Pacific Railroad reached Gilroy in 1869, resulting in San Juan Bautista's loss of freight and stagecoach traffic to the quicksilver mines, the new city of Hollister, and the county's southern and eastern farmers. The loss of the railroad prompted many businesses to close or move. Clough wrote in 1996, "San Juan may have reached a peak population of one thousand to fifteen hundred in 1870-71" (p. 69). In 1872 the "unofficial census" showed only four hundred people in San Juan Bautista. Hollister had increased its population from two hundred in 1870 to over two thousand in 1873. When a new county was created east of the Gabilan Mountains, the citizens of San Juan Bautista felt that their city would be the county seat. A series of political maneuvers by those desiring this honor for Hollister prevailed and, in 1874, San Juan Bautista lost its bid for the seat of the newly created county of San Benito. The drought of 1877 threatened the "stable farm economy" that was keeping the community together. Rains arrived in January of 1878, but the drought was not completely over and many more people left the area.

Clough (1996) noted that the 1880s and 1890s were "uneventful" perhaps even "dreary" for San Juan Bautista. He listed the 1893 state-wide depression as having some adverse effect on the area, but because the farms were self-supporting the results were not as devastating as in other parts of the state. More importantly, the telephone came to the

community in 1893. In 1897 the big event was the centennial celebration of the founding of Mission San Juan Bautista. By the close of the nineteenth century a social library had been established in the town.

A library for San Juan Bautista

On August 29, 1974, an item appeared in the Free Lance, a newspaper published in the city of Hollister, California, reporting the efforts of the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary in tracing its history. In part, the article read, "The Auxiliary was formed in the 1880s by a group of ladies of San Juan" (Free Lance, August 1974). This group met weekly in homes to read and discuss books of interest. The members also "accumulated books to be loaned out" (Free Lance, September 1974). Sometime in the 1890s the Masons of the city provided, free of charge, space for the group to use as a reading room. In 1896 the group was formally organized as the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary and served as the social library in the community until 1906, when a tax-supported, free public library was established. Current research found no documentation about the auxiliary's activities during the period between 1880 and late 1890. The scant information mentioned in the newspaper articles previously noted appears to be the only data available for these years. However, the "Early History of the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary" (San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary, 1974), drawn from the minutes of the library auxiliary from 1906 through 1920, provides a detailed account of the auxiliary's support of the new public library during that time. The organization donated many books, newspapers and magazine subscriptions; paid overdue utilities and the librarian's salary; provided shelving, magazine racks, and a dictionary stand, that is still in use at the present library. The San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary was the prime mover in getting the librarian's salary raised

from \$10.00 to \$15.00 per month in 1919. Chapter five of this work offers a fuller examination of the role of the library auxiliary in library development in San Juan Bautista.

County library affiliation

In 1908 the California State Librarian, James Gillis, outlined a plan to develop a county library system as a vehicle for getting books to those in rural settings who had no access to the city library. He appointed Harriet Eddy as the state county library organizer. Her responsibilities included visiting each of the counties in California to explain the benefits of a county library system and to encourage county officials to support the movement. On January 7, 1918, Eddy visited San Juan Bautista hoping to enlist its participation in the proposed county system. The library would not have to become a county library, but could retain its municipal library status, that is, being supported by city taxes even if it was a county library affiliate. The library trustees declined Eddy's proposals. She returned on January 14 for a special meeting with the library trustees. After hearing an explanation of the benefits of a county library system, the library trustees agreed to become part of the program. In March 1918, the San Juan Bautista Free Public Library officially became affiliated with the San Benito County Library System. Mabel Coulter, county librarian, placed the first collection of books on shelves designated for county books. The April 1920 report of the library includes a commendation of Coulter for her selection of books for the "county shelves" and for the promptness with which patrons' requests for books, not available at the San Juan Bautista library, were filled (NNCL, April 1920). Reporting to the State Library was inconsistent during the following years and there is no record of just when the library ceased to be an affiliate of the county system, although it may have been in September 1976, when the San Juan Bautista Public Library became a part of the South Bay Cooperative Library System.

The Luck legacy

The Masonic Hall was the home of the library in San Juan Bautista for over eighty years, from 1896 until 1979. In 1974 the situation changed Miss Francisca Luck left her estate to San Juan Bautista for the purpose of building a library/park/museum complex in memory of her father, Carl Martin Luck. Mr. Luck had operated a filling station in the town during a period from the 1920s through the 1940s, and the property on which his filling station was located, a whole city block, was specified by Miss Luck to be the location of the complex. Other properties in both San Juan Bautista, as well as in Salinas, California where the Luck family had lived, were to be sold and the proceeds used to help create the complex.

It took some time for the will to go through probate and the properties to be sold. In July, 1975, official notice came from Salinas that condemnation proceedings against the Luck house were imminent. The house had been vandalized and needed a great deal of repair. An offer of \$27,650 was accepted by the San Juan Bautista city council on July 22, 1975, and the house was sold (Free Lance, July 1975). When disposal of all properties was completed, approximately \$121,000 was available to begin construction of the library. The architectural firm of Ellmore/Titus/Architects/A.I.A. was hired to draw up the master plan for the complex. After two years of planning by a citizens committee, "preliminary architectural plans for the \$357,000 Luck Museum and Library were approved by city council Sept. 27" (Valley World, (October 1977). Construction of the complex was to be in two phases. Phase one was expected to cost approximately \$128,000 and would include a 2,250 square foot library and landscaping of half the property. Phase two, "not anticipated in the near future" (Valley World, October 1977), would include a 2,900 square foot museum-meeting room and, in 1977, was estimated to

cost \$229,000. The shell of the old filling station was considered appropriate for storage, restrooms, or perhaps a display area for historical artifacts. Phase two has yet to be begun.

Community input regarding expectations of the new complex was gathered through a survey drawn up by the architects. Questions covered the following items: expected influence of the project on the community; uses of the park; how the library would serve community needs; and the kind of museum desired in the community. A seismographic assessment was carried out and the lot was found to be "a very good piece of property for the use for which it is being planned" (Bowen, 1976). On January 4, 1978, the San Juan Bautista officials approved the final architectural drawings and throughout the remainder of the month the invitation for contractors' bids was published weekly in the Free Lance. The bids were opened on January 26, 1978, and Cullumber Construction Company, a local firm submitted the lowest base bid of \$106, 638 (Free Lance, February 13, 1978). Groundbreaking ceremonies, held on Thursday, February 23, 1978, opened with a brief concert by the San Juan Elementary school band and an invocation by Msgr. A. Rodriguez (Free Lance, February 23, 1978). On Sunday, June 10, 1979, five years after the death of Francisca Luck, the citizens of San Juan Bautista were invited to attend the dedication of the new facilities and the unveiling of the memorial plaque in honor of Carl Martin Luck.

Work still needed to be done on the library grounds. A landscaping committee was formed and plans were made for lawn, shrubs, flowers, and sidewalks. The landscaping project became a community affair as companies, organizations, and individual community members donated money, time, and materials to beautify the library's environment. On May 30, 1982, a beautifully carved sign identifying the new facility as the Carl Martin Luck Memorial Library, was unveiled and dedicated. After the

dedication ceremonies a "thank-you" party was held for all who had worked on the first phase of the Luck library/museum/park project.

