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Since academic libraries began to open their doors to students in the late 19th to early 20th century, librarians have engaged in nearly continuous discussion of the college student's need for leisure reading materials, the broad benefits of reading such material, and the declining rate of American literacy. Given that budget is one of the most frequently cited obstacles to providing browsing collections or leisure reading materials in academic libraries today, understanding strategies used by librarians in tight times in the past may be informative for present-day academic librarians. This thesis addresses whether/to what extent the incorporation of the campus trade book store, the Bull's Head, into the university library at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill in 1935, at the height of the Great Depression, was one such strategy.

Headings:

Reading as recreation

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A BOOKSTORE IN A LIBRARY (1935-1965): THE BULL'S HEAD BOOK SHOP
AND THE HISTORY OF RECREATIONAL READING IN US ACADEMIC
LIBRARIES

by
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INTRODUCTION

The question of whether providing for students' leisure reading, here defined extracurricular reading (Watson, 2014, pp. 20-31) or reading for pleasure rather than for information (Dewan, 2010, pp. 44-46), falls under the purview of academic libraries is one that librarians seem to perpetually rediscover. Since academic libraries began to open their doors to students in the late 19th to early 20th century (Hamlin, 1981; P. Valentine, 2012, pp. 79-112), librarians have engaged in nearly continuous discussion (Chapin, 1951; Hoole, 1938; Peterson, 2006) of the college student's need for leisure reading materials, the broad benefits of reading such material, and the declining rate of American literacy (Salter & Brook, 2007), always seen as "chronically catastrophic" (Gilbert & Fister, 2011, p. 474). If current literature in academic librarianship portrays students' leisure reading as a non-traditional concern (Peterson, 2006), it may be because librarians are often limited in their ability to provide such materials (Guy R. Lyle, 1944; Sanders, 2009, pp. 174-183) by their budgets. Given that budget is one of the most frequently cited obstacles to providing browsing collections or leisure reading materials in academic libraries today (Elliott, 2009, pp. 340-346; Gilbert & Fister, 2011, pp. 474-495), understanding strategies used by librarians in tight times in the past may be informative for present-day academic librarians.

Although a fair amount of scholarship exists on the survival and funding of public libraries during the Great Depression (Kramp, 2010; Novotny, 2011; Seavey, 2003), little has been written about academic libraries during the same period. In fact, scholars

interested in the history of academic libraries seem to view the Depression era primarily as a dead zone between periods of abundant funding in the 1920s and 40s. Precisely because of the lack of funding, however, Depression era academic librarians sometimes used innovative strategies to help them provide for their patrons' needs. This study will use archival materials to explore an unusual project on the campus of the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill during the 1930s---the consolidation of the Bull's Head Book Shop with the main campus library---to assess whether campus administrators and Bull's Head employees saw it as such a strategy.

Founded in 1925 in the office of UNC English professor Howard M. Jones (Beach, 1928) , the Bull's Head was initially very much a product of its time. The question of leisure and “quality” reading for college students was on the minds of many faculty and librarians across the country in the 1920s (Hamlin, 1981). To address it, some colleges created browsing rooms. Howard Jones created a browsing-friendly bookstore.

In 1935, the UNC library took over management of the Bull's Head, and in 1941 it was combined with the library's browsing room. To better understand the situation of the Bull's Head in the library, and thereby to address gaps in the library literature surrounding the history of academic libraries and leisure reading, this study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What rationale did involved parties discuss or give for bringing the Bull's Head Bookshop under the umbrella of the library? To what degree did this decision refer to contemporary thought about the leisure reading needs of college students?
2. To what degree was it true that the Bull's Head offered access to reading materials that the library could not offer at the time?

3. When and why was the relationship between the bookstore and the library severed? What was the connection (if any) between this decision and the availability of leisure reading materials through the library at the time?

LITERATURE REVIEW

History of Academic Libraries and Leisure Reading Material on American College Campuses

Early academic libraries on American college campuses had little in common with the user-centered entities we know today. Beginning with Harvard's library (first catalog published in 1723), the earliest academic library collections were composed of benefactor's donations, and were not necessarily aligned with students' interests or curricular needs. Due to the religious focus of early American colleges, most academic library collections prior to the mid-19th century tended to be heavily theological, and even in cases where literature was available (Kraus, 1973), the effort involved in accessing it was prohibitive. There were few or no regular library hours, and even when students were allowed into the libraries, they were not always allowed to remove or borrow the books (Harding, 1959). The libraries also tended to be physically uninviting, with few places to sit and poor heating. One could say that, at this point in their history, academic libraries fulfilled neither leisure nor academic reading needs on campus.

To compensate for the lack of recreational activities on campus, 18th and early 19th century American college students formed literary societies (Harding, 1959). The societies supported skills that were seen as essential for wealthy, educated men of the time, including debating and writing/presenting erudite essays. Because these activities necessitated access to current scientific, philosophical, and literary works, literary societies began to create and maintain library collections for their members' use. Unlike

the official college libraries, literary society libraries had set open hours, officially appointed and compensated librarians (elected from among society members), set lending periods, and comfortable seating. Society members' dues were used to fund acquisitions, which were chosen by members and the appointed librarians, and in some cases non-members were allowed access to the collections for a fee.

