

**FOR SEXUAL PERVERSION See PARAPHILIAS:
Disciplining Sexual Deviance at the Library of Congress**

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Crash Course on Cataloging Subjects

A library cataloger's job is to describe information resources so that patrons can find what they need or desire without confusing items with any other items. Catalog records contain two types of information, with different sets of rules governing the practices. Descriptive cataloging--information like the number of pages, authors' names, titles, languages, and dimensions, is currently governed by the Anglo-American Cataloging Rules (AACR) and will soon be replaced by Resource Description and Access (RDA). For the purpose of this dissertation, though, I am concerned with subject cataloging, which is provided by subject headings and classifications. While there are numerous classification schemes and subject access systems, this dissertation will focus solely on those systems created and maintained by the Library of Congress--the Library of Congress Subject Headings (LCSH) and the Library of Congress Classification (LCC).

Simply stated, "Subject access in the context of libraries is the ability to search a library catalogue, index, or other database by topic."¹ There are two principal ways to retrieve materials by subject: classification, and subject headings. Classifications determine where a book will be placed on library shelves, and subject headings provide a way for seekers of texts to use the catalog to find books by searching for a subject. Subject headings belong to controlled vocabularies, which are designed to ensure uniformity and universality within and across library catalogs or other information retrieval systems so that locating information is predictable and precise. Subject headings are strings of words that are created and maintained by a group of authorities, such as LC, to help users find materials on a given topic. Generally based on

¹ Hope A. Olson, *The Power to Name: Locating the Limits of Subject Representation in Libraries*. (Dordrecht, Netherlands: Kluwer Academic, 2002), 3.

standard, contemporary American English-language usage, headings are intended to reflect current literature.

Subject headings are authorized by a process called literary warrant, defined as “The use of an actual collection of material or body of literature as the basis for developing an indexing or classification system.”² In the case of LC, the collection providing literary warrant is the Library's. This includes works sent through the copyright office and items requested by other libraries. Additionally, as LC provides the most widely used subject system in the world, it does request headings proposals from other libraries. As for the creation of new headings, LC's policy states that a new heading should be established when a subject is first encountered in a work being cataloged, rather than after a body of literature is published.³ Subject headings are generally assigned when at least twenty percent of the book concerns the topic.⁴

The act of creating and assigning subject headings is rarely a straight-forward task, and catalogers must inspect the book's contents to determine which terms best get at the “aboutness” of the work. A variety of rules govern the semantics and syntax of heading choices and classifications. The cataloger looks either to the printed versions of LCSH and LCC or an online tool, such as Classification Web or LC's Authorized Headings to find the preferred headings and class numbers. Catalogers must know the logic and rules governing subject headings and classifications (or be adept at consulting and interpreting rulebooks), and there may be a significant degree of variation in choices of headings among catalogers.

² Lois Mai Chan, *Library of Congress Subject Headings: Principles and Application*, 4th ed. (Westport, CT: Libraries Unlimited, 2005), 518.

³ Adam L. Schiff, *SACO Participants Manual* (Washington, DC: LC Catalog Distribution Service, 2001), 10, <http://www.loc.gov/catdir/pcc/saco/sacomannual.pdf> (accessed May 25, 2011).

⁴ Library of Congress Catalog Distribution Service. *Subject Headings Manual* 180. 2008 ed. (Washington, DC: LC, 2009).

Most of the cataloging done at the local level is copy cataloging, meaning that catalogers upload bibliographic records from a networked utility that shares catalog records among libraries.⁵ The Library of Congress does most of the original cataloging in the U.S., so they provide catalog data to many local libraries. A copy cataloger typically loads records into a local catalog with little review of the record's contents. Librarians can edit the records at the local level and add or change headings and classification, but very frequently the subject information assigned by the Library of Congress is imported into local catalogs unchanged.

The process of determining what a book is about involves looking past the title, which can sometimes be misleading. Take, for instance, *Who Moved My Cheese?*⁶ At first glance, if a person knew nothing about the book and guessed from the title what it was about, they would probably not suggest headings related to work and personal life management or change. Proper cataloging of this book requires reading the table of contents, the index, the book jacket, and perhaps the introduction. The goal is to use the terms that library patrons would most likely use if they were looking for books on the topic. Users of libraries of different types and in varieties of communities will have a range of expectations and information wants and needs. Anticipating those needs is key. Looking further into this book, we learn more about it: the table of contents reveals that this book is about change, but it's still not entirely clear what the author is trying to do, with chapter titles like "Adapt To Change Quickly: The Quicker You Let Go Of Old Cheese, The Sooner You Can Enjoy New Cheese." The book jacket and introduction make it much more apparent that this book is intended to be a tool for personal and work management. The

⁵ OCLC is the largest of these, with 72,000 member libraries and over 257,000,000 bibliographic records

⁶ Spencer Johnson. *Who Moved My Cheese?: An Amazing Way to Deal with Change in Your Work and in Your Life* (New York: Putnam, 1998).

accompanying web site states that this is the “The World’s #1 Bestselling Book on Change” and invites visitors to select whether they are interested in finding out more about business or personal applications of the book.⁷

Once the cataloger has determined the topics of the book, she then assigns the book to a section of the library using a classification number, and adds subject headings. Should it be with business management, psychology, or another area? Interestingly, the only subject heading applied in the LC’s catalog record for *Who Moved My Cheese?* is “Change (Psychology),” and it is classed under applied psychology (BF637), with many other self help books. Other libraries may wish to include “Personnel management,” “Success in business,” “Life skills,” or “Self-management (Psychology).” Or perhaps a cataloger has combed all of the LC Subject Headings and determines that none of them adequately represent what the book is about for potential readers, so they propose a new heading to LC (a process I will describe in this dissertation).

Having worked as a technical services librarian and educator for nearly eight years, I have approached this study with a cataloger’s eye, trying to capture the perspective of generations of catalogers at LC through changes in policies, technologies, and cultural norms.

⁷ Who Moved My Cheese? <http://www.whomovedmycheese.com/> (accessed January 21, 2012).

Chapter 1

Setting the Terms: Methodology and Sources

Upon browsing her library's shelves at the University of Washington in 1989, a patron discovered that books on child molestation were sitting right next to books on gay men and lesbians, and then wrote to the director of Bibliographic Control and Access Services at the Library:

Having these books in the same area perpetuates negative myths about homosexuality and further promotes the existing pervasive homophobia inside the academic community and outside, in the mainstream society....Realizing the time and energy it would take to recatalogue books, I, nevertheless, find it imperative that the library systems within the school take a role in assisting the building of positive bridges between all peoples....Words are powerful tools. They have subliminal effects on peoples' choices as to how they see themselves, others, and their world.¹

The librarian forwarded the letter to Mary K. D. Pietris, Chief of the Subject Cataloging Division from 1978 until 1992. Responding directly to the patron, Mary K. wrote:

I can understand your concern that works on sex crimes class next to works on gays, but this is an accident of classification, in which some topics must appear next to other topics although there may be no relation between them except that they are subtopic of a larger subject....To even begin to contemplate any intent other than to arrange works on distinct topics on the shelves boggles the mind.²

This dissertation performs the “mind-boggling” work that Mary K. suggests is not possible. I will demonstrate that this problem is not simply “an accident of classification,” but rather, it is the result of deeply embedded practices with social, political, and historical roots. And as the library

¹ Marla S. Nonken to Betty Bengston, January 8, 1989, Library of Congress Subject Cataloging Division Papers, Library of Congress Manuscripts Division, Washington, DC.

² Mary K. D. Pietris. March 1, 1989, Library of Congress Subject Cataloging Division Papers, Library of Congress Manuscripts Division, Washington, DC.

patron in the above exchange observes, the acts of classification and naming have real effects on access to materials, as well as people's perceptions and beliefs about themselves and others.

Purpose of the Dissertation

Although sexuality scholars have widely explored the production and effects of taxonomies and knowledge, there is not yet a thorough account of the role of libraries in the construction of knowledge about sexuality. This dissertation fills a critical gap in the literature by presenting a historical account of the selection and cataloging of materials on sexual deviance at the Library of Congress, which operates at the center of scholarly discourses. The Library of Congress is the nation's oldest federal cultural institution, and occupies a critical space where medical, social science, political, literary, and other discourses are collected, arranged, and disseminated to Congress and the public. LC not only collects and arranges research from all the disciplines across the globe, but also sets the standard by which subjects are organized in libraries of all types around the world. This study will demonstrate the role of knowledge production in the construction of sexual deviance by looking to the place where these discourses are stored and categorized. It will also reveal the processes and practices by which knowledge about sexuality has been disciplined and policed at the Library of Congress.

I am examining the social construction of sexual deviance through the lens of the LC subject heading "Paraphilias" by analyzing catalog records, LC cataloging and acquisitions policy documents, and books assigned this heading since its creation in 2007, as well as the earlier forms of the heading, "Sexual perversion" (1898-1971) and "Sexual deviation" (1972-2006). By tracing the evolution of the meaning and usage of "Paraphilias" at

LC, I will methodologically and substantively expand on the existing scholarly literature about the history of sexuality and classification. I will describe and interrogate how definitions of “perversion” and “deviance” have changed over time and how the LC both reflects and contributes to the production of meaning. Drawing especially on Judith Halberstam’s notion of “perverse presentism,” Hope Olson’s feminist deconstructionist and Bowker and Star’s Foucauldian analyses of library classification systems, as well as Sanford Berman’s three principles for subject access--intelligibility, findability, and fairness, I intend to show that the heading “Paraphilias” reflects a small portion of the current literature and serves a limited audience--psychiatric professionals, while it presents important questions of authenticity and retrieval power with regard to earlier works. My research suggests that the normalizing effects of the medical and psychoanalytic professions are at play in the LC collection and catalog, as these disciplines seem to have great influence on subject authorization and knowledge organization.

The inspiration for this dissertation arose out of my own experience searching for historical materials on homosexuality and bisexuality in the UW-Madison library catalog, “MadCat.” I performed a keyword search to find records that included the term “homosexual” anywhere in the bibliographic record. Once I got into some records, I clicked on links to various author names and subject headings, which took me to related works. I stumbled upon the entry for the revised 1934 edition of Wilhelm Stekel’s *Bi-Sexual Love: The Homosexual Neurosis*, and upon examining the record I found that the only two subject headings assigned were “Neuroses” and “Paraphilias.” I was surprised to find the term “Paraphilias” because it was completely foreign to me, and my first thought was that it must be a relic in the catalog that somehow never got updated. I then clicked on the heading to see if it was applied to any other records in the

catalog and discovered that it was included in over 300 bibliographic records at UW-Madison. Perplexed, I searched in the Library of Congress's catalog, as well as WorldCat, and found that it was clearly a current subject heading. I consulted the authority record for the heading, which indicated that the heading was authorized in 2007, replacing "Sexual deviation." The record also revealed that the reasons for preferring this term were supplied by psychiatric literature.³ I immediately wondered why such an obscure term was used to describe what is more commonly thought of as "Sexual perversion" or "Sexual deviation." I began to think about the various implications of using this term, such as the association of "Paraphilias" with homosexuality, as I found in the record for *Bi-sexual Love*. I wondered what led to the authorization of this term, which seemed to serve as an impediment to access through highly scientific language. This study explores each of these dimensions, and by placing the term "Paraphilias" at the center of the discussion, I will reveal critical practices and social movements that factor into the role of LC in the disciplining of sexuality.

The Library of Congress is a federal agency, so it is necessary to situate Library policies and decisions within the wider context of discourses about sexuality. I will read LCSH, LCC, and the catalog as texts and look for relationships among the works that the headings are intended to describe, as well as the political and social conditions from which they emerge and evolve. Because LCSH is an institutionalized expression of societal customs and beliefs, it should be understood as a part of an entire matrix of social practices and discourses. It not only reflects mainstream ideas, but it also perpetuates and influences them. Libraries in the U.S. are

³ The Library of Congress maintains a database of authorized subject headings, which resemble bibliographic records. These subject headings records indicate the sources which provide evidence for choosing terms to be preferred over other terms, as well as administrative data and related terms. A more complete description is provided later in this chapter.

considered one of the most cherished vessels of democratic ideals, and as a federal institution that serves Congress and the public, LC is inherently bound up with wider political and social movements.⁴

An intertextual reading of relationships between a specific subject heading and the works to which it affords access will reveal and problematize LCSH as an interface where the prevailing attitudes and assumptions in scholarship emerge and produce universalized and authorized terms. It will show the shifts over time in scholarship, including changes in what counts as a perverted expression or behavior. By confronting the treatment of perversion by different disciplines, and the treatment of the disciplines by LC, this dissertation will examine cataloging and acquisitions policies and practices to discern the Library's role in the regulation of knowledge about sexuality.

My study is transdisciplinary in a variety of senses and is properly placed within the context of the history of discourses regarding sexual perversion and the history of subject cataloging and its critiques. My methodology fits within the growing body of scholarship based upon Foucault's genealogical approach toward the history of sexuality. Because I am analyzing the disciplinary treatment of perversion over time, I will incorporate a thorough theoretical and historical foundation of the treatment of deviance in those fields by presenting theories from sociology, psychology, and sexuality studies, as well as the classification literature from library and information studies. Most significantly, though, this study fundamentally interrogates disciplinarity by revealing the role of libraries in creating and maintaining disciplinary authority regarding sexuality. I have located the processes by which disciplinarity has been enforced but

⁴ Sidney Ditzion, *Arsenals of a Democratic Culture: A Social History of the American Public Library Movement in New England and the Middle States from 1850 to 1900* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1947).

often failed over the past century to meet the goal of fostering access to library resources on diverse sexualities. I found that the Library of Congress has played a vital part in discipline creation and enforcement, as demonstrated by its tradition of basing its classifications about sexual deviance on medical and psychiatric literature. By extension, local libraries across the U.S. and around the globe reproduce these disciplinary norms by employing the standards set by LC. The Library actively engages specific discourses while silencing others. The medicalized taxonomies of sexual deviance in libraries not only neglect researchers in the social sciences and humanities, but they prohibit access and potentially damage the very people whose behaviors are classified as deviant or disordered. Furthermore, the separation of materials on queer or feminist subjects from other subjects on library shelves both contributes to discipline formation in gender and sexuality studies, and serves to ghettoize these subjects, thereby simultaneously creating opportunities and roadblocks.

Building on work that examines the effects of state, scientific, and cultural institutions on sexual politics and practices, as well as classification research in Library and Information Studies,⁵ this study relies heavily on feminist and queer theories, which expose the inherent slipperiness, expansiveness, and limitations of categories, and situate sexual expression and

⁵ Ellen Greenblatt, "Homosexuality: The Evolution of a Concept in the LC Subject Headings." In *Gay and Lesbian Library Service*, ed. Cal Gough, C. and Ellen Greenblatt, (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1990); Carole L. Palmer, and Cheryl Knott Malone, "Elaborate Isolation: Metastructures of Knowledge about Women." *The Information Society*, 17; Hope A. Olson, *The Power to Name*; Hope A. Olson, "Difference, Culture and Change: The Untapped Potential of LCSH." in *The LCSH Century: One Hundred Years with the LC Subject Headings System*, ed. Alva T. Stone (Birmingham, NY: Haworth, 2007). Sanford Berman, *Prejudices and Antipathies: A Tract on the LC Subject Heads Concerning People* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1971); Geoffrey Bowker and Susan Leigh Star, *Sorting Things Out: Classification and Its Consequences* (Boston, MA: MIT Press, 2000).

regulation within historical, social, and political contexts.⁶ Such approaches bring various ironies and paradoxes of library classification to light. Categories are necessary for information retrieval; librarians assign books call numbers and place them on shelves near related subjects, and they assign subject headings so that people can find information on various topics in the catalog. As library patrons, scholars of sexuality studies know all too well the joy of browsing and getting swept away in the HQs.⁷ But controlled vocabularies are limiting by definition, and they may carry assumptions and prejudices, as well as spatial and temporal specificities. As this dissertation will demonstrate, using controlled terms and classifications to arrange and retrieve information can be challenging and problematic, especially when speaking of materials concerning sexuality. Hope Olson tells us that the act of bestowing a name creates an identity and structures reality in a way that is meaningful to the namer.⁸ The act of naming is inherently bound up with power relations, giving authority to the namer and in librarianship, turning the subject into an object of study and providing a skewed idea of that subject. Assigning the medicalized headings “Sexual perversion,” “Sexual deviance,” and “Paraphilias” both hides books from potential users and provides a culturally biased terminology for alternative sexualities, potentially harming information seekers in their quest to form identities and explore possibilities. Although this dissertation concerns perversion in a general sense, it relies heavily on literature related to gay, lesbian, transgender, and queer studies because homosexuality and

⁶ To name a few: Margot Canaday, *The Straight State: Sexuality and Citizenship in Twentieth-Century America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009); Jennifer Terry, J., *An American Obsession: Science, Medicine, and Homosexuality in Modern Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999); John D'Emilio, “Capitalism and Gay Identity,” in *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality*, ed. Ann Barr Snitow, Christine Stansell, and Sharon Thompson (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983).