Librarians of the past

The names of early pioneers -- Breen, Zanetta, Abbe, Flint, and Kemp -- who helped shape San Juan Bautista's agricultural, ranching, and entrepreneurial enterprises, figure prominently in the history of the library in San Juan Bautista. Later settlers, the Laveronis and the Manittos, also contributed to the richness of its development. This section relates biographical background of librarians who have served the community in the past.

In addition to questionnaires completed by family and/or community members, information about librarians in San Juan Bautista was gathered from News Notes of California Libraries [referred to as NNCL] for the years 1906 through 1979 and California Library Statistics from 1983 through 1996. These publications record a total of ten librarians who have served the community of San Juan Bautista since the tax-supported, free public library was established in 1906. The first, Eileen Breen, bridged the move out of the social library phase into the public library period. Records show that she was librarian when Descriptive list... was printed in 1904 by the California State Library. It is also possible she was the librarian as early as the printing of "Libraries of California in 1899" (California Library Association, 1900). If so, she would have been librarian for at least seven years when she resigned in 1907 to work for the San Juan Echo (NNCL, 1907). Eileen Breen was single at the time of her employ as librarian, however she later married and her obituary listed her as Eileen Breen Stoddard. Her given name, Ellen, appears on her gravestone in the San Juan Bautista Cemetery. In addition to her work for the library and the newspaper, Breen also worked for the telephone company for twenty years. Her obituary stated, "Mrs. Stoddard dearly loved the little community in which she

spent her life and was ever willing and eager to assist in anything that would be for the betterment of San Juan" (San Juan Mission News, December 31, 1937).

No biographical information for the second and third librarians, Susan Cowles and Clara Kemp respectively, was found during the current research. The fourth librarian, Gertrude Breen, sister to Eileen Breen, accepted the post in 1911 and resigned in 1912, her vacancy being filled by yet another Breen sister, Adelaide, who held the position until her death in October 1941. Adelaide's death resulted from injuries she received when hit by an automobile on her way to work at the library. She was 83 years old and had served as librarian for thirty years. Her obituary noted the following, "Despite her advanced years she was not willing to give up the duties as librarian, a position she liked so well, and she made the long walk from her home to the library each day and night" (San Juan Mission News, October 31, 1941). In December of 1941 Gertrude Breen died of heart disease; she was 71 years of age. Those who remember her describe her as a "homebody" who enjoyed gardening.

Eileen, Gertrude, and Adelaide Breen were granddaughters of Patrick and Margaret Breen whose family was part of the Donner party making the perilous journey over the Sierra Mountains in 1846. Their father, John Breen, was just a teenager when his family arrived in California. He married Leah Smith, daughter of the first postmaster at San Juan Bautista, became a successful rancher, and was very active in the political process of early San Benito County. In addition to being librarians, the Breen sisters were members of the Native Daughters of the Golden West, the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary, and the old Mission Church. And they were all fiercely devoted to the town of their birth and life-long residency -- San Juan Bautista.

In December of 1941, Madeline Laveroni officially became San Juan Bautista's sixth librarian. She had often served as substitute librarian and she "filled in" after

Adelaide Breen's death. Laveroni, born and raised in San Juan Bautista, was a member of the Native Daughters of the Golden West, the Veterans of Foreign Wars Auxiliary, and the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary. She received her education at the elementary and high schools of San Juan Bautista. Her retirement from the position as librarian came in 1948, having served the library for six years. Madeline Laveroni died in 1978, shortly before her seventy-fourth birthday.

In 1949, at the age of 78, Mary Louise Kemp Flint was appointed librarian. "Mamie," as she was known to all, was the daughter of Fred Kemp and Mary Louise Deslandes Kemp. Fred Kemp's saloon, a popular place in San Juan Bautista, was the site of the election for incorporation of the city in 1869. When Mamie married William Reed Flint, "son of Benjamin Flint of the prestigious Flint-Bixby Company and owner of the San Justo Rancho" (Pierce, 1977, p. 20), their marriage served to unite two prominent families associated with the early development of San Juan Bautista: The Kemps and the Flints. William Flint was elected, on the Republican ticket, to the state assembly in 1908, and later served in the state senate (Guinn, 1910). After her husband died, Flint lived in her childhood home, known as Kemp House, in San Juan Bautista until her death in 1965. She was a member of the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary and served the library for three years. Her obituary noted her membership in the Ceanothus Chapter, Order of the Eastern Star, under whose auspices her funeral services were arranged (San Francisco Chronicle, July 3, 1965).

Following Flint's term Clara Zanetta became the eighth member of the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary to assume the position of librarian. A member of the prominent Abbe family, she was married to Ernest Zanetta "whose career as a peace officer spanned more than six decades" (Free Lance, May 7, 1975). Like the Kemps and the Flints, the Abbes and the Zanettas were shapers of the early history of San Juan Bautista. Andrew

Abbe, Clara's father, planted one of the earliest orchards just north of the town. He also served as superintendent of the roads, a difficult job due to tight budgets and the lack of paving. The Abbe sons, Frank, George, and Fred, operated one of the first general stores in the community, the Abbe Mercantile (Pierce, 1977). Clara Zanetta's fifteen-year tenure as librarian ended with her retirement in 1968. She was, however, active in a number of organizations, including the Ceanothus Chapter No. 45, Order of Eastern Star, the Native Daughters of the Golden West, and the San Juan Bautista Historical Society (Free Lance, May 7, 1975).

The ninth, and final, librarian to be appointed from the membership ranks of the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary was Yvonne Manitto. Her term began in 1969 and ended twenty-five years later in 1994 when she retired to care for her ailing husband. Manitto was born in Mason City, Iowa, but spent her childhood in San Juan Bautista where she attended San Juan Grammar School. She received her high school education in Hollister. Before taking on the position of librarian, Manitto worked part-time in a tea room and a gift shop. According to her daughter, Manitto gained her basic knowledge of librarianship from Clara Zanetta, for whom she often substituted, and "the rest she learned on her own" [information from profile worksheet; see example in Appendix D). Her involvement in the library program extended beyond what went on inside the library. She assisted with the annual barbecue chicken fund-raiser by soliciting raffle prizes from local merchants, delivering dinners to those who could not attend, and even cleaning up the VFW hall where the event was held. The annual book sale at the library was handled by Manitto. She served as secretary for the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary and worked on their cookbook committee. Pleasant pastimes for her included gardening, needlework, baking and watching quiz shows on television. She was also a member of the San Juan Bautista Historical Society. In addition, she worked on the election board. Her sudden

death on April 24, 1997, shocked and saddened her many friends. Yvonne Manitto, like the librarians preceding her, was buried in the San Juan Bautista Cemetery.

