

A STUDY TO DETERMINE THE NATIONWIDE PATTERN OF CENSORSHIP IN
SCHOOL AND PUBLIC LIBRARIES AS REPORTED IN
TWO LIBRARY PERIODICALS FROM 1962-1971

A Thesis

Presented to
the Department of Librarianship
Emporia Kansas State College

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Librarianship

by
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July 1974

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ABSTRACT

A STUDY TO DETERMINE THE NATIONWIDE PATTERN OF CENSORSHIP IN
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A content analysis was made of the 1962-1971 issues of R. R. Bowker's Library Journal and the American Library Association's Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom. The purpose of the study was to attempt to answer the following questions: (1) Did the number of censorship cases reported from around the country during the years 1962-1971 remain at a fairly constant level from year to year, or did it vary? (2) Who made the complaints? (3) What reasons did people give when they made complaints? (4) Did some areas of the country have more problems than other areas? (5) What dispositions were made of the complaints?

The data collected indicated that for the period studied the number of cases reported did vary to some extent from year to year and may represent a cyclic pattern with a relatively large number of cases in the early sixties, fewer in the middle of the decade, followed by a slow and uneven rise toward the early seventies.

The Newsletter reports indicated that parents were the major source of complaints in school libraries and that patrons were the major source in public libraries. Library Journal reports indicated that administrators were the major source in both types of libraries.

Sex and obscenity were consistently the most popular reasons given for complaining about materials in both school and in public libraries.

The Newsletter reported the highest percentage of cases from the Pacific Coast states; Library Journal reported its highest from the North Atlantic states. The Rocky Mountain states ranked lowest in both journals.

Twenty-seven percent of the school and public libraries whose cases were reported in the Newsletter were able to keep their questioned materials on open shelves; 25 percent had to remove them, and 18 percent restricted circulation. Library Journal recorded 33 percent unrestricted, 32 percent removed, and 12 percent restricted.

This study provides data which serve as a reminder that censorship remains a live issue for which all librarians need to be prepared. With the proper preparation, having a selection policy and an established routine for handling complaints, the censorship confrontation may not end with the restriction of the challenged materials.

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Chapter 1

BACKGROUND AND NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

Censorship Problems in History

Rulers over many centuries have realized the truth and implications in David Riesman's statement in The Lonely Crowd: "Words not only affect us temporarily; they change us, they socialize us or unsocialize us."¹

Tsin Chi-huangti, an early monarch of China and builder of the Great Wall, believed that when men become too wise they become worthless. In 313 B. C. he ordered the burning of all literature except that dealing specifically with medicine, agriculture, and science. Many of the authors were then executed or banished.

In 642 A. D., Omar, then head of the Moslem religion, had the Alexandrian library destroyed. It has been estimated that there were seven hundred thousand manuscripts collected there, making it the greatest library of its day. The books were used as fuel to heat the city's baths. Omar's viewpoint was that: "The contents of these books are either in accordance with the teaching of the Koran or

¹David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd; a Study of the Changing American Character (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 89.

they are opposed to it. If in accord, then they are useless, since the Koran itself is sufficient, and if in opposition, they are pernicious and must be destroyed."² Euclid's Elements, the foundations of modern geometry, were among the books saved. Julius Caesar earlier (48-47 B. C.) had ravaged this collection during the Alexandrian War.

During the fourth century A. D. the Council of Carthage issued a decree forbidding Christians to circulate or possess the writings of the authors of pagan antiquity.³ In establishing the Index Librorum Prohibitorum in 1559, the Catholic Church under Pope Paul began a form of censorship among its members that continues to this day. The Index was delivered to the Inquisition in Rome. It contained three alphabetical sections of forbidden works: (1) a list of authors whose entire writings were prohibited, (2) works by authors otherwise not forbidden, and (3) anonymous writings. The invention of the printing press made control over the circulation of prohibited materials more difficult and led to the licensing of printers by the Church in England.⁴

The English Puritans fled from England to find religious freedom, but freedom of expression was not widely practiced in the colonies. Note Governor William Berkeley's

²George W. Lyon, "Book Burners in History," Saturday Review, 25:12, August 15, 1942.

³Robert B. Downs, The First Freedom (Chicago: American Library Association, 1960), p. 1.

⁴Ibid., p. 2.

remark: "I thank God, there are no free schools nor printing, and I hope we shall not have these hundred years; for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them, and libels against the government. God keep us from both!"⁵

The twentieth century has not been exempt from incidents in which intellectual freedom has been repressed. During the Red Raids of the 1920's the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation agents and police searched among alien workers for Communists to deport. On May 10, 1933, the Nazis burned books which they felt did not measure up to the "German ideal."⁷ McCarthyism in the 1950's led to the burning of books which were "accused of being Communist propaganda, the resignations of numerous librarians and the closing of a significant number of libraries because of reduced congressional support."⁸

In 1970 Orrin B. Dow, director of the Farmingdale, New York, Public Library, received an Intellectual Freedom Award from the American Library Association. Three years earlier one of the Farmingdale library trustees, a Mr. Carl Gorton, had taken a copy of the Paris Review from the library

⁵Robert B. Downs, "Freedom of Speech and Press: Development of a Concept," Library Trends, 19:11, July, 1970.

⁶Ibid., p. 13.

⁷Lyon, loc. cit.

⁸Downs, op. cit., p. 16.

shelves because of an article in the magazine that he considered obscene. He also tried to ban civil liberties literature and United Nations films from the library. After Dow protested and refused to agree to the demands, his lawn furniture was burned in his yard, his wife received anti-Semitic letters (even though he and his wife are not Jewish), and he received in the mail an execution order, allegedly from the Minutemen of the John Birch Society. At that time Dow had been at the Farmingdale library fourteen years.⁹

The small town of Drake, North Dakota, was the object of nationwide attention in December, 1973. A teacher in the high school at Drake had assigned Kurt Vonnegut's Slaughterhouse-Five to his sophomore English class. One of the students showed her mother the four-letter words she found objectionable in the book. The school board met, unanimously banned the book and then burned all thirty-two paperback copies.¹⁰ School Library Journal reported in its January, 1974, issue: "The school board is now examining Deliverance, as well as an anthology of short stories by Hemingway, Faulkner, and Steinbeck (also assigned by Severy), for questionable language. If found unsuitable for the classroom, they will be destroyed as well."¹¹

⁹"Orrin Dow Receives Robert B. Downs Intellectual Freedom Award," Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom, 19:52, July, 1970.

¹⁰St. Louis Post-Dispatch, December 16, 1973, p. 1H.

¹¹News, "Slaughterhouse-Five' Burned and Banned," School Library Journal, 20:7, January, 1974.

Statements About Freedom of Expression

Philosophers have been especially sensitive to the suppression of free speech and thought. John Milton's Areopagitica was published in 1644 in response to the licensing restraints in England. The book was actually a statement of defense for Milton himself because he had unlawfully published some treatises on divorce. Milton felt that in order for man to be able to discern truth and virtue he had to know something about good and evil. To him reading books was a safer laboratory in which to gain that knowledge than many actual experiences might be. About restricting books because certain ones might be unsuitable for some people he has this to say.

I deny not but that it is of greatest concernment in the Church and Commonwealth, to have a vigilant eye how Bookes demeane themselves as well as men; and thereafter to confine, imprison, and do sharpest justice on them as malefactors: For Books are not absolutely dead things, but doe contain a potencie of life in them to be as active as that soule was whose progeny they are; nay, they do preserve as in a violl the purest efficacie and extraction of that living intellect that bred them. I know they are as lively, and as vigorously productive as those fabulous Dragons teeth; and being sown up and down, may chance to spring up armed men. And yet on the other hand, unlesse warinesse be us'd, as good almost kill a Man as kill a good Book; who kills a Man kills a reasonable creature, Gods Image, but hee who destroyes a good Booke, kills reason it selfe, kills the Image of God as it were in the eye. Many a man lives a burden to the Earth; but a good Booke is the pretious life-blood of a master spirit, imbalm'd and treasur'd up on purpose to a life beyond life. 'Tis true, no age can restore a life, whereof perhaps there is no great losse; and revolutions of ages doe not oft recover the losse of a rejected

truth, for the want of which whole Nations fare the worse.¹²

And again if it be true, that a wise man like a good refiner can gather gold out of the drossiest volume, and that a fool will be a fool with the best book, yea, or without book, there is no reason we should deprive a wise man of any advantage to his wisdom, while we seek to restrain from a fool that which being restrain'd will be no hindrance to his folly.¹³

One of the great documents which guarantees freedom of speech and of the press to people in the United States is the First Amendment to the Constitution. It was "a direct consequence of centuries of bitter experience living under extremely repressive English law controlling speech and press."¹⁴ The first ten Amendments were written principally by James Madison and reflect the influence of a friend, Thomas Jefferson. In his First Inaugural Address Jefferson stated: "If there be any among us who wish to dissolve this union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it."

In the mid-1880's John Stuart Mill expressed his feelings about the importance of diversity of opinion.

If all mankind minus one, were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that

¹²John Milton, Areopagitica, (London: Oxford University Press, 1961, c1875), p. 5.

¹³Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁴Downs, op. cit., p. 18.

one person, than he, if he had the power, would be justified in silencing mankind. Were an opinion a personal possession of no value except to the owner; if to be obstructed in the enjoyment of it were simply a private injury, it would make some difference whether the injury was inflicted only on a few persons or on many. But the peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is, that it is robbing the human race; posterity as well as the existing generation; those who dissent from the opinion, still more than those who hold it. If the opinion is right, they are deprived of the opportunity of exchanging error for truth: if wrong, they lose, what is almost as great a benefit, the clearer perception and livelier impression of truth, produced by its collision with error.¹⁵

In the 1952 Adler vs. Board of Education case, Justice William O. Douglas of the United States Supreme Court expressed the consequences for students and teachers in the limiting of free expression.

Where suspicion fills the air and holds scholars in line for fear of their jobs, there can be no exercise of the free intellect . . . A problem can no longer be pursued with impunity to its edges. Fear stalks the classroom. The teacher is no longer a stimulant to adventurous thinking; and she becomes instead a pipeline for safe and sound information. A deadening dogma takes the place of free inquiry. Instruction tends to become sterile; pursuit of knowledge is discouraged; discussion often leaves off where it should begin.¹⁶

¹⁵John Stuart Mill, On Liberty, Representative Government, The Subjection of Women; Three Essays (London: Oxford University Press, 1912), pp. 23-24.

¹⁶The Right to Read: An Open Letter to the Citizens of Our Country from the National Council of Teachers of English (Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1961), p. 1.

Professional Recognition of the Problem

Professional commitment to intellectual freedom and to the right to read came as a reaction against the book burnings of the 1920's and 1930's.¹⁷ In 1948 the Library Bill of Rights was accepted by the American Library Association (A. L. A.). It has since been revised to reflect current concerns. The Intellectual Freedom Committee (I. F. C.) was established in 1940. The uncertainties of the Joseph McCarthy era led to the adoption of several documents. (See Appendix A.) In July, 1949, a policy regarding tenure investigations was accepted. In 1957 the Library Administration Division of the A. L. A. was assigned the responsibility of implementing this policy.¹⁸ Librarians, along with other citizens who encouraged the investigation of varying political points of view, were accused of disloyalty to their country. On July 21, 1950, the A. L. A. Council adopted the Resolution on Loyalty Programs.

During this time the American Library Association and the Intellectual Freedom Committee were viewed by many people as subversive organizations. In response to that attitude and to the screams about anti-Americanism,

¹⁷Kenneth F. Fister, "Educating Librarians in Intellectual Freedom" Library Trends, 19:159, July, 1970.

¹⁸David K. Berninghausen, "The Librarian's Commitment to the Library Bill of Rights," Library Trends, 19:33, July, 1970.

pro-Communism, etc., the A. L. A. Council on July 13, 1951, adopted the Statement on Labeling, which was amended June 25, 1971. The Freedom to Read Statement, accepted June 25, 1953, delineates precisely where the profession stands in respect to intellectual freedom and replies to censors most eloquently. An extension of the Library Bill of Rights, the School Library Bill of Rights, was adopted in July, 1955, and was revised in June, 1969.

In the past decade or so the state Intellectual Freedom Committees have been becoming more aggressive. They are aware of implications for intellectual freedom in legislative actions in their states and districts and are acting to support their beliefs. An example of this movement is the statement on Intellectual Freedom in Libraries, prepared by the Intellectual Freedom Committee of the California Library Association and the Book Selection Policies Committee of the School Library Association of California. Their policy was adopted in 1958.

Answering a need for definite guidelines on how to meet censorship threats, the A. L. A. Council, in February, 1962, adopted What to Do Before the Censor Comes--And After; How Libraries and Schools Can Resist Censorship. This document emphasizes preventive measures as well as step-by-step remedial procedures. It was brought up-to-date January 28, 1972.

In recent years the A. L. A. and the I. F. C. have been condemned by their members for not supporting their

stand on intellectual freedom with some concrete assistance. In November, 1969, the Freedom to Read Foundation was incorporated to meet these protests. One of the purposes of the Foundation is to supply legal counsel and "otherwise to provide support to such libraries and librarians as are suffering legal injustices by reason of their defense of freedom of speech and freedom of press."¹⁹

On July 3, 1970, the Policy on Sanctions was approved in support of the Library Bill of Rights. The Intellectual Freedom Committee now takes all complaints and decides what group in the A. L. A. has jurisdiction.²⁰ If the I. F. C. has jurisdiction, the document provides for four levels of action, the fourth and most serious being the listing of the institution in American Libraries as under censure by the American Library Association.

Librarians recently have been requested to open their circulation records so that investigators can see what names are on the checkout cards of books they consider to be "suspect."²¹ In response, on January 20, 1971, the A. L. A. adopted the Policy on Confidentiality of Library Records. The Policy "strongly recommends" that library officers adopt a policy that recognizes all records that identify "the names

¹⁹"Freedom to Read Foundation Comes Into Being," Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom, 19:1, January, 1970.

²⁰Berninghausen, loc. cit.

²¹"The Librarian As Informer," Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom, 18:13, March, 1970.

of library users with specific materials to be confidential . . .;" that such records should not be made available unless authorized by law; and that even then before revealing the records, the library officers should consult their legal counsel to determine if the authorization is in proper form and if good cause has been shown. Another recent statement, the Resolution on Challenged Materials; an Interpretation of the Library Bill of Rights, was adopted by the A. L. A. Council on June 25, 1971. The Resolution quoted The Library Bill of Rights statement "that no library materials should be proscribed or removed because of partisan or doctrinal disapproval" and resolves "That the American Library Association declares as a matter of firm principle that no challenged library material should be removed from any library under any legal or extra-legal pressure, save after an independent determination by a judicial officer in a court of competent jurisdiction and only after an adversary hearing, in accordance with well-established principles of law." These documents indicate the profession's continuing involvement with the apparently omnipresent problem of censorship. (All of the documents mentioned are listed in Appendix A in the order of the adoption.)

Relevant Research Studies

There are a limited number of research studies that have been made that are particularly pertinent to the present

study, and they have been made fairly recently. Some of the facts learned are (1) that a censorship problem does exist for many school and public libraries, (2) that librarians are the most frequent censors, (3) that most objections are based on what people feel is moral evil, (4) that local press support of the concept of intellectual freedom and having a selection policy are useful weapons against censorship, and (5) that school libraries are often deserted for the public library by the older students because the school libraries just don't have what they wish to read.

During 1957-1958, Marjorie Fiske, a sociologist, conducted a censorship study of school and public libraries in California. Her purpose was to learn "whether restrictions are being imposed on librarians, or whether they are imposing restrictions on themselves, that threaten the citizen's right to easy access to as adequate a collection of books and periodicals as his community, his country or his state can afford."²² Fiske found that the librarians did limit their selections to avoid controversial materials and that they practiced "under-the-counter" censorship, or kept some materials out of sight if they thought objections might be raised about them.

²²Marjorie Fiske, Book Selection and Censorship; a Study of School and Public Libraries in California (Berkeley: University of California Press 1959), p. viii.

Fiske collected the information for her study from 204 interviews in forty-six senior high schools and forty-eight municipal county units in twenty-six communities. Using her data from the school and public libraries, she summarized in categories who the objectors were, what grounds were given when objections were made, and what restrictions were placed on the circulation of books. Fiske found that the librarians from the various communities reported that in their professional careers they had noted little variation in the number, origin, or kind of complaint from year to year even though there might have been heated and publicized book banning episodes right in their own cities.