Towards the end of the 19th century, college campuses began to develop an interest in expanding the services offered by academic libraries. This new interest was partly a result of a change in American college curricula, which shifted from the traditional classical emphasis to one more in tune with the professional training needed to work in an increasingly industrialized society (Hamlin, 1981). The 1862 Morrill Act, which established land-grant colleges to teach "agriculture and the mechanical arts" (cited in Hamlin, 1981, 46), also broadened college curricula in ways that required academic resources beyond the textbooks students had traditionally used. Concurrently, American colleges adopted the German university system, which included research as one of the major functions of the academy. This meant that faculty as well as students required expanded library collections and easier access to them, especially in cases where the college aspired to become a full-fledged university. These changes led to the development of the academic research libraries we know today, housed in their own buildings, staffed by professional librarians, and funded by college administrations. Faculty remained heavily involved in book selection, but librarians and cataloguers purchased books and maintained the collections. As part of this move, many colleges negotiated mergers between the collections of the academic campus libraries and literary

society libraries. At the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, for example, the academic library merged with the libraries of two literary societies (the Dialectic and Philanthropic Societies) in the 1880s (Harding, 1959), although the societies maintained ownership of the collections and continued to contribute financially to acquisitions. With these mergers, the leisure reading needs of students essentially drifted into the purview of academic libraries, albeit perhaps only because they incorporated collections that had been created to serve such needs. At the same time, the idea that academic libraries existed to serve curricular and research needs gained currency.

By the early 1920s, the size of academic libraries and the student populations they served had increased substantially. Contrary to commonly expressed views in recent library literature (Peterson, 2006), many academic librarians in this time period do seem to have assumed that providing for extra-curricular or leisure reading was one of their duties. It was during the 1920s that “browsing rooms,” which contained comfortable seating and leisure reading materials, were created in academic libraries (Hamlin, 1981, p. 64; Guy R. Lyle, 1935, p. 240). The development of these rooms was also consistent with the growing concern that increased specialization in college curricula failed to provide students with a broadly shared set of cultural knowledge, the way the classical curriculum had (“The Disciplines, Interdisciplinarity, and the University,” 2009, pp. 31-42). At the same time, many colleges developed dormitory libraries, which were explicitly devoted to students’ leisure activities (Johnson, 1935; Morgan, 1931; Oltmanns, 1985).

The Depression in the 1930s placed significant limits on library budgets, and this in turn meant that libraries became more dependent on donations, gifts, and exchanges for

their acquisitions. While these may have been acceptable avenues for acquiring rare and some reference materials, they did not enable librarians to purchase the current leisure reading materials that the browsing rooms had provided in the 1920s (McGrath & Jacobson, 2011). It is possible that this period resulted in a sharper distinction between materials that were “necessary” (i.e., curricular or needed by researchers) and materials that were not (i.e., leisure materials).

The 1940s and 50s saw a huge expansion in the number of students attending colleges and universities, partly due to the GI Bill offered to many veterans of World War II (Churchwell, 2007, pp. 104-105; Hamlin, 1981). Federal funding was also offered to academic libraries for the first time for the purchase of specific kinds of materials, including publications on science, technology, and in specific foreign languages. The increase in the number and kinds of books libraries were expected to acquire meant that this duty became the job of librarians, rather than faculty members as had previously been the case (Hamlin, 1981). At the same time, recreational reading had become a more popular activity for a wider swathe of Americans. For many US soldiers, specially produced Armed Services Edition paperbacks alleviated wartime boredom (Loss, 2003), and even Allied POWs in Germany received book shipments (Shavit, 1999). The idea that paperbacks could be anything other than dime novels or low culture pulp was new in the 1940s and 50s (Hamlin, 1958), and the Armed Services Editions helped spread their popularity as widely affordable and acceptable purchases. Many GIs would have arrived on campus after the war accustomed to reading for pleasure.

An exponential increase in research publications (particularly in science and technology fields) and the expanded budgets necessary to buy them meant that academic

libraries in the post-WWII period were chronically short of shelf-space, and this may have led some universities to shift leisure reading material to university funded dorm libraries (Marsh & Marsh, 1959; Oltmanns, 1985). However, Peterson's (2006) analysis of professional literature in library science between 1945 and 1975 shows that most opinion pieces in major professional journals saw providing leisure reading to students as an important function of the academic library. During the 1950s, writers and librarians also continued to bemoan the decline in reading as a pastime among Americans more generally, and specifically among college students (ibid. 31). While the accuracy of this perception is not entirely clear, it did serve as a continuing justification for funding leisure-reading collections on college campuses, whether in dorms or academic library buildings.

Since the 1950s, the information landscape in which academic libraries operate has changed in ways almost too numerous to count. Arguably, some of the most significant changes have involved the increasing availability of information on the internet, the serials crisis (McGuigan 2004, 13-26), and the "digitization of everything" (Michalak, 2012), as well as the decreasing support for public investment (Buschman, 2007) and increasing commodification of knowledge (Lawson, Sanders, & Smith, 2015) that have come with neoliberalization. Interestingly, despite all the changes, discussions about students' reading habits remain "chronically catastrophic" (Gilbert & Fister, 2011, p. 474);. Academic librarians in the 2000's continue to have virtually identical discussions about Americans' declining reading habits (Dewan, 2013; Elliott, 2009) and the value of leisure reading collections in academic libraries (Dewan, 2010, 2013; Fullerton, 2015) to those in the professional literature of the 1950s. Insofar as librarians have seen the

solution to this problem (and continue to see it as) involving encouraging patrons and students in recreational reading, it seems important for present day librarians to look back and understand how their colleagues have provided this reading from within limited budgets in the past.