A review of the brief biographies provided for the "librarians of the past" presents a number of similarities in their lives. With the exception of Yvonne Manitto, all were born in San Juan Bautista. All of them, including Manitto, received their education in local elementary and high schools. None of them held degrees in librarianship nor had any professional library training. Each of the librarians participated in organizations and community events outside of library activities. The age of most of the women when they accepted the position of librarian was at or above fifty years. The youngest beginning librarian was twenty-eight years. One librarian was thirty-nine and another forty-nine at the time of their appointment. The age of the oldest beginning librarian was seventy-eight years. A majority of the librarians were from prominent pioneer families of San Juan Bautista.

Librarians and the library today

When the city of San Juan Bautista hired librarians after Yvonne Manitto's retirement, some noticeable changes were in effect. The librarians were not selected from the membership of the library auxiliary. They also held some formal library credentials, though not full MLS degrees. The first such librarian was Margaret Weber, about whom no biographical information was located during current research. From the 1994 issue of California Library Statistics came the information that she held a library technician's certificate. Her tenure at Carl Martin Luck Memorial Library was less than a year. In 1995 the present librarian, Olivia Jamie, was hired. She was born not in San Juan Bautista, but in Los Angeles, and she currently lives in Hollister, California. Her early education was received at Daves Avenue Elementary School in Los Gatos, California, and she graduated from Leigh High School in San Jose, California. She was awarded the

Associate in Arts certificate from West Valley College in Saratoga, California, and the Library Technical Assistant certificate from Foothill College in Mountain View, California. Her professional background includes employment as library assistant at West Valley College library, Clark Library at San Jose State University, and Santa Clara University Library. In addition, she has worked as a document control clerk, a document control supervisor, and she has served as director of children's services for a church in the South Bay area. In response to the question of what motivated her to become a librarian, Jaime listed two reasons: her need for part-time work while doing foster care and the joy of library work and public service [information from profile worksheet; see Appendix D]. Jaime was not a member of the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary when she was hired, but she has since joined the organization.

The library also has a salaried assistant librarian on staff, Helen Bottemiller, who was hired in 1996. Like Jaime, Bottemiller was born in Los Angeles. She received her education in that city, attending Immaculate Conception Elementary School and Immaculate Heart High School. Her Masters' Degree in Education was earned at Immaculate Heart College. Her employment background includes teaching, owning and operating a retirement home, and managing a mobile home park. She listed her library training as "about six months as a volunteer at the San Juan Library." Books, people and the enjoyment of her volunteer experience provided the motivation to enter library work [information from profile worksheet; see Appendix D).

The public library in San Juan Bautista is changing in ways other than hiring policies. In early 1998 computer technology found its place in the library. Inter-library loan transactions are done on-line, and the patrons of the library have access to the World Wide Web, CD-ROM, and Microsoft Word for their word-processing needs. Goals for the future include the enlargement of the bilingual book selection for adults and children,

updating the library's reference section, installing new carpet, painting of the building, and the acquisition of more book stacks. One very big goal, should a building grant become available, is to add a reading room for children including computers for their use.

CHAPTER 5

ANALYSIS AND RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

Current research found no early documents such as articles of incorporation, constitution and by-laws, or mission statements for either the social library or the free public library in San Juan Bautista. Such papers often provide clues as to the motivating forces behind library development in a community. Was the library seen as an alternative to the "evils of the day," especially for the youth of the town? Was it a place of self-improvement for adults? Was the founding of the library rooted in civic pride? These are some of the questions for which answers are difficult to obtain when very little documentation exists. The minutes of the various entities, i.e., the city council, library board, and the library auxiliary, involved with early library development record only the final actions on matters, not the process by which such actions came into being. In spite of the scarcity of information some conclusions may be drawn regarding the growth of the library in this small town. This chapter addresses several of the early theories about library development and is divided into two sections: 1) societal factors motivating the founding of public libraries and 2) the role of women in early library organization in San Juan Bautista.

Societal factors in library development

This section utilizes the research results of Stieg (1952) and Held (1963; 1973) to analyze possible social factors underlying the establishment of a public library in San Juan Bautista. Ditzion (1949) and Shera (1965) set forth a series of "causal factors" for library development in the eastern part of the United States. From the works of these writers Stieg (1952) distilled ten common societal factors thought to contribute to the founding and growth of public libraries in America: (1) economic status, (2) urban growth, (3) the

pre-existence of a social library, (4) leadership, (5) library legislation, (6) universal public education, (7) support by religious and humanitarian groups, (8) civic pride, (9) a desire for self-improvement and moral uplift, and (10) scholarship and historical research needs. He then attempted to determine the relationship of these factors to the growth of libraries in California. In 1963 Held used these ten factors as the basis for his analytical treatise on the evolution of California's public libraries. Both Stieg's (1952) research, covering the period from 1850 to 1900, and Held's (1963) work, encompassing the years 1849 to 1878, offer suitable hypotheses for use in analysis of public library development in San Juan Bautista.

Economic status

Economic status -- a certain amount of financial stability -- played an important role in the establishment and maintenance of both the early social libraries and the later tax-supported public libraries in California. According to Held (1963), "lack of financial support, in fact, was the great weakness of the early library" (p. 121). However, periods of prosperity did not particularly encourage the establishment of libraries (Stieg, 1952), nor did periods of depression preclude their development. By 1854, the panic that followed in the wake of the "gold rush" had left California cities in debt to the amount of ten million dollars. Recovery from the disastrous depression of 1874-1875 did not occur until the boom years of the 1880s. Yet, in spite of such poor economic conditions, "at least ten public libraries were established in California" (Stieg, 1952, p. 265) during this period.

Library development in San Juan Bautista cannot be said to have really begun until the formation of the library auxiliary in 1896. By then the state was well on its way to recovery from the earlier panics and depressions discussed previously. The 1880s were quite stable in San Juan Bautista. Clough (1996) stated, "The town continued the usual

routine during the late 1880s" (p. 78), giving the impression that stability, even economic stability, was the norm. A depression that affected the entire country in 1893 did not cause much of a problem in San Juan Bautista, because the farms were largely self-supporting (Clough, 1996). While it is true that a stable economy contributes to the success of any institution, in the case of library development in San Juan Bautista, as with library development throughout the state, there is no indication that economic stability was a direct underlying cause for the establishment of a library in the community.

Urban growth

Held's (1963) examination of the role played by urban growth in library development in California is divided into two time periods, 1850-1860 and 1870-1880. This study is concerned with the second period only as this was the time of early social library growth in San Juan Bautista. Stieg (1952) found no "critical point of size in population" (p. 266) that determined whether or not a community could establish and maintain a library. Held (1963), on the other hand, declared that a community of several thousand people was needed to assure the success of a library's future, even though a few hundred people might succeed in attempts to organize a library. Using the census figures of 1870 and 1880 he determined that the development of a library within a community was in direct relation to the population growth of that community. Thus, he noted that by 1870 all cities exceeding four thousand population either already had well-established libraries or were in the process of developing public library service which later proved to be successful. By 1880 every city in the state with a population of over ten thousand had established a tax-supported public library. The research done by Held (1963) revealed many "disparities between events and population" (p. 126), yet he concluded that even when a community of two thousand established a library it would take "at least twice that number" (p. 127) for the organization to succeed.

