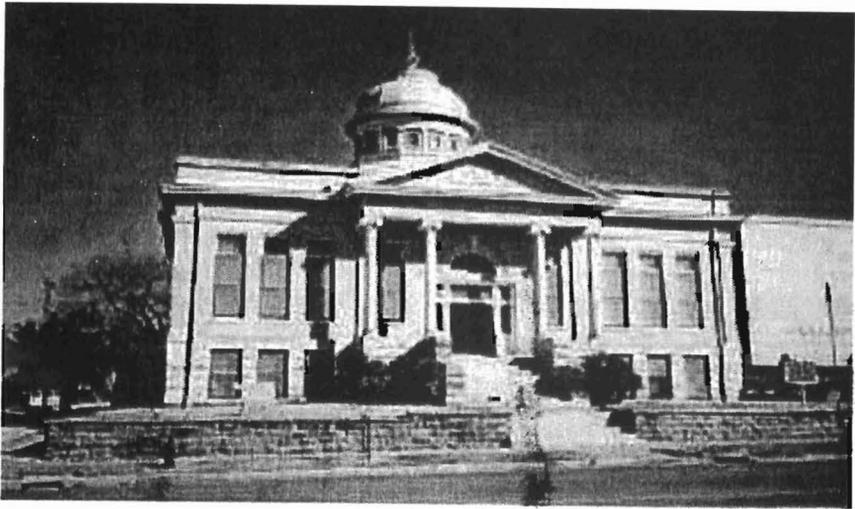


Carnegie Library--Frederick, Oklahoma
photo courtesy of author



Carnegie Library--Guthrie, Oklahoma
photo courtesy of author

**OKLAHOMA'S CARNEGIE LIBRARIES, 1899 TO 1920:
TEMPLES FOR BOOKS
DURING THE PROGRESSIVE PERIOD**

by
Susan Booker

Oklahoma's 25 Carnegie Libraries were built over a period of time from 1899 to 1920 with funding from the Carnegie Corporation library grant program. One of these grants was given to the University of Oklahoma at Norman, and the other 24 were for free public libraries. The University of Oklahoma Carnegie was the first academic library grant awarded, and the territorial status of the region may have aided the institution's request for the grant. In addition to these successful projects, 5 communities, Ada, Alva, Claremore, Fairview, and Okmulgee, did not accept Carnegie grants for various reasons. Documentary evidence of the process and procedure of building these libraries with Carnegie grant money exists in the Carnegie Corporation Archives at the Rare Book and Manuscript Library at Columbia University in New York, where microfilmed copies of correspondence regarding the Carnegie Library grant program are located. Information from this archival body of correspondence, gives us insight into how the Oklahoma Carnegies came to be built, the difficulties they met in their establishment, and how they became in appearance and spirit truly temples for books.

Andrew Carnegie began to give gifts of funds to cities for the construction of libraries in 1886, and gave 1412 communities 1679 library buildings in the United States, ending the program with the onset of World War I.² With its 25 libraries, Oklahoma ranked 22nd in number of grants received and buildings built. Indiana received the

Susan Booker is currently the Librarian for the Fine Arts Branch Library and the Architecture Branch Library at the University of Oklahoma. Her current research interests and projects include the history of entertainment in the Twin Territories, territorial opera houses and their roles in frontier society.

most with 164 libraries and Nevada the least with the receipt of 1 library building.³ The letters regarding towns in Oklahoma for the period of 1899 through the 1920s document the average chain of events in the application for a library grant: confirmation of the town's population and need for a library, the trials of finding suitable plans and architects, the cost of materials and the heat of the region, the disagreements between library members and other squabbles, and finally the triumphal announcement of a grand opening day celebration, complete with parades and speeches. The archive documentation sometimes provides specific names and dates, and the listed costs of building materials can be revealing looks into the economy of the past. Incomplete scraps of evidence are also given in the correspondence, architects are referred to but not named, a problem is resolved but not described, or the documents are too faded to read clearly. Dates given for the libraries throughout this paper are the dates the library grants were awarded, as often the span of time from grant approval to opening was several years.