⁷ HQ is the LC classification for Family, Marriage, and Women, and houses subjects related to LGBTQ studies.

⁸ Olson, *Power to Name*, 4.

transgenderism have been (and in many circles, still are) the most visible and highly policed socially deviant expressions of sexuality over the past 120 years.

Following Donna Haraway, Jennifer Terry suggests that scientific discourses on homosexuality should be considered situated knowledges, “structured by different disciplinary precepts and methods as well as by different conditions of possibility.”⁹ One of the primary objectives of this dissertation is to ascertain how the Library of Congress has acquired and organized these and other various situated knowledges, including those in the disciplines of literature, sociology, popular culture, and legal studies, within a broad range of socio-historical contexts.¹⁰ Indeed, by selecting and classifying materials on sexuality, the Library of Congress has effectively situated these knowledges by and for gathering, storing, and retrieving them, thereby producing and reproducing knowledges about sexuality. I consider subjects to be more than simply metadata; I view them as metaknowledge systems. How does the LC construct systems about and governing knowledge? This dissertation asks the following questions: how are knowledges created in time and disciplines at the LC, and how does the Library situate these situated knowledges?

This work adds to the growing body of work produced by sexuality historians who include Alan Bérubé, John D’Emilio, George Chauncey, Martha Vicinus, and library historian James V. Carmichael, Jr. They remind us of the critical importance and challenge of doing queer history. Chauncey notes that the history of discrimination against gays and lesbians is usually misremembered--either it's forgotten or exaggerated. Without question, politics do play a role in

⁹ Terry, *An American Obsession*, 8.

¹⁰ Donna Haraway, “Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective,” *Feminist Studies* 14, no. 3 (Autumn 1988).

LC policies regarding acquisitions and cataloging and will often shift along with wider political, social, and cultural movements. Carmichael emphasizes the vital role of libraries and archives in preserving and telling LGBTQ history. His aim is to present the importance of gay, lesbian, and bisexual presence in libraries and to discuss ways of researching and understanding GLB's by looking to events, archives, people, and theories related to GLB's in libraries, with an emphasis on doing history and the pitfalls that come into play. My project includes but is not limited to discourses about homosexuality, and it seeks to understand the role of library practices led by LC in collecting, storing, organizing, and distributing information about sexualities considered to be deviant, perverted, or obscene at various points in American history.

Subject access: *LC Subject Headings and LC Classification*

It is hard to imagine a more ubiquitous, institutionalized vocabulary than that of LC. In 1902 LC began distributing printing catalog cards to libraries across the United States, and from that moment on, American libraries have filled their catalogs with bibliographic information, including subject headings, from the U.S.'s largest library. Today, LCSH is used by libraries around the world and across the bibliographic universe, including digital libraries. There are now 265,000 subject authority records housed in the LCSH database, not including all of the approved subdivisions.¹¹ The Library of Congress Classification system was also created in the first decade of the twentieth century, and over time it has come to be the primary classification system used in research libraries. Today nearly every research library uses LCC to classify their collections. Yet, to the general user who searches a library catalog, the policies and processes of

¹¹ Library of Congress. LC Authorities. <http://authorities.loc.gov>.

the LC are largely invisible. The unique distinction of ubiquity and invisibility demands that LCC and LCSH need to be critically evaluated to find the implications and effects of their language and structure.

LCSH is a syndetic system, meaning that it connects related terms, synonyms, or variants by using cross-references. It refers users from non-authorized terms to a valid heading. Online library catalogs provide links to “See also” and “Use” references so that users can choose the authorized terms for their searches. Within bibliographic records, subject headings are also linked to a browseable list of works with the same subject headings. Not only is LCSH a controlled vocabulary, but the terms are authorized by a governing body who determines which terms are validated. Hope Olson effectively exposes the system of authority records in all library catalogs:

Authority records are underlying records for individual headings that contain the syndetic structure of equivalence references directing users to the chosen term used for a concept, the authoritative heading, from other terms such as synonyms. Authority records also contain the references between authoritative headings, those that make up the hierarchical structure of broader and narrower terms and display general relations between concepts. Authority records restrict use of vocabulary in the public catalogue except in the form of the references that they generate. A catalogue is a collection of bibliographic records governed by authority records.¹²

In the vast majority of library catalogs of all types, the authority is the LC. Olson problematizes this system of authority, citing Kathleen Jones’ understanding of authority and the authoritative act as those that construct order and enforce obedience, conformity and acceptance.¹³ Olson asserts that authorized headings and the authority records governing the system require users to obey the system, bring conformity and universality, while leaving out critical, marginalized

¹² Olson, *Power to Name*, 144.

¹³ Kathleen Jones, *Compassionate Authority* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 191, quoted in Olson, *Power to Name*, 78.

voices. Understanding the processes by which LC becomes the authority on subjects is key to this dissertation.

Prior to the 1970s only LC cataloging staff could propose and approve subjects and classes. Sanford Berman, upon recognizing and critiquing what he viewed to be biased and misrepresentative headings, led a movement to change subject cataloging by sending hundreds of petitions for headings proposals to the Library, demanding that the LC pay attention to the language it uses to describe subjects.¹⁴ Since the 1990s the Subject Authority Cooperative Organization (SACO) has greatly democratized heading and classification creation and changes. Catalogers who are members of SACO can propose new or changed headings or LCC classifications based on local collections. The proposals are either approved or declined at meetings of the Standards and Policy Office of the LC. Still, certain barriers impede democracy: the online proposal form is tedious and time-consuming to complete; membership is based on an application procedure; the headings approval process generally takes six weeks; and the final decisions on headings are made by the authorities at the LC.¹⁵ Librarians at the local level do have a voice in subject heading and classification creation that they previously did not have, and they can also create and add local headings for use in their catalogs.

A key element of this story is the evolution of cataloging technologies, from the printed cards to automation. Machine Readable Cataloging (MARC) enabled greater possibilities for the cooperative cataloging efforts begun in 1901, when LC first distributed catalog cards (complete with subject headings) to libraries across the U.S. LC has led the way in standardization of

¹⁴ See the in-depth discussion of subject cataloging critiques and changes below, beginning on p. 23.

¹⁵ Library of Congress Program for Cooperative Cataloging, "SACO Workflow," <http://www.loc.gov/catdir/pcc/saco/SACOWorkflow.html> (accessed Jan. 23, 2011).

cataloging practices, including subject access, resource sharing, and computerized cataloging.

This story will be woven throughout this dissertation, with particular emphasis on policies that inform my investigation of “Paraphilias.”

Social theories

Sexuality studies is largely founded on Foucauldian theories and principles. A student of Althusser, Foucault built upon the scholarly tradition that suggests that cultures operate within deeply embedded, dominant ideologies that are most often indiscernible to the members of the society. Such hegemonic cultures are productive rather than inhibiting; they *produce a certain kind of authorized discourse*. The dominant political, economic, and cultural discourses are then reproduced by institutions, reflecting and reinforcing the authoritative discourse.

Foucault’s early work can generally be described as projects aimed toward an “archaeology of knowledge,” which studies discursive productions at different historical periods. Beginning with *Discipline and Punish* and continuing with *The History of Sexuality*, he extends his archaeological method by turning toward a focus on power relations and the contingency of historical events in the production of knowledge, rather than viewing history as an inevitable progression. I am drawing my methodology from Foucault and scholars who have advocated or deployed his genealogical approach to sexuality studies, which has been extended to such fields of study as colonized subjects,¹⁶ literary and textual criticism,¹⁷ women, feminism, and social

¹⁶ Ann Laura Stoler, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault’s History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995).

¹⁷ Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Judith Halberstam, *Female Masculinity* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998).

constructions of gender and the body,¹⁸ and the construction of “transgender” as a category.¹⁹ My work expands upon this building body of scholarship by presenting the role of LC in the production and regulation of knowledge about sexuality.

Foucault's *Discipline and Punish* shows how techniques and institutions converged to create the modern system of disciplinary power. At the core of Foucault's picture of modern “disciplinary” society are three primary techniques of control: hierarchical observation, normalizing judgment, and examinations. The primary function of modern disciplinary systems is to correct deviant behavior by coercing citizens to live according to society's standards or norms. The examination situates individuals in a “field of documentation,” as results of exams are recorded in documents that provide detailed information about the individuals examined and allow power systems to control them. On the basis of these records, those in control can formulate categories, averages, and norms that are in turn a basis for knowledge. Catalog records serve the same purpose in a various disciplinary fields of documentation. In the case of sexuality studies, works are classified, labeled, and categorized according to normal and abnormal sexual behaviors and identities. “Paraphilias” are marked as abnormal, as were “Sexual perversion” and “Sexual deviation” and all the acts and identities that fell under those broad categories. Library materials are placed in sections of the library according to the discipline in which catalogers determine the books intend to participate.

¹⁸ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (New York: Routledge, 1990, 2006) Karen Barad, *Meeting the Universe Halfway: Quantum Physics and the Entanglement of Matter and Meaning* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); Anne Fausto-Sterling, *Sexing the Body: Gender Politics and the Construction of Sexuality* (New York: Basic Books, 2000); Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Boston, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999); Martha Vicinus, *Intimate Friends: Women who Loved Women, 1778-1928* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*.

¹⁹ David Valentine, *Imagining Transgender: An Ethnography of a Category* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

One of Foucault's stated purposes in the *History of Sexuality* is to “account for the fact that [sex] is spoken about, to discover who does the speaking, the positions and viewpoints from which they speak, the institutions which prompt people to speak about it and which store and distribute the things that are said.”²⁰ The expression or silencing of discourse about sex is controlled by elites interested in establishing and maintaining the power of the state and the elite classes in society. Those in power depend on perversion and produce it. Jonathan Dollimore takes this further by stating that “culture exists in a relationship of difference with the alien, which is also a relationship of fundamental, antagonistic, interdependence. What is constructed as absolutely other is, in fact, inextricably related—most obviously in terms of the binary opposition.”²¹ The organization in control and doing the naming must define perversion in terms that allow it to disavow it so that the organization can survive in its opposition to it.

Judith Butler has extended Foucault’s approach to thinking about the ways that gender is discursively produced and how rhetorics of gender and sex are inextricably linked and often conflated. She states, “Juridical power inevitably 'produces' what it claims merely to represent; hence, politics must be concerned with this dual function of power: the juridical and the productive.”²² Such processes create the illusion of natural categories and ontologies. Her project’s aim is to do a “political genealogy of gender ontologies” to “deconstruct the substantive appearance of gender into its constitutive acts and locate and account for those acts within the compulsory frames set by the various forces that police the social appearance of gender.”²³

²⁰ Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, vol. 1 (New York: Vintage Books, 1990), 11.

²¹ Jonathan Dollimore, *Sexual Dissidence: Augustine to Wilde, Freud to Foucault* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 6.

²² Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble*, 5.

²³ *Ibid.*, 44.

Foucault contends that institutions participate in and reinforce the dominant discourse related to sexuality, and he unmasks the means by which the heterosexual couple became the norm in the nineteenth century and how that norm continues to be reinforced by a network of discourses, including institutions of learning. According to Foucault, the nineteenth century witnessed a proliferation of discourses about sexuality, and the language and motives of these discourses were to normalize and advance the bourgeoisie through discussion and regulation of sexual practices. In order to maintain their dominance, the upper class sought to control families and reproduction, with the end of the 19th century witnessing the elaboration of legal and medical control of sexual perversions, which helped to secure protection of society and race and class divisions. Rather than simply repressing talk about sexuality that deviated from the bourgeois norm, those perversions were medicalized, demonized, banished, and clearly identified in order to distinguish them from the norm of heterosexual, reproductive sex: “Nothing that was not ordered in terms of generation or transfigured by it could expect sanction or protection...it would be driven out, denied, and reduced to silence. Not only did it not exist, it had no right to exist.”²⁴ The Library of Congress is precisely the type of institution to which Foucault refers, as it stores and catalogs materials about sexuality and silences deviant discourses through certain access-restricting policies.

While some critics of my work may argue that LC has a pattern of using medicalized heading for medical subjects and that “Paraphilias” should be understood as one of a body of medical subject headings, I urge those who take such a position to recognize that sexuality is not inherently a medical condition. The medicalization of sexuality has been a social process, driven

²⁴ Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 4.

by the perceived need to enforce social control through producing the normal and abnormal. Paraphilias are not like other medical conditions. The medicalization of sex and sexuality has consequences and serves as a means of control and normalization. The processes by which LC has come to be an authority and regulator of knowledge about sexual deviance, is the subject of this dissertation.

Critiques and criticisms of Foucault's methodology and factual accuracy include observations of his omission of women from the history of sexuality,²⁵ as well as the self-annihilating explanation of power which, according to some, renders resistance impossible.²⁶ Scholars have modified and added to his theory, accounting for his omissions and inaccuracies. The growing body of scholarship using a Foucauldian genealogical approach is evidence that the method is valid and can offer significant contributions to the fields of sexuality and library and information studies, as already demonstrated by Bowker and Star.²⁷ Readers may also be frustrated by the genealogical method, as it seeks not to provide a corrective to existing social problems, but rather, it aims to locate the apparatuses of power and discourses in the processes by which social problems arise. This dissertation is not intended to offer a prescriptive account, but it provides insight into current structures and conditions and invites conversations about the best way to describe materials about various sexualities. I will not advocate the abolition of subject headings in general or specific terms, and I will not claim to have the answer to the

²⁵ Camille Paglia. "Junk Bonds and Corporate Raiders: Academe in the Hour of the Wolf," *Arion* 1, no.2 (Spring 1991).

²⁶ Slavoj Žižek, *The Ticklish Subject: The Absent Centre of Political Ontology* (New York: Verso, 2000); for an account of Derrida and Foucault's lengthy dispute, see Roy Boyne, *Foucault and Derrida: The Other Side of Reason* (London; Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990).

²⁷ Bowker and Star. *Sorting Things Out*.

question, “What should be done?” I hope that this work will lead to productive discussions about cataloging practices.

Perversion and deviance have long been the subject of literature and literary criticism. By using a Foucauldian approach to analyze literary works, Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick was the first to explicitly reveal how our culture is shaped by categories of sexuality.²⁸ She analyzed canonical works, including the works of Marcel Proust, Oscar Wilde, and Herman Melville to explore ways in which we organize our world according to the categories of homosexual and heterosexual, as well as the limitations of categories in representing difference. The LC catalog includes a significant body of literature categorized under “Paraphilias in literature,” including erotica, and Sedgwick’s critical approach directly applies to my understanding of the organization of literature and literary criticism that is considered to be about perversion. The undercataloging of fiction and literature--particularly the lack of subject headings or useful classification systems--is well-documented.²⁹ Berman is among those who observe this problem, and he asserts that erotica is even harder to locate in catalogs than most fiction.³⁰ In their study of subject access to Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual/Transgender (GLBT) fiction in Canadian public libraries, McClary and Howard determined that, while cataloging has improved, subject headings remain inadequately present and accurate.³¹ This study includes an examination of LC’s treatment of literature about

²⁸ Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*.

²⁹ Lori Strauss, “Access to Fiction: Moving Through the Maze,” *PMLA Quarterly* 56 (1992); Andrew MacEwan, “Where Do You Keep the Dystopias?” *Library Association Record*, 99 (1997); Christopher Miller, “All New Subject Access to Fiction: How a Cultural Zeitgeist with Gray Hair Informed A.L.A.’s ‘Guidelines,’” *Cataloging & Classification Quarterly*, 36 (2003): 89-98.