A close look at library development in San Juan Bautista reveals a significant departure from Held's (1963) conclusions regarding the relationship between urban growth and the establishment of a public library. The 1880 census showed a population figure of 484 in the town (US Department of Interior, 1883). It was during this time that a women's club organized a reading group for the purpose of discussion and loaning out books. In 1890 the census indicated a decrease of twenty-one leaving a community of 463 people (US Department of Commerce, 1913). However, later in that decade, in 1896, the earlier reading group became the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary which opened a reading room, ushering in the social library phase of the public library movement in this rural community. By the time the 1900 census was taken only 449 people lived in San Juan Bautista (U. S. Department of Commerce, 1913). In spite of this drop in population, the free public library was established in 1905 and, including the social library period, has provided service for over 100 years. In his later work, Held (1973) noted that in 1910 San Juan Bautista, with a population of 326 (US Department of Commerce, 1913), was the smallest municipality in California maintaining a tax-supported public library. Throughout the history of this small town official population figures have never climbed above 2,000. Clearly, the founding and development of library service in San Juan Bautista more closely follows Stieg's (1952) assessment of the relationship of community size to library success than it follows Held's (1963) later explanation.

The pre-existence of a social library

Was the pre-existence of a social library essential to the establishment of a free public library in a community? The answer to this question depends upon the particular community under discussion. For example, in San Francisco the free public library was not the direct recipient of a pre-existing social library's collection, supplies, and furnishings. Nonetheless, the presence of many social libraries in the city helped

established the importance of books and reading which, in turn, gave support to the founding of a public library. In most cities where a strong active social library existed its inventory was usually donated to the public library at the time of the latter's organization (Stieg, 1952). According to Held (1963) most of the early tax-supported libraries were direct outgrowths of existing social library activity. In the final analysis both Stieg (1952) and Held (1963) concluded that social libraries, while "helpful devices" in the formation of a free public library, were not a requisite component to public library development.

In the case of San Juan Bautista the social library did play a leading role in the establishment of the free public library. Long-time residents of the community indicate that the library auxiliary was formed with the express purpose of later establishing a tax-supported, free public library, though no official documentation exists to corroborate such assertions. When a free public library was established in San Juan Bautista in 1905, it was the direct descendent of the social library organized under the auspices of the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary. The social library, an outgrowth of a women's club reading group, had been in existence for nine years when it turned over its collection, supplies and furnishings to the newly organized public library. However, unlike most early social libraries and library associations, the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary did not cease to function; the organization continued on as a strong supporter and leader of the new tax-subsidized institution. This aspect of the library auxiliary's involvement in the free public library is discussed in detail in the later section on the role of women in library development. The pre-existence of a social library in San Juan Bautista may not have been a requirement for the establishment of a tax-supported library, but the evidence indicates that the presence of the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary was very influential in the organization and development of the later entity.

Leadership

On the subject of leadership Held (1963) wrote the following: "The most direct force underlying library development was leadership" (Held, 1963, p. 133). In 1952 Stieg noted that the group most often responsible for social library activity in the community "was also instrumental . . . in securing tax support for it [the tax-supported library]" (Stieg, 1952, p. 267). In spite of the existence of a strong desire by community members for library service, no library organization could take place without competent leadership, either by an individual, such as was the case with Hallidie (Stieg, 1952) in his efforts to secure a public library for San Francisco, or a group of individuals, e.g. women's clubs, YMCA, fraternal organizations, etc. Held (1963) noted that leadership was generally found in the form of a group, usually involving men of the business and professional world. Early libraries in California were chiefly organized by men for men. It was not until the close of the 1870s that women began to achieve leadership roles in library development. Women's leadership also took the form of a group with no one individual being singled out as the leader. In San Juan Bautista, as noted earlier, it was the all female library auxiliary that provided strong leadership in the drive to obtain and maintain free public library service for the community.

Favorable library legislation

Stieg wrote in 1952, "It is virtually impossible to separate cause and effect," with regard to the influence of library legislation on the actual development of libraries in California. He noted that before the Rogers Act of 1878, "special legislation was needed to secure a tax-supported library in any community in California" (Stieg, 1952, p. 267). As early as 1863 legislation had been enacted to provide for the organization and incorporation of social libraries. This legislation came about at the request of the Mercantile Library Association in San Francisco and was immediately utilized for

reincorporation of that institution. Later the San Francisco Mechanics' Library Association, the Sacramento Library Association, and the Odd Fellows' Library Association of San Francisco also used the statute as a reorganization tool, the latter group having first secured amendments that "shaped the legislation more to its liking" (Held, 1952, p. 120). A series of laws enacted in 1878, 1880, 1901, 1905, and 1909 made provisions for the organization and operation of tax-supported libraries. They were all "permissive" -- a municipality was not mandated to establish a public library. The laws outlined the terms, duties, and limitations of library board members, established the taxation rates, and stated the manner in which library board members achieved their positions. Each piece of legislation reflected changes apropos to the growing complexity of library development within ever-changing communities (Held, 1975). A discussion of many of these changes is found on page thirty-one of this investigative work. According to Held (1963), library legislation offered "a convenient legal method of incorporation" (p. 120) and provided great assistance in the founding of a library, but it could not be said to create libraries. On the contrary, he concludes that the legal status of libraries, both social and tax-supported city libraries, was "more a result rather than the cause of the library movement" (Held, 1963, p. 121).

Documentation regarding the legal basis for the early 1880s reading group in San Juan Bautista is non-existent. However, as Held (1963) noted, it was not necessary for a small reading group to be incorporated in order to maintain an active program for a few years. Nonetheless, when ownership of property was involved, "as it always was in the case of a large association, incorporation was a virtual necessity" (Held, 1963, p. 119). Lacking access to official papers detailing the organization of the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary in 1896, the best indication that the group was incorporated is a handwritten note in the library auxiliary's files, affixed to the ordinance establishing a public

library in San Juan Bautista, which states, "Regulations were adopted and Deed was handed to Town Board [emphasis in original]" (see Appendix C). By the time this action was taken basic library legislation for the State of California was already in place, and the town needed only to pass local laws providing for the establishment of a public library. Thus, in 1906 "Ordinance No. 15a of the Town of San Juan," having been read to the Town Trustees in November of 1905, became effective. This ordinance provided for a five-member Board of Library Trustees to be appointed by the President of the Board of Trustees of the Town of San Juan; the procurement and maintenance of a location for the library; the expenditures of library fund monies; and the name of the library, "Said library shall be known as the 'San Juan Public Library'" (See Appendix C). Curiously, no mention of the librarian's salary is made in the ordinance, even though minutes of the Town Trustees' meetings indicate payment was made through the office of the town treasurer. It is quite clear that the public library in San Juan Bautista was organized under the library legislation of 1901 which stipulated that library trustees would be five in number and appointed, not elected as under the 1880 law. No set tax levy is recorded, only that the amount set aside in the annual budget for library maintenance should come from the "tax levied for said library purposes in and for that year" (Ordinance 15a, Section IV). This is a reflection of the changes in the 1901 legislation which set aside the tax limitation of one mil on the dollar found in earlier library laws. The composition of San Juan Bautista's first library board of trustees, three women and two men, also reflects the feature of the 1901 statute that expressly granted eligibility to women for service on library boards.