Under the auspices of the Wisconsin Council of Teachers of English, Lee A. Burress in 1963 conducted a study to discover the prevalence of censorship pressures on the public schools of Wisconsin. He sent questionnaires to public school administrators and teachers. Approximately one-third of the sixteen hundred that were returned contained some sort of evidence that these people felt that there was a censorship problem and had experienced or expected to experience a manifestation of it. During the period of the study, objections were raised over eighty books and seventeen periodicals. Mr. Burress includes in his discourse the target of the objection--moral evil, language, and ideas; and he discusses the possibility of hidden motives, explaining that there may be more acceptance and support

for objections based on morality or profanity than for those based on ideas. Other items mentioned were the actions taken on each case, the presence of a selection policy in the school, and the identification of the complainant. The resulting data did not fit into predetermined categories. Each case was analyzed and placed in one table. Its unique characteristics were listed.²³

In an article in the A. L. A. Bulletin in June of 1965 Burress elaborated on his study and made additional observations. He contended that there had been a recent increase in the pressure of censorship. He formed his opinion by comparing the number of citations listed in 1929 under "Censorship" in the Education Index with the number listed there in 1963. He believes there are two basic reasons for the increase: better-qualified teachers, who use books other than texts (many of which he feels are "intellectual sawdust" with nothing in them to censor), and the greater militancy of teachers. The militancy, he suggests, is manifested not only in the teachers' concern for their own wages and working conditions, but also in their concern over matters involving curriculum content and use of books, particularly contemporary and controversial books.

Burress concluded by making the following suggestions and comments about ways to combat censorship. (1) In the

²³Lee A. Burress, Jr., "How Censorship Affects the School," Wisconsin Council of Teachers of English; Special Bulletin No. 8, October, 1963, pp. 1-23.

cases he studied, the use of publicity helped protect intellectual freedom in the public schools. (2) More studies such as his might make it "possible to establish guidelines, to learn something about varying degrees of incidence of censorship, and to suggest better methods of preparing teachers for dealing with censorship."²⁴ (3) More interdisciplinary cooperation and (4) summer workshops on intellectual freedom are other suggestions made in the article.

From 1963-1965 James R. Squire headed a study of the English programs in 168 high schools in forty-five states. Among the questions considered were the book selection practices of each school and how these practices affected the reading habits of students. The data collected showed that twelfth graders depended more on the public library than on the school library and that use of the school library declined between the tenth and twelfth grades. The reason given for the decline was the low degree of selectivity of books in the school library.

A survey of the book collections of eighty-four libraries revealed that the standard classics such as Hawthorne's The Scarlet Letter, Mitchell's Gone with the Wind, and Orwell's Animal Farm were widely available; however, many of the significant modern novels were not.

²⁴Lee A. Burress Jr., "Censorship and the Public Schools," A. L. A. Bulletin, 59:493, June, 1965.

Examples are Joyce's A Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man, Salinger's Franny and Zooey, and Camus' The Stranger.²⁵

Even though many students do go to the public libraries to find what they wish to read, some will not go; and the above information may mean that without guidance in the school and the availability there of such books as The Stranger, etc., many students will miss some of the most important modern writers.

The National Council of Teachers of English sponsored a study in 1967 which consisted of nine case studies involving censorship in schools. In some cases the teacher was successful in meeting the complaint and in some other cases he was not. Each case includes community background, relevant factors concerning the school, the specific complaint made, the complainant, reaction to the charge, data about the teacher, and action taken by the teacher, the department, the administration, the press, and others in the community. In reading about the outcomes in the various cases, one is impressed by the importance of having a selection policy, of having routines established to handle complaints, of keeping parents informed about school policies and the curriculum, and of having a relationship among faculty and administration

²⁵James R. Squire, Roger K. Applebee, and Robert A. Lucas, "Student Reading and the High School Library," School Libraries, 16:11-19, Summer, 1967.

that stresses good communication and confidence in one another.²⁶

In 1969 Kenneth Donelson reported on research he had conducted to determine the effect of censorship on English teaching in Arizona from 1966-1968. Questionnaires were sent to 227 teachers in 103 schools. Of ninety responding secondary teachers, he found that 46.43 percent had been subjected to censorship pressures themselves or had known of pressures exerted on their fellow teachers; and 38.69 percent reported no censorship of any kind. Of forty-three responding junior high school teachers, sixteen, or 37.21 percent, reported some form of censorship; twenty-one, or 48.84 percent, reported no censorship, and six, or 7.17 percent, stated that they had no problems with either direct or indirect censorship but were anticipating some.²⁷

Mr. Donelson included on his questionnaire items about the teacher--personal and professional data, about the school--enrollment and selection policy, and about the teacher's personal assessment of the seriousness of the censorship situation in his own school and in Arizona. He

²⁶Committee to Report on Case Studies of Censorship, Meeting Censorship in the School: a Series of Case Studies (Champaign, Ill.: National Council of Teachers of English, 1967), pp. vii-54.

²⁷Kenneth L. Donelson, "A Brief Note on Censorship and Junior High Schools in Arizona: 1966-1968," Arizona English Bulletin, 11:26-30, April, 1969.

also asked them what they thought the reaction of their administrators would be if a censorship situation occurred.

In organizing the data involving the censorship cases, Mr. Donelson used the following categories: author and title of book, number of objections and objector, objection, and results (action taken). There were from the reporting schools fifty-nine books involved in 115 cases of direct or indirect censorship. In fifty-three of the cases the book was retained; in forty-three of the cases the book was either removed, banned, lost, hidden, or removed from circulation in some other way. In the remaining nineteen situations the resolution of the case was still in progress or the outcome was unsure.

At the end of the article Mr. Donelson lists some recommendations that should be useful for librarians as well as English teachers in being prepared for and forestalling censorship in the schools.

- (1) That all English departments make a determined effort to have their schools adopt an established policy for handling complaints
- (2) That English teachers participate fully as individuals and as departments in making selections for classrooms and libraries
- (3) That teachers remain constantly aware of literature both old and new that is appropriate for high school use and that in developing their programs they exercise professional judgement regarding the books needed by the students they teach
- (4) That English teachers encourage, in so far as possible, the free circulation of school library books

- (5) That English teachers both enlist and offer support of other departments in their schools, realizing that freedom to read is sometimes at stake in science, history, home economics, and other departments, as well as their own.
- (6) That English teachers enlist the support of responsible persons in the community before trouble starts.
- (7) That English teachers make it plain that censorship pressures on schools will not be accepted quietly but will result in local and statewide publicity.
- (8) That English departments build a file of resource materials to aid in combating pressures. These materials should be available to all teachers and administrators of the school to provide a rationale and build a climate of opinion that will ultimately lead to freedom of inquiry and expression.²⁸

The research has analyzed a few individual censorship incidents and has investigated the censorship pressures in California public schools and libraries, in Wisconsin public schools, and in Arizona high schools and English departments. It has also detailed the amount and kind of censoring libraries themselves practice and the effect such censorship has on the collection and its usefulness.

The studies discussed were chosen for discussion because each was helpful in some way in the planning of the present study. Marjorie Fiske's research suggested the questions pursued in collecting the data as well as the categories used in classifying the data collected on

²⁸Kenneth L. Donelson, "Censorship and Arizona Schools: 1966-1968," Arizona English Bulletin, 11:28-44, February, 1969.

objectors and objections. Her example in considering both school and public libraries was followed. The Donelson and Squire studies pointed out the important impact censorship has in schools and so helped establish to the researcher the relevance of the study. In addition, Donelson's system for data analysis was similar to Fiske's and was also used for a pattern for the present research. Donelson devised a rather detailed breakdown of fourteen items to use in categorizing the results of censorship incidents; Burress used four categories to describe restrictive actions taken. Both contributions were considered in writing the six categories used in this study. Burress' discussion of the motivations and hidden motives of objectors was helpful in interpreting the data collected. The fact that research had been conducted in Wisconsin, Arizona, and California suggested the possibility of a nationwide study that would collect the same type of data collected in the state studies in order to determine the status of censorship as it existed throughout the country.

Research Questions

The questions posed in the research study were raised by observations Marjorie Fiske made in reporting her 1956-1958 study. She stated that during the professional careers of the librarians she interviewed "the complaints of individual patrons have not changed markedly . . . either in respect to the types or numbers of persons making them, or in

the nature of the material complained about." According to Fiske, most censoring was done by the librarians themselves; administrative personnel were the second major source. Representing the third group were parents in school libraries and patrons in public libraries. The greatest number of complaints involved sex and obscenity, politics, and profanity, in that order.²⁹

The purpose of this study is to examine reported censorship cases in school and public libraries for possible trends in such areas as the number of cases, reasons for the objections, the objectors, the geographical origin of the complaint, and the disposition of the cases. The data from the reported cases will be used in making suggestions about ways in which librarians can prepare themselves to prevent censorship in their libraries and to be ready to meet it should it occur. By pointing out the value this data can be to them, it is hoped that librarians, and others involved in information distribution, will be encouraged to report censorship cases to their professional associations and to the news media.

The specific questions to be examined are as follow:

1. Did the number of censorship cases reported from around the country during the years 1962-1971 remain at a fairly constant level from year to year, or did it vary?
2. Who made the complaints?

²⁹Fiske, *op. cit.*, p. 46, p. 123.

3. What reasons did people give when they made complaints?
4. Did some areas of the country have more problems than other areas?
5. What disposition was made of the complaints?

Limitations of the Study

A serious limitation of the study is that the literature may, in fact, not reflect accurately what occurred from 1962-1971 in the area of censorship. The use of more than one periodical was an attempt to compensate for that obstacle. It was foreseen that another problem might be little information reported in a given year. Using the two types of libraries and the two different periodicals was an attempt to compensate for that eventuality.

Another problem is that the same case could have been referred to more than once in different issues of the same periodical so that there was a danger of inaccuracy in the number of cases tallied. However, enough location information--title of magazine, date, and page number--were recorded so that any question that arose could be easily checked. Titles of media involved and names of cities and states helped identify each case, too. Also to avoid duplications, the investigator scanned an entire year's issues of each periodical within one or two days so that a certain case would be more likely to be remembered if it were encountered a second or a third time.

It was presupposed that the data collected about objectors would not yield very much information about the predominant censor, the librarian. However, in spite of this limitation, knowing who the people were who created the reported censorship cases is of value.

The reported objections recorded for some materials may not have been the actual reasons that the objector had in mind. There was no way in this study to determine when false reasons were reported. The reader should be aware that in some instances there undoubtedly were hidden complaints. Further research might look into "real" versus "reported" reasons.

Investigator error is always a problem that must be considered and reduced as much as possible. The data were checked and rechecked when recording and when tabulating to attempt to avoid inaccuracies.

Assumptions

In planning the study one of the major assumptions made was that the sources for the study would provide an adequate amount of the information needed. Another was that the data reported regarding censorship cases during the investigative period would be reasonably reflective of the existing status of intellectual freedom. The third assumption was that the amount and accuracy of the data collected would together lend themselves to a meaningful analysis and

interpretation of the pattern of censorship in the nation from 1962-1971.

Significance of the Study

Keeping the members of the library profession informed about the current status of freedom of expression is a worthy purpose. Robert B. Downs states: "The fundamental freedom of the press is constantly under attack and 'eternal vigilance,' as Thomas Jefferson warned is required to preserve it . . . The First Amendment is always imperiled by erosion and qualification."³⁰

Several efforts are being made by the American Library Association to combat the repression of intellectual freedom by keeping its membership informed about censorship incidents in each area of the United States and knowledgeable about the whole subject. Its publication the Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom, started in 1952, has as its sole purpose reporting on censorship cases as well as on pertinent legal actions taken; it also publishes intellectual freedom bibliographies and the actions taken and the documents adopted by the A. L. A. in support of intellectual freedom.³¹

³⁰Downs, op. cit., p. 17.

³¹LeRoy C. Merritt, "Informing the Profession about Intellectual Freedom," Library Trends, 19:152, July, 1970.

In 1960 the A. L. A. Bulletin (now American Libraries) began a monthly column entitled "Intellectual Freedom."³² And in 1967 the A. L. A. established the Intellectual Freedom Office. Its director, Judith Krug, developed a monthly memo to the state offices to keep lines of communication open and to keep the membership really up-to-date.³³

This study attempts on a very small scale to continue the tradition of "eternal vigilance." It seems that such a task is the responsibility of individuals as well as of organizations. Apathy and fear are always dangerous to freedom of any kind, not only to freedom of expression. Some librarians, when confronted with attempts to censor important materials, act courageously and do not retreat from the situation by using a locked drawer, a storeroom shelf, or the trash can to solve the problem. They have cared enough to see that there are established procedures to handle complaints. They follow these procedures, and they report the incident to their professional organization and to their local newspaper if the case is a real threat to intellectual freedom. Publicity, public exposure or the threat of it, acts as a deterrent to the censor and to the would-be censor. Other librarians need to know how censorship problems have been dealt with in various situations, and they need to know what materials are drawing complaints.

³²Ibid., p. 154.

³³Ibid., p. 155.

Hopefully, by reading the reports of censorship incidents they will realize the importance of reporting if they are confronted with attempts to repress library materials.

Censorship cases that were reported and recorded were the source for the data for the present study. The reports were examined; and the conclusions reached from the examination, hopefully, will help to clarify the censorship situation as it existed from 1962-1971 and to provide insights into the nature of censorship.

The following are some of the terms used in this study:

1. Censorship. A conscious effort to prevent acquisition of, access to, or use of material because of moral, partisan, or doctrinal disapproval.

2. Complainant, objector. A person or a group who has a question about, objects to, or complains about the presence of a book or other media in a library's collection or on a classroom reading list.

3. Disposition. The final action taken to close a censorship case.

4. Intellectual freedom. The unrestricted selection and development of an open collection and the absence of restrictions, not only on what can be read, but also on what can be viewed and thought.

5. Obscene. Whatever is indecent, disgusting, or grossly offensive, including, although not limited to, things sexual or scatological.

6. Pornographic. A depiction (as in writing or painting) of licentiousness or lewdness: a portrayal of erotic behavior designed to cause sexual excitement.

Chapter 2

RESEARCH DESIGN

Sources of Information

Data were collected from two professional publications, the A. L. A. Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom and the Library Journal, including the School Library Journal. The Newsletter was chosen because it is the organ that represents the Intellectual Freedom Committee, the A. L. A.'s action arm in support of the Library Bill of Rights. It would be expected to have a comprehensive coverage of censorship cases occurring in libraries across the country.

Library Journal was chosen because it is widely read among librarians, as indicated by its circulation of thirty-six thousand. And upon empirical observation it was found to carry over a period of several months a number of news items about censorship cases. It was also chosen because it is issued by a publisher independent from the A. L. A., because of its relatively large number of pages, because it is issued twice monthly, and because it does include the School Library Journal, a publication germane to the present investigation.

The New York Times was selected to scan to provide some background information about what was happening in the

ensorship area in general throughout the country during the period under observation. The Times was chosen because although it is a New York paper it is not parochial in its coverage nor in its outlook, as partly evidenced by the fact that it has subscribers from all over the United States.

The study was planned to cover a ten-year period, and the sixties, 1960-1969, were selected because they immediately followed Fiske's study. However, it was necessary to begin with 1962 instead of 1960 because 1962 was the first year for which all issues of the Newsletter were available; and it was the year in which the Newsletter became a bimonthly instead of a quarterly publication. This meant that the study had to be extended to include 1971 in order to cover ten years.

Method of Investigation

To obtain the data a content analysis was made of all issues of each publication from January, 1962, through June, 1972, for Library Journal and through May, 1972, for the Newsletter. The search was extended into the first half of 1972 in order to have a report on as many 1971 cases as was practically possible.

Each article in the Newsletter was scanned to determine whether or not it contained information about one or more censorship situations in a school or public library. Areas searched in Library Journal were articles with titles relating to censorship, "Reader's Voice," editorials, "News,"

and "Items of Interest." In the Section on Children's and Young People's Libraries, which later became School Library Journal, the editorials, "Letters," and "The News," as well as articles, were scanned.

Each reported case was analyzed and recorded on one of the data collection forms. (See Appendix B.) All ten years of the Newsletter were analyzed and then the ten years of Library Journal.

Collection Techniques

At the top of the data collection forms are lines on which to check the magazine from which the data were taken and the date and the page number of the magazine. Sometimes information was inadvertently omitted or needed clarification, so having the exact source noted was very helpful.

Recording the date of each complaint was necessary because cases occurring at the end of one year were usually reported within the first month of the following year. When no date was given in a report, if the article appeared in a February through December issue, the year of that issue was used as the "Date of Complaint." If the undated complaint appeared in a January issue, the date of the previous year was used. When a case continued from one year to the next, the year in which it was first reported was recorded; the rationale is that the time of the initiation of a complaint is the most significant period.

The type of media--book, magazine, newspaper, underground newspaper, film, recording, or other--was noted for each case. In several cases more than one book or other media were involved in a single incident and were all recorded on one data form as one case. Titles given were noted on the forms for identification purposes.