³⁰ Sanford Berman. “The ‘Fucking’ Truth about Library Catalogs.” In *Alternative Library Literature 1992-1993*, ed. Sanford Berman and James P. Danky (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 1994).

³¹ Carrie McClary and Vivian Howard, “From ‘Homosexuality’ to ‘Transvestites’: An Analysis of Subject Headings Assigned to Works of GLBT Fiction in Canadian Public Libraries.” *Canadian Journal of Information & Library Sciences* 31 (2007).

“perverse” sexuality, including erotica, as well as related literary criticism. How well is this subject cataloged, and is it somehow ghettoized apart from other literature on the shelves?

Scholars have also examined the history of sexuality in the context of national politics and policy-making.³² Margot Canaday, who studied the processes by which the military, welfare, and immigration came to terms with sexual difference, revealed that the policing of perversion depended on finding and naming degenerates by identifying certain behaviors, gender traits, and relationships as grounds for exclusion from rights and benefits.³³ An excellent model for my work on the LC’s authorization of subjects, *The Straight State* is an application of Foucault’s theory and method of understanding sexuality through the institutionalization of discourses by large government agencies--immigration, welfare, and the military. According to Canaday, the federal government developed tools to police perversion and define homosexuals to mark them as distinct from the ideal citizen. Through its policy making aimed toward defining national citizenship the government controlled gays and lesbians and excluded them from services.

Still a category considered to be a gender disorder by the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM), the primary diagnostic tool for psychiatrists, transsexuality has largely been affected and produced by a range of discourses. Joanne Meyerowitz provides a history of transsexuality that traces the discursive productions of doctors, the legal system, popular culture, and transsexuals to show how attitudes, definitions, medical practice, and social norms shifted and evolved over the twentieth century in the United States, and she locates one of the crucial turns in the 1960s accompanied by a “taxonomic revolution.” While the history of

³² Lisa Duggan, “Queering the State. *Social Text*. 39 (1994): 1-14; Jasbir K. Puar. *Terrrorist Assemblages: Homonationalism in Queer Times*. (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007); Nancy Ordover, *American Eugenics: Race, Queer Anatomy, and the Science of Nationalism*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003).

³³ Canaday, *The Straight State*.

transsexuality parallels the history of sexual deviance in general, it has its unique struggles. In the early 20th century transgender people lacked a language or a body of knowledge to draw from. Doctors were mostly unaware of such issues and tended to classify transgendered people as homosexuals, and there was a general silence regarding transgender issues because the subject had not yet entered into medical or popular discourse.

According to Meyerowitz, transsexuality gradually began to enter into medical and popular discourse in the United States. David Cauldwell invented the concept of "psychopathia transexualis," in a 1949 article in *Sexology*, giving the "problem" a name. The most important moment in the history of transsexualism was perhaps Christine Jorgensen's sex reassignment surgery, which brought wide attention to transsexualism in America via popular media. Debates concerning environmental, biological, and psychological positions arose in the 1960s. Terms were refined so that discussions about sex included chromosomes, gonads, hormones, genitals, reproductive organs, secondary sex characteristics, and no single component determined maleness or femaleness. "In the medical literature," Meyerowitz writes, "the doctors engaged in and elaborated on the differential diagnoses that created the scientific classifications of sexuality, and in daily life, self-avowed transsexuals staked out their claims to identities of their own."³⁴ Doctors and patients vied for control and authority. While doctors held cultural authority, patients were the source of knowledge, both because they were the experimental subjects from which research was being drawn and because they often did their own research and had greater awareness of their particular concerns and conditions. I will be looking for the medical literature that was collected and categorized as sexual perversion, deviance, or paraphilias at the LC. This

³⁴ Meyerowitz. *How Sex Changed*, 167.

will inform the Library's role in the production of knowledge about transsexualism as a sexual deviation, and will apply to the Library's treatment of sexual perversion more generally, as the exchange between lay people and professionals had operated by similar mechanisms.

Because I am interested in the institutionalization of deviance, I turn to Dorothy E. Smith, who was one of the earliest social theorists to develop a feminist approach to sociology. She developed institutional ethnography as a methodology with which to view workplaces, including the home, as key sites for understanding the institutionalization of everyday practices. Driven by the study of texts used and read by a community--what she calls "textually-mediated social organization"³⁵--Smith argues that knowledge's "textual forms bear and replicate social relations" and knowledge itself has been constructed outside of local actualities, "standing over against us in a relation of dominance and authority."³⁶ Texts serve as access points into the social relations of an organization, whether it is state administrative apparatus, academic discourse, mass media, or professional management.³⁷ While Smith defends and supports Foucault, whom she views as one who "presupposes the textual and works within it,"³⁸ she asserts that women speak from a specific knowing standpoint that uniquely understands the world through the "method of experience."³⁹ Smith does not accept Foucault's view that knowledge is necessarily a relation of power. Rather, she states: "The intersection of knowledge and power is an effect of

³⁵ Dorothy E. Smith, *Texts, Facts, and Femininity: Exploring the Relations of Ruling* (London, UK: Routledge, 1993).

³⁶ Dorothy E. Smith, *Writing the Social: Critique, Theory, and Investigations* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 94.

³⁷ Smith. *Texts, Facts, and Femininity*, 4.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid., 5.

the integration of the ruling relations, establishing subject positions within discourse from which experience can be known only externally and from within an order of domination."⁴⁰ By selecting the scholarly research and popular materials for the collection, deciding where to shelve such resources, and authorizing and applying names and categories for these texts, the LC mediates and regulates sexuality. These standards are then passed on to libraries who apply the same headings to local collections. Understanding the headings and classifications as texts informs an understanding of the institutional processes that establish and maintain authority.

Smith also argues that the process of objectifying subjects, or “moving from *knowing to knowledge*” results in and demands attention to the “disappearing subject.”⁴¹ This idea is key to understanding how libraries objectify subjects by organizing them through categories. The actual subjects are not only objectified by the scholarship that studies them, but even further by the process of collecting and classifying them. The power relations of the LC, researchers, subjects, and local libraries may result in a loss of meaning and context for these subjects.

Moving beyond the analysis of medical discourses, John D'Emilio takes a Marxist approach to understanding the emergence of a homosexual identity and community during the twentieth century.⁴² His work guides my chapter on postwar sexual perversion. He asserts that early twentieth-century wage-labor capitalism allowed people to form an identity outside of the family unit, enabling underground social networks to form. World War II then pulled people out of their homes and segregated them by sex in GI, Women's Army Corps (WAC) and Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVES) groups, providing ample opportunity to

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Dorothy E. Smith, *The Conceptual Practices of Power: A Feminist Sociology of Knowledge* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1990), 61.

⁴² D'Emilio, “Capitalism and Gay Identity.”

pursue same-sex relationships. My research suggests that additions to LCSH reflected a change in discourses around this time, with the addition of “Homosexuality” to the lexicon in 1946. It seems reasonable to think that this helped to propel homosexuality into mainstream discourse about sex, although the dominant attitude toward homosexuality was still one of disdain, with the perception of homosexuality as pathological and deviant.

Finally, the theory most central to this dissertation is one derived from Foucault’s method. “Perverse presentism,” as proposed by Judith Halberstam, is a methodology that attempts to account for and overcome the problems of presentism by denaturalizing the present as a point toward which all of history is moving and improving, and applying “what we do not know in the present to what we cannot know about the past.”⁴³ Using present-day terms and definitions to describe the past greatly oversimplifies and distorts the historical record. It leads to a perversion of meaning and misunderstanding, and when speaking of subjects of sexuality, it may inaccurately or unfairly render certain acts and identities as perverted. However, an awareness of the limitations of language and the capacity to know both the present and the past, as well as trying to understand the past in its own terms, expands the opportunities to interpret the historical record. Halberstam uses this methodology to study 19th and early 20th century same-sex desire among women, taking care not to use “lesbian” as a blanket term to describe women who desired women during an era when “lesbian” did not exist. Chapters one through four provide the historical knowledge necessary for understanding LC’s regulation of sexual deviance, and in the final chapter I further problematize LC’s subjects by exploring the problematic historicity of the headings by employing Halberstam’s model.

⁴³ Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 53.

Library and Information Studies and Critical Classification Studies

Library and information studies is highly interdisciplinary, as scholars in the field draw from and extend theory and research from such fields as sociology, the humanities, psychology, and computer science. My dissertation will follow Geoffrey Bowker and Susan Leigh Star's work, which sets out to unmask the underlying invisible infrastructure in classification systems and nomenclatures, "uncovering the practical politics of classifying and standardizing" to find sources of decisions regarding representation,⁴⁴ and exposing the ways in which systems become naturalized. Bowker and Star have evaluated such systems as the *International Classification of Diseases*, race under apartheid, and nursing work to reveal ways that these systems contribute to moral and social order, and they call for further critical research of library classification systems.⁴⁵ This dissertation will expand upon classification research that analyzes the politics of classification generally, including library classification systems, by gaining an understanding the historicity of a certain controversial group of terms regarding perversion

Beginning with Sanford Berman's criticisms, LC's headings have received much attention for their appropriateness and bias. A leader in progressive librarianship, Berman devoted his career to advocating for social justice in libraries and library practices. He challenged the institutions of authority, including the LC, and the universalized standards, which he believes limit the catalog's capacity to foster findability. His tireless efforts and direct correctives provide inspiration and foundations for this dissertation. Berman spent the better part of his career at Hennepin County Library in Minnesota, where he created a local authority file of

⁴⁴ Bowker and Star, *Sorting Things Out*, 44.

⁴⁵ Geoffrey Bowker and Susan Leigh Star, "Classification in the Wild," *Library Trends* 47 (Summer 1998).

subject headings. Berman copiously documented supporting evidence for changes he made at Hennepin County Library and recommended for LCSH. He also corresponded heavily with LC, petitioned them with heading proposals, and corresponded heavily with other librarians and activists.

Berman is best known for his subject heading work, which began after working in a library in Zambia for three weeks and realizing the Western racism/colonization in the term “Kaffir.” With the publication of what Eric Moon called “an earthquake of a book,” *Prejudices and Antipathies* enlightened the library world to the power of language to propel attitudes and prejudices and showed that language may “function to underpin often malicious stereotypes, to de-humanize the subjects, transforming them into unsavory or at least worthless *objects*.”⁴⁶ For instance, he wrote, “It is much easier to oppress ‘Kaffirs’ rather than ‘xhosas,’ to napalm ‘Gooks’ instead of ‘Vietnamese,’ to ghettoize and degrade ‘Kikes,’ to wage holy war against ‘Pagans,’ to hang Zimbabwean or Namibian ‘terrorists,’ to exploit if not eradicate sub-human ‘natives’ and ‘primitives’ (with whom popular mythology conveniently equates cannibalism, infantility, and a host of other unlovely attributes).”⁴⁷ Known for his “Sex Index,”⁴⁸ which he published to draw attention to range of subjects missing from retrieval tools and catalogs, Berman is particularly interested in access to materials about sex. He argues that the LC, and by extension most other libraries across the U.S., do not allow for access to topics related to sex because the materials are undercataloged, and important subjects do not appear in LCSH.⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Sanford Berman, “Where have All the Moonies Gone?” in *Worth Noting: Editorials, Letters, Essays, an Interview, and Bibliography* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1988), 5.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Sanford Berman, “If There Was a Sex Index...” in *The Joy of Cataloging* (Phoenix: Oryx Press. 1981), 37-59.

⁴⁹ Berman. “The ‘Fucking’ Truth about Library Catalogs.” In this article Berman asserts that “Fucking” should be added as a cross-reference for “Sexual intercourse” because it’s a widely used term.

Berman was the one of the first and certainly the most out-spoken advocate for change and revision in LCSH. He argues that “a subject scheme should represent all of what has been collected by libraries to serve reading communities on a global scale. However, he states, LCSH is particularly biased and serves and satisfies Western, white, Christian, middle and upper class, heterosexual men who are “fundamentally loyal to the Established Order.”⁵⁰ Berman has stated that three principles should guide subject use: Intelligibility (for staff and patrons) of cataloging format, elements, and terminology; Findability, meaning that users should hit on usable results with the first search attempt, especially when searching for authors or subjects; and Fairness in subject coverage, with accurate language and representation.⁵¹ He believes that groups should name themselves and that medical and professional jargon should be replaced with headings that are intelligible to the general user. Each of these three principles is relevant to the discussion of the term “Paraphilias” as it can be argued that this term is not intelligible to most users, and therefore does not enhance findability. Fairness comes into question as sexual behaviors and minorities are authorized based on a psychiatric diagnostic tool--the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV* (DSM), rather than using language that might be more likely to be used by the wider audiences and people and acts described by the literature.

Following Berman, scholars and practitioners have devoted a lot of attention to LCSH. Some of this work has analyzed headings regarding sexuality and gender, concluding that the LC may lag years or decades behind the time that terms for sexuality and sexual practices have entered into common usage, and that terms are frequently inadequately representative. Using feminist and postcolonial methods, Hope Olson has produced a great deal of work pertaining to

⁵⁰ Berman, *Prejudices and Antipathies*, ix.

⁵¹ Berman. “Where Have All the Moonies Gone?”

the problem of representation in library classification systems, including the historical basis for biases of subject headings and the limitations of literary warrant.⁵² She states that it is an inherently biased policy which contributes to reinforcement of a mainstream canon and rejects or omits productions of small presses.⁵³ Olson places an emphasis on the power of naming because the power to bestow a name on an information resource ultimately means that they have the power to control access, and she argues that the presumed value of universality in subject representation systems results in exclusion and marginalization of groups and topics. By way of examples including catalog records for specific books and authority records for specific headings, Olson exposes the marginalization and exclusion of race, class, and gender in LCSH. This study will demonstrate that LC's subject headings sometimes reflect a limited scope of the relevant literature, neglecting and marginalizing important audiences. Although sexuality studies crosses a variety of fields, the subject headings and classification assignments may limit representation of the literature to a particular discipline.

Scholars have argued that people fashion their identities from a range of sources, including popular culture and social groups. In the early part of the twentieth century, sexological texts contributed greatly to the formation of identities, in both positive and negative ways. While these texts provided models and cases that individuals could relate to and identify with, readers also internalized the pathologizing messages about degeneracy and perversion. Information studies scholars have noted similar effects of library classifications. A number of studies involve tracing controlled vocabularies for topics relating to sexuality and gender. Using feminist

⁵² Hope A. Olson: *The Power to Name*; "How We Construct Subjects: A Feminist Analysis." Special issue on: *Gender Issues in Information Needs and Services*, eds. Cindy Ingold and Susan E. Searing. *Library Trends* 56, no. 2 (2007); "Patriarchal structures of subject access and subversive techniques for change." *Canadian Journal for Information and Library Science* 26, no. 2/3 (2001).

⁵³ Olson, "Difference, Culture and Change."

deconstruction and postcolonial methodologies Olson has extensively examined the treatment of racial and ethnic groups and women by LSCH and the Dewey Decimal System.⁵⁴ Palmer and Malone examined representations of women in classification structures and reveal the temporary, changing nature of subject headings and how they depend upon and influence relationships between published knowledge and organization and retrieval of that knowledge. By looking at subject headings in a bibliography, the authors were able to detect waves in political and cultural themes in literature. Using methods similar to the ones I use to evaluate “Paraphilias,” Palmer and Malone trace the history and evolution of the heading, “Woman,” by looking to the *Cumulative Bibliographic Index and the United States Catalog from 1902-1975*, finding that the creation and use of headings indicates “the acceptance and growing status of an idea or concept.”⁵⁵ The headings provide evidence of a production of the mainstream. Just as women’s studies is an interdisciplinary field, I expect the phenomenon of mainstreaming to be complicated by the multidisciplinary nature of sexuality research.