These legal factors, however impressive they may be, do not constitute an underlying cause for library development in San Juan Bautista. They do, however, confirm Stieg's (1952) assumption "that success in securing the foundation of a public

library in any community is much more certain if the necessary legal steps are relatively simple and can be promptly executed" (p. 267).

Universal public education

Universal public education has been cited as one cause for public library development. Shera (1965) documented the rise of public libraries in New England during the 1840s as an adjunct to the public education system. On the West Coast, Andrew Hallidie also saw the public library development during the 1860s and 1870s as an extension of the public schools. Stieg (1952) surmised that it was more than coincidence that the first general library legislation in California was enacted "at that time that compulsory education was becoming an important political issue" (p. 265). Rather than a direct connection between library development and universal public education, Held (1963) suggested that there existed an "indirect connection": public libraries, by providing desired reading materials, served as "informal educational agencies" (Held, 1963, p. 128). Stieg (1952) concluded that the "establishment of free public libraries [was] allied to the growth of free education" (p. 265), while Held (1963) found public education "a general prevailing social condition and a contributory factor, but not an immediate causal force for the library" (p. 129).

As early as 1852 a school board was formed in San Juan Bautista. Classes were held in homes for a period of about six years. In 1859 the school board arranged for the construction of a small primitive school building with rough benches for the students; the lone chair being reserved for the teacher. The year of 1868 saw the first school tax implemented, and a new school built in the town. By 1875, the school had grown to a "three-teacher school" (Clough, 1996), some twenty-one years before the formation of the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary and its reading room. The reading room was established forty-four years after the first public school classes were held; and the public

library was not organized until fifty-four years after the first school was opened. Stieg (1952) and Held (1963) wrote about the nearly simultaneous development of public education and public libraries in California. In San Juan Bautista there appears to be no relationship, not even an indirect connection of one with the other. The education system of San Juan Bautista was established long before a public library was organized.

Religious and humanitarian organizations

The support of religious and humanitarian organizations, such as the YMCA, the WCTU, women's clubs, and fraternal groups, was seen by both Stieg (1952) and Held (1963) as an important influence in the development of libraries in California. The current research indicates that, for the most part, the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary, discussed in the following section, was the major support group promoting the establishment of a public library in the town. No evidence was found that supported active involvement of religious organizations in procuring library service in San Juan Bautista.

Civic pride

According to Stieg (1952), the development of community services was a direct expression of local civic pride. In 1952 he wrote, "In California the public library was one of the features of community life to be brought to the attention of prospective settlers" (Stieg, 1952, p. 267). Held's (1963) assesment of civic pride as a strong motivating factor underlying the founding of public libraries in California is revealed in the following statement, ". . . but again lack of positive evidence relegates this factor to a position as a minor or at least an unexpressed force" (p. 132). Current research found no significant data supporting civic pride as an immediate motivating factor in public library development in San Juan Bautista. In a publication listing the positive qualities of San Juan Bautista, only a brief mention of the library was made. The item simply stated, "It

[San Juan] possesses a Public Library containing about 4,000 volumes" (Improvement Club, 1906). The lack of documentation indicating the importance of the library to the community does not preclude the importance of civic pride in its development. The early leaders of the library were women from the prominent families of San Juan Bautista; families who were very active in community affairs, the political arena, and the benevolent societies of the town. As noted earlier, the Breen sisters were very devoted to their town and encouraged any activity promoting the betterment of San Juan Bautista. It is not inconceivable that this same kind of energy was expended in efforts to establish a public library. From this knowledge an inference can be made that civic pride was, as Held (1963) stated, "at least an unexpressed force" (p.132) in library development in San Juan Bautista.

Self-improvement and moral uplift

As with civic pride, there is no direct indication that self-improvement and moral uplift were motivating factors in the founding of the library in San Juan Bautista. Yet, a close examination of the origins of the library point to self-improvement as at least an influential factor in its development. The library's roots are found in a reading group organized by a women's club in the 1880s. It was during this period that women's "literary clubs for 'self-culture' proliferated as if some very contagious virus was loose in the female population" (Scott, 1991, p. 113). These literary clubs appear to have spontaneously come into existence without the assistance of a formal network. They were designed to provide an environment in which women could engage in the challenging intellectual activity of literary exploration. Available information about the women's club reading group in San Juan Bautista indicates that it followed the pattern of other such groups organized in the 1870s and 1880s: Reading, discussion, and sharing books with others for the purpose of self-improvement. It can be surmised from this data that the desire for self-

improvement was an important aspect, though not a preeminent cause of library development in San Juan Bautista.

The role of moral uplift in library development in San Juan Bautista can only be inferred, once again, due to the lack of sufficient documentation on the beginnings of the library. That the library in San Juan Bautista was seen as a place to shape character, especially the character of the young, is evidenced by an entry in the Library Board of Trustees' minutes dated January 9, 1909 (three years after the public library was established) that stated, "It was discussed and decided to abolish or burn all the Comic sections or Funny Papers now on hand. And to get papers and reading material that would develop a better taste for good reading by the young people" (Minutes, Board of Library Trustees, p. 31). This entry, clearly in support of moral uplift, was written much too late to obtain primacy for moral uplift as a direct motivating factor for public library development in San Juan Bautista. However, in its "heyday" San Juan Bautista boasted many saloons, at least one brothel, and other activities considered detrimental to moral development, and it is conceivable that one reason for the establishment of the public library was to provide an alternative to such activities. The social prominence and religious beliefs of early library supporters in San Juan Bautista would, no doubt, have provided a force for moral uplift as an influence in establishing the public library. According to Held (1963), "The oft-repeated emphasis upon the library as a center of rational amusement, which was so dominant in the gold rush libraries, remained present throughout the later period" (p. 130) of library development. There is no conclusive evidence that moral uplift was an underlying motivation for library organization in San Juan Bautista. However, it is a reasonable speculation that it was an influential factor, just as it was in other towns in California.

The need for scholarly and historical research

According to Shera (1965), one factor that held great import for library development in the eastern United States was the need for historical research and scholarly resources. He stated, "To the end of encouraging historical research, scholars throughout the New England area united in voluntary associations to promote mutual understanding and to encourage and facilitate the assembly of basic source materials" (Shera, 1963, p.209). In California, one of the first collections of historical source materials was that owned by H. H. Bancroft, who gathered a vast array of books, pamphlets, manuscripts, advertisements, and miscellaneous memorabilia pertaining to the development of the area west of the Rockies. Stieg (1952) and Held (1963) both viewed the collection of Bancroft as an early effort to preserve California history, and even before 1878 this collection was called "a public library." It was, nonetheless, "far outside the mainstream of public library development" (Held, 1963, p. 129). According to Stieg (1952), there is great doubt that the interests of Bancroft, and a few other historical researchers, contributed directly to the formation of the public library in California. Held (1963) stated, ". . . again lack of evidence suggests that the desire to make collections of historical and other local materials was not present as a vital force behind the typical library" (p. 129). With regard to the founding of the public library in San Juan Bautista, this same "lack of evidence" indicates that the need for scholarly and historical research was not a vital factor in the organization of the public library.