Because only school and public libraries were studied, and because the data were to be tabulated separately, the form provided a place to check "Type of Library." Occasionally there was some overlap when a school and a public library were under the same administrative authority, but enough information was always given in order to determine which library had the problem.

The data show the number of censorship cases, not the number of libraries involved in censorship cases. When a county or city library system was noted, no reporter ever stated how many libraries were in the system so the case was counted only once.

The geographical breakdown used to record the areas of the United States from which complaints originated is that used by the Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom. Hawaii and Alaska are not included by the Newsletter, and they are not included in the study. The breakdown is into the following areas: Pacific Coast States, Rocky Mountain States, Midwestern States, Southern States, and North Atlantic States. Appendix C lists the states included in each area.

In collecting information about objectors, every objector who could not be placed in one of the prepared categories was recorded as described in the article, with the decision about where to place him to be made when tabulating. If more than one objector were involved in one case, all were recorded, so there are more objectors listed than there are cases. Examples are complaints about one book made by parents and ministers, by parents and the American Legion, and by parents and a school board.

Because they are responsible for the operation of public libraries, city council members, library trustees, and mayors were counted under "Administrator." Head librarians were counted as "Librarian," a category that had to be added. In public school libraries the administrators included school superintendents and principals, members of school boards, the state board of education, and superintendents of public instruction at the state level. These people are responsible for policy making and budget preparation for the schools, and thus for the school libraries also.

One of the few decision that had to be made with regard to the category "Parents" dealt with whether or not to count the PONYU group (Parents of New York United) as parents or as a community group. This particular group was counted under "Parents." Citizens who made objections about school libraries were counted under "Parents" as were people listed as sex education foes. It was assumed that in most

cases no one but a parent would know enough or care enough to make a complaint to a school about a book.

In public libraries people listed as "citizens" or "residents" were counted as "Patrons." The reasoning is similar that above. If a person is familiar enough with a library's collection to complain about an item it includes, he is probably a patron.

The data recorded for "Grounds for Objection" were treated in the same way as those for "Objector." The reasons given were entered in the appropriate categories if they could logically fit in them. Those reasons that did not fit were listed on the form. Examples are "anti-environmental" and "gives wrong picture of schools." Again the decision was made about making new categories when the tabulating was done.

In some instances only one reason was given for a complaint; in other instances, more than one reason was given. One case, no matter how many objections were involved, was counted only once. However, each objection was counted.

A reason for an objection was assumed in a few cases in which no data were given but the book had been mentioned several other times with the same or similar reasons being named. Assigning a reason seemed more reasonable and accurate than using the "No Data" classification. Following are the five books with the objections which were checked when none was recorded: Kazantzakis, Last Temptation of Christ - religion; Miller, Tropic of Cancer - sex/obscenity;

Salinger, The Catcher in the Rye - sex/obscenity; Steig, Sylvester and the Magic Pebble - other (anti-police); and Wentworth and Flexnor, Dictionary of American Slang - sex/obscenity.

The grounds for objection listed on the data collection form are "Politics," "Sex/Obscenity," "Profanity," "Race," "Religion," "Controversial or Unsuitable," "Literary Merit," and "Other." Included under "Politics" were objections to media described as pro-Communist, Communist propaganda, anti-American, right wing, left wing, ultra-conservative; objections to authors whose political background was questioned; and objections on the grounds of separation of church and state--in which cases religion was also checked. The pro-Communist and anti-American labels were usually given to media which were alleged to be seditious, subversive, or to advocate overthrow of the government or assassination of the President.

Sex and obscenity were often plainly stated as the causes for objections. Some of the other reasons given that were listed under the "Sex/Obscenity" category are "filthy," "vulgar," "trash," "pornographic," "smut," and "immoral."

Some items may have been placed under "Profanity" that belonged in the "Sex/Obscenity" classification. Besides profanity itself "offensive language," "four-letter words," and just "language" were listed as profanity.

Complaints under "Race" are those that stated that material was anti-Negro as well as those which stated that it was pro-Negro.

When a book was charged with being blasphemous, as was Kazantzakis' Last Temptation of Christ, religion was the reason checked.

Every ambiguous or indefinite objection could have been recorded under "'Controversial' or 'Unsuitable'" because this category is clearly related to "Other." However, this type of complaint was separated because it indicates an effort to suppress material just because it is likely to evoke strong, opposing feelings among people. "Unsuitable" implies that the material is not particularly harmful but has doubtful social value. Besides stating flatly that the material was controversial or unsuitable, the other objections listed in the category were those that were recorded as "questionable," "objectionable," "of no educational value," "inappropriate," "not the sort of thing you'd want your child to read," "too mature for a fourteen-year-old," "bad taste, offensive," and "low moral standards, gave child nightmares." The more specific objections which did not fit the established categories were classed as "Other" and are listed in Appendix E.

The outcome of a complaint was noted under "Disposition of Case." Some cases extended over many months and were written about several times before it was possible to determine what the conclusion had been. Quite often the fate

of a book was to be decided at a school or a library board meeting whose deliberations were never reported, in which case "n.d." (no data) was then checked. Each separate announcement about a particular situation was entered on one data form with the date and page number of the article noted.

After reading through the dispositions of a number of situations, appropriate categories were distinguishable: "kept on open shelves," "removed from shelves," "circulation restricted," "not ordered," "no data," and "other." "Circulation restricted" includes the dispositions in which certain materials could be checked out by adults only or by children and young people who had parental permission via a written request or an adult card. Sometimes the materials were kept in an "adults only" section of the library and sometimes behind the checkout desk.

The "Other" category includes such dispositions as placing books deemed unsuitable for children on the top of six-foot shelving, blacking out offending passages, and removing an objectionable page, which is the way one library handled the picture of the policemen as pigs in the children's story Sylvester and the Magic Pebble.

The information was also recorded separately as to whether or not a librarian had been fired or had resigned as a result of a case.

Very few data were given about whether or not a library had a selection policy or if there was involvement

by the American Library Association. When there was involvement the type was noted if it was possible to ascertain just what action did occur.

"Remarks" recorded were of two kinds: (1) those that would be useful in clarifying the details of the case when tabulating and (2) those which dealt with a case so outlandish that it should be remembered by someone. A few of those cases will be discussed.

Since the study dealt only with censorship in school and public libraries, incidents involving textbook censorship were not recorded. Classroom reading lists were the center of controversy several times and were counted separately if no mention was made of the school library. It appeared that sometimes parents do not object to a book's presence in the library but do object to its being on a classroom reading list, particularly on a list of required reading. The item was included in the data, however, because a classroom reading list is often based on the library collection.

The New York Times Index for each of the years from 1962-1971 was consulted to find articles that would provide background information on censorship during the ten-year period studied. The following Index subject headings were used: "Books--Censorship and Bans" (which in 1968 became "Books and Literature--Censorship and Bans"), "Magazines--Censorship & Bans," "Mass Communication," "Pornography and Obscenity," and "Publications."

Tabulation of Data

Before beginning the tabulation, the data sheets for each periodical were separated by the year in which the case occurred. In tabulating, one tally sheet was used for recording the data for each year from the school and public library censorship cases reported in the Newsletter and in the Library Journal. Later a second tallying was done; this time two tally sheets were used for each year, one for school libraries and one for public libraries. The second analysis served as a good check for accuracy because the two tally sheets for each year were compared with the original. If there were discrepancies, the discrepancies were checked. For instance, if the original sheet had twenty tally marks recorded under "Area of Country" and there were nine recorded on the school library tally sheet and ten on the public library tally sheet, something was wrong, particularly if there were ten data forms from school libraries and ten from public libraries.

As each data form was analyzed, a mark was made on the tally sheet under the appropriate category. Newsletter and Library Journal sheets were kept separate. When the original tally sheet was made, every reason given on the form had been recorded under "Grounds for Objection," and every objector had been entered under "Objector" as named. When the second tallying was made, each unassigned objector and objection was placed in one of the listed categories if

possible. When it was not possible and when there were several misfits, a new category was established. "No Data" was included as a new category under "Grounds for Objection." In addition, "No Data," "Librarian," and "Community Group" were added under "Objector." A list was made of the group names that went into the "Community Group" category. Some examples are Citizens for Decent Literature, the American Legion, Watch Dogs of Freedom, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the John Birch Society. (See Appendix D, Part 1.) Lists were also made of the objectors that were designated "Other" and of the reasons given for objections that were designated "Other." Some of the objectors listed under "Other" are "city attorney," "anonymous letter," "priest, ministers," and "newspaper." Examples of objections listed under "Other" are "defamed Italian-Americans"; "pessimistic, morbid, depressing"; "instructs in use of drugs"; and "violence." (See Appendixes D, Part 2, and E.)

In collecting and tabulating the data, the number of tally marks from the different categories were always compared to the number recorded under "Type of Library" to see if any data had been omitted. Of course, under "Objector" and "Grounds for Objection" there could have been more marks since every objector and reason were recorded, but there could not be a smaller number than there was under "Type of Library." The original data forms and, if necessary, the journal entry were consulted to clear up any ambiguity.

Chapter 3

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Introduction

Some questions were posed in Chapter 1 for which the present study hoped to find some answers. The questions are as follow:

1. Did the number of censorship cases reported from around the country during the years 1962-1971 remain at a fairly constant level from year to year, or did it vary?

2. Who made the complaints?

3. What reasons did people give when they made complaints?

4. Did some areas of the country have more problems than other areas?

5. What dispositions were made of the complaints?

In this chapter the data collected will be reviewed for their implications for each of the questions. They will also be explored for information on the types of media which drew complaints, on the presence of selection policies in the libraries examined, and on the incidence and type of involvement that the American Library Association may have had in any of the cases.

The discussion will also seek to point out relationships between the conditions presented by the data and those in the country as presented in The New York Times for the 1962-1971 period.

Number of Reported Censorship Cases

Table 1, "Number of Objections to Controversial Books in School and Public Libraries, 1962-1971" presents the data collected concerning the number of reported censorship cases. Figures 1, 2, and 3 show in graphic form the same data and the breakdown of the data for school and public libraries.

The mood of the country in the 1950's which made possible the witchhunts of the Senator Joseph McCarthy era seems to have shifted into the early 1960's when a relatively high number of censorship cases were reported. Both periodicals generally offered a similar cyclic pattern of rise-decline-rise in the number of censorship incidents, with the years 1962 and 1963 being in the rise cycle, particularly as reflected in the Newsletter. The forty-three cases reported in 1962 and the forty-six in 1963 (see Table 1) account for 39.64 percent of the 227 cases reported by the Newsletter for the entire ten-year span. Library Journal reported nine and nineteen cases, for 24.79 percent of 113 cases.

As recorded in the Newsletter, the year 1963 produced more complaints in school libraries, twenty-one, than

Table 1

Number of Objections to Controversial Media
in School and Public Libraries, 1962-1971

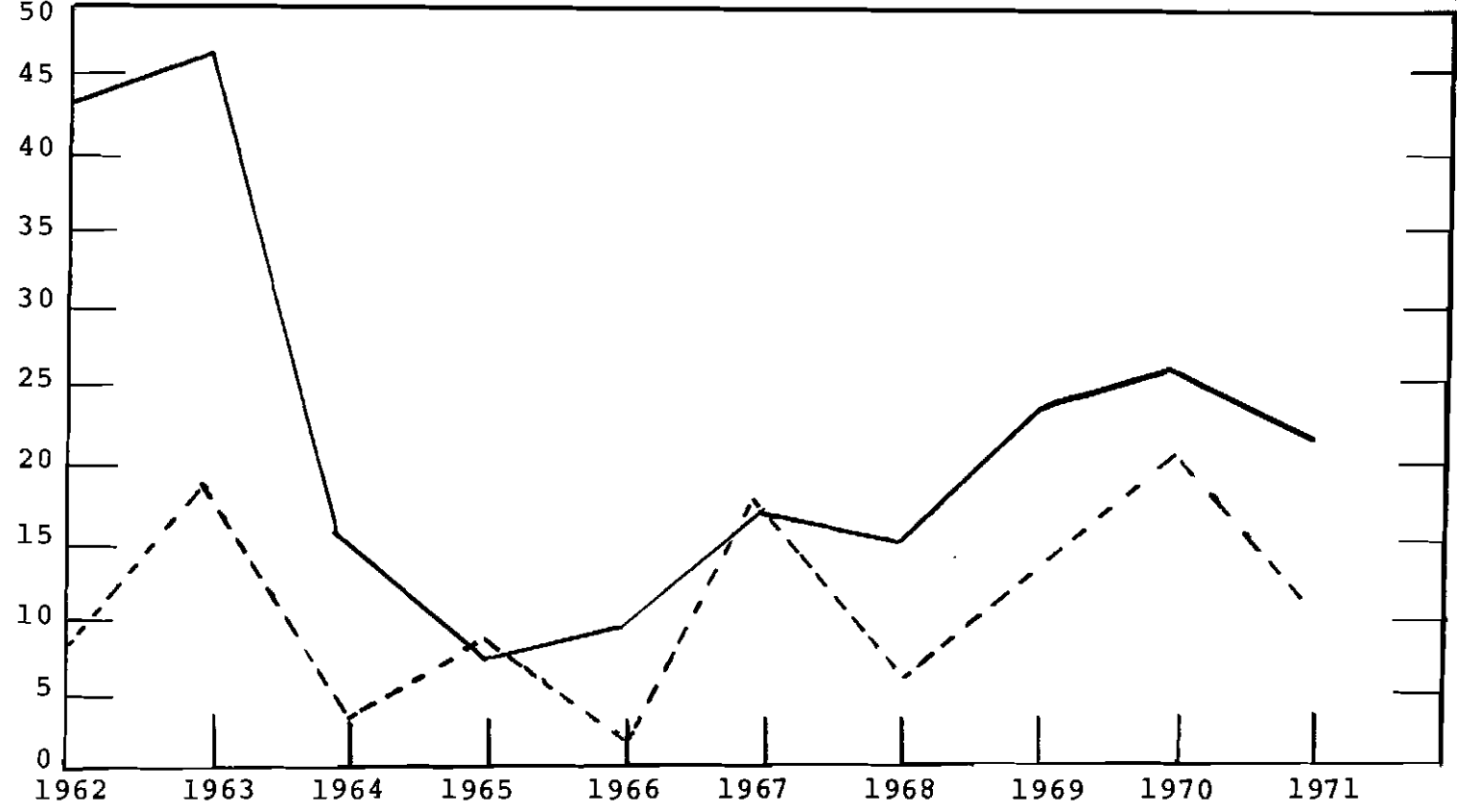
Year	School Libraries		Public Libraries		Totals	
	N.I.F.*	L.J.**	N.I.F.	L.J.	N.I.F.	L.J.
1962	17	0	26	9	43	9
1963	21	11	25	8	46	19
1964	11	1	5	3	16	4
1965	4	3	4	6	8	9
1966	7	2	3	0	10	2
1967	6	7	11	11	17	18
1968	1	1	15	6	16	7
1969	7	5	16	8	23	13
1970	17	11	9	10	26	21
1971	12	7	10	4	22	11
Totals	103	48	124	65	227	113

*N.I.F. - Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom

**L.J. - Library Journal

Number of

cases



———— Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom
- - - - Library Journal

Figure 1

Comparison of Total Numbers of Censorship Cases Reported in Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom and in Library Journal, 1962-1971