Ellen Greenblatt has done the most comprehensive work to date on subject headings pertaining to sexuality. By examining the history of terms related to homosexuality in common usage and in LCSH, she concluded that the LC is slow in creating subject headings for gay and lesbian topics and may lag years or decades behind the time that terms have entered into common usage. Considering Olson’s argument implicating literary warrant, one could speculate that many of the works that would merit literary warrant are published by small presses and that the LC simply didn’t collect those items. However, Greenblatt performed an “admittedly unscientific survey” to determine whether titles in a core collection list of works on gay and

⁵⁴ Olson, *The Power to Name*.

⁵⁵ Palmer and Malone, “Elaborate Isolation,” 181.

lesbian topics were cataloged by the LC and found that out of 99 titles, 85 of them were in the LC catalog and could have counted as literary warrant for new headings.⁵⁶ She updated this in a recent collection of essays in 2010, observing it took LC twenty years to address each of the two changes and seven proposals she'd made in 1990.⁵⁷ Matt Johnson continued Greenblatt's work with "A Hidden History of Queer Subject Access," which describes ways that librarians have created and modified information retrieval thesauri and subject headings related to queerness over the most recent four decades.⁵⁸ He suggests that these tools have greatly expanded opportunities to access to LGBTQ resources. By tracing the evolution of the meaning and usage of "Paraphilias" at the LC, I will expand on the existing literature methodologically and substantively. I will describe how definitions of "perversion" and "deviance" have changed over time and how the LC both reflects and contributes to the production of meaning. I will also show that the heading reflects a small portion of the current literature and serves a particular audience, while it presents tremendous questions of authenticity and retrieval power with regard to earlier works.

This dissertation has both practical and theoretical implications. It will provide insights into library cataloging practices and effective use of library catalogs for historical works, and by drawing upon a range of disciplines, it will provide insight into the role of the LC (and libraries more generally) on the production, organization, and distribution of knowledge regarding sexuality. Researchers from an array of fields of study will gain a greater understanding of the

⁵⁶ Ellen Greenblatt, "Homosexuality: the Evolution of a Concept in the Library of Congress Subject Headings." In *Gay and Lesbian Library Service*, ed. Cal Gough, and Ellen Greenblatt, (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1990), 95.

⁵⁷ Ellen Greenblatt *Serving LGBTQ Library and Archives Users: Essays on Outreach, Service, Collections and Access* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2010).

⁵⁸ Matt Johnson. "A Hidden History of Queer Subject Access." In *Radical Cataloging*. K.R. Roberto, ed. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Co., 2008).

effect of subject headings and classifications upon their own research, and they will gain an appreciation for the power of libraries to influence and regulate information and shape scholarship regarding sexuality. The intended audience for my work is wide-reaching, as I hope to reach scholars in the fields of classification research, history of libraries and print culture, history of science and medicine, and gender and sexuality studies.

Research Methodology and Sources

The dissertation is organized chronologically, with chapters centered on significant changes or additions to LCSH related to sexual deviation. “Sexual perversion” was the authorized term from 1898-1972; “Sexual deviation” was the heading from 1972-2007; and “Paraphilias” is the current heading, first used in 2007. I will also include a chapter devoted to the time between the authorization of “Homosexuality” and “Sexual deviation.” Although “homosexuality” is not an alternative term for “paraphilias,” it has been included in past classification schedules as a related term, and prior to the authorization of “Homosexuality” the subject was subsumed under “Sexual perversion.” It also marks a critical period in the history of sexuality in the U.S., as it was authorized in 1946, just after World War II.

I will place each heading within the social and political context in which it was situated when it was created and applied to books, and I will analyze books from each period to ascertain the authors’ language, attitudes, disciplines, and goals. Many of these texts are largely forgotten, but they are still in dialogue with each other and have guided the progression of scholarly research. I am looking for patterns and shifts in the literature, as well as country of publication, date of publication, discipline (medical, social science, etc.), classification, topics covered by the

books, citations, other subject headings, attitudes, and various other factors that have revealed themselves as I read. Additionally, I have studied the advances and standardization of technologies, placing library cataloging within information technological movements such as printed cards, computerization, and automation. While such technologies help knowledge managers control the ever-increasing loads of information, they impose limits and challenges to the findability of and access to materials.

For example, approximately 634 books in the LC collection are currently cataloged with the subject heading, "Paraphilias." Of these, approximately 550 are unique titles, and 353 are originally written in or translated into English. This heading was approved in 2007 following psychiatric literature's preference of what might be considered a more "neutral" term. Due to the cataloging technology known as "global updating," all subject headings can be automatically converted in local catalog records to the most current version of the heading. Prior to this technology, records were changed by hand to update bibliographic records. Everything that was previously assigned "Sexual perversion" would have been manually updated and categorized as "Sexual deviation." However, with the global update, "Paraphilias" replaced "Sexual deviation" without any human review of the catalog records. This means that texts that were cataloged in the early part of the twentieth century have retained some long abandoned attitudes. Using Judith Halberstam's method of "perverse presentism" I will analyze and problematize this and related phenomena in the catalog and explore the implications for historical and contemporary research.

I transcribed relevant bibliographic information from all of the LC catalog records for the books written in English and assigned "Paraphilias" with the assumption that those cataloged

before 2007 were originally assigned “Sexual perversion” or “Sexual deviation.”⁵⁹ I also searched for each book in WorldCat to determine how widely they are held in the United States, and which types of libraries own them. From each period under investigation I examined the fifteen books that are most widely held by U.S. libraries via interlibrary loan and then scanned the indexes, introductions, tables of contents, title pages, and other material that might inform my analysis. Reading these texts reveals significant patterns and themes, including prevailing attitudes and disciplinary norms, as well as important shifts in approaches to studying, defining, and classifying sexual perversion.

With support from the Social Science Research Council’s Dissertation Proposal Development Fellowship, I conducted extensive research on-site at the Library of Congress, including a variety of interviews with LC staff, such as Thompson Yee, the Assistant Director of the Standards and Policy Division; two Social Science catalogers--Mary K. D. Pietris and Paul Weiss; the head of the Social Sciences and Humanities Division, Victoria Hill; LC Historian and Director of the Center for the Book, John Cole; and Director of Acquisitions and Access, Beacher Wiggins. I also spoke at length with reference librarians and archivists, who were of tremendous assistance in pointing me to useful resources. Each of these interviews furnished me with important background information about the LC cataloging and acquisitions policies, as well as highly significant insights into the politics and mission of the Library.

Cheryl Fox, archivist in the Manuscript Reading Room led me to a collection of papers from the office of the Keeper of Collections, which was active from 1940 until 1963. This office was charged with (among other duties related to preservation and protection of the Library’s

⁵⁹ I have verified that books assigned “Paraphilias” were originally cataloged using “Sexual perversion” by looking to the Association of Research Libraries. *A Catalog of Books Represented by the Library of Congress Printed Cards*, Issued to July 31, 1942. vol.1-166, (Ann Arbor: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1942-1945).

collections) the maintenance of the Delta Collection. This collection was almost entirely composed of materials deemed to be obscene or likely to be mutilated by the public, so it was secured away from the general collection, separately and often incompletely cataloged, and highly restricted. Many of the texts that have been assigned “Paraphilias” were included in it. The collection is largely composed of materials received by way of Customs Bureau and Postal Service seizures that, according to Customs and Postal Service policy, were sent to the Library to be selected for official use or destroyed. Among the Keeper’s papers are records of transfers of materials to the Library, excerpts of the Keeper’s diary detailing his thought processes regarding the Delta Collection, correspondence with other internal and external offices, policies, meeting minutes, and reports of items sent to the incinerator. Over 1,000 books still bear the mark of the Delta Collection, and they are searchable in the LC online catalog. The bulk of these books are fiction, including erotic and classic titles such as *Lolita*. Many others are classified in the HQ section, and a large portion are books of photography.

Other LC archival resources that have proven fruitful include unpublished annual reports and papers from the Subject Cataloging Division, particularly the portions written by the Keeper of the Collections, as these sections did not get published in the reports that went to Congress. The Standards and Policy Office also has the complete file of “Weekly Lists,” which compile all of the subject heading and classification decisions made in weekly meetings. The Library’s published annual reports are all available in print at the UW-Madison School of Library and Information Studies (SLIS) Laboratory Library and online via the Hathi Trust. Classification schedules and printed LCSH dating back to the earliest editions are available in print at the SLIS Library.

A key piece of this dissertation is the contribution of activists in eliciting change in library cataloging practices. The first gay professional group in the United States, the Gay Task Force (currently referred to as the Gay Lesbian Bisexual Transgendered Round Table, or GLBTRT), arose out of the Social Responsibilities Round Table of the American Library Association in 1970 and was instrumental in taking action toward increasing fair practices and visibility of gay and lesbian issues in librarianship. This group worked closely with Sanford Berman, in the movement to change unfair and inaccurate subject headings. Terms for gay and lesbian topics were among some of his most heavily targeted groups of headings in LCSH. Berman created a local authority file at Hennepin County Library and thoroughly documented changes to these authority headings, including rich information about the source material upon which he based decisions to update or create new headings. The entire range of the *Hennepin County Library Cataloging Bulletin* is available in print, and I have examined archival papers and publications of the Gay Task Force/GLBT Round Table, as well as Sanford Berman's papers, at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. These sources have provided invaluable information about the evolution of headings regarding sexuality from 1970 to the present.

This project is necessarily selective regarding aspects of the people, movements, and approaches involved in the history of sexuality. Fortunately, there is a growing body of scholarship on this topic, so for a general account of sexuality one should seek these texts.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ There are far too many to list here, but among the highly regarded texts are the following: Canaday, *The Straight State*; Terry, *An American Obsession*; D'Emilio "Capitalism and Gay Identity"; George Chauncey, *Why Marriage?*; George Chauncey, *Gay New York*; Meyerowitz, *How Sex Changed*. Vicinus, *Intimate Friends*; Dollimore, *Sexual Dissidence*; Sedgwick, *Epistemology of the Closet*; Duggan, *Sapphic Slashers*; Bérubé, *My Desire for History*; Laqueur, *Making Sex*; Jeffrey Weeks, *Sexuality and its Discontents: Meanings, Myths and Modern Sexualities*, (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985); David Halperin, *How to Do the History of Homosexuality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).

Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter 2: SEXUAL PERVERSION, 1898-1945

Chapter two begins with a review of Progressive Era ideals of social reform and scientific progress that permeated American librarianship and sexuality studies. The Progressive Era in the United States, generally thought of as being the 1890s through the 1920s, is largely defined by the proliferation of scientific disciplines, standardization, professionalization of disciplines, bureaucracy, and scientific management. It is not by coincidence that library standards, including LCSH, the LC Classification System, and printed catalog cards arose at the same time that sex was becoming the purview of scientists and medical doctors, who increasingly employed metrics, classifications, and technical languages to describe and identify norms and deviations. This chapter will demonstrate that the subject headings for sexuality were first established on the basis of the medical and psychiatric literature--a practice that remains in effect today.

The decisions regarding subject headings affected access and representations from the earliest inception of the card catalog, and the distribution of printed cards and dissemination and exchange of libraries' holdings served to further institutionalize and embed cataloging practices across the United States. The legacy of that system is that those practices are now fully integrated into academic and public libraries around the world, and the politics of naming is founded on those early decisions regarding subject access.

LCSH was created when sexologists associated homosexuality and other "deviant" sexual behaviors with degeneration, a theory that connected such acts with 'primitive' races, lower

classes, poor immigrants, and nonwhites.⁶¹ Sexuality became more thoroughly studied and defined by medical professionals, as well as policed by federal, state, and local agencies in service of treating broader social problems, such as poverty and violent crime. Scientific research was, in fact, interwoven with efforts to police deviants. From the end of the nineteenth century sexologists and psychoanalysts were instrumental in propelling discourses about normative, deviant, and pathological sexual orientations and practices.⁶² I argue that the LC reproduces these discourses by choosing headings based on language in psychiatric literature.

This chapter will explore the cataloging practices begun during the Progressive Era and demonstrate that these laid a foundation for access to materials on sexuality that continues to have implications in today's libraries. It also participated in the construction of meaning and knowledge from the moment it produced categories and classifications for "normal" and "perverted" sexual behaviors. Sexual perversion was included in the earliest lists of subject headings, and was used as the subject heading in the earliest generation of catalog cards in 1898. The works assigned this heading, as well as the classifications and additional subject headings, reveal much about the attitudes and beliefs about sexual perversion and its various manifestations during the Progressive Era and through the second World War.

Chapter 3: HOMOSEXUALITY, 1946-1971

The subject heading "Homosexuality" was authorized in 1946, thus marking a key move by the LC in recognizing and naming that which was formerly absent in LCSH. The post-war era

⁶¹ Canaday, *The Straight State*; Terry, *An American Obsession*.

⁶² Jonathan Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007); Fausto-Sterling, *Sexing the Body*; Laqueur, *Making Sex*; Terry, *An American Obsession*.

brought new attitudes and awarenesses about sexuality, including a more visible homosexual community and tensions between efforts to control, contain, and explain this population. The LC was one of the federal agencies that policed homosexuals among its ranks and censored sexually explicit materials. This chapter begins where World War II ends, follows the Library's involvement in postwar censorship and sexual policing, and ends with the civil rights era, just before the heading "Sexual perversion" changed to "Sexual deviation" and when the Gay Liberation movement was underway. It examines changes in LCSH and LCC, as well as personnel issues and collection management and censorship of sexually explicit materials. Crucially, with David Judson Haykin as chief of the Subject Cataloging Division, it was during this period that the LC solidified its position of authority in the subject access arena.

An important element of this chapter is to demonstrate how the Library tightened its relationship with the Postal Service and the Customs Bureau and actively policed and retained materials gained through mail and customs seizures. The Library maintained its secret Delta Collection from at least 1940 through 1964, which served to protect valuable and vulnerable materials out of the hands of the public who might damage or steal such items.⁶³ The collection also served to protect the public from dangerous ideas and images, and during the McCarthy Era it was a repository of samples of the types of dangerous materials that were circulating in the U.S.

LC's participation in the postwar regulation of obscenity is part of a much larger story of government policing of sexual deviance. This chapter takes us past the postwar era and into the Civil Rights Era. Due largely to the pressure of Gay Liberation activists, scholarship and

⁶³ Archival evidence suggests that the collection might have started before this date. I will describe this in the dissertation.

treatment of homosexuality (both in the clinical and the public senses) shifted to a human-centered approach. In librarianship, gay and lesbian activists brought about significant changes in how library materials were selected, categorized, and placed on the shelf.

Chapter 4: SEXUAL DEVIATION, 1972-2006

The period covered by this chapter is quite sweeping, as it begins during the civil rights movement, moves through the Reagan and Clinton eras, and ends when George W. Bush is in office. Libraries and sexuality studies underwent huge shifts, with Gay and Lesbian Studies emerging as an academic discipline, the American Psychiatric Association eliminating homosexuality from its classification of diseases and disorders, and a widespread social movement to gain rights for LGBTQ people. This chapter traces the changes and additions of subject headings in the context of this period of social activism.

Library technologies rapidly expanded during this period, with the LC maintaining its role as a leader in creation and revision of standards. Among the changes at the LC were the widespread automation and adoption of machine readable cataloging (MARC); increased cooperative cataloging efforts, including OCLC and the Subject Authority Cooperative Program (SACO); digitization projects; and BatchCat, the software used for correcting subject and descriptive cataloging headings in bibliographic records from older forms to match the current forms established in authority records. Each of these played a role in the democratization and expansion of subject headings regarding sexuality. “Sexual deviation” was created to replace “Sexual perversion” in 1972, and many other terms that formerly had been subsumed by or cross-listed with “Sexual perversion” became authorized subject headings.

Many of the subject access changes were precipitated by the activism of Sanford Berman and the Social Responsibilities Round Table Task Force for Gay Liberation of the A.L.A., as well as other organizations and individuals. The 1960s and 70s brought intense social movements for civil rights to the United States, and librarians were a major force for change both within and outside of the library profession. Founded in 1970, the Task Force on Gay Liberation grew out of the Social Responsibilities Round Table of the A.L.A., and has now evolved to become the Gay Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgendered Round Table. The Task Force included classification and subject headings as one of its earliest initiatives, and with Barbara Gittings as coordinator for many years, the organization was highly influential. During this time Sanford Berman became the leader of the movement to improve subject access in library catalogs. This chapter will provide an account of the role of library activists in eliciting change, and the proliferation of new headings during the period, as well as the challenges that remained throughout this period.