Briefly, in order to receive a Carnegie grant for a free public library, a city had to complete an application form, document the city's population, locate and purchase a suitable parcel of land, adopt acceptable plans for the building and provide the means for continuing city support of the library after its completion through a tax levy.⁴ Construction costs had to be well within the grant amount, as this money also was to cover the architect's fee and the necessary furnishings: tables, chairs and shelving. The correspondence files are laden with many letters dealing with each step of the process.

Andrew Carnegie's secretary, James Bertram, coordinated Carnegie's grant program, and after 1908, corresponded with applicants and monitored the progress of all activities regarding the allocation of the grant funds and progress of the buildings.⁵ Visits from the mayors of territorial towns to New York to explain and clarify plans for James Bertram were not uncommon. Much of the information in the archival files comes from his written responses to questions from the committee members from the applicant cities.

Unfortunately some Oklahoma cities were unable to continue tax-based support of the libraries after completion, or the openings were delayed. The move from territory status to statehood affected many city ordinances, tax laws and land ownership issues. Mrs. H. J. Seaman and Mrs. Fred E. Turner wrote Carnegie in January 1904 and explained the situation in Tulsa:

The condition of this Indian Country makes it burdensome for the white population to keep up its public schools. There is no solid basis as yet for taxation, except personal property, which means City lots and houses paid out after the Government Survey. It will be at least 3 years before we can have a regular per cent on the valuation.⁶

Thomas P. Smith, Mayor of Muskogee in May 1903, outlines more of the difficulties of newly emerging towns in a lengthy letter to Carnegie. He wrote:

...Such development as has already taken place has been done under the lease system, which in itself has been very uncertain and insecure to the individual, not a citizen under treaty, and consequently little developing has been accomplished. Under a special Act of Congress about three years ago people have had authority to organize municipal governments, but we have no state or territorial governments under which the conduct of public affairs has been put in the hands of the people.

The agricultural lands or the mining lands in this country are, up to the present date, nontaxable and inalienable from the hands of the people who received them by allotment under Indian rights. In certain of our towns the lots have been deeded by the government to individual owners by appraisalment and purchase and these lands are subject to taxation. Under these conditions the people are struggling along laboring under many difficulties, but hoping for better

things in the future. We have no means of organizing or maintaining a system of public schools, except in the organized towns, and the towns are all new comparatively.⁷

New towns sprang up and settlers, ready to put down roots and start new lives, poured into the territorial lands during the lotteries and land runs. Black families, Native American Indians and a mix of nationalities from other states formed a dynamic pool of citizens in the Twin Territories. Tent cities soon gained wooden buildings and Main Streets, churches and schools were built and railroad lines came through. As towns became established and families created new lives there, libraries were considered desirable additions to the town's landscape.

This sweep of territorial history, and the building of the Oklahoma Carnegie libraries, occurred during the national progressive movement, a time from approximately 1900 to 1917 that saw a popular desire for social and economic reform, and better education for the general population. This state of unrest and desire for social change fostered the environment for the program of Carnegie Library grants. The Carnegie Corporation program of library grants was very appealing to Oklahoma and Indian Territory towns wishing to develop a cultured and refined environment for their citizens. Muskogee attorney Carroll Bucher wrote to Andrew Carnegie in June of 1902: "There is no doubt of the need of a building to which we could point to with pride as our temple of learning for the masses".⁸ With the Neo-Classical and Renaissance revival styles popular in architecture during this period, these cities often did get temples for their books.

The Oklahoma Carnegie Libraries were like other Carnegie Libraries being built across the nation. They were a mix of architectural styles reflecting the taste of the times, and they were different sizes based on the amount of the grant received. However, the Oklahoma Carnegie libraries reflected not only the architectural styles popular during the period, but they also embodied the pride of the newly formed towns of the Twin Territories and early statehood days. Classical architectural elements such as columns and pediments

represented ideas of culture and stability to developing territorial towns as they struggled to establish schools and churches, pave their streets, install electricity and develop tax bases within a rapidly shifting legal environment. These new towns desired not just free public libraries, but library buildings that suitably reflected their growth and increasing cultural sophistication. This desire for a showy building often met with disapproval from Bertram, and completion of the application process could be held up by lengthy correspondence back and forth as design details were argued over via the mail.