The Bull's Head Book Shop, 1935-1965: A Bookstore in a Library

Founded in 1925 in the office of UNC English professor Howard M. Jones, the Bull's Head was initially very much a product of its time. The question of leisure and “quality” reading for college students was on the minds of many faculty and librarians across the country in the 1920s. To address it, some colleges created browsing rooms. Howard Jones created a browsing-friendly bookstore (Beach, 1928; Littleton, 1958). In doing so, he set out partly to prove that students were interested in reading and would respond to quality books if they were made available in a congenial setting (he complained that traditional college bookstores were unwilling to stock general fiction because they believed it would not be bought) (Jones, 1928). However, Jones also had concerns that extended beyond campus; he was disturbed by the lack of “book consciousness” in the South, and the lack of publisher interest in marketing books to Southerners. Southerners, like students, he argued, would become interested in leisure reading if book publishers made specific efforts to provide it and make it seem pertinent to them. The Bull's Head constituted a kind of pilot study of book buying on a Southern campus, and Jones hoped it was one that would spread to other campuses and towns. To this end, Jones sought not only to sell books but to involve students in choosing and reading them. His bookstore was named after the “bull sessions” that he had with students there about books they read and bought (Littleton, 1958). It was also important to Jones and later managers that

students be allowed to read and browse within the bookstore, rather than being pressured to buy (Beach, 1928; Yoder).

In 1932, the Bull's Head moved to the building of the University Library, and in 1935 it was incorporated into the campus library division (McGrath & Jacobson, 2011, p. 308). There it followed the path of, and shared office space with, the Extension Library, a public-like library originally run through the North Carolina Agricultural Extension, which served women's and book clubs around the state. (The Extension Library had also been integrated into the library by the University Librarian, R.B. Downs, to avoid closing when the budget of its original parent department, the University Extension Division, was slashed in 1933 (McGrath & Jacobson, 2011, p. 308)).

Unlike the Extension Library, however, the Bull's Head was not directly financed by the university. While the library provided space, utilities, and some help with furnishings free of charge, the bookstore was otherwise required to be self-sustaining financially. The university did not pay the bookstore employees and they were entirely dependent on store receipts for their income. At the same time, the Bull's Head budget was tracked and the acquisitions and business departments of the university ordered its books. The bookstore was subject to the North Carolina Umstead Act, which prevented state-funded entities from competing with private businesses in town. The salary of the store manager (provided store receipts were sufficient) was dictated by the university, and the library director was always the store manager's "boss," although he (the library director was always male during the Bull's Head's time in the library) did not pay her (the store manager likewise was always female) salary.

This arrangement often put store managers in the uncomfortable position of having to ensure sufficient store income for their paychecks while having little control over store budget or resources. For example, in reports submitted to the library director during 1954-55, the store manager, Jessica Valentine, repeatedly requested access to a monthly accounting of the store's finances. It is not clear from the documents whether she ever got it. At the same time, the library administration appears to have had mixed feelings about the Bull's Head, its presence in the library, and the way it was run. Store documents show library directors complaining steadily about how books were arranged, how many were being stocked, and, in one instance, whether UNC Press books were being given sufficient prominence. They also seemed generally reluctant to respond to continual store manager requests for things like desks or display space in the library exhibition cabinets. Despite this tension (and multiple requests from the store manager that the bookstore either become an independent non-profit or a real department in the university), the Bull's Head remained a part of the library until at least 1960 and possibly until 1965.

Why did this, by all accounts, relatively discordant relationship last for as long as it did, and what reason was given for arranging it to begin with? McGrath and Jacobson (2011) indicate that integrating the Bull's Head into the library (at least partly) had advantages for the library, partly because the bookstore could provide the recreational material the library did not collect. However, there is no indication in the secondary literature of the reasoning given for this decision at the time it was made, the degree to which the Bull's Head really did offer materials that the library could not, or the reason the two entities finally separated. This study aims to answer those questions.

METHODS

Content Analysis

Although some kinds of content analysis have existed in some form since censorship methods in the Spanish Inquisition (Wakefield, 2010), it became more popular as a social scientific method in the 1950s as a way to study the propaganda potential of mass media (Weber, 1990). Because content analysis is particularly concerned with messages and how they pass from sender to receiver, it is an appropriate method for this study, which aims in part to track how a particular decision (the combination of the Bull's Head with the library) was justified within the university.