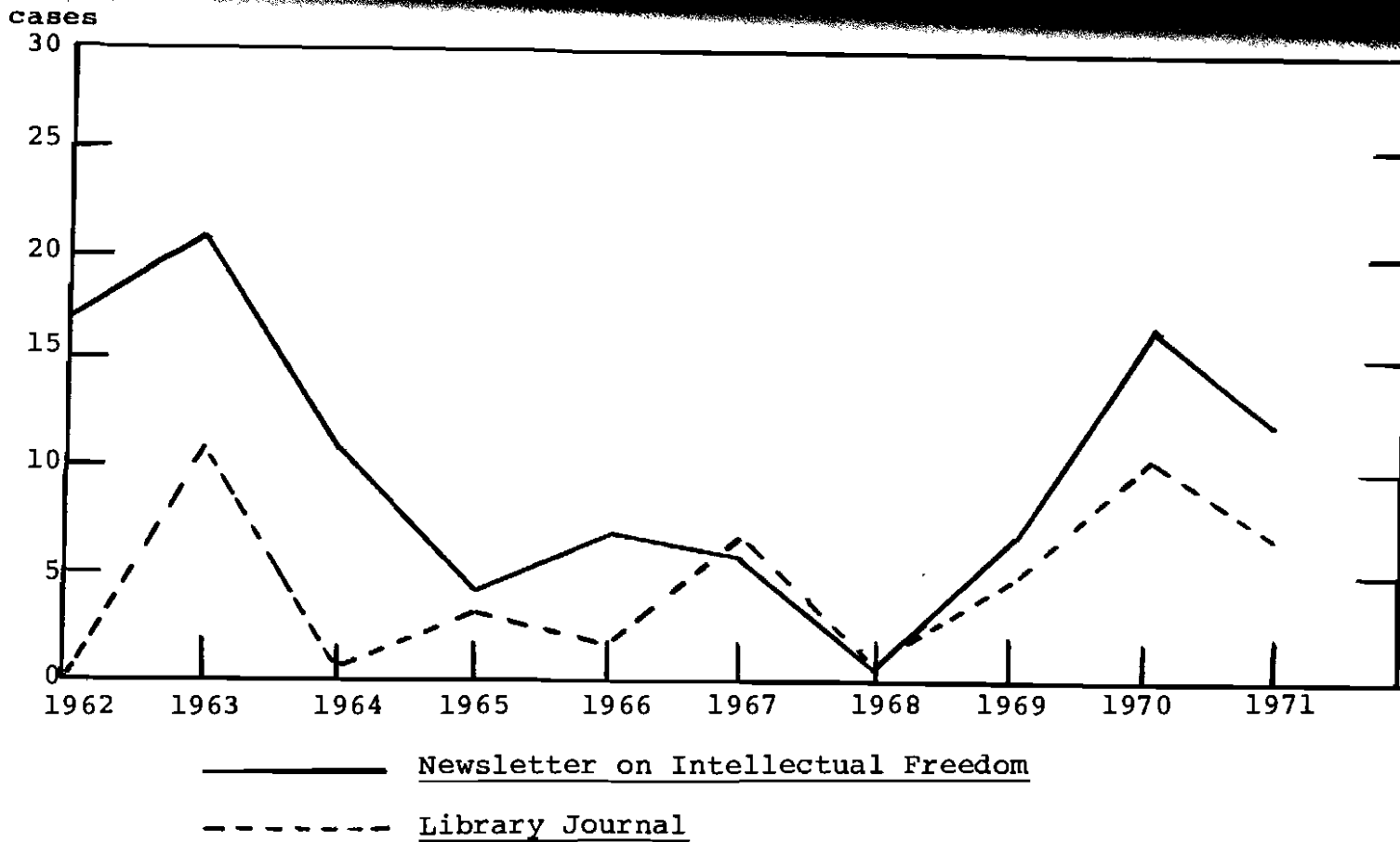
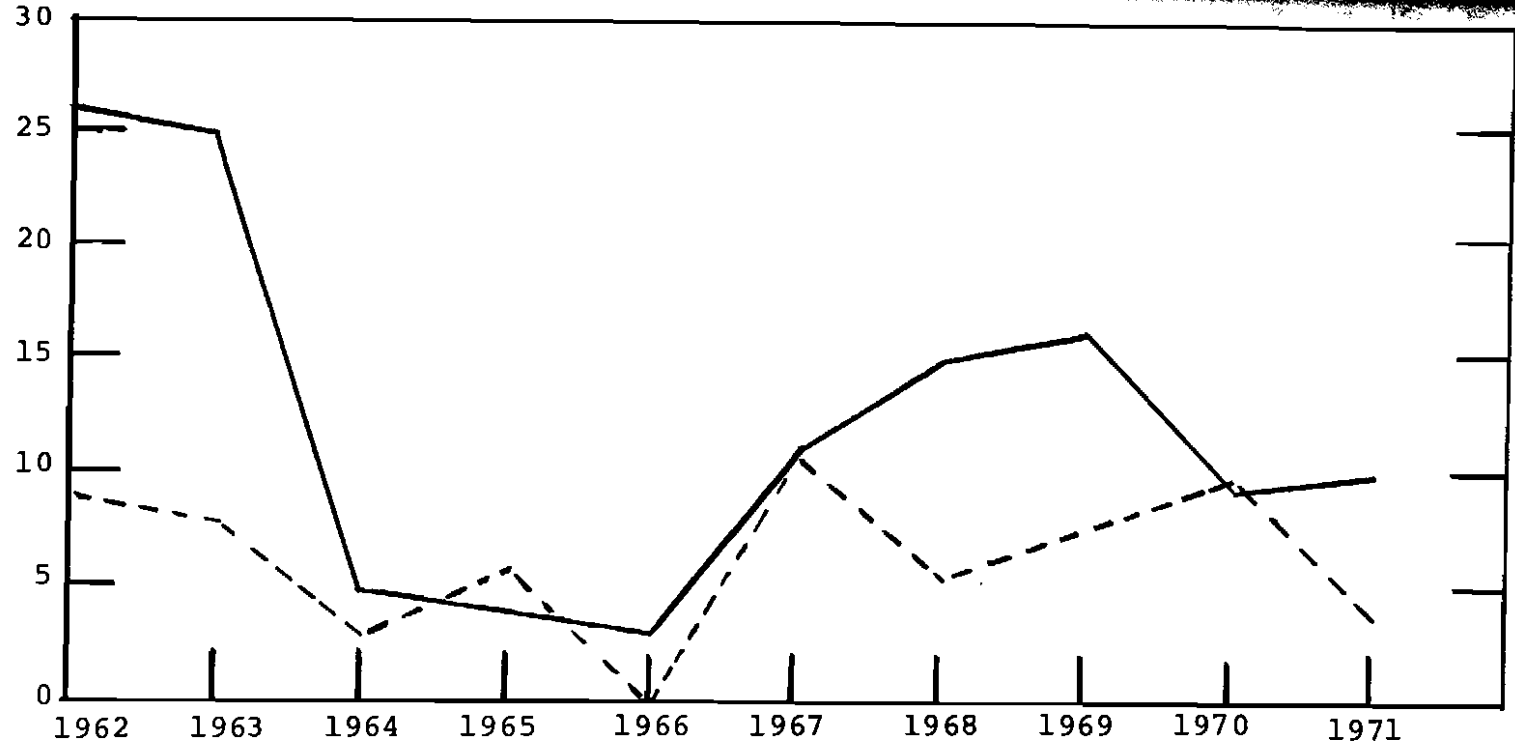


Figure 2

Comparison of Number of Objections in School Libraries, 1962-1971
Reported by Magazine

Number of cases



— Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom
- - - Library Journal

Figure 3

Comparison of Number of Objections in Public Libraries, 1962-1971
Reported by Magazine

there were for those libraries in any other year. The next most active years for the censors in school libraries were 1962 and 1970, each with seventeen cases. Although Library Journal reported no cases in 1962, it reported eleven in 1963 to tie with 1970 for being the most active years for censorship in school libraries.

Probably in response to the pressures of those years the National Council of Teachers of English published in 1962 "The Students Right to Read," a document encouraging intellectual freedom in schools. Also in 1962 the American Library Association at its Midwinter meeting in Chicago adopted an official statement to guide librarians and educators in dealing with censorship. The statement is entitled "How Libraries and Schools Can Resist Censorship."

The number of 1962 and 1963 complaints, twenty-six and twenty-five, recorded from public libraries by the Newsletter were significantly higher than for any of the other years studied. The next highest figures, fifteen and sixteen, were reported for 1968 and 1969. There were sixty-five cases reported by Library Journal from public libraries during 1962-1971. An even distribution of the sixty-five cases over each of the ten years would mean 6.5 cases per year. From that frame of reference the number of cases reported for 1962 and 1963, nine and eight, were above average.

Following the same line of thought, the numbers of cases reported by Library Journal from public libraries for

the years 1964, 1965, and 1966--three, six, and zero--were below average, as were the Library Journal reports from school libraries for those years. With forty-eight cases for an average of 4.8 per year, there were one, three, and two cases reported for 1964, 1965, and 1966.

The number of cases in Newsletter reports for 1964, 1965, and 1966 from public and school libraries were also generally below average. There were 124 recorded cases from public libraries, a 12.4 per year average. In 1964 there were five cases; in 1965 there were four; and in 1966 there were three cases reported. The school library reports totaled 103, or an average of 10.3 cases per year. In 1964 there were eleven cases; in 1965 there were four; and in 1966 there were seven. The low cycle was extended for school libraries. In 1967 there were six cases reported; in 1968 there was one; and in 1967 there were seven. The 1968 and 1969 reports recorded in Library Journal from school libraries were also fairly low for 1968 and 1969 with one and five cases. It appears then that the mid-sixties represented a relatively low phase of the censorship cycle.

It is possible that the decline in the number of cases was a somewhat delayed reaction to the Supreme Court's 1957 ruling on obscenity standards. The pronouncement, which states that in order for material to be judged obscene, the dominant theme of the material as a whole must appeal to

urgent interest,³⁴ is considered to have been a liberalizing influence which encouraged intellectual freedom.

Another 1964 action of the Court that perhaps indicated its mood was its decision, in response to the *Samont* suit, to study the constitutionality of the 1962 law which permitted the post office to refuse to deliver Communist propaganda.³⁵ At that time if a person did wish to receive Communist propaganda for any reason whatsoever, he had to notify the post office, and his name was put on a list. Reportedly, the House Un-American Activities Committee had a copy of the list as did other groups and individuals outside the Post Office and Treasury Departments. In 1965 Post Master General Gronouski ordered that no new lists were to be made and that all lists that had been made were to be destroyed by March 15, 1965.³⁶

In keeping with the data and with the actions discussed, The New York Times Index for 1966 lists fewer articles dealing with censorship than it does for any of the other years for the early and middle sixties. Compared by the amount of column space in centimeters that the Index entries occupied under "Censorship and Bans--U.S.," the figures are as follow: 1962 - 10, 1963 - 23, 1964 - 19.5, 1965 - 6.5, 1966 - 8, and 1967 - 7. After 1967 most of

³⁴The New York Times, May 28, 1962, p. 23, col. 4.

³⁵Ibid., December 8, 1964, p. 12, col. 5.

³⁶Ibid., February 25, 1965, p. 14, col. 4.

references to censorship problems were listed under "Pornography and Obscenity."

In 1967 the total number of cases reported from the Newsletter had risen from ten in 1966 to seventeen. The increase was from two to eighteen from Library Journal. The Library Journal's largest increase was in school libraries. There were no cases in 1966 and eleven in 1967. The Newsletter's largest increase was in public libraries, three cases in 1966 and eleven in 1967. Also in 1967 the Newsletter reported more classroom incidents, eleven, than it did in any other year.

The New York Times Index listed more articles on censorship in 1967 than it had in its low 1966 year.

Perhaps the rise in censorship that appeared to be beginning in 1967 was an expression of some people's feelings that the liberal legislation of the Warren Court had encouraged a flood of objectionable literature that needed to be halted.

In 1967 the United States Congress created the eighteen-member Commission on Obscenity and Pornography.³⁷ Its purpose was "to investigate the relationship between such material and antisocial behavior, particularly in minors. The aim is to find out whether some constitutional

³⁷The New York Times, October 5, 1967, p. 25, col. 1.

method is needed to control distribution of such literature."³⁸

It is difficult to explain the drop in the number of cases in 1968; except for that year the cycle appears to have been on the upswing from 1967 to 1971 when there was a slight downward trend. However, the number of cases did decrease from 1967 to 1968 by at least five in every category except in the Newsletter's public library reports which rose from eleven to fifteen.

Perhaps as a result of the mid-1960's lull in the number of censorship incidents in 1968 the New Jersey Committee for the Right to Read disbanded after serving five years. The Committee had been organized "to combat official and unofficial censorship," but it voted to dissolve because it believed its activities were no longer needed. Stephen M. Nageer, the executive director of the New Jersey Chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union also felt that censorship problems had become less severe than they had been several years ago.³⁹ However, the disbanding of the committee itself does not negate the statement made from studying the data, that a rise in censorship incidents had again begun. There is bound to be some time lag in the formation and dissolution of a committee whose

³⁸The New York Times, January 3, 1968, p. 30, col. 5.

³⁹Ibid., November 24, 1968, p. 122, col. 4.

existence is based on need because there cannot be instant assessment of the existence and intensity of the need.

Another indication of the rising conservatism in 1968, or at least an indication of a feeling for the need to reevaluate past legislation, was the Supreme Court's decision to uphold a New York state law banning sale to children of "girlie" magazines and other suggestive publications,⁴⁰ thus establishing a double standard, one for adults and one for minors. Because of the Supreme Court's decision, several states were quietly passing bills setting up prohibitions similar to New York's. The American Library Association stated its opposition to the statutes on the grounds that the wording was "susceptible to broad interpretation, spreading censorship to areas not intended" and that "discrimination in reading must be learned throughout childhood and youth by contact with many kinds of materials."⁴¹ However, by September, 1969, fourteen states had acted to bar the sale of pornography to people under age seventeen, in some cases under age eighteen.⁴²

In 1969 and in 1970 there were again increases in the number of censorship cases reported by both journals from both types of libraries, with one exception. The Newsletter

⁴⁰The New York Times, April 23, 1968, p. 1, col. 1.

⁴¹News, "Censorship Double Standard Approved by Supreme Court," Library Journal, 93:1949, May 15, 1968.

⁴²The New York Times, September 15, 1969, p. 59, col. 1.

ports from public libraries, which did not decrease as the others did in 1968, dropped from sixteen in 1969 to nine in 1970. The total number of Library Journal reports, twenty-one, was greater in 1970 than in any other year. Although 1970 was a peak year also for the number of cases reported by the Newsletter, it was a secondary peak because there were only about half as many recorded cases as there were in 1963.

Although the actual number of cases reported in The New York Times Index does not correspond with the findings of the study for 1970, there are two pages of references to articles under the heading "Pornography and Obscenity," almost twice as many as there were in 1969. The articles reflect a nationwide concern about the growth of the pornography industry in the United States. In 1970 the President's Commission on Pornography made public its report, which President Richard Nixon flatly rejected and noted that the Commission was instituted during the Democratic administration of Lyndon Johnson.⁴³ Other politicians also, perhaps sensing the feelings of their constituents, found it to be politically advantageous, especially in an election year, to denounce the Commission report, as characteristic of "radical liberals," and the "permissive society."⁴⁴

⁴³The New York Times, October 25, 1970, p. 1, col. 8.

⁴⁴Ibid., October 2, 1970, p. 70, col. 1.

The preceding information appears to suggest a rising conservatism in the nation. Chief Justice Warren Burger discussed his opinion of the Court's role as the "supreme and unreviewable board of censorship for the fifty states" that it assumed with the 1957 decision on pornography. He stated that it was his belief that there was no Constitutional justification for its decision.⁴⁵ Predicting future court actions, Mr. Burger at another time said that he felt that the First Amendment does not bar states from curtailing obscenity unless the local idea of obscenity is "wholly out of step with current American standards."⁴⁶ His statements reveal a point of view considerably different from that of his predecessor, Earl Warren.

However, despite the indications that there would be an increase in the repression of materials that some considered objectionable, there were fewer censorship cases reported in 1971 than there had been in 1970, although the cycle did not dip to its 1968 level. The total numbers of cases reported by both journals were just slightly below average, twenty-two cases from the Newsletter and eleven cases from Library Journal, half as many as there had been in 1970. The only increase was a small one, one case, reported from public libraries by the Newsletter.

⁴⁵The New York Times, June 16, 1970, p. 42, col. 3.

⁴⁶News, "Chief Justice Burger Takes Hard Line," Library Journal, 95:613, February 15, 1970.

The cyclic pattern of the reported censorship cases suggested by the data taken from the Newsletter and Library Journal seems to find some verification from the substance and incidence of articles from The New York Times. It appears that there may be some correlation between the censorship activity that took place in school and public libraries from 1962-1971 and what was happening in society in general.

Objectors

One of the major limitations of the present study was its inability to gather data about libraries' most frequent censor, the librarian. Even so, there were some instances in which the librarian appeared in the censorship report as the objector. A typical situation was one in which the librarian would place a book such as Tropic of Cancer by Henry Miller in an "Adults Only" section.⁴⁷ In another case an Arizona public librarian stated that she kept all the sex manuals, including Gray's Anatomy, in a locked cabinet to prevent their being vandalized. She said that all a patron had to do if he wanted to borrow one of the books was to ask for the key. However, no one had

⁴⁷"Puritans' Progress: Drive Against 'Tropic of Cancer,'" Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom, 10:3, January, 1962.

ever asked for it.⁴⁸ Budgetary limitations were given sometimes by librarians as reasons for not having a certain book in the library. There were some reports about English translations of documents issued by the Russian government having been received by libraries as gifts. The items included a speech by Nikita Khrushchev and party programs adopted by the 22nd Congress of the Soviet Communist party. Two Iowa librarians and one from North Carolina were reported to have discarded the "Communist propoganda."^{49,50}

Table 2 presents the data on objectors to controversial books in school libraries. The categories used were as follow: Administrator, Parent, Teacher, Student, Librarian, Community group, Other, and No data. The Newsletter reports named parents as the objectors in almost half the reports, forty-eight out of 106, from school libraries. Community groups were next with twenty-one reports, and administrators were third with fifteen reports. In Library Journal, school administrators were reported as the major source of complaints. They were named eighteen times; parents were second with fifteen citings. The category with the third highest number of entries was "No

⁴⁸"Library Locks up Books," Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom, 17:2, January, 1968.