Chapter 5: PARAPHILIAS, 2007-

This chapter brings the work to the present, with the currently authorized heading, “Paraphilias.” It will provide information on how “Paraphilias” became the authorized term both in medical discourses and in library catalogs, and it will offer definitions to clarify what is intended by the use of this term. It will reveal that LC has fully participated in the medicalization of sexual deviance and has reproduced medical disciplinary norms. These explanations, along with a thorough application of Halberstam’s “perverse presentism” and Berman’s principles for subject access (intelligibility, findability, and fairness) will bring this dissertation full circle, unveiling the challenges and biases carried by this heading. It will also discuss the implications of online tagging in the social network site Librarything.com.

I will demonstrate in this chapter how the catalog exhibits precisely this kind of problem by replacing out-dated terms with words and phrases used in current literature. Although it is certainly preferable to maintain a contemporary catalog with terms that are relevant to users, the practice of eliminating other terms serves to erase or pervert historical concepts and events. I will show that “Paraphilias” is assigned to early texts on homosexuality, and that some texts are rendered virtually unfindable in the catalog. Similarly, classification numbers are frequently left as they were originally cataloged, so browsers in the stacks will find historical books on homosexuality in the section formerly known as “Sexual perversion” but currently defined as “Paraphilias.” I also will show that most of the literature assigned “Paraphilias” does not use this terminology and is not produced in the field of psychiatry and the term does not meet Berman’s criteria for fair, intelligible, and findable headings.

This chapter will also account for those voices left out of the cataloging process--those who engage in or are curious about such practices. To understand the information needs of these people, we can look to social media to find the terms they use to describe themselves and their practices. I will look to the online social network site Librarything.com to ascertain the terminologies used by people who tag their own resources. LibraryThing.com, a social cataloging site, provides a good point of comparison, as users of the site organize their personal collections and find related books by adding and searching tags. Rather than the expressions being shaped (or perverted) by the authorization of controlled terms, members have the freedom to use the terms that are meaningful to them.

The chapter will bring the dissertation to the present and will provide important suggestion to advance classification theory. Sexuality studies, with its rapidly changing and

expanding terminologies and wide-ranging audiences, pushes the limits of classification systems in ways that other subjects do not. It is through this lens that I intend to demonstrate problems of disciplinarity, authority, and historicity in library classifications.

The dissertation will leave readers with the conclusion that subject access for materials related to alternative sexualities is deeply embedded in a medical/psychiatric field and that this carries serious implications for access to resources for questioning and curious seekers of information, as well as scholars in the humanities and social sciences. Provided with the historical background about cataloging practices, readers will have gained an appreciation for the role of LC in shaping of knowledge about sexual deviance.

Chapter 2

SEXUAL PERVERSION, 1898-1945

Sexual perversion. *See also* Masochism; Nymphomania; Sadism.¹

Sexual perversion. *See also* Masochism; Nymphomania; Sadism: Impersonators, Female; Impersonators, Male.²

The history of science is the history of controlled data.

David Bade³

Libraries, especially national libraries, constitute what are known in the sciences as 'reduced models' of their country's social reality and ideological complexity.

Affonso Romano de Sant'Anna⁴

When the Library of Congress moved into its new home, the stately Jefferson Building, in 1897, 800 tons of books, pamphlets, maps, manuscripts, prints, and music lay in heaps in boxes and on floors, to catalog and shelve⁵ (See Figure 1).⁶ The enormous task of assessing and organizing such a massive quantity of literature required an efficient and expert group of librarians. The catalog was and remains the site of organization and inventory of a library's

¹ *1st ed. 1910.*

² *Supplement to the 4th ed. 1941-1944*

³ David Bade. *Responsible Librarianship: Library Policies for Unreliable Systems*. (Duluth, MN: Library Juice Press, 2007), 128.

⁴ Affonso Romano de Sant'Anna. "Libraries, Social Inequality, and the Challenge of the Twenty-First Century." *Daedalus* 125, no. 4 (1996): 267.

⁵ John Cole, Henry H. Reed, and Herbert Small. *The Library of Congress: The Art and Architecture of the Thomas Jefferson Building*. (New York: Norton, 1997), 59.

⁶ "Copyright Deposits in the Basement before Classifying," Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1898?) <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/service/pnp/cph/3a30000/3a38000/3a38500/3a38598r.jpg> (accessed March 21, 2012).

contents. The Library of Congress faced the huge project of cataloging its own collection, and within a few short years it would find itself the leader in a national cooperative cataloging endeavor.

Figure 1. “Copyright Deposits in the Basement before Classifying”



Source: Library of Congress, *American Memory* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1898?) <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/service/pnp/cph/3a30000/3a38000/3a38500/3a38598r.jpg> (accessed March 21, 2012).

William Warner Bishop, in his tribute to Library of Congress president Herbert Putnam, described the situation in the new library building as one that must have been terribly daunting:

What the new Librarian of Congress thought of the situation he found we are not permitted to know....Briefly, he found a small staff lacking systematic organization, a huge mass of books but ill arranged on Mr. Jefferson's scheme of classification, an imperfect author catalogue on large slips, but no subject catalogue or shelf-list; meager funds for purchases and none for publication; material special in form, that is prints, maps, music, manuscripts, and the like, in enormous quantities but not well catalogued, arranged, and served by specialists; a service to Congress and to the public in competent directing hands, but largely untrained and distinctly non-expert; no order department and no department of public documents; great arrears in the Copyright Office; large annual accessions, chiefly from copyright and from exchange; a magnificent and imposing building, itself a pledge and promise of support from Congress.⁷

At the same time, sexology was developing into a professional discipline, rising out of the scientific disciplines of medicine and psychoanalysis. In this chapter I will demonstrate how Progressive Era ideals of social reform permeated both librarianship and sexuality research in the United States, and how the Library of Congress established its authority and position in the production of knowledge about sexuality at this time. Not only do librarianship and sexology parallel each other, but their work intersects in critical ways in the creation of classifications and definitions of sexual perversion. The power to organize and standardize knowledge about sexuality has had lasting political, cultural, and social implications that carry through to the twenty-first century.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, known as the Progressive Era in the United States, witnessed a surge in bureaucratization and standardization in society, business, and science. Librarianship and sexuality were among the fields that became professionalized with the pretense towards being scientific in order to gain legitimacy. Although scientific management is often attributed to Frederick Taylor for his 1911 treatise, *Principles of Scientific*

⁷ William Warner Bishop, "Thirty Years of the Library of Congress, 1899 to 1929," In *Essays Offered to Herbert Putnam by His Colleagues and Friends on His Thirtieth Anniversary as Librarian of Congress* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929), 26.

Management, practices emphasizing efficiency of time and labor were developed in late nineteenth century businesses and agencies, including libraries.⁸ Taylorism reflected a broader societal search for order, and systematizers set out to accomplish two things: a transcendence of individuals by systematizing and documenting duties and procedures, and a systematic approach to gathering and analyzing information as basis for coordination.⁹ Melvil Dewey's decimal and simplified spelling systems, the Library of Congress Classification System, Library of Congress Subject Headings, and a wealth of other standards right down to correct handwriting and punctuation on catalog cards were all part of the Progressive Era movement toward efficiency in libraries. And it was during this era that classifications for various perversions were created by psychiatrists, thus firmly placing sexual perversion under the purview of psychiatric medicine.

In this chapter I will demonstrate that library cataloging grew in influence and scope under Herbert Putnam's leadership. I will first show how cataloging standardization began in 1898 at the Library of Congress, and how the ideal of a national library propelled LC into a position of authority. I will describe the development of LCSH and LCC during this period and some of the inherent problems and questions raised by these systems. I will then show how sexology grew out of psychiatric medicine in the late nineteenth century and how technical language and classifications were integral to the growth of the field. The final section of this chapter examines the key texts that were categorized as being about "Sexual perversion" during this period and will reveal LC's derivation of terms from the medical profession, thus reinforcing the disciplinary standards of psychiatry and setting this standard for American libraries.

⁸ Frederick Winslow Taylor, *Principles of Scientific Management* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1911).

⁹ JoAnne Yates, "Business Use of Information and Technology during the Industrial Age," in *A Nation Transformed by Information: How Information Has Shaped the United States from Colonial Times to the Present*, ed. Alfred D. Chandler and James W. Cortada (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 110.

Establishing Authority at the Library of Congress

Progressive Era librarians viewed their role as that of helping to promote the social good. Melvil Dewey called it the “library faith”--the idea that librarians were contributing to the nation's progress and social order by getting the public to read “good” literature. Wayne Wiegand states that, although it appears that the A.L.A.'s mission is genuinely beneficent, the truth is that the best reading was agreed upon by A.L.A. leaders who were “WASP, mostly male, middle-class professionals immersed in the disciplinary and literary canons of the dominant culture.”¹⁰ Authority arose from dominant cultures in professional groups, and it was with this authority that the best reading was chosen. As public libraries identified the best reading, the Library of Congress contributed to the best reading practices by effectively setting the standard with regard to production, distribution, and use of catalog cards, while authorizing the universal vocabulary and classification scheme, thereby controlling the mechanisms by which reading materials would be accessed.

The tenets of progressivism arrived just in time to accommodate the needs of the Library of Congress. The sheer volume of books and other materials necessitated efficiency, standardization, and staff that Herbert Putnam, the first Library of Congress president with professional library experience, would bring. Although the Library of Congress is officially the library of the legislative branch of the United States government, The Copyright Office was opened in the Library of Congress in 1870. As a result, the Library of Congress became home to all copyrighted books in the U.S. It was the Library's policy to collect two copies of each

¹⁰ Wayne Wiegand, “Tunnel Vision and Blind Spots,” *Library Quarterly* 69 (1999), 4.

copyrighted work, and these books were cataloged by the Catalog Division at the Library.¹¹

The Library of Congress was actively engaged with public and university libraries in the late nineteenth century, so it is critically important to view the LC catalog and its subjects as a social text that reflects and contributes to American culture from the moment that LC began printing catalog cards. One may suggest that it is appropriate for LC to represent fairly narrow, mainstream, research-driven subjects because LC only printed cards to catalog works that were in its collection, which has historically been aimed toward research, rather than the general public. However, as I will demonstrate, the Library of Congress did not simply collect books for a narrow audience, and the service of printing and distributing cards has reached beyond the scope of the Library's collection ever since they began printing and distributing cards to American libraries. As the Library of Congress moved closer to the goal of being a national library, it became more closely involved with the wider public. Herbert Putnam and cataloging staff members were intimately involved in the A.L.A. and actively engaged with public libraries and other social services. In fact Putnam led the A.L.A.'s Library War Service, which brought books to men in military camps.¹²

Marc Berg and Stefan Timmermans, who examine the standardization of best practices in evidence-based medicine, are interested in the ways in which “standards create configurations of instruments and people, and in the process redefine what these groups, individuals, devices...are

¹¹ This policy has changed somewhat. Currently, the Library may add copyrighted books to the collection, but it is at the selectors' discretion.

¹² Evelyn Geller, *Forbidden Books in American Public Libraries, 1876-1939: A Study in Cultural Change*. (Westport, CT.: Greenwood Press, 1984); this is an early case of LC involvement in politics, as Putnam also created a list of blacklisted books—those that were anti-British, pro-German, Socialist, pacifist, and scholarly works that were not critical enough of Germany. This type of censorship was far more pronounced during the McCarthy Era, and is described in depth in the following chapter.

about...*standardization is, paradoxically, a dynamic process of change.*"¹³ According to them there are four kinds of standards: design/structural, terminological, performative/professional, and procedural. The Library of Congress's acquisitions and access policies have required and produced the standardization of each of these facets in libraries, and their processes and products have had a huge influence on library practices in the U.S. and abroad. The structural component includes the systems established by LC, such as the means of producing and distributing the printed card, LCSH, and LCC.¹⁴ The terminological standards are the authorized vocabularies in LCSH, but also include the increase in terms for the profession, which has grown more technical over time. Librarianship's professional standards have been similar to other feminized professions, beginning with a high concentration of women employed in clerical positions in American libraries, but requiring a set of credentials and competencies. The Library of Congress served as a training ground for young professionals, many of whom left LC to work in other community libraries.¹⁵ Finally, procedural standards were firmly established at LC, with many of them carried over into national and international circles. LC has produced volumes upon volumes of procedural manuals and rulebooks for numerous practices, including procedures for entering data in catalog records, copyright policies, and subscribing to their various services.

The Enlightenment ideals that fueled the eighteenth century quest for knowledge remained a powerful force in the Progressive Era. The belief that universal knowledge is possible

¹³ Stefan Timmermans and Marc Berg, *The Gold Standard: The Challenge of Evidence-based Medicine and Standardization in Health Care*. (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2003), 23.

¹⁴ Following chapters will interrogate other standards at LC, including Machine Readable Cataloging (MARC) and automation.

¹⁵ Jane Aikin, "Women and Intellectual Resources: Interpreting Print Culture at the Library of Congress." in *Women in Print: Essays on the Print Culture of American Women from the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, ed. Wayne A. Wiegand and James P. Danky (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 2006), 197.

drove Carl Linnaeus, Francis Bacon, and Denis Diderot to attempt to classify everything, and these 17th and 18th century classifications provided the models upon which 19th and 20th century sexologists and librarians based their systems. For sexologists, the goal was to organize sexual variance according to deviations from a norm, and for librarians, the mission was to organize the entire universe of knowledge, of which sexuality was necessarily a part. Francis Miksa has drawn a direct lineage from Francis Bacon's classification of knowledge to the current Library of Congress Classification System, with Thomas Jefferson's classification system in-between.¹⁶ Jefferson adapted Bacon's universal system of 44 categories to his personal collection, primarily composed of materials on world history, the military, and politics, with some books on the sciences. After the Library of Congress was burned by British troops during the War of 1812, Jefferson sold his collection to the Library of Congress, and his classification system was adopted and remained the Library's classification system until a new one was created under Putnam's leadership.

The production and distribution of the catalog cards depended upon the expansion of transportation and communication technologies. According to Alfred Chandler, a second industrial revolution hit in the 1880s, to which he attributes the high volume railroad, mass communication technologies, such as the telegraph, and office technologies, including the typewriter, vertical files, and the 3x5 card.¹⁷ By 1860 30,000 miles of railroad had been laid, providing for the eventual distribution of catalog cards to libraries across the U.S. by the turn of

¹⁶ Francis Miksa, *The Development of Classification at the Library of Congress*. Occasional Papers, no. 164. (Champaign/Urbana, IL.: University of Illinois, 1984).

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 15.

the century.¹⁸ The Library of Congress was routinely commended for its timely delivery of cards, and certainly, slower service might have led librarians to feel that it was more efficient for them to produce their own cards. The typewriter became widely available by the 1870s, and the Hammond Card Cataloger, a typewriter specifically designed for catalog cards, was invented in 1890. The machine had an extra wheel containing library characters specified by Library School Card Catalog Rules, Dewey's condensed version of the A.L.A. cataloging rules intended for library school students.¹⁹ Dewey praised the machine for its alignment, uniformity, neatness, legibility, and efficiency.²⁰ And printed cards and the furniture in which to store and organize them, all became standard business supplies around the same time that libraries adopted them. All of these conditions led to the possibility for LC to lead the nation's libraries in standardizing cataloging practices.²¹

Toward the end of the nineteenth century American librarianship witnessed a number of changes in standardization, cooperation, and efficiency. The year 1876 was very significant, as it marked the first convention of the American Library Association, Dewey created his first edition of his decimal classification system, and Charles Cutter published the first edition of his *Rules for a Printed Dictionary Catalogue*. Cutter's *Rules* were the progenitor of contemporary subject headings, including LCSH, as he proposed both cross references and hierarchy. His rules for the

¹⁸ Alfred D. Chandler, "The Information Age in Historical Perspective," in *A Nation Transformed by Information: How Information has Shaped the United States from Colonial Times to the Present*, ed. Alfred D. Chandler and James W. Cortada, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 10.

¹⁹ Melvil Dewey, *Library School Card Catalog Rules with 52 Fac-similes of Sample Cards for Author and Classed Catalogs*, 3rd ed. (Boston, MA: Library Bureau, 1890).