Content analysis enables researchers to systematically categorize the language used in media into clusters in order to identify patterns or relationships between them (Julien, 2008). This can be done quantitatively by using statistical analyses of language patterns, such as term frequencies, or qualitatively by attending to the distribution and presence of selected themes and the relationships between them in selected media collections (Pfeil, 2003, p. 1). The current study used qualitative content analysis of archival materials contained in the University Archives of UNC-Chapel Hill. The coding of these documents was performed using a directed approach (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005), where a starting set of categories was defined prior to the start of coding, and other categories were added to the scheme as they emerge. Descriptive codes (Saldana, 2014) were also used to categorize documents based on type (i.e., memos, letters) and receivers or

senders. The initial unit of analysis was the theme of leisure reading in academic libraries.

In qualitative content analysis, the sample can be selected based on the relevance of materials to the topic at hand (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009), and this is the strategy that was used in this case. There is no way to ensure that a random sample of archival materials is representative of the full population of original documents pertaining to the topic, since the materials have already been subject to the non-random processes associated with selection for preservation. Choosing a sample based on the relevance of the documents therefore seemed the most appropriate method of data collection.

FINDINGS

Documents on the Bull's Head Book Shop

The author located 135 documents associated with the Bull's Head Book Shop at the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill University Archives. The documents were located in archival series pertaining to the Department of English and Comparative Literature, the Office of the Chancellor, and the Office of the University Librarian (Table 1) in the University Archives at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. It is not surprising that most of the documents came from records of the Office of the University Librarian, since the library was located in the Bull's Head Book Shop for most of the period under study. Records from the Chancellor's office and the Department of English and Comparative Literature are the earliest of the ones studied, and they pertain mostly to the need to move the Bull's Head from its founding home in the English Department and its later relocation to the library.

Series	Number of Documents	Percent of Total Documents*
Department of English and Comparative Literature	18	13.3%
Office of the Chancellor (Academic Affairs 1923-1957)	31	23.0%
Office of the University Librarian	86	63.7%
Total	135	100%

Table 1: Archival Sources of Documents on the Bull's Head Book Shop. (*Rounded to nearest 0.1%)

As per Table 2, most of the documents the author found on the Bull's Head Book Shop were written during the 1930s, '40s, and '50s. This was the period during which the bookstore was most closely allied with the library--prior to this period, it was the private project of English professor, Howard Mumford Jones, and after this period it was disarticulated from the library structure and moved to the Book Exchange (now known as Student Stores).

Date	Number	Percentage*
1920-1929	2	1.5%
1930-1939	52	38.5%
1940-1949	43	31.9%
1950-1959	25	18.5%
1960-1969	1	0.7%
Undated	12	8.9%
Total	135	100%

Table 2: Decade Distribution of Documents on the Bull's Head Book Shop(*Rounded to the nearest 0.1%)

The majority of documents on the Bull's Head were written by literary authors (20 documents), Bull's Head staff (25 documents), faculty (21 documents), library administrators (15), and university administrators (15 documents), respectively. This makes sense, given that most of these groups were probably required to deposit records at the University Archives. Authors, of course, were not required to do this, but recipients may have kept their letters because of the writers' prestige (the letters were predominantly exchanged in the course of arranging for book talks or readings at the bookstore). On campus, Bull's Head staff, faculty members, and library or university administrators were also the most likely to be involved with or interested in the

bookstore's operations, so it stands to reason that they would have often corresponded on the topic. The same groups are well represented as recipients in the Bull's Head documents, with the exception of authors (who likely kept letters they received in their own archives, if they kept them at all). University staff are slightly better represented as recipients (12 documents) than as writers (8 documents), but a difference of four documents is too small to be indicative of any particular significance.

Qualitative Content Analysis

Theme: Recreational Reading

This theme appears in 13 of the Bull's Head documents reviewed by the author for this study. This is a small number of documents relative to the total number of Bull's Head documents in the archives, but they appear to have been written at significant times in the Bull's Head's history. Five are dated to 1934-35, as the question of the Bull's Head's continued existence was being confronted (a question that was ultimately resolved by moving the Bull's Head to the library in October 1935). Five of the documents were written during the 1950s, when the Bull's Head's position in the library appears to have become more precarious due to conflicts between the University Librarian and the bookstore manager. Of the remaining three documents that mention recreational reading, 2 are undated, and one was written in 1946.

It is notable that documents containing mentions of recreational reading were primarily written by bookstore and Extension Library staff (8 documents), with a minority of documents coming from library administrators (1), library school students (1), faculty (2), and university administrators (1). This pattern would seem to indicate that bookstore and Extension Library staff used the idea of recreational reading to advocate

for the bookstore or argue for its importance, and the contents of the documents tend to bear this out. Most documents written by bookstore staff that mention recreational reading were annual, semi-annual, or quarterly reports submitted by the bookstore manager to the University Librarian. These reports contain accounts of the accomplishments and activities of the bookstore during the period covered, and many of these involved recreational reading. For example, in 1955 (J. Valentine, September 1955), Jessica Valentine reports creating displays of books on cats and books for children. In other reports, the importance of recreational reading is used more explicitly as a rationale for requesting more resources for the bookstore. In a December 1956 report, Valentine describes an increase in undergraduates looking for books to read, and writes that “[s]o much more could be done for these promising individuals, at profit to the Bull’s Head as well as the students, if the manager had more time for them” (J. Valentine, December 1956). She then goes on to repeat a frequent request for clerical help in the store (which, however, does not seem to have materialized). In one particularly interesting memo, sent by Extension Library employees Nelly Robeson, Cornelia Love, and Agatha Adams to University Librarian Charles Rush (Roberson, December 11, 1946), the writers use the idea of recreational reading to defend Valentine from Rush’s contention that the bookstore is not stocking enough books during the Christmas rush. After explaining logistically why the bookstore in fact cannot stock more books, the writers state that “[u]nder Mrs. Valentine's leadership, the Bookshop is singularly successful in carrying out its original purpose, to anticipate and provide for the needs of the campus for recreational reading.” In the context of this exchange, this statement reads

not only as a defense but also as a subtle accusation of Rush, who the writers feel is prioritizing commercial success over the educational and cultural good of the students.