James Bertram coordinated the disbursement of payments to the successful cities, and he authorized Robert Franks, of the Home Trust Company in Hoboken New Jersey, to issue the payments.⁹ A standardized form appears at the beginning of each city record recording the original grant amount, the date promised and any additions to it. Notations were made as to when the payments were disbursed. Payment of the grant money could be withheld from cities not following the basic guidelines or breaking agreements set between the city and the Carnegie Corporation.¹⁰

It was often at the request of the ladies of the town that city officials were prompted to write and ask for a library grant. Literary clubs many times managed small circulating libraries that often became the nucleus of the town's public library collection.¹¹ City officials, prominent townfolk such as doctors and lawyers, literary club members, and other citizens wrote letters to Carnegie requesting the grants and explaining the needs of their towns for a library. A striking example of a letter requesting support for a library for Muskogee came from Nettie Waterford, a teacher working in the neighboring town of Checotah, Indian Territory. Quoted here in its entirety, she wrote Carnegie in November 1905:

Before intering into the purpose of this letter, I deem it necessary to introduce myself to you. I am colored girl eighteen years of age and am a resident of Muskogee, Indian Territory. I graduated from Tuskegee with the class of 05 and am now teaching school at Checotah I. T. I have always been

ambitious, Mr. Carnegie, to do something for the general good of the people. I fully realize that I am far too weak, financially at least, to accomplish, alone, the one thing for which I am most ambitious. But despite that weakness and the supposed weakness of my sex, I feel that with a strong and generous hand to back me, I can accomplish some useful and creditable things. Mr. Carnegie, you have no doubt heard or read of what a flourishing place the town of Muskogee is. Notwithstanding its rapid growth or progress, seemingly the citizens have failed to realize the importance or necessity of one of the most essential elements to intelligence. That one great thing is a library.

I therefore ask your assistance, Mr. Carnegie, in erecting and furnished a library for the people of Muskogee. With your promise to aid me, I will expend all of my energy and courage toward accomplishing that aim. I will try in every way possible to merit your generosity.

Now, Mr. Carnegie, if you do not deem this undertaking worthy of your assistance I hope that you will at least let me hear from you and give me your freely expressed opinions concerning the matter.

Hoping that I have not completely exhausted your patience with this long letter, I am

Yours humbly and respectfully,

Nettie G. Waterford

P.O. Checotah, I.T.”¹²

Some individuals helped those in sister cities with their efforts to gain a Carnegie library. Judge James R. Talbot of Hobart wrote a letter to Carnegie in 1914 recommending the city of Frederick as a suitable recipient for a grant for a library.¹³ R. C. Blackmer, of Scott and Blackmer Mortgage Company in Hobart, wrote to Carnegie about a library for the city of Woodward in August 25, 1925:

We are informed that our sister city, Woodward, Oklahoma, has applied to you for a gift of 20,000 to be used for the establishment of a Carnegie free library at Woodward. As beneficiaries at Hobart, Oklahoma, of your generosity and realizing the great value of the library to any community, and especially to its children and young people, we respectfully petition you to grant the request of Woodward for such assistance, as they may need.¹⁴

He goes on to remark that Hobart had assisted the cities of Frederick and Elk City in Oklahoma and Vernon in Texas in their efforts to gain libraries.

Along with letters of recommendation from local citizens, descriptions of city strengths and weaknesses were included in the pleas for a library grant, and often the need for a permanent location for the town's growing collection of books was cited. The avid readers resident in territorial towns were often cited as future patrons of the public library-to-be. In a letter dated February 1905 to Andrew Carnegie from the Library Committee appointed by the Tahlequah Board of Trade, we find the following compelling description of their population:

Tahlequah is, as you know the ancient Indian Capitol, the population is one half Indian and one half white, and is rapidly increasing; it is the seat of learning of the Cherokees, all of the Nation's institutions of learning are located here, including the Male and Female Seminaries, Colored High School and the Cherokee Orphan Asylum, besides the various Mission schools. The people are further advanced in the desire for education than in any other Indian Tribe. The Cherokee is the only tribe having a written language of its own, a circumstance which results from the fact that the Cherokees, both full and mixed blood, are eminently a reading people; we feel that we can sincerely say to you that

no where in the West would a free public library be more appreciated.¹⁵

Correspondence between various city officials and Carnegie's secretary James Bertram form a lively tale of give and take, favor sought and criticisms offered, and in the case of some Oklahoma cities, several years of negotiations before actual construction could begin.¹⁶

Since the library's proposed lot was located near the town center, sometimes adjacent to the County Courthouse and other important city buildings, its appearance was a matter of concern to the officials in charge of the library projects. A careful balance between outward appearance and inner usefulness was often difficult to achieve within a strict budget. After the lot was secured, and floor plans were selected by Library Boards, the building plans were sent to Carnegie and his secretary James Bertram for approval and comment. While the interiors preferred by Carnegie and Bertram were clearly explained, the exteriors were left to the towns, library boards and architects to complete in a manner that suited them, within the budget of course.

While the small Carnegie libraries in Oklahoma were simple one-story structures, most constructed using common red brick, many featured around the doorways proud classical columns of carved stone or molded concrete, supporting a triangular or arched pediment as commonly seen in Greek and Roman architecture. This trend towards the classical reflected the training architects had at the turn of the last century, when the *Ecole des Beaux Arts* philosophies and emphasis on the study of the ancient world influenced architectural styles for public buildings.¹⁷ The *Ecole des Beaux Arts* academy in Paris stressed study of classical details, formal planning and the rich decoration of buildings. Public buildings reflecting this philosophy were built with a monumental feel, bolstered by paired columns and projecting façade. The *Ecole des Beaux Arts* influence spread to America, and as the tenets of this style became popular American architects adopted the monumentality and classical details as important elements for public buildings.

Theodore Jones, in *Carnegie Libraries Across America: A Public Legacy*, offers percentages of the types of styles in Carnegie Libraries in American based on images available for study. The Beaux Arts style, including subcategories of Italian Renaissance, Beaux-Arts, Classical Revival and Carnegie Classical, numbers 793 buildings, while other styles popular in this period, Spanish Revival, Prairie Style, Tudor Revival and others, make up 214 buildings nationally.¹⁸ As a result of this predominance of Beaux Arts architectural style, many banks and law firms, schools, museums and libraries from this era all seem to have a four-square, solid and respectable look, and they often feature a prominent doorway, with classical orders of columns supporting a pediment above the doorway. Today we still accept the classical model of architecture as the embodiment of solid values, integrity and culture, just as the Oklahoma library board members did in the early years of the past century.

After reviewing many plans they considered unsuitable, Andrew Carnegie and James Bertram established guidelines for acceptable library floor plans.¹⁹ They began to circulate a brochure of acceptable floor plans to applicants starting in 1911 called “Notes on Library Buildings.” A quote from the brochure states clearly and efficiently, and in Carnegie’s abbreviated spelling, what was expected of floor plans and buildings built using Carnegie funds:

A frequent cause of waste is the attempt to get a Greek temple, or a modification it, with a \$10,000 appropriation.

The economical layout of the building is sacrificed or subordinated at times to minor accessories, such as too much or too valuable space allotted to cloak rooms, toilets and stairs.

The building should be devoted exclusively to (a) housing of books and their issue for home use, (b) comfortable accommodation for reading them by adults and children, (c) lecture room, when introduced as a subordinate feature and not adding disproportionately to the cost of the building, (d)

necessary accommodation for heating plant and service, without which the building could not be used.²⁰

Contemporary architect J. L. Heckenlively in Springfield, Missouri, wrote in 1920 to W. S. O' Bannon, Miami, Oklahoma Mayor, summing up the Carnegie philosophy of library design for his client:

The main thing with them, has been my experience, is to design to save space, economize on the size of the building plans so as to be convenient for operation and then use good materials and construction, not too elaborately trimmed or decorated.²¹

Carnegie meant for the grant money to be used for practical, useful and plain buildings, with sound interior design, and many designs submitted by applicant cities did not meet these criteria. Bertram managed the grant program and coordinated construction payments with a strict and conscientious hand. He was not shy about expressing his opinion to those falling short of the high ideals he and Carnegie shared for the construction of libraries using the grant money. Even Franks could remark on poorly drawn plans, and in a letter of September 9, 1911 he wrote to Judge Tolbert of Hobart:

The plans for the Library Building, admitted for inspection, have also been referred to us, and I regret to say that are not satisfactory. These plans have not been drawn according to the "Notes on Library Buildings" sent to you by Mr. Bertram.