For the most part forces underlying public library development in San Juan Bautista follow the findings of Stieg (1952), which were later investigated by Held (1963), regarding library development in California. Evidence located during the current research indicates conformity to the earlier theories addressing economic status, favorable library legislation, support by women's clubs, leadership, and the need for scholarly and historical

research materials. The evidence supporting earlier theories regarding the importance of a sense of civic pride, and the desire for self-improvement and moral uplift is minimal, resulting only in speculation about their influence on library development in San Juan Bautista. The areas where there is significant departure from Stieg (1952) and Held (1963) are the necessity of a pre-existing social library, universal public education, and urban growth. The degree of agreement or disagreement with the findings of Stieg (1952) and Held (1963) is based upon information currently available. Further study may locate additional information that would bring a different perspective to the societal causes underlying public library development in San Juan Bautista, California.

The role of women in library development in San Juan Bautista

The nature and extent of women's participation in public library development in San Juan Bautista is discussed in this section. Works by Passet (1994), Watson (1994, 1996), Eddy (1955), Musmann (1982), and Sallee (1992) investigate the aspect of women's leadership role in library organization, maintenance, and philanthropy. Although these works address the participation of women in library development within a region, a state, or a county, rather than the work of women in an individual public library, they offer guidelines for analysis of the role of women in the establishment and maintenance of a single public library. In particular, the research findings of Musmann (1982) and Watson (1996) will be used to examine the function of women in library development in San Juan Bautista.

The San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary

The San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary holds a unique place in library history. In his article on library philanthropy, Bobinski (1994) stated, "Another source of library philanthropy has been the 'Friends of the Library' movement. Perhaps the first such group was that of [the] San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary organized in 1896 in California" (p.

383). The friends groups have become synonymous with library support throughout the world, however the first "Friends of the Library" group in the United States was not formed until 1922. The San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary pre-dates this group by thirty-six years.

According to Musmann (1982), "women established over one-half of the social libraries founded in California in the late nineteenth century" (p. 187). She briefly mentioned the fact that the beginnings of the library in San Juan Bautista were rooted in a women's club reading group. Current research indicates that the reading group evolved into the organization of the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary in 1896. This group of women set up a reading room in space donated by the Free Masons of the town, thus organizing a social library for use by the community. First mention of this social library is found in a publication by the California Library Association (1900) -- a single sentence indicating that in 1899 a library "containing 800 volumes is maintained at this place [San Juan]" (p. 15). Financial support came from dues and donations. In 1908 rent of \$3.00 per month was charged for use of space in the Masonic Hall. This money was raised by charging borrowers 10 cents a month (California State Library, 1904; NNCL, 1908).

Musmann (1982) concluded that the women's groups involved with the establishment of early social libraries were concerned with social control. That is, they wanted to "influence moral values and control social behavior by establishing reading rooms and libraries" (Musmann, 1982, p. 188). During the current research no early documentation outlining the mission and goals of the library auxiliary was located. The early minutes of the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary could not be found, and later minutes are essentially a record of the auxiliary's involvement in supportive programs for the library, as well as the social activities of the group. It is only conjecture that the auxiliary in its social library capacity, or its later status as a support group for the new

public library, sought to use its library activities as a means to exert social control. Musmann (1982) found that women's clubs formed libraries for the purpose of civic improvement by promoting the best interests of the city and encouraging the reading of morally uplifting literature. As has already been noted in this work, the leadership of the auxiliary and the early tax-supported library came from prominent, religious families of the area. They were upstanding citizens of the town, comprising the upper strata of the socioeconomic make-up of the community. It is not unreasonable to conclude that their leadership position and religious piety formed a basis upon which to exercise social control through the founding of a library in San Juan Bautista.

After the establishment of a tax-supported, free public library, the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary continued its role of leadership in the activities of the new institution. From the very beginning of public library service in San Juan Bautista, the Auxiliary has provided support by donating equipment, books, and other needed materials for its operation. During periods of financial shortages the auxiliary often paid bills incurred by library activities, and even paid the librarian's salary which was three months in arrears in November 1910 (Minutes. San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary). In addition, members of the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary have served as librarians throughout the public library's existence. It was not until the mid-1990s that librarians were hired from outside the community of San Juan Bautista. During the early years, when a library board of trustees oversaw the operation of the library, members of the auxiliary most often made up a majority of the library board. When the Luck estate was bequeathed to the town of San Juan Bautista, members of the auxiliary served on the Citizens Advisory Committee for the building project, provided for work crews to do landscaping and cement work, and prepared programs and refreshments for the library dedication in 1979

and the unveiling and dedication of the library sign in 1982. The Auxiliary continues to be very supportive of the Luck Memorial Library in San Juan Bautista.

Francisca Luck, philanthropist

It is the "small philanthropy" that keeps a library running when public funds are inadequate for either the general maintenance or the special needs of the institution. The support of a friends group or a library auxiliary, and the fund-raisers and donations by community members often make the difference between a lean library program and one that offers enrichment for all patrons. Once in a while, though, "big philanthropy" comes to the aid of a public library -- an estate is bequeathed to a city for library development, or a philanthropist makes a large financial donation to the library during her lifetime. In 1996 Watson explored such philanthropic gifts by women. She identified female library philanthropists of the late 19th and early 20th centuries and attempted to research their background to find reasons for their special interest in libraries. She noted, "For some women, even unpublished material produced only fragmentary information. The facts of the gift were known, but the personalities, interests, and motivations of these women could not be explored" (Watson, 1996, p. 175). Such was the case in 1974 when Miss Francisca Luck bequeathed her family estate to the city of San Juan Bautista for provision of a library/museum/park complex in memory of her father, Carl Martin Luck. But just who was Francisca D. Luck, and why would she leave her family estate to a city where she had never lived?

The present research found only scant biographical background on Luck. She was born in Dixon, California, on November 12, 1905, and died in Salinas, California, on May 26, 1974. In her obituary she was listed as a member of a "pioneering family in Salinas" (Salinas Californian, May 28, 1974), but a search of local history records found no information about the pioneering Luck family. All of her family preceded her in death and

only one acquaintance of Luck's later years could be located to respond to a questionnaire about her life. Answers to questions about Luck revealed that she graduated from Salinas High School, worked as a laboratory technician for a food packing plant in Salinas, and had taught for over twenty years in the Adult Evening classes at Salinas High School. Her subject was sewing, and "she could show you how to do everything from putting in a hem to tailoring a man's suit" [information from profile worksheet; see Appendix D for example]. She also taught glove making and weaving. Antique collecting and furniture refinishing were among her special recreational interests. Her personality was such that she was viewed as "reclusive," and "eccentric," by many, but she was also described as "warm," "pleasant," and "fiercely independent." In the foregoing respects, Luck conforms to Watson's (1996) observations that the female philanthropists under investigation were independent and extremely capable women.