⁴⁹"Iowa Librarians Give Views on Gift of Soviet Books," Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom," 11:7, July, 1962.

⁵⁰News, "British and American Views on Russian Books Abroad," Library Journal," 87:2510-11, September, 1962.

Table 2

Objectors to Controversial Media
in School Libraries, 1962-1971

Objector	1962		1963		1964		1965		1966		1967		1968		1969		1970		1971	
	NIF*	LJ**	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ
Administrator	4	a	2	6			1	1	2	2	1		1		1	4		2	3	3
Parent	7		10	3	5		2		2	1	3	1			4		8	7	7	3
Teacher			1		1													1	1	
Student																	1			
Librarian	1							1									2	1		1
Community group	1		9	2	3	1	1		2		2	1			1		1		1	
Other	3		1	1	2				1					1	1	1	2	2		
No data	1				1			1				5					3			1

^aLibrary Journal reported no censorship cases in school libraries in 1962.

*NIF - Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom

** LJ - Library Journal

data," with seven. Librarians were named three times in each of the periodicals.

Table 3 presents the data on objectors to controversial books in public libraries. For this table the categories used were somewhat different: Administrator, Parent, Patron, Librarian, Community group, Other, and No data. In public libraries the Newsletter reports indicate that patrons were the most frequent censors, with twenty-eight of the 128 listings. However, the patrons were followed closely by administrators and community groups, really patrons but organized, as the leading public library objectors. Each was named twenty-four times. Librarians were named twenty-one times. Library Journal reports reveal the administrator as the most frequent censor, named twenty-three times out of sixty-eight citations. Patrons were second with fifteen listings, and community groups were third with twelve. Librarians were named eight times.

Some people act as their own censors. The Post Office Department reported in 1969 that twenty-three thousand requests had been received from patrons to have their names taken off mailing lists so that they would not receive what they considered pornographic materials.⁵¹ Figures 4 and 5 present a visual comparison in the numbers of objectors in each category, as reported by magazine. "Teacher" and "Student" were combined for the purposes of this graph.

⁵¹The New York Times, October 2, 1969, p. 23, col. 2.

Table 3

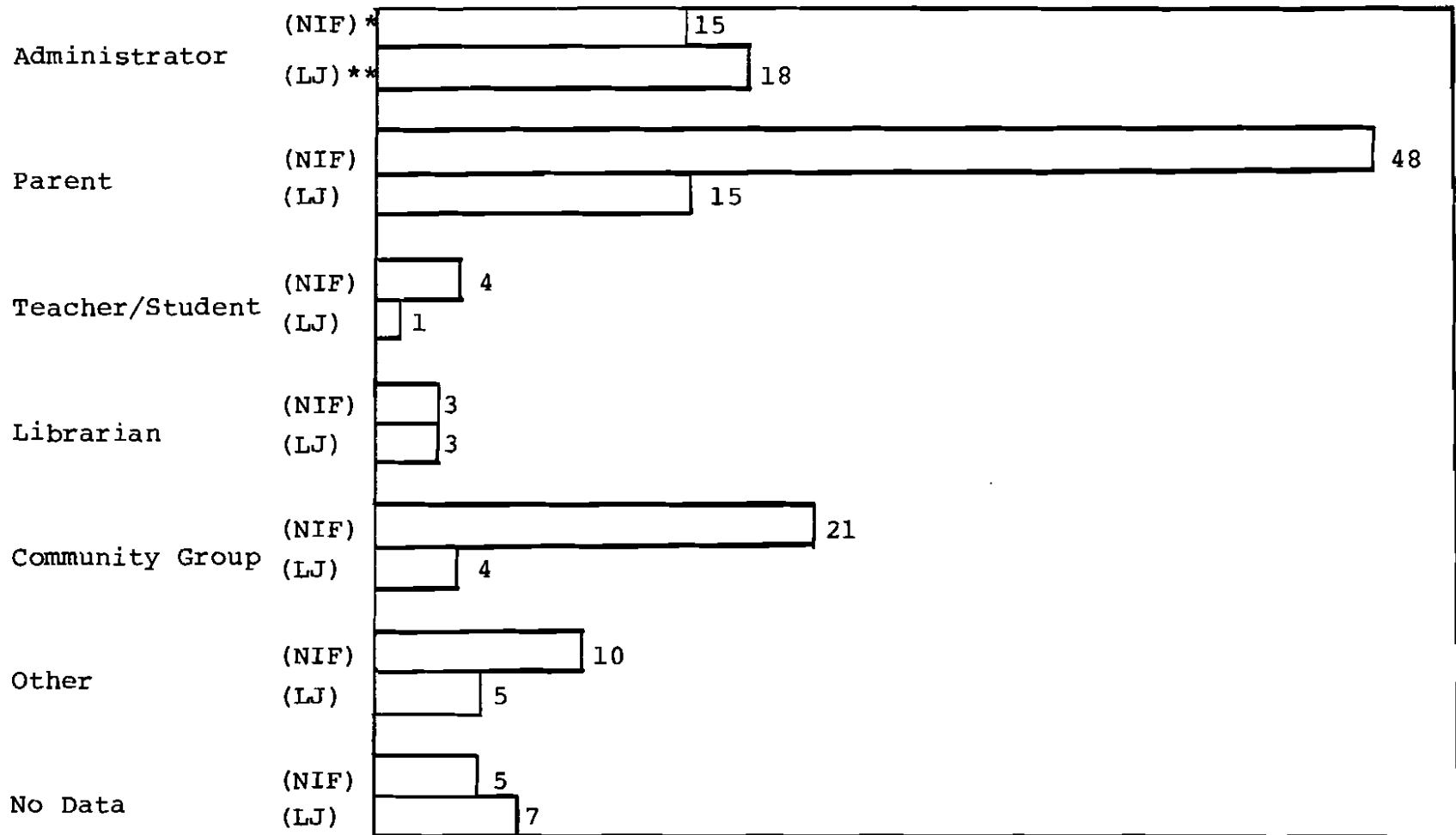
Objectors to Controversial Media
in Public Libraries, 1962-1971

Objector	1962		1963		1964		1965		1966		1967		1968		1969		1970		1971	
	NIF*	LJ**	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ
Administrator	5	2	4	2					1	^a	2	6	3	3	3	4	3	5	3	1
Parent	1		2		1		1						4	2	3					
Patron	1	2	5	3	3	1	1	1	1		1	1	6		3	2	3	4	4	1
Librarian	4	3	1	1				2			6	2	1		6		2		1	
Community group	4	1	12	1	1	1	1	2			1		3	1	1	3		1	1	2
Other	4	1	2	1		1	1	1			1	2		1	1				1	
No data	7								1					1			1			

^aLibrary Journal reported no censorship cases in public libraries in 1966.

*NIF - Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom

**LJ - Library Journal

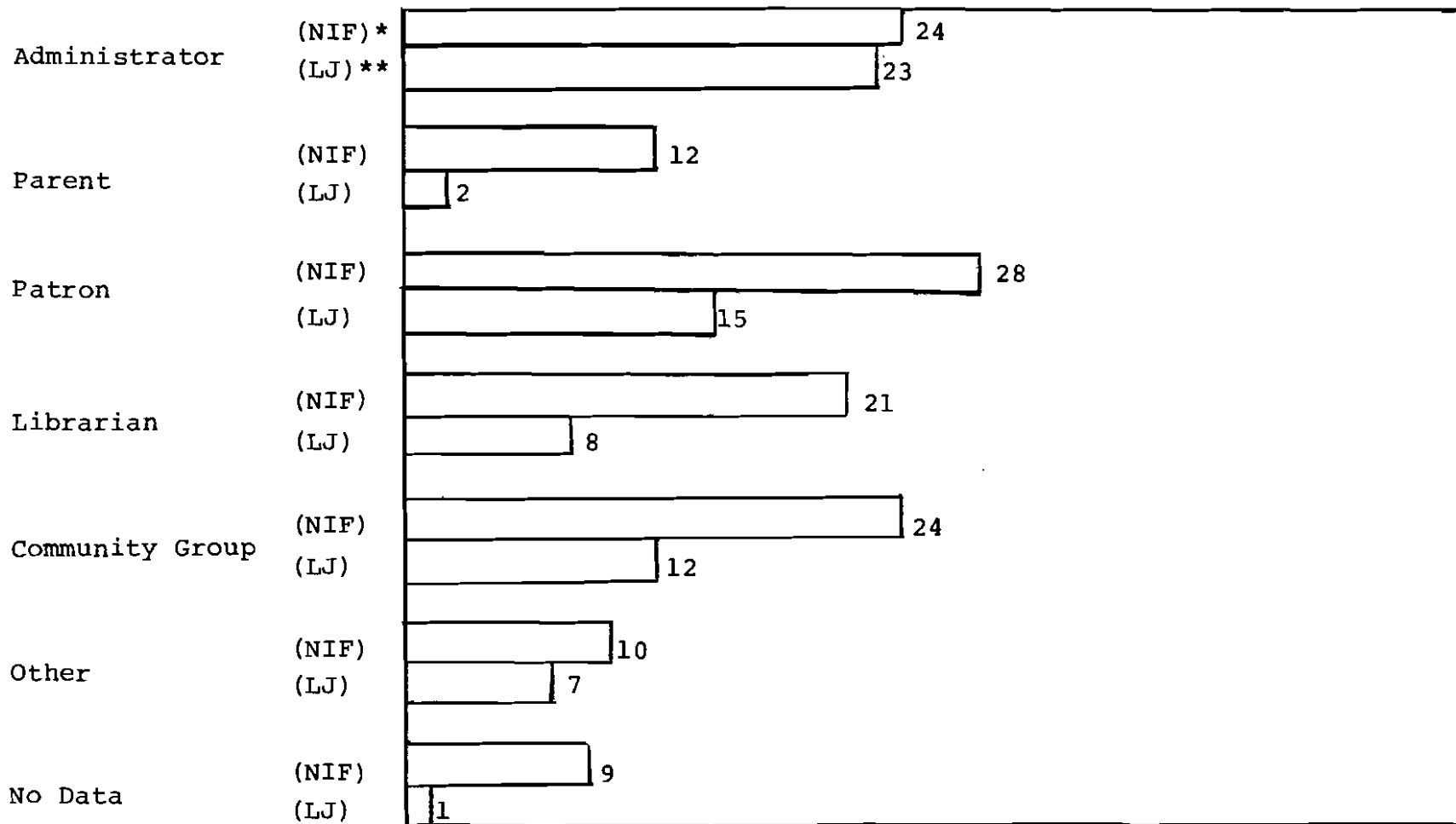


*NIF - Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom (Total objectors, 106)

**LJ - Library Journal (Total objectors, 53)

Figure 4

Comparison of Objectors in School Libraries, 1962-1971
Reported by Magazine



*NIF - Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom (Total objectors, 128)

**LJ - Library Journal (Total objectors, 68)

Figure 5

Comparison of Objectors in Public Libraries, 1962-1971
Reported by Magazine

Objections

In both school and public libraries sex or obscenity were consistently the reasons most frequently given for objecting to library materials. The feelings that many people have about obscenity in literature has been discussed earlier. The President's Commission on Pornography, the librarian who locks up the sex books, and the many references under the "Pornography and Obscenity" heading in The New York Times Index all express a similar concern. The fact that there was so little public acceptance of the Pornography Commission's report is significant because it recommended relaxed laws against pornography and stated that the study had found that "pornography does not cause crime, delinquency, sex deviancy or emotional disturbances."⁵² The information presented in this study about reasons for objections does appear to be related to the real situation.

Table 4 presents the data collected by the study on reasons given for objections to media in school libraries; Table 5 presents the data collected from reports from public libraries. In the Newsletter school library reports, "Sex/Obscenity" was the reason for objection in fifty-one out of 119 citings. "Other" and "No data" rated second and third, with nineteen and twelve entries, respectively. In Library Journal "Sex/Obscenity" was listed in twenty-three out of

⁵²The New York Times, October 1, 1970, p. 1, col. 1.

Table 4

Reasons Given for Objections to Media
in School Libraries, 1962-1971

Objection	1962		1963		1964		1965		1966		1967		1968		1969		1970		1971	
	NIF*	LJ**	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ
Politics	1	a	1	1			2		1						1	2	1			1
Sex/Obscenity	4		17	8	9		2	2	3	1	2	4			4	2	6	3	4	3
Profanity	1		1	1			1				1				1		2	4	1	
Race					1	1				1	2					1	3	1	2	1
Religion	1		1	1											1					1
"Controversial" of "Unsuitable"	5						1		2						1	2		1	1	1
Literary merit																				1
Other	4		1		1		1		1		1			1	1		7	2	2	2
No data	2		2	1	1			1			1	3	1		1		2		2	1

^aLibrary Journal reported no censorship cases in school libraries in 1962.

*NIF - Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom

**LJ - Library Journal

Table 5

Reasons Given for Objections to Media
in Public Libraries, 1962-1971

Objection	1962		1963		1964		1965		1966		1967		1968		1969		1970		1971	
	NIF*	LJ**	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ
Politics	5	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	^a		3	2	2	1	2	3	4	4	2
Sex/Obscenity	13	4	21	4	2	1	1	3				5	2	9	2	12	2	5	4	4
Profanity		1	1	1										1			1			
Race	1		2		1			1	1		1								1	1
Religion	5	2	2	3				1							1				2	
"Controversial" or "Unsuitable"	1				1			1	1		1	2	3		1				1	
Literary merit					1						5	1	1							
Other	1	1				1					1	2		1	1	1	2	4	4	1
No data	1		1				1					1		1		2		1		

^aLibrary Journal reported no censorship cases in public libraries in 1966.

*NIF - Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom

**LJ - Library Journal

fifty-three entries. "No data" were given in six of the Library Journal cases. "Profanity," "Race," and "Other" each have five entries.

There were 136 reasons given in the Newsletter reports from public libraries. "Sex/Obscenity" accounted for seventy-two of them; "Politics" for twenty, and "Other" for nine. The Library Journal data for public libraries do not show the same dramatic differences that those from the Newsletter do. Out of seventy-five citings, "Sex/ Obscenity" again ranked highest with twenty-two listings; "Politics" was second with nineteen; and "Other" was third with eleven.

Marjorie Fiske presented her data on reasons for objections in percentages. However, in this study the number of cases was not felt to be large enough to make this analysis useful. For example, in 1966 with only two cases reported "Sex/Obscenity" was the reason offered by objectors 50 percent of the time and "Race" the other 50 percent.

One of the books that was often listed as "obscene" was J. D. Salinger's The Catcher in the Rye. First published in 1951, it was still the cause of more complaints in 1971 than any other book. Other classics that were mentioned more than once as obscene literature include Huxley's Brave New World, Orwell's 1984, and Steinbeck's The Grapes of Wrath. Complaints about books such as those came most often from school library reports. Flexnor and Wentworth's Dictionary of American Slang also received several objections

on the grounds of "Sex/Obscenity." In the early 1960's Henry Miller's Tropic of Cancer caused some furor in public libraries because it was a "dirty book." Later on in the sixties Philip Roth's Portnoy's Complaint received some complaints for the same reason, as did underground newspapers such as The Berkeley Barb.

Examples of books and other media that received complaints on political grounds were Norman Mailer's Why Are We in Vietnam?, Abbie Hoffman's Woodstock Nation and Revolution for the Hell of It, the Peking Review, and the Communist translations mentioned previously.

Sometimes several books were grouped together in one complaint along with several reasons so that it was impossible to know which objection was meant for which book. There were not many cases when "Profanity" was given as the reason for a complaint; however, when it was, there was often a book involved, perhaps one of several, that had an ethnic subject. Manchild in the Promised Land, by Claude Brown, is an example. Children of Sanchez, by Dr. Oscar Lewis, is another. It is interesting that The Dictionary of American Slang drew complaints on the grounds of "Sex/ Obscenity" rather than "Profanity," but not one "Profanity" complaint was listed for it. "Sex/Obscenity" may be used more frequently because its meaning is less ambiguous or vague than the meaning of "Profanity." The case on the slang dictionary is atypical because Max Rafferty, the former superintendent of the California public school system,

was responsible for the complaints and for the kind of complaints that the Dictionary received. He personally wanted to see it available only on demand in California's school libraries because of the obscene words it defines.