The second floor is entirely unnecessary, as there is plenty of space in the basement to accommodate a small lecture room. Also, the entrance is much larger than required, and too costly to construct for a \$10,000.00 building, and there is valuable space wasted in a large delivery room.

I am sending herewith floor plans showing the proper arrangement for a small library building.²²

Before this brochure of acceptable ideas was widely disseminated some libraries were built in what was considered an ostentatious fashion, with fireplaces and grand entryways considered a waste of useful interior space. Oklahoma libraries built early in the grant program's history were also guilty of featuring elaborate entrances and domes, which Carnegie felt to be an unwise expenditure of the grant money. Several Oklahoma towns, such as Sapulpa and Shawnee, added funds to their grant amount to meet additional construction costs. The constant struggle between the applying city's desire to build a suitably impressive edifice for the town library, and Carnegie's desire for a simple and practical building design, forms a continuous thread throughout the library grant program correspondence preserved in the Carnegie Archives.

Grant amounts were awarded based on verified population numbers within the incorporated city limits. Small towns got small grants and larger cities received larger amounts. After the application and floor plan approval process was complete, cities were left to find architects and builders for their libraries. Some regional architects provided similar plans for neighboring cities and a plan referral service via the Carnegie Corporation existed. Architect A.A. Crowell designed the library buildings for Cordell and Enid. Carnegie's brother-in-law, Henry Whitfield, designed or was the consulting architect for both the Muskogee and the Tulsa libraries. Bertram sent floor plans to the library boards at Hobart and Miami from which to select a suitable design. While interior space arrangements were recommended to be frugal and useful, exteriors were left to the architects to arrange within the budgeted amounts.

The size of the Carnegie grant, of course, affected the size and style of library building that could be created. Small towns with correspondingly smaller populations got between \$7,000.00 and \$10,000.00, a suitable amount for the construction of a solid 1-story building with a full basement, and all the needed furnishings. The small Carnegie Library located in Frederick, Oklahoma, was the epitome of design for a small library: a central staircase to the doorway, the entrance leading directly to the librarian's desk, with an

adult reading room to one side and a children's reading room to the other, with book shelves along the walls. This simple and open plan reflected not only Carnegie's desire for efficient simplicity and centralized management of the library from the librarian's desk, it also reflected changes in the field, where librarianship was moving from a strictly male position to a being female task, and elitist separate offices for the librarian were replaced by service desks in the open area of the library.²³

Women, who were moving out of the home and into the workplace during this time period, were seen as suitable custodians of culture, and therefore were acceptable to the public as librarians. However, as with all shifts in traditional gender roles, there was some resistance to this change. While Melvil Dewey promoted the rise of women as librarians, their influx into the field seemed to others to threaten its standing as a true profession. This shift in the field of librarianship occurred in an age where women also carried much of the public professional workload as teachers, nurses and social workers, with low wages and little recognition for their contributions.²⁴ In 1911, C. W. Dawson, an architect desiring the job of building the Muskogee Carnegie Library, wrote: "...the theory and practice of library management seems to be undergoing a change and it will probably be well to have a minimum of fixed partitions."²⁵ An article in the 1902 *Architectural Review* entitled "Modern Library Buildings" also discusses the changing needs of small library buildings:

Of this class, where only one attendant can be employed, the key-note is such grouping of book-room, reference room and magazine or children's room, that all three can be served and supervised from some central desk.²⁶

These remarks indicate that the changes in library management philosophy and service provision were written about and discussed as the changes were occurring, and not only by those in the library field, but by architects responding to the changes as well. The examples offered in the "Notes on Library Buildings" published by Carnegie and

shared with those building new libraries would have reinforced the structural changes that were already occurring in library structures.