One facet of Watson's (1996) investigative research centered on the role male relatives played in the decision of the women to financially support library development. She found that, while many of the donors established libraries in memory of their husbands or fathers, the decision to do so was strictly theirs; a personal one unrelated to any interests of male relatives. This appears to be true with Luck, although the lack of evidence supporting either her father's interest or disinterest in libraries precludes definitive judgment in the matter. It is quite possible that she simply wanted to honor her father who, during his life time, had built a business in San Juan Bautista. Watson (1996) noted that the desire to provide something for a community in which the female philanthropists had lived "or places where they had a sentimental attachment" (p. 177) was a strong motivation for women to establish libraries in a particular place. This "native daughter" philosophy may have been Luck's reason for wanting to provide a library building for the city which had housed its library for nearly eighty years in a rented room

in the Masonic Hall. Although current research finds no conclusive evidence supporting any of the previously discussed possible motivations for Luck's bequest to the city of San Juan Bautista, it is safe to conclude that she, at the very least, held a sentimental attachment to the mission city of San Juan Bautista.

Recommendations for further research

The history of the Carl Martin Luck Memorial Library in San Juan Bautista, California, is only partially presented in this work. Investigative efforts should be continued to locate information on Susan Cowles and Clara Kemp to complete the roster of librarians. In addition, in-depth study of the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary is needed to provide a true profile of this historic organization. The role of female philanthropy in support of libraries in small towns in California should be examined in an effort to document this little-known aspect of library development.

Case studies of library development in other California cities of less than 2,000 population should be conducted to ascertain to what extent the theories of library development posited by Stieg (1952) and Held (1963) apply to their establishment and continued development.

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APPENDIX A: PHOTOGRAPHS

MADELINE LAVERONI LIBRARIAN 1942-1948

Courtesy of Ken & Bonnie Laverone

CLARA ZANETTA LIBRARIAN 1953-1968

Courtesy of San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary

YVONNE MANITTO -- LIBRARIAN 1965-1992

Luck Librarian Yvonne Manitto holds an armload of volumes, part of the offering planned for the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary's book sale this Saturday.

Courtesy of *Free Lance*, Hollister, CA.

(above)
Olivia Jaime Librarian 1995--

(right)
Helen Bottemiller, Assistant
Librarian 1996--

Luck library, museum work progressing

San Juan Bautista residents are watching with interest as construction proceeds on this building, the first phase of the city's Luck library-museum-park complex. The building, designed by architect Richard K. Rhodes, will house the library portion of the project, which was made possible by bequests of the late Fran-

cesca Luck to the Mission City. The site for the project is the former Luck property which is bounded by Third, Tuahalami, Second and Monterey Streets. Contractor on the library building is Cullumber Construction of San Juan, which submitted the low bid of \$106,638.

Courtesy of *Free Lance*, Hollister, CA.

MODEL OF PROPOSED LUCK LIBRARY/MUSEUM/PARK COMPLEX
(1989)

Staff photo

THE PINNACLE • Week of Thursday, August 10, 1989

Courtesy of *Pinnacle*, Hollister, CA.

MASONIC HALL
Site of the San Juan Public Library from 1905 to 1979

Carl Martin Luck's Filling Station - 1998
(in service 1920s-1940s)

FRANCISCA LUCK
(1905-1974)

El Gabilan 1924 Yearbook
Courtesy Salinas High School - Salinas, CA

CARL MARTIN LUCK MEMORIAL LIBRARY

APPENDIX B: TIMELINE

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>ACTIVITY</u>
1896	San Juan Library Auxilary was organized, and the Masons provided space, free of charge, for a reading room in the Masonic Hall.
1900	California Library Association first mentioned the library in San Juan in a paper titled "Libraries of California in 1899." The library inventory was 800 volumes; no mention of who was librarian.
1904	California State Library's report noted Eileen Breen as librarian in San Juan. There were 1250 volumes on the shelves at this date. The library was still in the "social library" phase, and supported by dues and donations.
1906	Free Public Library established; Eileen Breen appointed first librarian; salary: \$10.00 per month. First report to California State Library notes that plaster was cracked during the earthquake. No other damage done.
1908	Eileen Breen resigned to work for the San Juan Echo. Miss Susan Cowles was appointed librarian. No background information could be found on Miss Cowles.
1909	Miss Clara ("Caddie") Kemp was appointed librarian. No information about Miss Kemp was located.
1910	Gertrude Breen became librarian. The library was open from 2 to 4 p.m., and from 6 p.m. to 8:30 p.m. on weekdays; closed Sunday & holidays.
1911	Three hundred and fifty-four volumes in collection. Library support was \$120 per year from taxation.
1912	Adelaide Breen appointed librarian. There were 1691 volumes in the collection and 400 cardholders recorded.
1916	Dictionary stand purchased for library by the San Juan Bautista Library Auxiliary.
1917	Librarian's salary of \$10.00 per month, and space rental of \$3.00 per month were paid by the Board of Town Trustees.

- 1918 January 7, Harriet G. Eddy, county library organizer from Sacramento, requested the library in San Juan Bautista to become affiliated with proposed County Library system; library trustees declined.
- 1918 January 14, Harriet Eddy met with trustees in a special meeting, explained benefits of county system, and the library trustees agreed to participate.
- 1918 In March the San Juan Bautista Free Public Library officially became affiliated with the San Benito County Library system, and Mabel Coulter, county librarian, placed the first collection of books on shelves designated for county books.
- 1941 October 28, Adelaide Breen was hit by an auto and killed while on her way to work at the library. Miss Breen was 54 years old when she accepted the position and she served as librarian for 29 years. Madeline Laveroni was appointed to replace her.
- 1949 Mary ("Mamie") Flint became San Juan Bautista's seventh librarian following Laveroni's retirement. She was 78 years old at the time and held this post until 1952.
- 1953 Clara Zanetta was appointed librarian in October. Floor space in library was recorded at 320 square feet with a capacity for 2500 volumes.
- 1958 San Juan Library Auxiliary donated \$35.00 for library desk.
- 1965 June --The first library budget drawn up at the request of City Council
- 1965 Mary Louise (Mamie) Flint, former librarian, died on July 2, 1965. She was 96 years old.
- 1967 Yvonne Manitto assumed position as librarian after Zanetta's retirement. Manitto held this position for 27 years, bridging the move, in 1979, from the Masonic Hall to the new library facilities.
- 1974 Francisca Luck left her family's estate to San Juan Bautista for the purpose of building a library/museum/park complex in memory of her father, Carl Martin Luck.
- 1976 On September 21 San Juan Public Library became part of the South Bay Cooperative Library System.

- 1978 February 23 at 11:00 a.m. groundbreaking ceremonies for the new Carl Martin Luck Memorial Library were held.
- 1979 Sunday, June 10, dedication of the new library and unveiling of the memorial plaque took place.
- 1982 Sunday, May 30, unveiling and dedication of sign carved by Bavarian artist, Alex Zeller, followed by an "appreciation party" for volunteers and donors working toward the library's completion.
- 1982 December 29 the San Juan Service Club donated 14 bookcases to the Luck Memorial Library.
- 1994 Margaret Weber hired as librarian after resignation of Yvonne Manitto.
- 1994 Microfiche reader and microfilm reader/printer purchased for library through combined efforts of the San Juan Bautista Historical Society, the Service Club, and the Library Auxiliary.
- 1994 Set of California History microfiche donated to the library by Bill Roddy, member of SJB Historical Society.
- 1995 Current librarian, Olivia Jaime, hired.
- 1996 Helen Bottemiller hired as Assistant Librarian.
- 1998 San Juan Bautista Public Library entered the world of technology by going online. Inter Library Loan is handled through the computer. WWW and Internet services are available to library patrons.