²⁰ Klaus Musmann, *Technological Innovations in Libraries, 1860-1960* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1993), 143.

²¹ For more on the history of the printed card see Gerri L. Flanzraich, "The Role of the Library Bureau and the Gaylord Brothers in the Development of Library Technology, 1876-1930." Ph.D. Diss. Columbia University, 1990; Wayne Wiegand, *Irrepressible Reformer: A Biography of Melvil Dewey*. (Chicago: American Library Association, 1996).

reasons for choice of subject headings are frequently cited as being the founding principles for modern American subject access:²²

Among the several possible methods of attaining the objects, other things being equal, choose that entry

- (1) That will probably be first looked under by the class of people who use the library;
- (2) That is consistent with other entries, so that one principle can cover all;
- (3) That will mass entries least in places where it is difficult to so arrange them that they can readily be found, as under names of nations and cities.”²³

For the purposes of this study, the most relevant of these principles is the first, as it suggest that the needs of library users should guide the choice of headings. Cutter deserves praise for centering cataloging practices around the needs of users, but as Hope Olson has pointed out, the notion of “the class of people who use the library” suggests a “community of users with a singular perspective and a singular way of seeking information.”²⁴

Cutter recognized the different purposes of research and public libraries, and said that libraries need to select cataloging procedures that meet their specific needs.²⁵ The fourth and last edition of his *Rules* was written just as the Library of Congress’s cooperative cataloging venture was initiated, but before the Library of Congress had been established as the standard to which all libraries were to defer. Cutter might not have been able to predict the limitations of using an authorized, controlled vocabulary across all library types. It seems that Cutter didn’t intend for a one-size-fits-all vocabulary, but rather, thought that libraries should use systems catered toward their patrons’ needs.

²² Miksa, *The Development of Classification at the Library of Congress*; Olson, *The Power to Name*.

²³ Charles Cutter, *Rules for a Dictionary Catalog*, 4th ed. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1904), 12.

²⁴ Olson, *Power to Name*, 41; We will return to the issue of a “singular public” in chapter 4.

²⁵ Cutter, *Rules for a Dictionary Catalog*, 11.

J.C.M. Hanson, to whom Francis Miksa refers as the “first modern cataloger,” was chief of the Catalog Department from 1897 until 1910. Hanson joined LC just after the new building was completed, and was immediately faced with the task of organizing nearly one million volumes.²⁶ Hanson heavily drew from Cutter’s principles for subject access, particularly the notion that subject analysis began with the books themselves, cross references, and the need for uniform headings and elimination of synonyms. Hanson broke from Cutter because he believed that subject headings should provide access to topical contents of book, allowing for the creation of a higher quantity and complexity of headings. Whereas Cutter tied his headings into a classification system, thereby limiting possibilities, according to Miksa, Hanson’s method created a problem because it opened the system up to needing thousands of new subjects on thousands of new books.²⁷ Hanson also preferred popular, conventional terms instead of technical jargon whenever possible.

Herbert Putnam became the Librarian of Congress one year after Hanson began his career with the Library, and his advocacy for the Library drew in the essential resources needed to manage the collection and advance cataloging standards. Putnam envisioned the Library of Congress as a universal library with the greatest collection in the country. In his plea to Theodore Roosevelt for an increase in funds, he expressed the mission of LC in terms of the potential to influence and standardize library practices across the U.S.

...libraries of the United States are organizing their work with reference to uniformity in methods, to cooperation in processes, to interchange of service, to the promotion of efficiency in service. They look to the National Library for standards, for example, for leadership in all these enterprises. It is now in a position to 'standardize' library methods, to promote cooperation, to aid in the elimination of wasteful duplication,

²⁶ Miksa, *The Subject in the Dictionary Catalog*, 181.

²⁷ Ibid.

to promote the interchange of bibliographic service.²⁸

Putnam felt that LC should surpass other national libraries' roles as storehouses of material, and should organize services for Congress, other departments of the federal government, as well as other libraries and scholars. It should also activate and maintain working relationships with foreign libraries.

Melvil Dewey had recommended Putnam, former Boston Public librarian, to President McKinley, because of his experience and his ambition.²⁹ He wrote prolifically in such periodicals as *Atlantic Monthly* and *Outlook*, and was very active in the A.L.A., including finishing Justin Winsor's term as A.L.A. president in 1898. During his lengthy term as Librarian of Congress (1899-1939), Putnam brought the library to order, securing federal funds to staff and organize the library's contents. Significantly, Putnam's success resulted from his close friendship with Theodore Roosevelt, a historian who supported the mission of the Library of Congress and allocated funds to improve it. Roosevelt--perhaps the most iconic figure of the Progressive Era, and one who promoted social reform campaigns--consulted Putnam for advice on reading materials and proposed selection ideas. They exchanged letters like the following:

As I lead, to put it mildly, a sedentary life for the moment I would greatly like some books that would appeal to my queer taste. I do not suppose there are any histories or any articles upon the early Mediterranean races. That man Lindsay who wrote about prehistoric Greece has not put out a second volume, has he? Has a second volume of Oman's Art of War appeared? If so, send me either or both; if not, then a good translation of Niebuhr and Momsen [sic], or the best modern history of Mesopotamia. Is there a good

²⁸ Herbert Putnam, quoted in David C. Mearns, "Herbert Putnam and his Responsible Eye-A Memorial Tribute" in *Herbert Putnam, 1861-1955: A Memorial Tribute* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1956), 38.

²⁹ Melvil Dewey. "Herbert Putnam," In *Essays Offered to Herbert Putnam by His Colleagues and Friends on His Thirtieth Anniversary as Librarian of Congress* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929), 22-23.

history of Poland?³⁰

The Librarian satisfied such requests from the President by regularly sending him lists of new acquisitions, from which he chose which books he wanted delivered to the White House.

According to Heffron, “The whole correspondence with Herbert Putnam reveals a unique combination of personal and official ties binding the 26th President to the Library of Congress.”³¹

Upon receiving the Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association's Distinguished Service Medal in 1929, Putnam reflected on Roosevelt's influence on the Library of Congress:

It was he whose authority initiated that long procession to it from the State Department of the groups of manuscripts the papers of the Continental Congress, of various of the Presidents, which, culminating with the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, and what they have drawn to it from other sources, including his own surpassing collection have made it the richest repository of source material for American History.

The Library of Congress, by order of President Roosevelt, received the papers of George Washington, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, James Monroe, and Benjamin Franklin, and Putnam noted that Roosevelt was the only president to discuss the matters of the Library in executive addresses to Congress.³²

The Library of Congress began printing catalog cards in 1898, and libraries across the United States became the beneficiaries of this practice when the Library shared, exchanged, and sold printed cards starting in 1902, after Roosevelt approved an act of Congress authorizing LC

³⁰ Roosevelt to Putnam, October 6, 1902. Roosevelt Papers, quoted in Paul T. Heffron. *Index to the Theodore Roosevelt Papers* (Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1969) <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/trhtml/trfaid.html#eight> (accessed February 27, 2012).

³¹ Heffron. *Index to the Theodore Roosevelt Papers*.

³² Speech to Theodore Roosevelt Memorial Association, October 27, 1929, quoted in Heffron. *Index to the Theodore Roosevelt Papers*. It seems that, without Roosevelt's support, the Library might look very different today. The relationship between Putnam and Roosevelt would be a fascinating topic for further study.

to sell copies of cards and other publications to institutions and individuals. Putnam declared in that year's annual report, "The undertaking has in various ways so affected the work of the Division that it can justly be said to constitute the most important event in [the Library of Congress'] history."³³ The Library of Congress effectively set the standards with regard to production, distribution, and use of catalog cards, while authorizing the universal vocabulary and classification scheme. As Boyd Rayward suggests, LC's card distribution system, which allowed libraries to order copies of catalog cards created by LC instead of cataloging it themselves, led to the widespread adoption and standardization of cataloging principles and practices.³⁴

Beginning in July 1898, fifty copies of catalog cards were printed for each book received by the copyright office. In December 1900, a branch of the Government Printing Office was added to the Library of Congress, and beginning in January 1901, cards were printed for all new acquisitions and all books in process of recataloging. According to the 1902 *Report of the Librarian*, the copyright office held 1,052,906 items. The report states, "Arrangements have been perfected whereby copyrighted books, current English books, and, in special cases, also other new accessions for which cards have been ordered, are forwarded for cataloguing almost immediately upon their receipt."³⁵

The 1901 *Report of the Catalogue Division*, written by Hanson, includes cataloging rules and goals of the plan to distribute catalog cards. Works to be cataloged were grouped as follows:

(a) New books copyrighted; (b) Government publications; (c) publications of societies; (d)

³³ Library of Congress, *Report of the Librarian for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1902* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), 80.

³⁴ W. Boyd Rayward, "A History of Computer Applications in Libraries: Prolegomena," *Annals of the History of Computing*, (April-June 2002), 9.

³⁵ Library of Congress, *Report of the Librarian for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1902* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), 80.

periodicals; (e) current foreign books; (f) bibliography, literary history, and criticism; (g) fiction, travel, and biography; (h) rare and valuable books, and other difficult books, particularly in foreign languages.”³⁶ The report gave three reasons for beginning the project of distribution of cards to libraries: to furnish research libraries with a complete description of the contents of the Library of Congress, to supply libraries with cards produced by experts in cataloging, and to help libraries to save costs. As an added benefit, *Publishers Weekly* would alert libraries about new publications after receiving printed cards for those works. In October 1901 the Library sent a circular announcing 1) that it would sell copies of any card printed, 2) the advancement of bibliography and library economy through the issuance deposit of cards in twenty-five U.S. libraries, and 3) the facilitation of ordering by number with the distribution of proof sheets for cards in process to libraries, library commissions, and U.S. government departments. Federal depository libraries received one free copy of every card printed. This supplied libraries with information about books not locally held, served as a public record, and promoted uniform cataloging. Additionally, the Library sent cards to New York Public Library, Boston Public Library, Harvard, John Crerar Library, University of Illinois, Newberry Library, University of Michigan, and University of Chicago, in exchange for cards printed issued by those libraries.

Before September 1901, few subject headings were offered, but from September 1901 to August 1902, subject headings were suggested for copyrighted books and for books in reclassified sections of library.³⁷ From August 1902 through 1904, subject headings were added only for reclassified sections and for those books already cataloged in the A.L.A. Catalog. By

³⁶ Library of Congress, *Report of the Librarian for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1901*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1901), 203.

³⁷ Library of Congress Card Distribution Section. *Bulletin*. No. 7. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1904), 3.

1904, out of the 140,000 cards in stock, 55,000 had subject headings, and by 1909 fifty percent of the cards included headings. Entries for fictional works, however, did not supply subject headings.³⁸ Rather than being in the form of an authorized list, the headings “appeared as fragmentary pieces of a system of headings as yet unpublished in a single place.”³⁹ In 1902 the Library of Congress agreed to publish the A.L.A. Catalog. This involved close working relationships with Herbert Putnam and the A.L.A. in editing and publishing. That year the A.L.A. appointed a Committee on Cataloging Rules and Hanson was appointed chair.⁴⁰ One of the reasons for the establishment of the committee was the plan to catalog the 8,000 recommended titles in the A.L.A. Catalog. Hanson's mission was to incorporate A.L.A. rules of 1883 (published by the U.S. Board of Education), Cutter's Rules, and Dewey Library School Rules.

Hanson, with the help of his staff, compiled and edited the rules...when the association approved the rules, the code became not only the first comprehensive A.L.A. catalog code but also the first international code, since the Library Association of Great Britain adopted it....The rules as revised by the committee...accord almost point for point with those of the Library of Congress.⁴¹

The Catalog was published in 1904, and the Library of Congress committed to printing cards, complete with suggested subject headings, adhering to the A.L.A. *List of Subject Headings*.⁴²

About half of the books on the list were already in stock in card section. By 1911, the roles were reversed as the 3rd edition of the A.L.A. *List* deferred to the Library of Congress for new

³⁸ Miksa, *The Subject in the Dictionary Catalog*, 179.

³⁹ Miksa, *The Subject in the Dictionary Catalog*, 179.

⁴⁰ Jane A. Rosenberg, *The Library of Congress and the Professionalization of American Librarianship* (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1988), 122.

⁴¹ Jane A. Rosenberg, *The Nation's Great Library: Herbert Putnam and the Library of Congress* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1993), 47.

⁴² *A.L.A. Catalog: 8,000 Volumes for a Popular Library, with Notes*, edited by Melvil Dewey. (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1904).

headings, forms, and subdivisions.⁴³ The Library of Congress began work on its own printed list of subjects in 1909 and published it in 1914, at which point the A.L.A. *List* ceased.⁴⁴ Fourteen supplements to LC's subject headings were published through 1917, and then in 1919, 1,200 copies of a second edition were printed in the hopes that this list would meet the demand of libraries for at least 10 years. By 1927, Library of Congress staff realized that this goal would be unmet, as a new edition was much needed to keep up with the demand warranted by the expansion of subjects written about. A third edition was published 1928 at a cost of \$10,000.⁴⁵ ⁴⁶

As cards were created and distributed, visible strengths and weaknesses of the program became apparent, and library officials had to make difficult decisions regarding allocation of resources and collection development. Immediately, the Library of Congress seemed to be very efficient in its production of cards. In 1902, Hanson said that over ninety percent of the cards for current copyrighted books were ready when ordered. Unique cards totaled 110,000 and the printing office made 100 copies of each.⁴⁷ The ones that were not immediately available were quickly produced and sent out within two weeks. Putnam boasted at the A.L.A. convention in 1904 that the Library of Congress was already printing 60,000 cards annually and invited librarians to subscribe to the service.⁴⁸

⁴³ American Library Association. *List of Subject Headings for Use in Dictionary Catalogs*. 3rd ed. Chicago, IL: American Library Association, 1911). Earlier editions were published by the Library Bureau.

⁴⁴ Mary W. MacNair. "The Library of Congress List of Subject Headings," in *Proceedings of the Catalog Section: American Library Association*. Washington, D.C. Conference May 13-18, 1929 (Chicago: Catalog Section, American Library Association, 1929), 54-58.; Miksa, *The Subject in the Dictionary Catalog*.

⁴⁵ MacNair, "The Library of Congress List of Subject Headings," 55.

⁴⁶ Rosenberg, *The Nation's Great Library*, 50.

⁴⁷ Library of Congress, *Report of the Librarian for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1903*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1903),

⁴⁸ Rosenberg, *The Library of Congress*, 121.

Hanson was also responsible for overseeing the creation of the Library of Congress Classification System. As mentioned, the Library of Congress had been classifying its materials using Jefferson's Baconian system, but with the new building and the huge volume of materials, it became evident that a new system was needed. Deliberations began in 1897 to decide on the proper classification scheme for the Library of Congress, and in 1901 Putnam gave the order to proceed with the Library of Congress Classification system, which remains the predominant classification system among current academic libraries.⁴⁹ Hanson's key contribution stemmed from his perception of the universe of subjects as a collection of specialized fields.⁵⁰ No overall logical principle of subject order was adopted, making it look like a conglomerate of smaller, more specialized classifications, with variations in logics and patterns. Previous classifiers had tried to find a logical order inherent in the universe of subjects. Cutter had spoken of arranging subjects according to their "scientific relations."⁵¹ Hanson appointed subject specialists to create these specialized systems. For example, Roland P. Falkner devised the H Classification assigned to the Social Sciences, where the vast majority of works on sexual perversion are classed.⁵² Falkner drew from the Dewey Decimal Classification, the Cutter Classification for the social sciences, and the Classification of the Harvard University Library for Economics and Sociology. Of these systems, he found Cutter to be the most satisfactory, but with some problems with regard to the Library of Congress's collection. In describing his method for devising a system for

⁴⁹ Francis Miksa, *The Development of Classification at the Library of Congress*. Occasional Papers, No. 164. (Champaign/Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois, 1984), 22.

⁵⁰ Miksa, *The Subject in the Dictionary Catalog*, 206.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 207.