With these changes in library management philosophy the need for a centralized desk for the librarian affected building floorplans for the smaller libraries. While the Oklahoma City Carnegie Library, built around 1899, featured a separate office for the librarian on the second floor, the city of Frederick's library, built around 1914, reflected the newer trends in library structures with its centralized service area. As many of Oklahoma's Carnegies were serving the smaller cities, and thus had smaller grants, we see the trend in Oklahoma's Carnegie Library structures to be of the efficient open space design.

There are similarities in the appearances of the Oklahoma Carnegie libraries. Many of the structures are built of red brick, have ample windows, and some have tile roofs. Most are 1 story tall. Some cities managed the more expensive yellow brick, or even stonework with their budgets. Grants for the less populated towns ranged from 7,500.00 for Collinsville (1915) to 10,000.00 for the cities of: Chickasha (1903), Tahlequah (1905), Perry (1909), Hobart (1911), Elk City (1914), Frederick (1914), Woodward (1915) and Miami (1916). Architectural accents in these buildings are mostly simple pastiches of a style rather than structural elements. These details were often such things as small stone keystones over the windows, a thin course of stonework among the bricks, or a bold foundation of carved and rusticated stone. The Carnegie Library built on the University of Oklahoma campus reflected the sweeping horizontal lines of the new Prairie Style being developed by Frank Lloyd Wright during this time period. However, even with an emphasis on simplicity and horizontal lines, the OU Carnegie has the seemingly required, Classical Greek Temple portal entrance.

Even in the smallest of libraries, and even when the budget could afford only slight embellishments to the facade structures, emphasis was always placed on the doorways. Classical columns at either side of the door, and a triangular pediment above the doorway stamped the building as an important public place. Oklahoma City's Carnegie Library featured a full-blown two-story mixed element

Baroque/Renaissance Revival style porch at its entrance. Plans and an architect's rendering of the Oklahoma City Carnegie Library were published in the *Architectural Review* for January 1902. This issue featured many drawings of various libraries in the United States, and is an outstanding overview of popular public architecture for large libraries during this time period.²⁷

The larger cities with their greater populations received larger grants. Oklahoma City's library was finally completed with a total of \$60,000.00. This amount was given in 3 allocations to meet the increased needs of that city's library. Muskogee, with a single grant awarded in 1910, received \$60,000.00. Tulsa received \$55,000.00 in 1910. Guthrie built its library with \$26,000 in 1901, and Enid (1904), McAlester (1906), and Sapulpa (1916) each received \$25,000.00.²⁸ The Carnegie libraries of Oklahoma City, El Reno, Tulsa, Muskogee, Chickasha and Ardmore all received larger grants reflecting the larger populations in those cities. They also all contained two stories in the structures. Larger structures also allowed for more architectural details, and in the case of Oklahoma City, historical details were borrowed from several times and styles.

Involved in scandal even as it was being built, and with severe criticism from Bertram on the original plans and style, the Oklahoma City Carnegie Library no doubt delighted the city fathers with its size and massive appearance.²⁹ There was the elaborate front porch, complete with balustrades and urns along the roofline, the sweeping semi-circular side wings and a Gothic arcade over a side porch. It was a real mix of architectural styles. A grand entryway occupied the first floor. The librarian's office was located on the second floor, and an art gallery was located on the second floor around the stair landing. It was nothing like the efficient and practical structure Carnegie and Bertram envisioned for their libraries. Bertram had the chance to express his opinion on the poor planning of this library when the board wrote again in 1906 to ask for \$25,000.00 for an addition to the building that they had outgrown already. In correspondence from January 16, 1907, Bertram writes a member of the library board:

In looking at the pictures of present library building, one would think a great deal of money has been spent on outside display as apart from inside accommodations. That entrance must have cost a great deal.³⁰

The next month, he is writing again to Oklahoma City library members in his terse style:

In the first place, let me say that looking at the out of the building which you sent, it shows what under the circumstances is about the most unpractical, short-sighted and extravagantly designed building of the thousands we have lookt [sic] over.³¹

Bertram did not mince words in his correspondence, and often had cause to refer to previous correspondence to emphasize a detail or concern.