APPENDIX C: ORDINANCE ESTABLISHING A PUBLIC LIBRARY IN SAN JUAN BAUTISTA, CALIFORNIA

Regulations were adopted and Dead was
handed to Town Board & recorded. Miss
Breen appointed Librarian at a salary
of \$100 a month.

Ordinance No. 15 a

OF THE
Town of SAN JUAN
County of San Benito
State of California.

An Ordinance establishing a
Public Library in, and for
the Town of San Juan, and
providing for the mainten-
ence thereof.

The Board of Trustees of the Town of San
Juan do ordain as follows:

Section I. A Public Library is hereby estab-
lished in and for the Town of San Juan,
County of San Benito, State of California.

Section II. Said library shall be known as
the "San Juan Public Library," and shall
be under the management of a Board of Li-
brary Trustees, consisting of five persons, to be
appointed by the President of the Board of
Trustees of the Town of San Juan, by and with
the consent of said Town Board; said Board
of Library Trustees shall hold office for such
time, and in such manner, and have such pow-
ers, as is or are provided for and prescribed by
law and this ordinance; said library shall be
opened, kept and maintained in any room,
building or portion thereof, situated within
the corporate limits of the Town of San Juan,
that is accessible to the public and otherwise
suitable.

Section III. The Board of Trustees of the
Town of San Juan shall provide said room or
building for said library, unless the said
Board of Library Trustees secure and provide
for the same, and the cost of procuring, rent-
ing and maintaining such room or building
and the maintaining of said library, shall, in
all cases, be a Town charge, and payable out of
the library fund of said Town.

Section IV. The Board of Trustees of the
Town of San Juan, at the regular meeting
thereof in January of each year, shall set off in
a fund, to be known as the "Library Fund,"
the amount deemed by said Town Board to be
necessary for the maintenance of said library
during the fiscal year, provided, that after
January, 1906, the money for said library so
apportioned each year, shall be the amount
realized from the tax levied for said library
purposes in and for that year.

Section V. The Treasurer of the Town of
San Juan shall keep said money, so apportion-
ed, together with all moneys paid into the
treasury of said Town for the purposes and
benefit of said library, in and to the credit of
said library fund, and pay the same out only
on warrants duly drawn and presented against
said library fund, and warrants drawn against
said library fund shall not be paid with money
of any other fund.

Section VI. All demands against the said
library fund shall be in like general form as
other demands against the said Town of San
Juan, and shall specify that said demand is
payable out of said library fund, and said de-
mand shall be presented to the said Board of
Library Trustees for allowance, and if allowed
by said Board such allowance shall be certified
thereon by the President of said Library
Board, and thereupon said demand shall be
filed with the Clerk of the Board of Trustees of
said Town, and when said demand shall have
been so filed, with the proper certification
thereon, the Board of Trustees of said Town
shall order a warrant drawn, for the amount
allowed in said demand, payable out of said
library fund.

Section VII. The said Board of Library
Trustees are hereby authorized to receive, for
and in behalf of the said Town, any and all
property that shall be received or acquired for
the purposes, use or benefit of said library, and
when not inconsistent with the terms of the ac-
quisition, or unless otherwise designated, the
title of all said property so received by said
Board of Library Trustees shall vest in the
Town of San Juan.

Section VIII. Words used in this
ordinance in the present tense include
the future as well as the present;
words used in the masculine gender
include the feminine and neuter; the
singular number includes the plural
and the plural the singular.

Section IX. This Ordinance shall
take effect on and after its passage.

This Ordinance, No. 15 a of the
Town of San Juan, was presented and
read at a meeting of the Board of
Trustees of the Town of San Juan,
duly convened and held on the 5th
day of November, A. D., 1905, and
now by the said Board at a regular
meeting thereof duly convened and
held on the 5th day of July, A. D.,
1905, is passed and ordered published
in the San Juan Valley Echo, a news-
paper of general circulation printed
and published in the said Town of San
Juan, all by the following votes of the
Trustees now present.

Ayes, Trustees; M. MACKENZIE, A.
S. MOORE and LUIS RAGGIO.

Noes, Trustees.—None.

Absent, Trustees, F. W. KEMP and
CHAS. BIGLEY.

M. MACKENZIE,
President of the Board of Trus-
tees of the said Town of San Juan.

Attest—J. F. BLACK,
Clerk of said Board.

APPENDIX D: WORKSHEETS

PROFILE WORKSHEET FOR CITY LIBRARIANS IN SAN JUAN BAUTISTA

Please tell me what you can about _____ City Librarian from _____ to _____.

I. Librarian's Personal Data

1. Birthdate: _____ Place: _____
2. Parents Names: _____ Mother's maiden name: _____
3. Schools attended: Local? ☐ Yes ☐ No Please list names of schools:
Elementary School _____ High School _____
College/University _____ Degree _____

II. Librarian's Professional Data

1. Employment before becoming City Librarian (Please list in chronological order.)
2. Library training? (circle): yes no If yes please describe program (i.e., was it a full library school program/ a summer program? week-end seminars? other?)
3. Motivation(s) for becoming City Librarian?
4. Reason for leaving position of City Librarian (i.e. marriage, job change, retirement, death, other)

III. Librarian's Marital Status

1. Please circle: Married Single Divorced Widowed

IV. Librarian's Community involvement

1. Was she a member of the Library Auxiliary? Please circle: yes no
2. Please list social clubs, service organizations, lodge affiliations, religious group(s), etc., to which she belonged and offices held if any.
3. Political affiliation and activities.

VI. Additional Information (please note additional information you feel would be appropriate to this research project. Use reverse side if necessary)

PHOTOS AVAILABLE?

Signature and Date

Profile Sheet
Francesca Luck (1905-1974)

General Information:

Birthplace _____
Marital Status: Single Married Divorced
Hobbies, recreational activities, special interests;

Education:(list names and locations of institutions)

Elementary School: _____
High School: _____
College: _____ Degree: _____

Other: (i.e., occupational school, special training)

Professional information:

Please tell me what you can about the professional history of Francesca Luck:

Her work as a lab technician:

What laboratory did she work at? How long? Was this before, after, or during her teaching career?

Where did she receive training for lab work?

Her teaching career:

Where? _____ How long? _____

What subject(s) did she teach?

Did her involvement with students extend beyond the classroom (counselor, student advisor, etc.)?
Explain.

Describe her participation in faculty organizations and/or events.

Reason(s) for leaving position(s): 1. change of job 2. retirement 3. death

4. other (explain)

Francesca Luck's Community involvement: (volunteerism, club work, religious affiliations, etc.; please list and describe)

Cause of Miss Luck's death: _____

Additional comments (use reverse side if necessary):

Thank you for your help with this project.

Signature and date

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

APPLIED IMAGE, Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
Phone: 716/482-0300
Fax: 716/288-5989

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