"Race" was used as an objection for some books that contained racial stereotypes or ethnic slurs; examples are Little Black Sambo; The Little Fellow, the story of a black groom; and Mother Goose. Soul on Ice, by Eldridge Cleaver, and Nigger, by Dick Gregory, also received complaints with "Race" given as the reason. Some of the books that might have been listed in this category, such as Manchild in the Promised Land, were listed under "Sex/Obscenity."

Nikilos Kazantzakis' Last Temptation of Christ was responsible for most of the complaints on religious grounds. It was troublesome primarily in California's public libraries where it was termed "blasphemous."

The "Controversial" or "Unsuitable" category picked up books that were sometimes listed in other categories; for example, The Grapes of Wrath, The Catcher in the Rye, and Tropic of Cancer. Another type of book that received this kind of objection was one that dealt with one or more controversial issues, such as dissent, religion, civil rights, and women's rights.

"Literary merit" was an infrequently-used category. It was given as a reason for objecting to Elia Kazan's The Arrangement and to Norman Mailer's Why Are We in Vietnam?

The "Other" category was used for the objections to a variety of types of books. Taller's Calories Don't Count, objected to as "nutritionally unsound"; Steig's Sylvester and the Magic Pebble, "Offensive to policemen"; and the House on Un-American Activities Committee's Appendix IX, "Inaccurate information," are representative of the items placed in that group.

Area of Country

The number of censorship reports were widely and unevenly distributed over the United States during the period studied. In the Newsletter more reports came from the Pacific Coast states, the Midwestern states, and the North Atlantic states than from the other areas. Library Journal reported the most cases from the North Atlantic states, the Pacific Coast states, and from the Midwestern states. The Southern states were very close to the Midwestern states in the number of cases. Both journals received the fewest number of reports from the Rocky Mountain states. (See Appendix C for the states included in each area.)

The data from school and public libraries from each journal are presented in Table 6. The total number of cases from each area as reported by journal are shown graphically in Figure 6.

Table 6

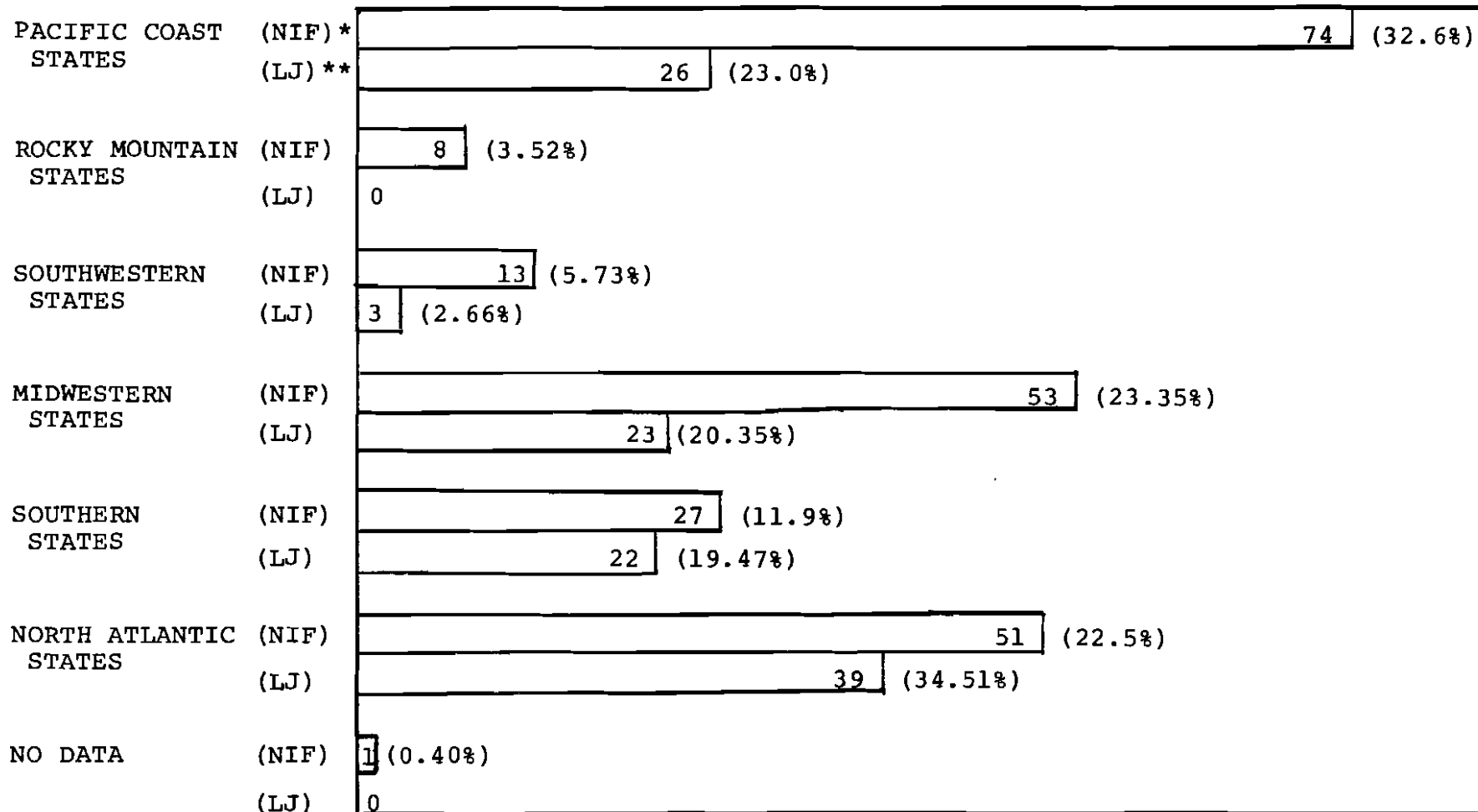
Areas of United States from Which Censorship Cases Were Reported
from School and Public Libraries, 1962-1971

Area	1962		1963		1964		1965		1966		1967		1968		1969		1970		1971	
	NIF*	LJ**	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ
Pacific Coast States	19	2	24	7	8	2	3	1	3		4	1	5	3	5	5	2	2	1	3
Rocky Mountain States	1		2		1		1										1		2	
Southwestern States	5	1	2						1		3	1			1		1	1		
Midwestern States	9	1	7	2	3	1	1	3	1		3	3	2	2	9	2	8	6	10	3
Southern States	4	3	2	5	2	1	1	2	2	2	3	5	4	1	2	2	4		3	1
North Atlantic States	5	2	9	5	2		2	3	2		4	8	5	1	6	4	10	12	6	4
No data									1											
Total	43	9	46	19	16	4	8	9	10	2	17	18	16	7	23	13	26	21	22	11

^aSee Appendix C for list of states included in each area division.

*NIF - Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom

**LJ - Library Journal



*Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom (reported a total of 227 cases)
 **Library Journal (reported a total of 113 cases)

Figure 6

Total Number of Censorship Cases Reported From
 Each Area of the United States, 1962-1971

In Table 7 the data from each journal are arranged to show the rankings of the areas, the numbers of cases from each area, and the percentage of cases from each area.

Disposition of Cases

Over the ten-year period studied, information regarding the disposition of cases was not reported for 23.79 percent, fifty-four out of 227, or the incidents reported in the Newsletter and for 21.24 percent, twenty-four out of 113, of the incidents reported in Library Journal. A major reason for this lack of information is that many of the cases had not yet been settled when they were reported. Data showing the disposition of cases are presented in Table 8. Again the school and public library figures have been combined.

In the 227 Newsletter cases 26.87 percent of the school and public libraries were able to keep their questioned materials on the open shelves; 25.11 percent removed them; 18.06 percent restricted circulation; and 4.41 percent did not order. In the 113 Library Journal cases 32.74 percent kept the materials on the open shelves; 31.86 removed them; 12.40 percent restricted circulation; and 0.88 percent did not order. The Newsletter reported on three incidents in which librarians resigned or were fired as a result of a censorship case, and Library Journal reported four incidents during the ten years studied. Table 9 offers a detailed breakdown of the data collected on the disposition of censorship cases.

Table 7

Geographical Origins of Censorship Cases
in the United States, 1962-1971

<u>Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom</u>		
Area of the Country	Number of Cases	Percentages
Pacific Coast States	74	32.60
Midwestern States	53	23.35
North Atlantic States	51	22.50
Southern States	27	11.90
Southwestern States	13	5.73
Rocky Mountain States	8	3.52
No Data	1	0.40
Total	227	100.00

<u>Library Journal</u>		
North Atlantic States	39	34.51
Pacific Coast States	26	23.00
Midwestern States	23	20.35
Southern States	22	19.47
Southwestern States	3	2.66
Rocky Mountain States	0	0.00
Total	113	100.00

Table 8
Disposition of Cases from School and Public
Libraries, 1962-1971
(Summary)

Disposition	<u>Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom</u>		<u>Library Journal</u>	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Kept on open shelves	26.87	61	32.74	37
Removed from shelves	25.11	57	31.86	36
Circulation restricted	18.06	41	12.40	14
Not ordered	1.76	4	0.88	1
Other	4.41	10	0.88	1
No data	23.79	54	21.24	24
Total	100.00	227	100.00	113

Table 9

Disposition of Cases from School and Public
Libraries, 1962-1971

Disposition made	1962		1963		1964		1965		1966		1967		1968		1969		1970		1971	
	NIF*	LJ**	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ
Kept on open shelves	15	4	18	5	4	2	2	2	3	1	6	4	6	2	3	6	3	6	1	5
Removed from shelves	14	1	13	6	7	1		2	2		2	5	3	3	5	3	8	9	3	6
Circulation restricted	6		10	5	3		1	3			1		3	2	7	1	5	3	5	
Not ordered											4							1		
Other	1								5						1	1	2		1	
No data	7	3	5	3	2	1	5	2		1	4	9	4		7	2	8	3	12	
Total	43	9	46	19	16	4	8	9	10	2	17	18	16	7	23	13	26	21	22	11
Librarian fired or resigned as a result of the case											1	1	1	1		1		1	1	

*NIF - Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom**LJ - Library Journal

Additional Data

Data were collected during the study on several subjects that were not under direct investigation. They are classroom censorship incidents, types of media involved in censorship cases, information on the frequency of written selection policies in libraries that had censorship problems, and the incidence and type of involvement in cases by national, state, and local library associations.

Classroom Incidents

While collecting data for the study, several school censorship cases were encountered which involved books but not libraries directly. These data were gathered and compiled also. The restriction of books that can be used in classrooms is not far removed from the restriction of books that can be on the shelves of the school library. The data were tabulated according to year, journal, number of cases reported, and the reason that was given for the objection. The categories for reasons for objections are the same as those used previously.

From 1962-1971 the Newsletter reported thirty-seven censorship cases in which high school English class reading lists or classroom incidents were subject to censoring. The peak year was 1967, with eleven cases, followed by 1971, with seven cases. "Sex/Obscenity" was the most frequently named reason given; "Controversial" or "Unsuitable" was the next.

Library Journal reported a total of only seven cases during the ten-year period. There were three cases in 1963 and two in 1969; in 1964 and in 1970 there was only one case. Again the reason given most often was "Sex/ Obscenity." The complete data are presented in Table 10.

Types of Media Involved in Censorship Cases

Various types of media drew complaints in the school and public libraries studied. Table 11 presents the types of media involved and the numbers of objections. The percentages in the tables are based on the 227 cases reported in the Newsletter and on the 113 cases reported in Library Journal.

Both magazines carried articles about two public library programs that were attacked by censors. One was a Great Decisions Program sponsored by the Foreign Policy Association. The objector did not agree with the political viewpoint expressed. The other was a program of hippie poetry reading. Some of the patrons felt that any library program should be suitable for all ages and that one involving hippie poetry was not.

However, the majority of complaints did involve books and books only, which is not surprising because books are the most common form of media in libraries. There were several cases in which more than one book was involved, in 22.03 percent of the cases reported in the Newsletter and in 19.47 percent of the cases reported in Library Journal. In

Table 10

Number of Classroom or Reading List Censorship Cases Reported from School Libraries, 1962-1971,
and Reasons Given for Making Objections^a

Year	Number of cases reported		Politics		Sex/Ob-scenity		Pro-fanity		Race		Religion		"Contro-versial" or "Unsuit-able"		Literary merit		Other		No data	
	NIF*	LJ**	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ	NIF	LJ
1962	2	0												2						
1963	2	3	1			3		1						1						
1964	3	1			1						1			1						1
1965	2	0									1			1						
1966	1	0			1															
1967	11	0	1		8				1		1									1
1968	3	0			1												2			
1969	3	2			1	2								2						
1970	3	1	1		1		2				1									1
1971	7	0			5		1							1			1			

^aIn some cases more than one reason was given for a complaint.

*NIF - Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom

**LJ - Library Journal

Table 11

Types and Numbers of Media Involved in Censorship Cases
in School and Public Libraries, 1962-1971

Type of Media	<u>Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom</u>		<u>Library Journal</u>	
	Number		Number	
Filmstrips	2		1	
Films	3		8	
Magazines	16		16	
Recordings	2		3	
Newspapers	3		1	
Underground newspapers	5		6	
Other (pamphlets, displays, etc.)	--		8	
Total number of objections to media other than books	31		43	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Cases in which more than one book was in- volved	50	22.03	22	19.47
Cases involving books only	196	86.35	73	64.60

collecting the data on type of media, it was apparent that as filmstrips, films, underground newspapers, and other media have become more popular the number of complaints about them have increased. Most of the non-book media complaints occurred after 1966.

Selection Policies

In only twelve of the 227 cases reported by the Newsletter was the presence of a selection policy mentioned. In Library Journal there were fourteen citings out of 113 cases. In six of the twelve Newsletter cases the questioned book was kept on or was restored to the shelves because its selection was commensurate with the policy. The same was true for five of the eleven cases reported by Library Journal. In one case reported by the Newsletter and in two reported by Library Journal the school involved realized the importance of having a selection policy and either adopted one or revised the one they had so that it would be more effective. In some libraries there was a policy of restricted circulation as well as a selection policy. This is true of the Free Library of Philadelphia.⁵³ Table 12 reviews briefly the selection policy situations found in the literature studied. It must be remembered when studying these data that no doubt many more of the

⁵³Eric Moon, "Coalinga to Philadelphia," Library Journal, 90:2980-1, July, 1965.

Table 12

Selection Policies in School and Public Libraries
with Reported Censorship Cases, 1962-1971

<u>Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom</u>		Relationship of Selection Policy to Complaint	<u>Library Journal</u>	
School Library	Public Library		School Library	Public Library
1		Policy was revised or adopted after dealing with a censor- ship problem	2	
	6	Questioned book was kept be- cause it was chosen in accor- dance with a selection policy		5
	1	Book purchased because of demand, even though it had been rejected earlier by the selection committee		
		Books on hand destroyed be- cause they did not fit the selection policy		1
1		Policy had a predetermined system for handling complaints		
2	1	Circulation was restricted even though there was a selection policy		3
		Selection policy was men- tioned with no information about its relationship to the case	1	2
4	8		3	11
(Total cases = 12)			(Total cases = 14)	

libraries on which there were reports do have selection policies; they just were not discussed in the censorship reports.

Involvement of National, State, and Local Library Associations

The American Library Association itself became involved in only four censorship cases reported by the Newsletter and in two cases reported by the Library Journal. However, there was also some involvement by state and local library associations. Table 13 presents an analysis of the data gathered. The numerals designating school libraries are followed by an asterisk.

Eleven instances of support in a censorship case by a professional library association were noted by the Newsletter. Of these four were at the national level; four were by the state level; and three were at the local level. Four involved school libraries, and seven involved public libraries. Of Library Journal's eleven cases, two were at the national level; six at the state level; two at the local level; and in one case a librarian solicited support from her local and state organizations and received it from both. There was no follow-up report on the case taken under study by the Intellectual Freedom Committee, so any action that may have been taken is unknown. Most of the help that was given was in the form of supportive information or statements. However, there was one case reported in the Newsletter that was also reported in Library Journal, along with two others,

Table 13

Involvement by National, State, and Local Library Associations
in Censorship Cases in School and Public
Libraries, 1962-1971

Kind of Involvement	<u>Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom</u>			<u>Library Journal</u>		
	National	State	Local	National	State	Local
Aided in formation of policy for dealing with censored materials			1*			
Provided printed materials from the American Library Association of the Intellectual Freedom Committee to aid in fighting censorship case	2*,1					
Personal written or oral statement given or offered by an I. F. C. or an A. L. A. officer or group to aid in a particular situation		2,1*	2	5	1	1 ^a
Under study by the I. F. C.				1*		
Request for action filed with the A. L. A.	1					
Financial support of some kind given			1	1*	1	1*

*Indicates school library cases; others are public library cases.