Two Oklahoma Carnegies had domes, the libraries at Guthrie and Shawnee, and Enid had an arched dome-like structure surmounting its library. Domes were definitely considered a waste of grant money, however Guthrie managed to get its dome paid for by the Carnegie library grant money. In a letter to James Bertram in April of 1902, Robert Ramsey refers to previous correspondence regarding the dome. He explains that the plans for the library have already been drawn up and accepted, and the contract let. He further explains that the architect claimed that the building was so plain that it needed something to relieve it.³² Whatever might have convinced Carnegie and Bertram is unknown, but the work continued and the dome was completed. The dome on the Carnegie Library in Shawnee, a city that supplemented its grant with \$3,000.00, lasted 22 years until a disastrous fire destroyed the entire center of the building in 1927. The dome was not rebuilt in the renovations, and many other changes were made before the library reopened in November 1930.³³ The serene structure of Shawnee's current Carnegie building, now painted a uniform pale color, barely resembles the flashy, multicolored brick edifice with metal roof caps

and a dome that greeted well-wishers at its grand opening celebration long ago.

A small percentage of Oklahoma Carnegies continue to serve their communities as free public libraries. Librarians and staff in these historical buildings cope with confined space, limited electrical outlets and crumbling facades, all facts of life when co-existing with an aging building. Exterior doorways and staircases have been altered to meet today's standards and codes for accessibility, yet these ornate doorways continue to inspire and impress generations of students and readers. These venerable old libraries continue to provide doorways to excitement, learning and other worlds through their resources while they themselves provide a doorway to the past. Mounting the stairs, passing between columns, and walking under elaborate moldings and pediments, one is even now instilled with the idea that this a special place, an important place. Many Carnegie Libraries in Oklahoma are today lost in a side neighborhood of the historic center of town, perhaps sitting vacant. Several are being used as museums or for office space. These remaining Carnegie Library buildings should still be respected and venerated as the frontier bastions of learning they were. Proud territorial citizens could point to their Carnegie Libraries as institutions representing status and culture on the frontier. Built by the cooperative effort of the townspeople and their leaders, completed within a strict schedule of criteria and with limited funding, and built with the best materials affordable, Oklahoma's Carnegie libraries were the products of pioneer spirit, determination and hard work. The stately Carnegie Library buildings that resulted were truly temples for books.

NOTES

¹ Bobinski, George S., *Carnegie Libraries: Their History and Impact on American Public Library Development* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1969), 116-128, Table 13.

² Bobinski, 3.

³ Bobinski, 20, Table 8.

⁴ Bobinski, 34-56.

⁵ Van Slyck, Abigail, *Free For All*, (Chicago: American Library Association 1995), 45.

⁶ Seaman, Mrs. H. J. and Turner, Mrs. Fred E., Letter to Andrew Carnegie January 11, 1904, Tulsa file, Carnegie Corporation Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, Microfilm Records Series II, reel number 32.

⁷ Smith, Thomas, Letter to Andrew Carnegie, May 21, 1903, Muskogee file, Carnegie Corporation Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, Microfilm Records Series II, reel number 21.

⁸ Bucher, Carroll, Letter to Andrew Carnegie, June 4, 1909, Muskogee file, Carnegie Corporation Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, Microfilm Records Series II, reel number 21.

⁹ Bobinski, 26.

¹⁰ Wyand, J.E., Letter to Henry D. Whitfield, March 24, 1914, Muskogee file, Carnegie Corporation Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, Microfilm Records Series II, reel number 21. Muskogee changed contractors without Whitfield's knowledge and had discrepancies in use of allocated funds; further funding was withheld until this matter was cleared up

¹¹ Oklahoma Library Commission, *Oklahoma Libraries 1900-1937: A History and Handbook*, (Oklahoma City: Oklahoma Library Association, 1937) Many early Oklahoma towns had small libraries tucked here and there at any location that would house them, and they often were staffed by volunteer librarians. For a few examples and their page numbers cited in the above work: Clinton had a public Library on the second floor of City Hall, 28, Collinsville had their library at the First National Bank, 30, Elk City had a Sunday School Library, 32, and Enid had a library over a drugstore, 41. These small collections of books were often noted in the city official's correspondence to Carnegie in request for a library grant. As for the beginnings of libraries in territorial towns, a few examples follow: Lawton's City Federation of Women's Clubs maintained a city library for several years before their Carnegie was built, 59, McAlester's Fortnightly Club also managed a library for several years before the city received a Carnegie Library, 60, and the Ladies Library Club of Sapulpa bought a lot, acquired a building and managed a library before their Carnegie was built, 85.