Faculty and university administrators also refer to the importance of recreational reading, particularly during the 1930s, when the faculty board of the Bull's Head and Chancellor R. B. House were trying to decide how and whether to maintain it. This quandary leads to an effort to define the bookstore's ongoing purpose. When Professor Jones founded it, there was no bookstore for extra-curricular books in Chapel Hill. By 1935, the Intimate Bookshop had been founded, and faculty were not entirely clear on whether the Bull's Head is still needed (House, April 22, 1935). They were reluctant, however, to let it close. In its defense, they mobilized not only the idea of recreational reading, but the idea that this reading was particularly important as a *university* activity and one of the on-campus recreational offerings (Coffman, October 26, 1934).

In an exchange especially relevant to this study, documents from the 1930s that mention recreational reading include correspondence between a group of library science students requesting a browsing room and R.B. Downs, the University Librarian, telling them that he had no funds for such a room. This exchange will be discussed further in the discussion section.

Theme: Students' Personal Libraries

This theme was mentioned explicitly in eight of the Bull's Head documents, which were split evenly between the records of the Office of the Chancellor and the records of the Office of the University. (Howard Mumford Jones, who was the main source of Bull's Head records from and to the Department of English and Comparative Literature, showed in his outside writings that he felt strongly about this subject (Jones, 1928), but

he did not mention it in any of the documents filed as pertaining to the Bull's Head). Documents that mention students' personal libraries were primarily professional ones; only one was a letter, while three were memos and four were reports. Four of the documents were written in the 1930s, as the survival of the bookstore was being discussed, while 3 documents are from the 1950s and one is undated.

As with the theme of recreational reading, a good portion of the documents that mention students' personal libraries or book purchasing habits were written by the bookstore manager in her reports to the University Librarian or in memos to faculty. In most cases, recreational reading and book purchases are mentioned together, although sometimes a distinction is made between them. For example, in her November 1951 memo to faculty, Jessica Valentine differentiates between the kinds of books that graduate and undergraduate students will need to buy (graduate students need help acquiring hard-to-find books and building personal libraries, undergraduates need books that parallel their in-class reading) but ends off by reminding professors that “[a]ll readers welcome our recreational offerings” (J. Valentine, November 3, 1951)

Faculty and at least one university administrator (Chancellor R. B. House) seem to have attributed great importance to students' book buying activities and to have seen the bookstore as one way to influence what one might think of as their students' collection management skills. In one document, for example, House initiated the advent of a smaller Bull's Head faculty board (which meant relieving faculty board members from their positions on the board), while expressing the hope that decommissioned board members would still be available to help students choose “distinctive books” to buy (House, October 3, 1934). In another, George Coffman, then chairman of the English

department and the Bull's Head board, addressed the faculty at large, enjoining them to talk to the bookstore manager and recommend new books for her to order to supplement classroom reading. In this letter, Coffman reminded his fellow faculty members that "one of the best ways to assist the student to train himself [sic] and to broaden his mind is for him to acquire a library of his own, to which he is constantly making additions" (Coffman, October 19, 1934).

The theme of students' book collecting persists in the 1950s. For example, In a quarterly report in 1956, Valentine mentioned a "real trend on the part of the undergraduates to drop in on the B.H. [sic] for advice on extra-curricular reading and to start building personal libraries" (J. Valentine, October 1, 1956). This focus on curating a collection of books for posterity seems to have been changing by the time this last document was written, possibly due to the advent of paperbacks, which were not as physically durable as hardcover books. In a 1957 report, Valentine expressed a wish that students would use the Bull's Heads book rental service more, rather than buying paperbacks which they could "mark up" (J. Valentine, April 1, 1957). The same report, however, refers to a continuing special order project designed to "encourag[e] collectors of NC items old and new," and to selling autographed copies of books by Robert Frost and Edith Sitwell. This progression may indicate that, with the advent of cheap paperbacks, book collecting was becoming a more specialized activity on the campus, not one that was mostly coterminous with book reading.

Theme: Readers' Advisory at the Bull's Head

Ten documents in the collection examined mention this theme. Most of these (8 documents) were found in the records of the Office of the University Librarian, while the Office of the Chancellor records and records from the Department of English and Comparative Literature contained one each. The bulk of these documents (6) date to the 1950s, with one document each dating to the 1920s, 1930s, 1940s, and 1960s, respectively. The fact that so many documents that mention readers' advisory date to the 1950s is probably related to the fact that such activities were often mentioned in official bookstore reports to the University Librarian. It is thus not surprising that most of the writers who mention this topic were Bull's Head employees (6 documents). Other writers who mention this topic include faculty members (2 documents, one written by Howard Mumford Jones), Extension Library employees (1 document), and library administrators (1 document).