^aLibrarian received help from both state and local organizations.

in which aid of a more substantial nature was given. The case reported in both journals occurred in Richmond, California, in 1968. The materials involved were the underground newspapers Berkeley Barb and the Los Angeles Free Press and the magazines Ramparts, Avant Garde, and I. F. Stone's Weekly. A militant group backed by members of the John Birch Society attacked the publications for being "anti-American" and "filthy." After first refusing to interfere with the librarian's selections, the library governing board voted to ban the Berkeley Barb and Avant Garde. There was so much controversy aroused by the case that the California Library Association decided to make it a test case of methods of counter-attack on censorship. They placed their resources behind their Intellectual Freedom Committee and arranged for newspaper advertising, television spots, and a long-playing record of an unedited city council meeting at which citizens debated the intellectual freedom issue. The Library Association placed a notice in Library Journal asking for financial support for their plans.⁵⁴ The following issue of Library Journal announced that the record had been produced by a Berkeley radio station.⁵⁵ The American Federation of Teachers Local 1795, a group of library staffers at the University of California at Berkeley,

⁵⁴News, "A Censorship War Fund," Library Journal, 93: 3724, October 15, 1968.

⁵⁵News, "California Censorship Row Available on LP Record," Library Journal, 93:4080, November 1, 1968.

several months later passed a resolution asking all A. L. A. members to stay away from the head librarian's job.⁵⁶ The librarian, John Forsman, had resigned in order to try to keep the library from being attacked during the city elections. He had been trying to establish library services to the Black community, and he did not want the project put in jeopardy.⁵⁷ A later news article stated that the Richmond Library Commission had adopted a policy which would allow the librarian to acquire any books not prohibited by state law, and it was the job of the city attorney to interpret the law.⁵⁸

The California Association of School Librarians took action in San Francisco after California State Superintendent of Schools, Max Rafferty, stated that the using of Eldridge Cleaver's Soul on Ice and Leroi Jones' Dutchman in classes would endanger a teacher's credentials. He also asked the librarians to send in the books and catalog cards. The Association voted to send to all its members the California Board of Education's 1963 statement affirming that responsibility for selection should rest at the local level.⁵⁹

⁵⁶News, "Union Invokes Sanctions Against Richmond, Calif.," Library Journal, 94:1934, May 15, 1969.

⁵⁷News, "John Forsman Resigns; Blames Birch Society," Library Journal, 94:1088, March 15, 1969.

⁵⁸News, "Richmond City Attorney to be Obscenity Judge," Library Journal, 94:2856, September 1, 1969.

⁵⁹News, "SF Drops Black Authors at Order of Max Rafferty," Library Journal, 94:3778-9, October 15, 1969.

A judge in Rochester, Michigan, banned Slaughter-house-Five from the city schools with the reasoning that if religion is to be kept out of schools, so is anti-religion.⁶⁰ The Freedom to Read Foundation gave five hundred dollars to the schools to use to sue for restoration of the book to the library collections. The literature contained no report of the result of the case. This was the only incident found in the 1962-1971 journals which referred to money being taken from the Foundation fund to give aid in a censorship situation. However, the Foundation was incorporated in 1969, so perhaps substantial funding was not available until later.

Data Summary

The first research question dealt with the number of cases reported from around the country from 1962-1971 and with any variation that may have occurred. The data showed that there were fluctuations from year to year and that the fluctuations appear to form a rise-decline-rise pattern. The cycle as delineated by the data was at a high point in the early sixties, dropped during the middle of the decade, and began ascending gradually in the late sixties and on into the seventies.

The second question dealt with objectors, the people who originated the censorship cases. According to the

⁶⁰Irving Kristol, "Viewpoint: Pornography, Obscenity and the Case for Censorship. Pt. II," Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom, 20:134, November, 1971.

Newsletter, the major source of complaints in school libraries was parents, followed by community groups, and then by administrators. Library Journal data named administrators as the major source and parents as a secondary source. The third most frequently checked category using Library Journal data was "No data." In public libraries the Newsletter named patrons as the most frequent objector, followed by administrators, then by community groups. Library Journal again named administrators, then patrons, followed by community groups. Both journals cited librarians as responsible for a number of censorship incidents in public libraries.

The third question was concerned with objections, the reasons given for complaints. As anticipated, "Sex/Obscenity" was named most frequently by both journals as the cause for objections in both types of libraries. However, in public libraries Library Journal recorded almost as many objections for "Politics," nineteen, as it did for "Sex/Obscenity," twenty-two.

The fourth question asked was about the area of the country from which censorship cases originated. The Newsletter data showed the Pacific Coast states had the most; the Midwestern states were next; and the North Atlantic states were third. The Library Journal data placed the North Atlantic states first, then the Pacific Coast states second, and the Midwestern states third. The Southern states, however, had almost as many cases as the Midwestern states.

The Rocky Mountain states were responsible for the least number of censorship incidents.

The fifth and last question dealt with the disposition of censorship cases. In 26.87 percent of the Newsletter cases and in 32.74 percent of the Library Journal cases, the questioned media remained in open circulation. However, the Newsletter data revealed that 44.93 percent of the cases concluded with some type of restrictive practice; the Library Journal figure was 45.14 percent. The restrictive practices include restricting circulation, removing materials from the shelves, and not ordering.

Data were collected on several subjects which are important in the study of censorship but which are tangential to the present study. One of the areas closely related to library censorship is censorship in classrooms. During the ten-year period observed there were a total of thirty-seven cases of classroom censorship reported in the Newsletter, and seven reported in Library Journal. The reason given most often by the censors was "Sex/Obscenity."

Books were the type of library media which were most often the targets of censors, as expected. However, the Newsletter reported fifty cases in which more than one book was involved; and it reported thirty-one objections to media other than books. Library Journal reported twenty-two cases in which more than one book was involved and forty-three objections to media other than books.

The two final subjects surveyed were the incidence of reporting of the presence of a selection policy in libraries and the amount and type of involvement by the library associations in censorship cases. There was a report on the presence of a selection policy in twelve of the 227 libraries covered in the Newsletter and in fourteen of the 113 libraries covered in Library Journal. In about half of the situations the policy made it possible for the libraries to keep their questioned materials circulating without restrictions.

The direct influence that the American Library Association had in the reported censorship cases was minimal. The Newsletter reported some action by the Association in four cases; Library Journal, in two. Each journal reported a total of eleven situations in which the professional association at the national, state, or local level was supportive of its fellow librarians.

In looking at the data it is apparent that censorship has been a recurring problem of varying proportions from year to year, with similar objections being made by the same groups of people. Some cases are concluded with the freedom to read left intact, but in more cases measures are employed to restrict the circulation of the challenged materials. A selection policy appeared to be an effective tool to use in confronting a censorship situation. The increasing commitment of the nation's library associations to

intellectual freedom is an encouraging development in the ongoing confrontation with censorship.

Chapter 4

INTERPRETATION OF DATA

Introduction

In Chapter 1 background information, a brief history of, and some research on censorship were presented along with the questions they evoked. Chapter 2 presented the research plan for finding the answers to the questions. In Chapter 3 the data recorded from the research were reported and analyzed. Chapter 4 will emphasize the importance of research on censorship and suggest uses that can be made of the information provided in the study.

The Freedom to Read

The underlying premise of the present study is that censorship is an improper and dangerous practice for librarians, for school board members, for boards of trustees, for parents, and for state superintendents of public instruction.

This study accepts the American Library Association's Freedom to Read statement that "books are among our greatest instruments of freedom" and its belief that "free communication is essential to the preservation of a free society and a creative culture" and that "every American community must

jealously guard the freedom to publish and to circulate, in order to preserve its own freedom to read."⁶¹ It also accepts the Library Bill of Rights and the School Library Bill of Rights as documents that librarians should know about, should believe in, should have, and should use. Finally, it embraces the eloquent statements of freedom of expression quoted in Chapter 1 from the writings of John Milton, John Stuart Mill, and William O. Douglas who argue for the necessity for total intellectual freedom in order for man to be familiar with diverse opinions from which to choose and so be a free man.

Significance of the Study

Knowing the adversary is essential to confronting him successfully. One must understand his thinking and his past actions in order to be able to predict his future actions. It is necessary for the leaders of a country, for candidates for election, for debaters to be familiar with all the issues so that they can choose their own words and actions wisely and be ready to defend themselves adequately. Combating censorship demands the same kind of preparation. It is important to know something of its history, its prevalence, its advocates, the forms it has taken, and successful and unsuccessful attacks that have been mounted against

⁶¹The Freedom to Read, Adopted June 25, 1953; revised January 28, 1972, by the American Library Association Council.

it. Such knowledge is fundamental if one is to be ready to confront any censorship situation that may arise in which he may be involved or in which he has the responsibility to become involved.

Usefulness of the Study

The study found that the national censorship pattern seemed to be cyclic in nature, that in some years there were many cases; in others, very few. Knowing that there have been periods in which censors have been especially active should prompt librarians to try to learn what caused the times of accelerated activity.

The nationwide perspective that is offered in the study has its own usefulness. There are actions taken by the Federal Government that affect communities and people throughout the nation; the possible effects of Supreme Court actions were discussed earlier. Librarians should be aware of the decisions that may pertain to libraries. They should be familiar with them and try to foresee what significance they may have for libraries. The 1957 Supreme Court decision defining pornography was of special importance because it lifted the ban on pornography. Books such as Tropic of Cancer, Portnoy's Complaint, and Fanny Hill could be sold and sent through the mail, whereas earlier they would have been seized. Therefore, those books began showing up in libraries because people heard about them and wished to read them. It was foreseeable that while some

people wanted the books, others were appalled by them and brought action to have them removed from libraries and from bookstands. The publicity that followed increased the sales of the books and encouraged other writers to produce books of an "erotic" nature since they seemed to have a ready market. Many of the censorship cases in the early sixties may be expressions of unwillingness to accept the results of the Court's decision. However, the books were declared legal, and the number of suits decreased, which may help explain the drop in the number of cases in the mid-sixties. Awareness of the situation and of the Newtonian Law as applied to the social aspects of man's life that "for every action there is an equal and opposite reaction" should have prepared librarians for the restrictive laws that followed the increase in publication of books that were controversial. Again, the laws were tested and there were more censorship cases. The laws were the action, and the increase in censorship cases was the reaction.

The passing in 1966 of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act which created Title II certainly had its effect on school libraries and may also have helped created some censorship cases toward the later sixties. Title II, which provides for Federal funds for local school districts to be used for library materials, caused the creation of some libraries and increased the viability of others. Libraries that finally had some money to use to buy new, modern novels were more vulnerable to censorship than they had been when

they had only enough money to purchase the bare essentials, the classics and non-fiction books absolutely essential to the curriculum.

The June 21, 1973, decision by the Supreme Court, which states that obscenity standards can be determined locally, should be thoughtfully considered for the effect it may have on the national censorship pattern and on censorship cases in individual communities.

At the 1974 National Book Awards meeting the Association of American Publishers distributed information on local results of the 1973 decision, books "banned by local decisions, among them: Grapes of Wrath (called 'filthy and dirty' in Richlands, Va.); Catcher in the Rye . . . in Richmond, Va.; Black Boy and Soul on Ice ('questionable moral content') in Ferndale, Mich., and Baltimore, Md.; Slaughterhouse-Five ('obscene material' in McBee, S.C.; . . . The Learning Tree ('unsuitable for all students') in Essexville, Mich.; . . . Spoon River Anthology, cited for its 'language' in Columbus, Ohio . . . Pinellas County, Florida, banned Partridge's Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English, linked the use of profanity in books to '66 school suspensions.'"⁶²

The principal objectors in public libraries were patrons, administrators, community groups, and librarians.

⁶²Doris Grumbach, "Fine Print," The New Republic, 170:33, May 4, 1974.

In school libraries they were parents, administrators, and community groups. It should certainly be beneficial to know who should be the audience for reeducation efforts.

In a society administrators have to be elected, hired, or appointed. Someone is responsible for electing, hiring, and appointing them. Often the people who do the appointing and hiring are themselves elected to do the job. School administrators are hired by school boards who are elected. Public library trustees may be appointed by city officials who are elected. In preparing for elections the librarian has the same responsibility as any other citizen; but his is even greater because he must not only inform himself of the issues, but must also help provide the information to inform others. There are a number of activities in which a librarian can properly engage in order to promote election participation and to disseminate the necessary information about the issues so that the citizens can make intelligent choices. Offering the library for candidate debates, keeping files on the campaign issues, posting pertinent clippings and notices of meetings, searching out and having at hand candidates' biographical data and voting records and policy statements, posting polling locations are all activities that are appropriate for the librarian. Elections at all levels are important and need to be supported by the library. Decisions which affect everyone are made by state and national, as well as by local, officials.

In anticipating problems with patrons, parents, and administrators, essentially the same techniques can be planned. The techniques again are educating and disseminating information, giving book talks to community groups in the public library, discussing controversial books, talking about their value and the importance of having information available from various viewpoints before making critical decisions. Issue special invitations to parents to visit the library when they come to the school's open house. Go to Parent-Teacher Association meetings. Become acquainted with the people who visit the library. Try to understand and appreciate a parent's concern for his child's welfare; express your concern for his mind. If he has heard about a "dirty" book in the library, give it to him to read and make an appointment to discuss it with him. But be prepared. Some people are biased and unreasonable and are not going to change. Have a selection policy and have an established way to handle complaints.

Talk to your administrators. Be sure they are aware of the selection policy and of the fact that it has been officially adopted. Make sure they have read it and understand its implications. If it calls for a committee to review questioned material, make sure that the committee does indeed exist and that its members are aware of the selection standards.

Community groups are more difficult to deal with. The number that the study showed were involved in originating

censorship cases is rather frightening. A member of such a group may be subject to mob psychology. It might be possible to learn who the members of a local John Birch Society are, for example, and get to know them individually. Try to understand their viewpoints and discuss your views with them. Groups such as the Daughters of the American Revolution and the American Legion are often looking for material for programs. Help them out. Invite them to the library to see the new books. Give a book talk. Show a film of interest to them. Invite the children from story hour to give their puppet show for them. Become a human being to them, and there will be less chance of their ascribing ulterior motives to the librarian in his choices for the library collection.

Last of all the librarian should remember that it is very easy for him to stop being a selector and start being a censor. Those with a "liberal" outlook are just as susceptible as those with a "conservative" outlook. As a practicing school librarian the present researcher was recently approached by a serious student who suggested that all the library's books on science assumed creation by evolutionary methods. He stated that he believed firmly in the Biblical story of creation and knew of a biology book that had been written from that point of view. After checking with a local theologian/archeologist/professor, the librarian learned that the book is considered to be academically respectable and would not bring ridicule upon

the student, upon his ideas, or upon the library. It would simply present an alternate viewpoint. The library should be a storehouse of ideas, many ideas, not just those that the librarian thinks are good--and safe! There is no way that a person can make responsible decisions without being aware of the options.

Being informed about the types of books and ideas that are controversial is essential to the librarian if he is going to be called upon to defend them. Talking about the books to patrons, parents, administrators, and teachers may be helpful in forestalling censorship attempts.

Materials that are objectionable on political grounds may be Communist documents or just books about communism, books on how to start a revolution, or they may be books that have been called un-American because they contain obscene words. In one censorship case Joan Baez' book Daybreak faced such a charge. The report stated that the book contained only one four-lettered word. It is possible that the censor was really objecting to Miss Baez' political philosophy. The reasons given for objections may not be the real reasons that the objector has in mind. It is important for librarians to understand that fact and not fight the wrong battle. This is a most sensitive issue because a person's reason for wishing to censor a book come from his prejudices. The librarian needs to know his community well enough to be able to understand or at least to be aware of the existing prejudices. It is easier, for example, for a

person to say that The Autobiography of Malcolm X is obscene than it is for him to say that he objects to reading about or thinking about the hatred some blacks have for whites and the tragic waste, because of prejudice, of such a gifted person as Malcolm X was. The censor may not admit his feelings to himself, but the librarian must be able to recognize bias. Perhaps the objector has not even taken the time to read the entire book, maybe just one "dirty" passage. The librarian needs to know and to have read the controversial books so that he can discuss them, if he plans to have them in his library. This is one of the reasons for the importance of reporting and publishing censorship cases.

Politics, sex/obscenity, and race have been discussed together because as reasons for objections they seem often to be closely related. Sex as it appears as a subject to be studied in science presents a problem different from sex as it appears in a book such as The Catcher in the Rye. The complaint about both books may be the same, but it is different in substance. The parent who objects to Catcher may see it as a book containing language to which he does not wish his child exposed. On the other hand, the parent who objects to the book on sex education may feel that it is personally threatening because he feels that all sex instruction should properly come from a parent, and that there are certain attitudes that need to be taught along with the facts that cannot be learned by reading a book. However,

many children do not get any sex instruction at home; they get only what they can pick up from their peers. Tenderness and concern for others is not usually imparted in sex instruction that comes from one's contemporaries; perhaps the factual, unemotional approach of an authoritative book is better.