¹² Waterford, Nettie G. Letter to Andrew Carnegie, Muskogee file, Carnegie Corporation Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, Microfilm Records Series II, reel number 21.

¹³ Talbot, James R., Letter to Andrew Carnegie, March 1914, Hobart, Oklahoma file, Carnegie Corporation Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, Microfilm Records Series II, reel number 14.

¹⁴ Blackmer, R.C., Letter to Andrew Carnegie, August 25, 1915 Woodward file, Carnegie Corporation Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia

University, New York, Microfilm Records Series II, reel number 35.

¹⁵ Tahlequah Board of Trade members, Letter to Andrew Carnegie, February 27, 1905, Tahlequah File, Carnegie Corporation Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, Microfilm Records Series II, reel number 31.

¹⁶ Various authors, letters to Andrew Carnegie and James Bertram, Miami file, Carnegie Corporation Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, Microfilm Records Series II, reel number 19. The original grant was awarded in 1916, several attempts were made to gain an increased grant amount, to no avail. Plans had to be redrawn based on the increased costs of materials and the Miami Carnegie Library finally opened in 1921.

¹⁷ The Dictionary of Art, s.v. Beaux Arts by Isabelle Gournay, and Van Slyck, 28.

¹⁸ Jones, 61-82.

¹⁹ Bobinski, 58-61.

²⁰ Bostwick, Arthur E., *The Library and Its Home*, (New York: H.E. Wilson Company, 1933) 106-107.

²¹ Heckenlively, J. L. to W. S. O'Bannon, 1920 Miami file, Carnegie Corporation Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, Microfilm Records Series II, reel number 35.

²² Franks, Robert A. Letter to James E. Tolbert, September 9, 1911, Hobart file, Carnegie Corporation Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, Microfilm Records Series II, reel number 14.

²³ Van Slyck, 36-37.

²⁴ Diner, Stephen J., *A Very Different Age: Americans of the Progressive Era*, (New York: Hill and Wang, 1998) 195-199 and Van Slyck, 162-163.

²⁵ Dawson, C.W. letter to James Bertram, January 14, 1911, Muskogee file, Carnegie Corporation Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, Microfilm Records Series II, reel number 21.

²⁶ Soule, Charles Carroll, "Modern Library Buildings", *Architectural Review*, 9, no. 1 (January 1902) 4.

²⁷ Soule, "Modern Library Buildings", 1-60.

²⁸ Jones. Theodore, *Carnegie Libraries Across American: A Public Legacy*, (New York: John Wiley Pres, 1997) 158.

²⁹ Scales, Henry to James Bertram, August 25, 1908, Oklahoma City, File, Carnegie Corporation Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, Microfilm Records Series II, reel number 23. Letters describing mismanagement of the project, and about squabbles amongst the library board were sent to Bertram from several citizens, causing the grant disbursements to be frozen until the matter was cleared up. Carnegie did award an additional 25,000.00 to Oklahoma City for an addition, and then \$10,000.00 more for completion of the building.

³⁰ Bertram, James to Dr. J. Hensley, January 16, 1907, Oklahoma City File, Carnegie Corporation Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, Microfilm Records Series II, reel number 23.

³¹ Bertram, James to Dr. J. Hensley, February 7, 1907, Oklahoma City File, Carnegie Corporation Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, Microfilm Records Series II, reel number 23.

³² Robert Ramsey to James Bertram, April 3, 1901, Guthrie City File, Carnegie Corporation Archives, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York, reel number 13.

³³ Hansford, Candace, *Field Study, Carnegie Library, Shawnee, Oklahoma*, 1992. 13-16.