The documents that mention readers' advisory discuss it in two ways: firstly, official reports detail particular advisory projects or activities undertaken. These were substantial, since the bookstore not only created booklists and book displays for students (J. Valentine, April 1, 1956) but also sent booklists and recommendations to women's clubs and customers around the state (J. Valentine, July 1, 1956). The manager also gave talks in the bookstore and to local clubs on newly published literature, and in the 1950s participated in a TV series on UNC-TV that recommended or highlighted books for the public (J. Valentine, December 31, 1955).

The manager also made a point of helping students to choose books when they were in the store; many of them, as new bookstore manager Helen Hogan reminds the library

administration in 1960, came from towns that did not have bookstores. Some might never have even been inside one before (Hogan, January 27, 1960). Both Helen Hogan and Jessica Valentine mention enjoying this aspect of their positions (Hogan, January 27, 1960; J. Valentine, January 1, 1957), although it also may have contributed to Valentine's continuing request to be re-classed as a professional university employee. Valentine actually had a degree in library science, and she may also have been aware that she was doing the work of a librarian for a much smaller and less secure salary than those of the university's librarians. Reports also indicate that she put in a good deal of overtime (J. Valentine, December 31, 1955), which official librarians probably did not.

The second way that readers' advisory is discussed in the documents involves the capacity or (more often) incapacity of student workers to provide it. Aside from the manager, the bookstore was mainly staffed by student workers after moving to the library (Littleton, 1958), although Extension Library employees seem to have been involved in some bookstore activities (Roberson, December 11, 1946). The difficulty of finding student workers who had some "book knowledge" is therefore a continuing topic throughout the Bull's Head documents. In 1928, Howard Mumford Jones requests the store's first student worker but specifies that it must be a graduate student, because he needs someone "bookishly minded and responsible" (Jones, May 1, 1928). During the Bull's Head's tenure in the library, student workers were often evaluated in reports in terms of their ability to provide readers' advisory. For example, in 1956, Valentine describes her two student employees as learning to help "floundering" student shoppers (J. Valentine, April 1, 1956).

Theme: New Books at the Bull's Head

Eleven documents in the Bull's Head records refer to the store stocking new or current books. Of these, the majority (10) were found with the records from the Office of the University Librarian, while only one was found with the records of the Office of the Chancellor. Accordingly, most of the documents date to the time when the Bull's Head was combined with the library. One document dates to the 1930s, while 8 date to the 1950s (two documents are undated). As with the theme of readers' advisory, most mentions of the type of books the Bull's Head stocked were in official bookstore reports and written by Bull's Head staff (8 documents) to library administrators (8 documents). The remaining documents included one report on a meeting written by faculty to a university administrator, and two memos or letters written by library administrators (1 document) and unidentified individuals (1 document) to unidentified individuals (1 document) and a librarian from another university (1 document).

In mentions of the Bull's Head stocking new books, it is not always entirely clear whether the writers mean books that are physically new (possibly including new editions of older books) or books that are newly published. For example, the first document to mention this theme, in the 1930s, comes from the time when faculty were discussing the Bull's Head's future with the Book Exchange and indicated, as a financial selling point, that it has a "good supply of saleable, up-to-date books" (Board, May 20, 1935). A similarly ambiguous mention comes from an undated annual report from Jessica Valentine, who writes that "[o]ne of [the Bull's Head's] most important functions is providing to students and faculty an opportunity to browse among the new books" (J. Valentine, n.d.). Other documents, however, clearly refer to newly published books. For

example, official bookstore reports to library administrators mention setting up book displays based on publishers' lists for new books or new local authors, sending publisher "stuffers" (ads for seasonal booklists) with book club orders, and giving public talks on the new books available (J. Valentine, March 1955). In an April 1956 report, Valentine also mentions shifting more newly published books to the rental library, resulting in more rentals from customers (J. Valentine, April 1, 1956).

Two documents compare library and Bull's Head acquisitions of new books more directly, but because they contradict each other, it is difficult to assess the veracity of their statements. Under the system of book "jobbers" (middlemen from whom bookstores and libraries could order large shipments of books combined from different publishers' lists), both libraries and bookstores got special discounts. Because the Bull's Head and the library ordered jointly (McGrath & Jacobson, 2011, p. 308), in theory the library could have gotten a double discount (i.e., the Bull's Head could have used its discount but also gotten an additional discount by saying it was acquiring the books for a library), although this obviously would have been ethically questionable. In an undated memo which appears to form part of an exchange from 1944, the writer (probably University Librarian Charles E. Rush) stated that the library did do this when ordering popular books (Unknown, n.d.). Ten years later, however, University Librarian Andrew Horn wrote to University of Arizona librarian Fleming Bennett that the library ordered newer books through the bookstore, but that it only took the library discount when doing so (Horn, October 11, 1954). It is possible that the library's policy on using its relationship with the bookstore to get extra discounts shifted over time. Either way, both documents open the possibility that the library did sometimes order popular books. It could not have been

ordering many of these, however, as the Bull's Head book orders are routinely described as small (Littleton, 1958; Rogerson, May 22, 1935).