⁵² Falkner was a professor of statistics who studied economics, crime, and prisons. His studies appear in government reports. See *Statistics of Prisoners, 1890* (Chicago, IL: Wardens Association of the United States and Canada, 1892).

Economics, he stated that the scheme should harmonize as much as possible “with the methods of presenting the subject which are familiar in academic work and which are followed somewhat by writers in general.”⁵³ In his original sketch there is no reference to sexuality at all, either in general specialities of Sociology or in Classes of Persons, which is limited to Blind and Deaf and Dumb; Feeble-minded; Indians; Criminals; Negroes, Freedmen; and Poor, The.

Hanson distinguished two types of users: scholars and nonscholars; scholars viewed knowledge in relation to disciplines, but for nonscholars ideas were unencumbered by fields of knowledge. The LC Classification was designed to serve scholars. The final order and general topics of the main classes were established by 1904, and development of LCC was supervised until 1910 by Charles Martel, the chief classifier.⁵⁴ Ultimately, the entire classification system was tied together by Martel, who served as supervisor of the team and provided general theoretical guidelines.⁵⁵

LC’s authority with the wider library community grew over time. Initially, the Library of Congress’s sharing was more an act of benevolence, rather than an attempt to get local libraries to conform to a standard. Thus, the Library of Congress was primarily concerned with its own collection when creating subjects. With an increase in publishing and demands on libraries in the 1930s, though, there was a call for the Library to communicate its subject cataloging policies and procedures to the wider American library community. Miksa has argued that professionals representing U.S. libraries recognized the difference in needs of the Library of Congress and local libraries, but viewed these differences mostly as technical variations, rather than

⁵³ Roland Falkner to the Librarian of Congress, “Memorandum, Referring to Classification, Economics, etc.,” July 17, 1901, Subject Cataloging Division Papers. Library of Congress Manuscript Division. Washington, D.C.

⁵⁴ Miksa, *Development of Classification*, 23.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 24-25.

terminological. They considered the work of both the Library of Congress and local libraries to be of the same tradition. Hanson made subject cataloging work available to the wider community through cards, published lists, and public discussions. While not every library used the terms, and alternatives such as Sears and the A.L.A. List were available, “the influence of the Library of Congress was important, especially in matters of vocabulary choices and subject heading form.”⁵⁶

In 1940, the Library of Congress reorganized its technical services division by separating descriptive and subject cataloging. Previously, descriptive and subject cataloging took place in the same work unit, and classification resided in another. Because there were few subject specialists, there were broader and fewer headings. Subject Headings were done by descriptive catalogers, and were sometimes “laughably broad.”⁵⁷ Seven descriptive catalogers and two classifiers moved into a new Subject Cataloging Division. Haykin was the division’s first chief and immediately found it necessary to codify and normalize subject cataloging for the entire subject cataloging community (in and outside LC) before it got out of control. His vision was that the Library of Congress would serve as a central bureau for subject cataloging. He recognized the limitations of the cataloging staff and their inability to be aware of all the changes in every discipline, so he began hiring subject specialists, insisting on more and better terminology. Every year witnessed an increase in the number of new headings added.

Miksa credits Haykin with fully propelling the Library of Congress to the status of standard bearer by making Library of Congress products more valuable, more readily available, and more indispensable. The production of the manual gave librarians the perception that the

⁵⁶ Miksa, *The Subject in the Dictionary Catalog*, 332.

⁵⁷ Mary K. D. Pietris, interview by author, Washington, DC, July 10, 2010.

headings were based on authoritative rationale and good reason to have confidence in LC products. This confidence, combined with the increasing demand for efficiency, led to an increased reliance of local catalogers on LC and the widespread adoption of LC's standards and terms.⁵⁸ Additionally, around this time, the library published its own card catalog in 167 volumes, beginning in 1942 with subsequent supplements.⁵⁹ These printed catalogs preceded the computerized networks for resource sharing that librarians and patrons use today.

The relationship between the Library of Congress and other libraries supports the supposition that the cataloging done by the Library of Congress was shaped by the mission and activities of public librarians, and the decisions regarding subject headings affected access and representations from the earliest inception of the card catalog.⁶⁰ The distribution of printed cards and dissemination and exchange of libraries' holdings served to further institutionalize and embed cataloging practices across the United States. The legacy of that system is that those practices are now fully integrated into academic and public libraries around the world, and the politics of naming is founded on those early decisions regarding subject access.

Early Sexuality and Sexology

Although this study begins in 1898, when printed cards were issued with subject headings, it is necessary to examine the beliefs about and approaches to sex and gender that precede this era. Early modern science about human nature provided the framework for debates

⁵⁸ Miksa, *The Subject in the Dictionary Catalog*, 365-366.

⁵⁹ Following that, LC produced the *National Union Catalog, Pre-1956 Imprints*, from card files from the previous 70 years. The *National Union Catalog* is a list of holdings from libraries across the U.S. and Canada. The total number of volumes for the pre-1956 imprints amounted to 754 and took 13 years to complete.

⁶⁰ Miksa, *The Subject in the Dictionary Catalog*.

about sexuality based on morality and democratic citizenship.⁶¹ According to Thomas Laqueur, “sex as we know it was invented” in the eighteenth century, with the production of a binary gender system.⁶² This model stands in contrast to the period from the classical era through the Renaissance, during which males and females were understood to be versions of the same sex. Women were viewed to be lesser men, and rather than having completely different sexual organs, the uterus and clitoris were believed to be an inverted penis and scrotum. In the eighteenth century, based on the primacy of the belief that reproduction was vital for maintaining social order, males and females came to be understood as being fundamentally different from each other, giving rise to the idea of “opposite sexes.” To preserve social order, males were viewed as hierarchically superior to females. The middle class family continued to be a central organizing principle for society during the nineteenth century, thus maintaining and reifying the notion of “normal” and “natural” gender distinctions. As Jennifer Terry suggests, measuring variance gave license to a range of methodological practices, including observation, counting, classifying; and such procedures led to the scientific definition of normal--by determining variance, they were able to define normal.⁶³

It is not by coincidence that library standards, including LCSH, the Library of Congress Classification System, and printed cards arose at the same time that sex was becoming the purview of scientists and medical doctors, with metrics, classifications, and increasingly technical languages to describe and identify norms and deviations. LCSH was born at a time when sexologists associated homosexuality and other “deviant” sexual behaviors with

⁶¹ Terry, *An American Obsession*, 30.

⁶² Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex*, 149.

⁶³ Terry, *An American Obsession*.

degeneration, a theory that connected such acts with 'primitive' races, lower classes, poor immigrants, and nonwhites.⁶⁴ Sexuality became more thoroughly studied and defined by medical professionals, as well as policed by federal, state, and local agencies in service of treating broader social problems, such as poverty and violent crime. Scientific research was, in fact, interwoven with efforts to police deviants. Elaborate taxonomies were central to the scientific study of sexuality, as doctors “trusted that their scientific vocabulary would place the discussion of difficult matters on a higher plane, excluding the prurient and phobic; this would alleviate the suffering of patients and add to the diagnostic repertoire of medical professionals.”⁶⁵

At the same time that Roosevelt was actively supporting and funding the Library of Congress, he also was a key player in social purity campaigns and spoke of race suicide and the patriotic duty of women as mothers, thus advocating proper gender and reproductive roles for citizens of the U.S.⁶⁶ As a federal agency, LC had a direct role in knowledge organization for Congress and the public. Samuel Collins argues that, "the work of the Library [of Congress] in the 'information age' is not only a matter of arranging and classifying 'information,' but about positioning 'citizen-readers' in relation to it and, by synecdochic extension, to the reins of government and the power of the State."⁶⁷ This ties in with and should be added to Canaday's research on the regulation of sexual perversion by federal agencies:

The state did not...simply encounter homosexual citizens, fully formed and waiting to be counted, classified, administered, or disciplined....Rather, the state's identification of certain sexual behaviors, gender traits, and emotional ties as grounds for exclusion was a

⁶⁴ Canaday, *The Straight State*; Terry, *An American Obsession*.

⁶⁵ Vicinus, *Intimate Friends*, 203

⁶⁶ Terry, *An American Obsession*, 100.

⁶⁷ Samuel Gerald Collins. *Library of Walls: The Library of Congress and the Contradictions of Information Society*. (Duluth, MN: Litwin Books, 2009), 27.

catalyst in the formation of homosexual identity. The state, in other words, did not merely implicate but also constituted homosexuality in the construction of a stratified citizenry."⁶⁸

Canaday's account reveals the efforts of bureaucracies to come to terms with behaviors and a class of people that seemed to threaten the moral fiber of the country. During the Progressive Era (when "Homosexuality" did not yet exist in library catalogs), perversion was a fuzzy category and homosexuality was just beginning to be considered by policy makers. It was viewed in terms of gender inversion and degeneracy. Homosexuality was just starting to be policed at the border, but it was a difficult enterprise because policies didn't directly name heterosexuality as a requirement for citizenship. Rather, policing of homosexuality relied on policies that rejected people who were likely to be dependent on the state. It was not possible to exclude people based solely on the criterion of being a homosexual. As the 20th century marched on, policies would become more explicitly based on policing types of people, rather than behaviors.

Sexuality was viewed somewhat differently in the early decades of the 20th century by the military, which began to recognize homosexuals as a psychopathic type. The emergence of the pervert type demanded tighter screening and surveillance, including measurements of "masculinity" and "femininity" in soldiers. As with other agencies, the military took pains to negotiate the meanings of sexual behaviors and how they indicated the status of people as homosexuals. Over time the military would increasingly police tendencies toward homosexuality and lesbians.

⁶⁸ Canaday, *The Straight State*, 4.

The Oxford English Dictionary indicates the term “perversion” was used as early as the 15th century to mean anything considered to divert from the truth, the laws of nature, or god, but it didn’t take on a sexual meaning until the 19th century. “From the late 19th cent. until the mid 20th cent., medical and mental health professionals treated homosexuality, along with a number of other sexual tendencies, as a psychological problem.”⁶⁹ The quantity of literature on sexual perversion increased dramatically in the last decades of the 19th century, but the U.S. sexologists trailed behind European doctors. No major book on the subject was produced by an American during this time, but some did publish in journals such as *The American Journal of Insanity* and *The Medical Record*. Most of these journals only published a handful of articles on perversion from 1880-1900. But the *Alienist and Neurologist*, a U.S. journal edited by Charles Hughes, and James Kiernan, published more than twenty articles on the subject during this period, most of which were authored by Kieran, “the most prolific and influential U.S. sexologist.”⁷⁰

From the end of the nineteenth century sexologists and psychoanalysts have been instrumental in propelling discourses about normative, deviant, and pathological sexual orientations and practices.⁷¹ Chauncey asserts that sexuality shifted according to changing ideology about gender from 1880-1930, with a gradual change in a medical model based on inversion, to homosexuality defined as deviant sexual object choice.⁷² Somerville cites D’Emilio who says that sexology emerged as a field in an “attempt to wrest authority for diagnosing and

⁶⁹ *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. “perversion, n.” <http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/view/Entry/141678?redirectedFrom=perversion#eid> (accessed April 1, 2012).

⁷⁰ Duggan, *Sapphic Slashers*, 177.

⁷¹ Jonathan Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality*; Fausto-Sterling, *Sexing the Body*; Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex*; Terry, *An American Obsession*.

⁷² Chauncey, “From Sexual Inversion to Homosexuality: The Changing Conceptualization of Female ‘Deviance.’” In *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History*, ed. Kathy Peiss and Christina Simmons (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989).

defining sexual ‘abnormalities’ away from juridical discourse and to place it firmly within the purview of medical science.”⁷³

Patrick Keilty compares a number of classification systems, beginning with Karl Heinrichs Ulrichs’ late 19th century scheme, which “developed out of his lifelong radical campaign in Germany to justify and decriminalize sexual relations. Ulrichs did his utmost to defend “man-manly” and “woman-womanly” love as healthy and normal and to decriminalize them in German law.”⁷⁴ Ulrichs, a lawyer who dissented from gender and sexual norms, relied on gender inversion to classify homosexuality. He designated third and fourth sexes to account for men and women who displayed behaviors belonging to the opposite sex (see Fig. 2). He viewed such people as being not fully male or female, and he also accounted for what would later be called bisexuality. Keilty has argued that Ulrichs’ early classification has had lasting effects on how western systems organize information about sexuality.

⁷³ Siobhan Somerville, *Queering the Color Line: Race and the Invention of Homosexuality in American Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2000), 18.

⁷⁴ Patrick Keilty, “Tabulating Queer: Space, Perversion, and Belonging.” *Knowledge Organization* 36 (2010): 4.

Figure 2. Karl Ulrichs' Sexual Orientation Classification Scheme (1860's)

A. Dioning(1)

B. Urning(2)

1. Mannling(3)

2. Weibling(4)

3. Zwischen(5)

4. Virilised(6)

C. Urano-Dioning(7)

Notes:

1 – Comparable to the modern term “heterosexual.” A Dioning that sexually behaves like a Urning is termed an “Uraniaster.”

2 – Comparable to the modern term “homosexual.”

3 – A manly Urning.

4 – An effeminate Urning.

5 – A somewhat manly and somewhat effeminate Urning.

6 – An Urning that sexually behaves like a Dioning.

7 – Comparable to the modern term “bisexual.”

Source: GayData.org: Measures, http://www.gaydata.org/04_Measures/ms004_Ulrichs/ms004_Ulrichs.html (accessed April 6, 2012).

Similarly, Jonathan Katz argues that not only was the concept of homosexuality invented, but so was heterosexuality. Both had to be created so that there was a norm and its opposite. Jonathan Katz states that “homosexuality” and “heterosexuality” “signify historically specific ways of naming, thinking about, valuing, and socially organizing the sexes and their pleasures.”⁷⁵ “Heterosexuality” did not always signify the norm. Its earliest known use was in a medical journal article by Dr. James Kiernan in 1892. Here “heterosexuality” signified a sexual desire for two different sexes or sexual gratification without reproduction.⁷⁶ When the word

⁷⁵ Katz, *The Invention of Heterosexuality*, 10.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 19-20.

“homosexuality” came into being, it set up a binary opposition to heterosexuality. According to Katz, the middle class appropriated the medical term in the late nineteenth century to distinguish themselves from the promiscuous upper class and animalistic lower class.

Following Kiernan, doctors and sexologists increasingly medicalized and pathologized sexual and gender deviance. As Foucault has suggested, upon inventing the category homosexual, the medical community produced a "*new specification of individuals*." Through categorization and diagnosis of deviance, the homosexual became a species.⁷⁷ "The machinery of power that focused on this whole alien strain did not aim to suppress it, but rather to give it an analytical, visible, and permanent reality: it was implanted in bodies, slipped in beneath modes of conduct, made into a principle of classification and intelligibility, established as a *raison d'être* and a natural order of disorder."⁷⁸ The kinds of perversions multiplied as increasing numbers of sexual acts and identities were classified as deviant.

Harry Oosterhuis has provided a chronological account of the “explosion of new sexual language” in the final decades of the nineteenth century:

After uranism, contrary sexual feeling, and homosexuality had been coined, exhibitionism was introduced in 1877 by Ernest-Charles Lasegue (1816-1885) (who also created the concept anorexia nervosa and popularized the term kleptomania), inversion of the sexual instinct in 1878 by the Italian forensic doctor Arrigo Tamassia (in 1882 adopted by Jean-Martin Charcot [1825-1893] and Valentin Magnan [1835-1916]), the master concept sexual perversion in 1885 by Magnan, fetishism in 1887 by Alfred Binet (1857-1911), sadism and masochism in 1890 and pedophilia in 1896 by Krafft-Ebing, and unisexuality in 1896 by Mar-Andre Raffalovich (1864-1934).⁷⁹

⁷⁷ Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, 43.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 44.

⁷⁹ Harry Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature: Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatry, and the Making of Sexual Identity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 45.