When a selection policy is formulated, there should be no haziness about the status of factual books on sex. Libraries must make it clear to parents, patrons, and administrators that not having the books available is not fair to the children whose parents want them to be able to go to the library and get a book that will help them answer their questions. Any restrictions should be imposed by parents on their own children only. They have no right to impose them on other people's children. This is a very important point and applies to all kinds of library materials. No one has the right to decide what another person can or cannot read.

"Race" as a reason for censoring has been touched upon briefly as a real objection that may be hidden by one that is more acceptable, such as "obscene." The popularity of black studies programs brought many books on black culture into the library. A number of books on blacks have been the object of censorship complaints, Nigger, Soul on Ice, and Daddy Was a Numbers Runner; the librarian who reads the censorship reports would have known of the problems and would have prepared a defense. There is no way to learn the

truth about another culture unless one studies it as it is, including language and life style. The library has a special responsibility to provide materials on ethnic cultures and various alien viewpoints to young people who live in isolated communities. Those young people quite possibly will move to a more cosmopolitan environment and will need to know that there are ways to live other than their own that are acceptable.

Many of the objections on religious grounds were prompted by Kazantzakis' book, The Last Temptation of Christ. The book is rather typical of other "religious" productions which have appeared in recent years and which have caused controversy because of an unorthodox approach. The opera "Jesus Christ Superstar" and the play "Godspell" and subsequent recordings are other examples of an unorthodox approach to religion. Again, the librarian must see that the collection presents diverse points of view of religion as well as of politics.

The information gathered about the geographical origins of censorship cases needs careful scrutiny. The areas of the country which reported the greatest numbers of cases also have the greatest numbers of people. The areas most frequently named were the Pacific Coast states, the North Atlantic states, and the Midwestern states. The Rocky Mountain states and the Southwestern states reported fewer cases, but they also are less densely populated. In addition, the Newsletter, which is published on the West

Coast, listed more cases, seventy-four (32.6 percent), from the Pacific Coast states than from any other part of the country. Library Journal, which is published in Ann Arbor, Michigan, but whose headquarters are in New York, reported more cases from the North Atlantic states, thirty-nine (34.51 percent), than from anywhere else. The Pacific Coast states reported twenty-six (23 percent) of the 113 Library Journal cases. Twenty-five (22 percent of the total number) of the twenty-six cases were from California; New York reported sixteen (14 percent). In the Newsletter reports, California was responsible for sixty-five (24 percent) of the 227 cases, and New York for fifteen (7 percent). All facts considered, it does appear that California has more censorship problems than any other state does. Of course, it is a large state with some densely-populated centers, which account in part for the rather numerous censorship cases. From reading about the cases, California librarians should be cognizant of the fact that they may have more problems than librarians have in other parts of the country. Another value to librarians in knowing about the geographical origins of censorship cases is the ensuing awareness that some cases were reported from each area by one journal or the other. No one place is totally immune.

The data showed that the most frequent fate of questioned library materials is that they are, in fact, censored. They are removed from the shelves and are

discarded or are just no longer available for circulation; their circulation is restricted to adults or to those who ask for them; or they are not purchased. In the Newsletter reports 44.93 percent of the cases were closed with some type of restriction imposed; 26.87 percent of the materials were kept in free circulation. The dispositions of the Library Journal cases were similar; 45.14 percent were restricted, and 32.74 percent were not. These repressive actions pose a real threat to intellectual freedom which a librarian must acknowledge and guard against. Some of the cases would not have ended as they did if the librarian had pushed for a selection policy to support a book collection representing varied viewpoints.

All librarians should be aware of the incalculable value of having a selection policy. There were only twenty-six cases reported from both journals in which the presence of a policy was mentioned. But in eleven of the cases the threatened materials stayed on the shelves. The administrators were not only familiar with the policy, they had agreed to it. In most cases when they had been assured by the librarian that the selection procedures outlined in the policy had been observed, the administrators backed the librarian; and the case was dropped. Some policies provided for a review committee to listen to objections and to make the decision about the disposition of the challenged material.

The adoption of a policy means that the librarian alone does not have to bear the whole burden of defending the collection. It also means that in order to receive administrative support, he must conscientiously abide by the policy. It is advisable to have a complaint form for the objector to complete and a review committee so that there is an established routine to follow if there is a case. In this way an objection can be relatively impersonally and objectively dealt with. Samples of selection policies can be found in Ruth Ann Davies' book, The School Library; a Force for Educational Excellence, published in 1969.

The censorship incidents that occurred in classrooms are of primary concern to school librarians. It is a short step for the censor from the classroom to the library. The classroom reading list very often is based on books that are in the library. Sometimes they are based on paperback collections that have been purchased for the class, but the titles quite often are in the library in a hardback edition. Librarians and English teachers need to work closely together. The English teacher should be familiar with the selection policy and should follow it for his own protection. He can then use the established channels to handle the complaints that come to him.

To many people, some librarians included, library collections mean book collections and periodicals. However, other media have arrived and will probably continue to arrive

in libraries. Even some libraries in small, rural communities are checking out cassettes and cassette players to their patrons. The fact that there were several censorship reports on media other than books should alert librarians to the fact that all library materials should be selected with regard to the adopted selection policy. The same discretionary attitude should be applied to displays and to programs sponsored by the library. If the policy does not cover anything but media and the library has such activities as poetry readings and concerts, the policy should be amended to cover the other activities.

The instances in which the American Library Association became involved in censorship cases were rather rare; four were mentioned in the Newsletter, and seven in Library Journal. State and local associations more often gave assistance, probably because they knew about the problem. Perhaps the A. L. A. would have been more involved if it had received more requests for assistance. It is entirely possible that librarians have no idea about the kinds of assistance they can receive from their professional association. The March, 1972, issue of the Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom carried an article entitled "What the American Library Association Can Do for You to Help Combat Censorship." This information should be available to every librarian. There are two main thrusts of the intellectual freedom program, educating people about censorship and giving support to librarians who encounter censorship problems.

The Newsletter, the monthly column in American Libraries, and the monthly OIF Memorandum are the chief vehicles of education. The Office for Intellectual Freedom distributes, upon request, documents, articles, and A. L. A. policies concerning intellectual freedom. If there are nationwide controversies, the Office for Intellectual Freedom keeps clippings, editorials, and public statements that detail the ways various libraries have handled requests to remove certain materials. The information is compiled into packets which are sent out upon request. The availability of the packets is advertised in the Newsletter and in the OIF Memorandum.

The Office for Intellectual Freedom also acts as a consultant to librarians who are faced with a censorship situation. Sometimes advice is given; sometimes a written statement defending intellectual freedom is provided; sometimes names of people are given who can give testimony before library boards; and occasionally someone from the Office visits a community to give moral and professional support.

There are three groups whose responsibility it is to carry out the American Library Association's commitment to intellectual freedom. They are the Intellectual Freedom Committee, the Office for Intellectual Freedom, and the Freedom to Read Foundation. In essence, the Intellectual Freedom Committee is the policy-making branch, the Office for Intellectual Freedom is responsible for educating people about censorship and for providing service; and the

responsibility of the Freedom to Read Foundation is to provide the machinery to help librarians whose "jobs are jeopardized because they challenged violations of intellectual freedom."⁶³ The help may take the form of financial assistance, legal assistance, and bringing suit to challenge restrictive legislation.

The Freedom to Read Foundation has access to a separate fund that can be used in immediate response to an intellectual freedom case. This is the LeRoy C. Merritt Humanitarian Fund. Grants from the Foundation itself can be made only after the actual existence of a case is proven. Money from the Humanitarian Fund can be made available more easily and quickly. Additional information and documents can be obtained by writing to The Office for Intellectual Freedom at the American Library Association headquarters.

Conclusion

By analyzing reports of censorship cases, this study has sought to provide information on the incidence of censorship throughout the nation during 1962-1971. Burress' research study recommends that studies which provide librarians with knowledge about the incidence of censorship should be done because that knowledge would be helpful

⁶³"What the American Library Association Can Do for You to Help Combat Censorship," Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom, 21:51-53, March, 1972.

to librarians in meeting problems themselves.⁶⁴ The data that have been presented may be useful in helping provide some of the insight which he felt was important.

Underlying the whole study is the acceptance of the philosophy of the American Library Association that intellectual freedom is of paramount importance to a free society and that it is the responsibility of all librarians to protect this freedom. A person who accepts censorship loses his right to object to it. The dangers of accepting it and of not being "eternally vigilant" are frightening. Censorship can spread and become so commonplace that it loses its visibility. However, it would not disappear, although censorship cases might disappear because people would be afraid to speak out against repression.

The survival of a democracy depends upon citizens who know how to make wise, informed choices. That ability is dependent on the availability of diverse ideas and opinions to the citizens. If there is censorship, there will not be diverse ideas and opinions available. Here then is the responsibility shared by the news media, educators, and librarians--to uphold the Constitutional concept of the freedom of speech and of thought.

⁶⁴Lee A. Burrell, Jr., "Censorship and the Public Schools," A. L. A. Bulletin, 59:493, June, 1965.

Recommendations

Future censorship studies might be made in the following areas:

1. In order to help develop a better understanding of censorship, it is recommended that a study be conducted on the relationship between people's motives for censoring and the reasons they actually give.

2. In order to maintain an awareness of the incidence and characteristics of censorship, it is recommended that additional ten-year studies be conducted that would cover the same topics covered by this study. It would be useful to know whether or not the trends that seemed to be in operation during the 1962-1971 period studied continued or if they were limited to those years.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix A

AMERICAN LIBRARY ASSOCIATION INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM DOCUMENTS

Library Bill of Rights: adopted June 18, 1948; amended February 2, 1961, and June 26, 1967.

Policy and Procedure Regarding Tenure Investigations by the Board of Directors of the Library Administration Division of the American Library Association: adopted July, 1949. In January, 1957, implementation responsibility was assigned to the Library Administration Division.

Resolution on Loyalty Programs: adopted July 21, 1950.

Statement on Labeling; an Interpretation of the Library Bill of Rights: adopted July 13, 1951; amended June 25, 1971.

Freedom To Read Statement: adopted June 28, 1953; revised January 28, 1972.

School Library Bill of Rights: adopted by the American Association of School Librarians and endorsed by the American Library Association, July, 1955; revised June, 1969.

Intellectual Freedom in Libraries. This is a policy adopted by the California Library Association and by the California Association of School Librarians. It is widely circulated by the American Library Association.

What To Do Before the Censor Comes--And After: How Libraries and Schools Can Resist Censorship: adopted February 1, 1962; revised January 28, 1972.

Freedom To Read Foundation: incorporated November, 1969.

Policy on Sanctions: adopted July 3, 1970.

Policy on the Confidentiality of Library Records: adopted January 20, 1971

Application and Removal of Sanctions: January, 1971.

Program of Action for Mediation, Arbitration and Inquiry:
approved June, 1971.

Resolution on Challenged Materials; an Interpretation of
the Library Bill of Rights: adopted June 25, 1971.

Advisory Statement Concerning Restricted Circulation of
Library Materials: Summer, 1971--not adopted as
policy by the A. L. A. but approved by the Intel-
lectual Freedom Committee as an Interpretation of
the Library Bill of Rights.

Resolution on Governmental Intimidation: adopted February
2, 1973.

Appendix B

CENSORSHIP STUDY DATA FORM

MAGAZINE: Library Journal Date: _____ Page No. _____ DATE OF COMPLAINT: _____
Newsletter

TYPE OF MEDIA: AREA OF COUNTRY: OBJECTOR:
 Book Pacific Coast States Administrator
 Magazine Rocky Mountain States Parent
 Newspaper Southwestern States Teacher
 Underground Midwestern States Patron, Student
 Newspaper Southern States Other
 Film North Atlantic States _____
 Recording
 Other _____

AUTHOR: _____
TITLE: _____

_____ GROUNDS FOR OBJECTION:
 Politics
 Sex/Obscenity
 Profanity
 Race
 Religion
 "Controversial" or
 "unsuitable"
 Literary merit
 Other _____

TYPE OF LIBRARY:
 School
 Public

SELECTION POLICY:
Yes ___ No ___ ? ___

DISPOSITION OF CASE: _____

A. L. A. INVOLVEMENT: TYPE OF INVOLVEMENT: _____
Yes ___ No ___ ? ___ _____

REMARKS:

Appendix C

SIX AREA DIVISIONS OF THE UNITED STATES USED IN DATA COLLECTIONS AND STATES INCLUDED IN EACH

A. Pacific Coast States

1. California
2. Oregon
3. Washington

B. Rocky Mountain States

1. Colorado
2. Idaho
3. Montana
4. Nevada
5. Utah
6. Wyoming

C. Southwestern States

1. Arizona
2. New Mexico
3. Oklahoma
4. Texas

D. Midwestern States

1. Illinois
2. Indiana
3. Iowa
4. Kansas
5. Michigan
6. Minnesota
7. Missouri
8. Nebraska
9. North Dakota
10. Ohio
11. South Dakota
12. Wisconsin

E. Southern States

1. Alabama
2. Arkansas
3. Georgia
4. Florida
5. Kentucky
6. Louisiana
7. Maryland
8. Mississippi
9. North Carolina
10. South Carolina
11. Tennessee
12. Virginia
13. West Virginia

F. North Atlantic States

1. Connecticut
2. Delaware
3. Maine
4. Massachusetts
5. New Hampshire
6. New Jersey
7. New York
8. Pennsylvania
9. Rhode Island
10. Vermont

Appendix D: Part 1

NAMES OF COMMUNITY GROUPS THAT MADE OBJECTIONS
TO MEDIA IN SCHOOL AND PUBLIC LIBRARIES

John Birch Society (7)*
Daughters of the American Revolution (2)
American Legion (8)
Education Society, a "right wing" group (1)
Human Relations Council (2)
League of Women Voters (1)
Protestants and Other Americans United for the Separation of
Church and State (1)
Camden Conservative Club (1)
Church group (4)
Citizens' Advisory Committee (1)
Republican Woman's Club (1)
Public Safety Committee of Chamber of Commerce (1)
Jewish Identity League (1)
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (3)
County Grand Jury's Anti-American Activities Committee (1)
Watch Dogs of Freedom (3)
Citizens for Decent Literature (2)
Forest Rangers (1)
Christians for Freedom (1)
Police Department (1)
Businessmen's group (1)
Concerned Citizens group (1)
Lions Club (1)
Veterans of Foreign Wars (1)
Senior Citizens League (1)
Citizens Committee for Commonsense in Schools (1)
Committee for Better Schools (1)
Human Rights Commission (1)
New York State Committee for Responsible Patriotism (1)
Facts Committee for Equal Education (1)
Citizens Upholding Responsible Education (1)
Constitutional Heritage Club (1)

*Numerals in parentheses indicate number of complaints

Appendix D: Part 2

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTORS LISTED UNDER
"OTHER" WHEN TABULATING

Someone from outside city
Legislator
Newspaper representing Black community
Political party committee person
Sheriff's office
Medical authorities and Food and Drug Administration
District attorney
City manager
Ex-governor
Newspaper
District review committee
Mayor (school library objector)
City council candidate (school library objector)
Priest, ministers
County prosecutor
Anonymous letter
City attorney

Appendix E

MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTIONS LISTED UNDER "OTHER" WHEN TABULATING

Hippie poetry reading program indicated tolerance and understanding of "the very things that would destroy us"
Library funds should not be spent on such material
Violence (2)*
Disrespectful to adults
Radical
Tells how to combat insects by using poison only
Encyclopedia with a page of pictures of thirty-five flags didn't have a picture of the United States flag (however the facing page carried several illustrations)
Feared that books would confuse students about America and society in which we live/not a true picture of our society/"promotes anti-establishment type of things" (3)
Gives a wrong picture of schools
"Book tends to instruct the reader in how to break the law" (2)
Instructs in use of drugs (2)
Budget limitations, can't stock all books (librarian's justification for not purchasing The Grapes of Wrath and A Farewell to Arms)
References to Abominable Snowman as "missing link" in encyclopedia
Shows children playing in woods and climbing trees (objection made by forest rangers)
Not on state-approved list
Objected to reference in book to Martin Luther King because complainant objected to King; no reason for objection given
Kept sex education books locked up to prevent vandalism and theft (2)
Felt book would encourage "Ban the Bomb" movement
Karate books' circulation restricted because school karate instructor felt that children might be injured by going to advanced material without building strength
Inaccurate statements (health book)
Book was in adult section and child who needed it for a research paper was unable to check it out.
Detrimental to reader
Recruiting film for Black Panther Party
Stereotyped Puerto Ricans
Defamed Italian-Americans

*Numeral in parentheses indicates number of objections

Branch libraries were not to have books that main library
didn't have
Pessimistic, morbid, depressing