DISCUSSION

In this section, the author returns to the study's original questions and determines whether they can be answered based on the archival material analyzed.

Question 1: Why was the Bull's Head integrated into the library?

The first question posed at the outset of this study was whether the idea of recreational reading was used explicitly as an argument for moving the bookstore under the library's umbrella. This question is difficult to answer definitively with the archival material at hand; only four documents refer to the Bull's Head's move to the library, and none of them provide any rationale for the move at all. R. B. Downs, the University Librarian in 1935, appears to have approached the faculty board in the fall of that year and offered to house the bookstore, an offer of which Coffman, the chairman of the Bull's Head board, informs R. B. House on September 27 of that year (Coffman, October 27, 1935). The Bull's Head was reopened under new management by October 15 (Downs, October 15, 1935), but there is no account of whatever negotiations or considerations went on behind the scenes. One imagines Downs and the Bull's Head board conferring behind a large tree on campus, out of the hearing of the ever-curious archives.

Documents that mention recreational reading, however, may provide some context for Downs' decision. Prior to the move to the library, the Bull's Head's faculty board and the University administration had an ongoing discussion of what should happen to the Bull's Head in the spring and summer of 1935. The bookstore was losing

money (House, April 22, 1935), but the faculty was clearly reluctant to let it simply close. This reluctance did stem partly from a concern with recreational, or at least extra-curricular, reading (Board, May 20, 1935; House, May 24, 1935). Some of the discussion centered around whether the existence of a new, off-campus bookstore in Chapel Hill obviated the need for the Bull's Head as a source for students' reading material. The board ultimately decided to move the bookstore's remaining stock to the Book Exchange (Coffman, September 27, 1935). This would have necessarily entailed the end of the kind of bookstore that it was, since it was not clear that the Book Exchange would continue to stock recreational reading or that they would continue the Bull's Head's popular book rental service. It was at this juncture that Downs' offer for the library to house the Bull's Head, was made.

Two other documents, one written by Downs himself, may indicate that he was thinking about recreational reading when he invited the bookstore to the library. Technically, neither of these documents reference the Bull's Head, but they are included here because they were included in a file of early Bull's Head records in the University Archives, indicating that whoever filed these items saw them as related to the business of the bookstore. In the first document, thirteen students from the Library School wrote to request a browsing room for the library (Blackburn, October 26, 1934). They cannily pointed out that Wesleyan, Dartmouth, and Harvard each had one, and that they felt that such a room would "stimulate a recreational reading interest which [was] not... apparent at the university." Probably to the students' chagrin, R.B. Downs responded on November 1 that the library lacked "suitable space" for a browsing room, and had no funds for the "comfortable furniture" and "attractive books for recreational reading" that

would be required (Downs, November 1, 1934). Discouragingly, he added that even if the General Assembly were to grant the library increased funds for shelving and space, the library would still not be able to afford the books involved. It is possible that the library students were not the only ones requesting this kind of resource. This certainly could have encouraged Downs to try to create something like a browsing room (in this case, by incorporating the Bull's Head), although without the requisite funding.

Question 2: To what extent did the Bull's Head offer access to reading materials that the library did not provide during the time the two were connected?

The fact that R. B. Downs' letter to library students requesting a browsing room explains that the library would not be able to afford the necessary books for one even if space were available (Downs, November 1, 1934) certainly indicates that this was true when the bookstore joined the library. The fact that the Bull's Head rental library still existed in 1957 (J. Valentine, April 1, 1957) and that students and Chapel Hill residents were still willing to pay to borrow popular books also indicates that this was the case. In fact, in April 1956, the idea of being able to read a current, popular book without paying the full price was still novel enough for Jessica Valentine to write in one of her reports, "People do appreciate being able to read, at publication, many \$7.50 and \$10.00 books for as little as 15 cents" (J. Valentine, April 1, 1956). The fact that such a substantial portion of the store manager's job seems to have involved readers' advisory also indicates that students were looking at books with which they were not familiar. Although other documents indicate that the library did buy some newer or more popular books, as mentioned above, the fact that the rental library continued to be popular even at a time when rental libraries in general were vanishing (Eppard, 1986) indicates that there

were at least significant gaps between what the library offered and what students wanted to read.

Not all the additional services provided by the bookstore, however, involved newly published books or recreational reading, although those have been the focus of this study. In addition to providing access to new books, the bookstore was also heavily involved in locating out-of-print or rare books for graduate students, faculty, and possibly the library (J. Valentine, April 1, 1956, April 1, 1957). Jessica Valentine routinely went to the yearly conference of the American Bookseller's Association (J. Valentine, April 1, 1956, July 1, 1956) and seems to have used this as an opportunity to search area bookstores and maintain contacts with booksellers who purchased such books. In 1958, an article in *College and Research Libraries* also reported that the Bull's Head ordered book in print, set up magazine subscriptions, and placed orders with a local bookbinder for customers (Littleton, 1958, p. 473). In the 1950s, the bookstore also sold non-textbook required readings (J. Valentine, September 1955), an activity which may have caught the attention of the manager of the Book Exchange (see below). None of these functions, however, were used as any kind of argument for the bookstore's importance or continued existence in the documents examined. Due to the limitations of the sample, it is difficult to say whether this was because recreational reading and book ownership were seen as more persuasive arguments, because other functions were not part of the bookstore's original mandate, or because they were not seen as persuasive specifically to campus authorities (whose records are the ones preserved in the archives).

Question 3: When and why was the relationship between the bookstore and the library severed?

Official records of the Bull's Head Book Store in the University Archives do not offer any answers to this question: there simply are no documents associated with its independent operation dated after 1960. A sales report associated with the Book Exchange (now Student Stores) indicates that the bookstore came under its auspices in the first quarter of 1966 (Shetley, 1966). Correspondence between Thomas A. Shetley, the Book Exchange manager, and J. A. Branch, the University business manager, indicate that they had begun to discuss this possibility as early as 1963 (Shetley, September 1963), but there is no indication as to where the bookstore was housed at that time or whether it was still associated with the library.

If one assumes that the Bull's Head was part of the library until it moved to the Book Exchange, one possible reason for the move may have been that Shetley lobbied intensively for it. His reports to Branch indicate that he saw trade books as a financially beneficial new market for the Book Exchange; "Too long," he exclaimed in the monthly report for January 1964 (Shetley, January 1964), "have we failed to reap in lucrative fields because we made no effort." Underlying the desire to move into trade book territory may also have been Shetley's near-obsession with the Umstead Act, the 1939 North Carolina law that forbids state entities to compete with private business. In 1973, all campuses in the UNC system were exempted from the law. However, in the 1960s it represented a serious challenge to the Book Exchange, which at the time held a jealously guarded on-campus monopoly on everything from cigarette machines to laundry services and textbooks (Shetley, 1966). The possibility that even one of these services might be ceded to an outside vendor due to the Umstead Act was a constant worry to Shetley, who referred to the Act itself as "loom[ing] ominously in our future" (Shetley, January 14,

1964). He also predicted that it would eventually become “a pistol pointed at the head of our enterprise” (Shetley, September 1963). Shetley seems to have felt particular animosity towards the off-campus Intimate Bookstore, whose owner he suspected of wanting to take over the Book Exchange (Shetley, January 15, 1968). The situation was only exacerbated by the fact that some students did buy assigned trade books at the Intimate Bookstore and that some professors sent their book orders there, thus threatening the Book Exchange monopoly on class texts. In 1963, Shetley complained to Branch that Mrs. Shetley, who was taking a university course, had had to make an extra trip to buy a recommended book, which he could have gotten her at a 40% discount! One gets the impression that he objected less to the extra trip and expense and more to the idea that the book had not been ordered through him in the first place (Shetley, January 1964). Although it was smaller than the Intimate Bookstore, the Bull’s Head also sold non-textbook class readings, and Shetley may have become interested in annexing it as a way of eliminating one source of competition.

Aside from pull from the Book Exchange/Student Stores, there may have been another reason for the library and the Bull’s Head to disambiguate in the 1960s. In 1958, a separate Undergraduate Library was opened within the main library building (now Wilson Library), and construction of a separate building for it was planned starting in 1962 (Hallam, 2015, p. 13). Although it was no longer called a “browsing room,” the idea of giving undergraduates access to good popular reading on open shelves (they were not allowed to access much of the regular library directly) was an essential part of this plan. In part, the establishment of a separate space for undergraduates in the main library may have meant that library administrators wanted to free up the space taken up by the Bull’s

Head, but it is also likely that the Bull's Head was seen as extraneous. The library had essentially absorbed its most important function.

CONCLUSION

In 2016, the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill, after some local outcry (Rice), privatized the Student Stores by outsourcing them to Barnes and Noble (Jackson; Stancill, 2016). At the time of this transaction, the Bull's Head operated as its own department in a large area at the rear of Student Store's first floor, stocking and selling unusual and interesting recreational reading as it always had. Administrators' statements at the time of the Stores' privatization indicated that the Bull's Head would gain by the deal, expanding the number of books it could stock and moving into a larger space in the building (Stancill, 2016). This may be true; however, the nature of the bookstore has changed substantially under Barnes and Noble management. Fewer staff are hired, and the Bull's Head's long tradition of selling unusual books that "will last" has given way to an increased focus on current bestsellers (Wakeman). This was not the kind of bookstore Howard Mumford Jones imagined when he founded the Bull's Head, and one can imagine that he would deeply disapprove. In a 1928 article in *Publisher's Weekly*, he acidly informed publishers that books were not to be sold in the same way as canned tomatoes (Jones, 1928), a description which could arguably be applied to Barnes and Noble's marketing ethos. Even in its current form, however, the Bull's Head continues to be involved in a long-standing question about recreational reading: is all of it equally good? Are literacy and reading inherently praise-worthy, or does it matter whether one reads Danielle Steele or Doris Lessing (Olson, 1979; Schneider, 2010)? Howard Mumford Jones, Jessica Valentine, and the other pre-privatization managers of the Bull's

Head certainly thought that it did matter, and that belief, as much as a desire to encourage students to read outside of class, shaped the nature of their bookstore.

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