There was much confusion and blurring of terms at this time, which may partly explain why LC's taxonomy was not nearly as elaborate as that of the medical professionals during the early twentieth century. The key idea reflected by LCSH and LCC was that certain behaviors were considered to be sexual perversions. Although the headings are supposed to reflect contemporary literature, LC has a varied history in responding to and reflecting literature on sexuality, often being slow to adopt new terms.⁸⁰

Cataloging perversions, 1898-1945

The history of sexuality in this period begins with legitimization and social control through medicalization of sexual deviance and shifts toward a social scientific understanding of variance and difference within a range of sexual expressions.⁸¹ But throughout this period, LC relied on the medical literature for literary warrant for subject headings. "Sexual perversion" was included in the earliest lists of subject headings, and the works assigned this heading, as well as the classifications and additional subject headings, reveal much about the dominant attitudes and beliefs about sexual perversion and its various manifestations during the Progressive Era. Additionally, as I will repeatedly suggest, LC's cataloging practices both disciplined and produced knowledge about sexuality. Terry's reflections resonate with those of the library patron in the opening passage of this dissertation, as she describes the effects of medical categories on those whom the categories were meant to define: "My notion of variant subjectivity derives from Foucault the idea that sex variants made use of medical characterizations of themselves in a variety of ways, some dissonant and some consonant with the assumption that homosexuals were

⁸⁰ Greenblatt, "Homosexuality," 95.

⁸¹ Of course, this process begins much earlier than 1898.

abnormal....they understood medical discourse as a powerful mode for understanding themselves and for achieving some measure of dignity and respect.”⁸² While the medicalized language did serve to pathologize certain sexual behaviors, it also offered produced a vocabulary through which homosexuals and others could speak about themselves. Martha Vicinus has argued that this empowered lesbians in important ways, as “the varied nomenclatures and theories proved enabling to many lesbians seeking to understand their desires.”⁸³

Currently, the Library of Congress catalog includes 135 bibliographic records that include the current subject heading “Paraphilias” for works cataloged between 1898 and 1945. These works would have originally carried the subject heading “Sexual perversion,” and were changed to “Paraphilias” through manual and automated updates to the catalog. Of these, a handful of works were published earlier than 1898, so I am examining the subset of materials published from 1892 through 1945 because, although some titles were published earlier than 1898, they were not cataloged until after that year.⁸⁴ The subset of titles cataloged between 1898 and 1945 and published in English amounts to 55, including some duplication such as multiple editions of the *Psychopathia Sexualis*. After removing duplicate titles, the number of books under examination for this chapter is 41.

Although it may be impossible to know when subject headings were added after records were originally produced, we at least know that these were cataloged and added to the collection according to the Library of Congress Control Number (LCCN), which provides information about the year the item was cataloged. For the purposes of this research, which aims to

⁸² Terry, *An American Obsession*, 223.

⁸³ Vicinus, *Intimate Friends*, 204.

⁸⁴ Additionally, I am not including the works published in languages other than English, primarily because the aim of this project is to understand ways in which English language terms organize knowledge in the U.S.

understand the role of library practices in the production of knowledge, it is more appropriate to organize the study according to the cataloging date than the publishing date. In some cases, works published in the early 1900s were not added to the catalog until decades later, either because they were not acquired until the later date or because they had not been cataloged for an unknown reason.

Below is an account of some of the most widely held and significant works on sexual perversion, including homosexuality, fetish, and sex crimes, that were cataloged with the heading “Sexual perversion” during this time period. This history of sexuality is selective, as it is drawn specifically from those works cataloged as “Sexual perversion” by the Library of Congress. It examines the scholarship on sexuality through a very particular lens to ascertain the degree to which the Library of Congress reproduced prevailing attitudes and knowledges. The analysis is presented in order of publication to maintain coherence and to provide the reader with an understanding of the evolution of scientific thought and the significance of each of the texts as they relate to the changing body of scholarship. To determine which authors and works were most influential during this time period, I have drawn from secondary literature, and I counted the current holdings of the titles in U.S. libraries in WorldCat. The works that are most widely held in the U.S. tend to be cited the most often by their contemporaries, as well as current researchers. Some very significant works on sexual perversion were not cataloged with the heading “Sexual perversion,” and in those cases I have created footnotes regarding such works where chronologically applicable.

I also consulted WorldCat to grasp the significance of the reach of the Library of Congress’s practices. I have counted the number of individual academic, medical, law, and

public libraries that hold the specific editions of the works under examination in this paper. I have also noted the total number of holdings worldwide of all editions of each work. Looking at the whole group of 41 titles for the period of 1898-1945, 1599 copies of the specific editions held by the Library of Congress and currently assigned “Paraphilias” are held by libraries in the U.S.⁸⁵ Of these holdings, 1,355 are in general academic libraries, 188 are in medical libraries, 47 are in public libraries, and 12 are held by law libraries. Taking all published editions and formats of the titles, according to WorldCat, 3,189 copies are held by libraries worldwide.

Almost all of the 41 books assigned “Sexual perversion” during this time were in part or entirely about sexual inversion or homosexuality. Many of them integrated historical and geographic perspectives to argue that homosexuality is universal. However, sexologists often associated sexual perversion with primitive races, as especially demonstrated by the title *Anthropological Studies in the Strange Sexual Practises of All Races in All Ages, Ancient and Modern, Oriental and Occidental, Primitive and Civilized*, with such chapter titles as “Strange Sexual Relations of Negroid Primitives--Tribal Amatory Customs and Pleasure Contrivances--Savage Lesbian Love--Indians.”⁸⁶ Siobhan Somerville suggests that “the structures and methodologies that drove dominant ideologies of race also fueled the pursuit of knowledge about the homosexual body: both sympathetic and hostile accounts of homosexuality were steeped in assumptions that had driven previous scientific studies of race.”⁸⁷ And Samuel Collins has argued that LC participated in Social Darwinism grounded in imperialism and capitalism by

⁸⁵ Those books would have been assigned “Sexual perversion” during this period.

⁸⁶ Bloch, Iwan, *Anthropological Studies in the Strange Sexual Practises of all Races in All Ages, Ancient and Modern, Oriental and Occidental, Primitive and Civilized* (New York: Anthropological Press, 1933).

⁸⁷ Somerville, *Queering the Color Line*, 17.

encapsulating a moral order through knowledge production and organization.⁸⁸

Whereas European doctors sought the decriminalization of homosexuality in the first decade of the 20th century, American doctors generally did not. The dominant ethos of American individualism privileged will power and self improvement. Starting in 1907, states began to legalize eugenic sterilization, and all eugenics laws passed by 1921 applied to sexual perverts, which were viewed as genetically defective. Some middle class homosexuals were targeted for rehabilitation, though, by Progressive reformers. By discovering inversion and homosexuality in “primitive” societies, doctors and anthropologists argued that these were signs of evolutionary regression in “civilized” societies.⁸⁹ Social engineering, measurement, standardization, metrics were used to determine norms and control deviations.

Over half of the volumes on sexual perversion from this period were published in Europe. Nineteen were originally in a language other than English, and of those written first in English, seven were published in London or Paris. Many restricted publication to a limited number of volumes and limited audience of physicians, lawyers, psychoanalysts, and scholars. As Jennifer Terry points out, American doctors licensed, rather than repressed, detailed discussions of homosexuality, but they feared that exposing the public would increase the problem. “Writing about sexuality in any matter other than strictly proscribing it was discouraged in the United States. Authors met with publishers’ refusals, censorship, public criticism, and even persecution on obscenity charges,” thereby limiting who could speak and where such material could be published.⁹⁰ The Comstock Act, an amendment to the U.S. Postal Code, was passed by Congress

⁸⁸ Collins. *Library of Walls*, 21.

⁸⁹ Terry, *An American Obsession*, 87.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 76

and signed by Ulysses S. Grant in 1873 “to restrict the trade and circulation of obscene literature and articles of immoral use.”⁹¹ Comstock headed the New York Society for the Prevention of Vice, and the law tried to keep texts like those written by Ellis and Krafft-Ebing described below, out of the hands of lay readers. Censors sought to ban books on homosexual themes and raided places where homosexual men and women gathered, such as bars and drag balls. In the 1910s U.S doctors brought the subject into public discourse, using it as a measure against which to define healthy, normal citizenship. As I will demonstrate below, the Library of Congress also followed the medical community by bringing varieties of sexual perversion together under the single heading “Sexual perversion.” According to Terry, though, physicians were most worried about homosexuality:

Doctors produced a set of categories and a technical language for speaking about the invert and sex pervert as inferior types who dwelt in the shadowy margins of society....In medical discourse from the time, sex perversion was a broad and elastic term, frequently deployed as a synonym for inversion, homosexuality, and a range of nonreproductive sexualities, including those labeled as voyeurism, sadism, masochism, fetishism, exhibitionism, and bestiality.⁹²

The inversionist, non-pathological language and philosophy of Ulrichs and Kiernan described in the previous section was supplanted by degeneration theory propelled by Richard Krafft-Ebing, author of *Psychopathia Sexualis*, noted as “the first classic in sexual science which has had an enduring influence.”⁹³ The degeneration theorists believed that sexual perversion, broadly defined as any non-procreative sex, was a psychological and moral disorder and indicator of overall degeneracy, and that such defects were embedded in the body. They relied on master

⁹¹ quoted in Terry, *An American Obsession*, 89.

⁹² Terry, *An American Obsession*, 118, 78.

⁹³ Victor Robinson, Introduction to *Psychopathia Sexualis*, by Richard von Krafft-Ebing, Revised translation from the 12th German ed. (New York: Pioneer Publications, 1939), iv.

discourse of evolution and classed populations and individuals from primitive to civilized. People could progress, become arrested and fail to reach maturity, or degenerate and slide to more primitive conditions. Heredity was a key to development, and class, race, nation, ethnicity, religion were evaluated using measures of mental abilities, body configurations, and cultural productions. The most progressive among these doctors believed that environment was a factor in development and that change was possible, but most believed that biological causes were at play.⁹⁴ A key mechanism for assessing sexual deviance was the identification, classification, and cataloging of all deviant sex behaviors and physical characteristics that might indicate inversion or degeneration.⁹⁵

Richard von Krafft-Ebing is widely regarded as the sexologist who set the course for modern sexuality studies in Europe and the U.S. in the late nineteenth century. Krafft-Ebing scholar Oosterhuis has observed that he was one of the first to synthesize medical knowledge about sexual perversion “by naming and classifying virtually all nonprocreative forms of sexuality.”⁹⁶ *Psychopathia Sexualis*, which was solely intended to be reference text for lawyers and doctors for court cases, underwent twelve revisions between 1886 and 1903, with the first translation into English published in 1892. Krafft-Ebing was an assistant physician at an insane asylum and became one of the first expert witnesses for the Austrian and German courts. He collected case histories from his practice and court cases, which then went into his books. The first edition of *Psychopathia Sexualis* was a detailed, graphic account of forty-five case studies. While the purpose of his work was to provide physicians with a textbook and bring rationalism

⁹⁴ Duggan, *Sapphic Slashers*.

⁹⁵ Ulrich’s work sets the stage for classifying sexualities, and the tradition is carried through this period. Nearly all the books at LC make some attempt at classifying behaviors and attributes.

⁹⁶ Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature*, 47.

to the legal treatment of sexual perversions, it promoted the approach to sexuality from the degenerationist standpoint. The book was a collection of explicit case studies based on the lives and confessions of his patients. The preface to the first edition reads, “A scientific title has been chosen, and technical terms are used throughout the book in order to exclude the lay reader. For the same reason certain portions are written in Latin.”⁹⁷ Despite efforts to keep the text out of the hands of laypeople, the publication was widely circulated beyond his intended audience and generated a huge response and correspondence. Krafft-Ebing used this material for subsequent editions, with the 1903 edition including 203 cases.

Krafft-Ebing’s classification shifted and expanded over the editions but maintained the evolutionary framework, reiterating hierarchies of racial progress. For instance, in primitive races, perverted behavior might be characteristic of the arrested development of the entire group, but among advanced races it was considered to be pathological degeneration or individual arrested development. By discovering inversion and homosexuality in “primitive” societies, doctors and anthropologists argued that these were signs of evolutionary regression in “civilized” societies.⁹⁸ As Lisa Duggan has noted, “The result was a hazy, unstable distinction in the text’s analytical framework between vice or immoral perversity, most characteristic of those lowest on the vector of development, and the condition of perversion, which might be found without hint of vice at the higher end of the vector.”⁹⁹ Women were also on the evolutionary hierarchy; even the most civilized were less evolved than the men of their nation, race, and class. Sexologists struggled to figure out how to explain inversion in women and often contradicted themselves.

⁹⁷ Richard von Krafft-Ebing, “Preface to the First Edition,” *Psychopathia Sexualis with Especial Reference to the Antipathic Sexual Instinct*, Revised translation from the 12th German ed. (New York: Rebman Company, 1939), vii.

⁹⁸ Terry, *An American Obsession*; Duggan, *Sapphic Slashers*.

⁹⁹ Duggan, *Sapphic Slashers*, 160.

Were they advanced because they were close to men, were they freaks, were they degenerate?

They created expansive classifications that were flexible enough to deal with such contradictions.

Over the course of his career Krafft-Ebing shifted his discourse on sexual perversions from the degenerationist interpretations to biological ones. In fact, near the end of his life he admitted his error in defining inversion as degenerate and immoral and corrected it by declaring that inversion should be explained in terms of genetics, rather than disease. He also came to recognize that “all noble activities of the heart which can be associated with heterosexual love can be equally associated with homosexual love” and relatively speaking, heterosexuals tend to perform more depraved acts than homosexuals do.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, for better or for worse, his initial work did set the standard by which sexuality was studied and understood.

For most sexologists a small number of homosexuals were considered congenital inverters, and the rest became inverters from a compound of nature and nurture. Krafft-Ebing described this in terms of perversion and perversity. Perversion was considered to be a permanent constitutional disorder, whereas perversity was the actual committing of immoral acts by normal persons. Krafft-Ebing distinguished four specific types of perversions: sadism, masochism, fetishism, and contrary sexual feeling (or inversion). The discourse of congenital inverters relied on masculine (active) and feminine (passive) attributes, and same-sex attraction was a symptom of the larger problem of males taking on female attributes and females embodying male characteristics.¹⁰¹

Magnus Hirschfeld, a homosexual and transvestite (a term coined by Hirschfeld), later approached sexuality similarly, and believed that through science he would prove that inversion

¹⁰⁰ Krafft-Ebing, quoted by Robinson, in “Introduction,” *Psychopathia Sexualis*, viii.

¹⁰¹ Vicinus, *Intimate Friendship*.

is a natural, inborn characteristic that deserved political emancipation. He formed the Scientific Humanitarian Committee in 1897 and founded the Institute for Sexual Research in Germany in 1919. Between 1921 and 1932 he called five meetings of the International Congress for Sexual Reform on a Scientific Basis, which was organized by the World League for Sexual Reform, founded by Hirschfeld, August Forel, and Havelock Ellis. The Institute for Sexual Research and its contents, including thousands of books and historical records, was looted and destroyed by Nazis in 1933.

Hirschfeld's *Sexual Pathology: A Study of Derangements of the Sexual Instinct*, was published as part of his humanitarian agenda. He viewed his work as improving upon the work of his predecessors with his extensive, objective, non-judgmental observations. In his preface he dedicated the book to Krafft-Ebing and stated "If my 'Sexual Pathology' may fulfill the same purpose for our time that his 'Psychopathia Sexualis' did for his, then will be attained the goal at which I have aimed."¹⁰² Hirschfeld believed that science could reveal that people that performed sexually perverted acts, including homosexuality, bestiality, and fetishism, deserved sympathy and fairness under the law.

Hirschfeld and John Symonds, author of *A Problem in Modern Ethics: Being an Inquiry into the Phenomenon of Sexual Inversion*, published in England in 1896, resisted evolutionary frameworks and countered the vertical arrangement with a horizontal scale of variation. These men did, however, retain the racial scale and "applied only to those termed antipathic, contrary, inverted, intermediate, third sexed, or homosexual--conditions that together might include the contemporary identity categories of transgender, transsexual, transvestite, homosexual, bisexual,

¹⁰² Magnus Hirschfeld, *Sexual Pathology: A Study of Derangements of the Sexual Instinct* (New York: Emerson, 1940), xxi.

or intersexual.”¹⁰³ Other perversions, such as sadism or fetishism were not defended. These behaviors still remain categorized as paraphilias today.

Havelock Ellis, who first worked in England and then moved to the U.S., believed there was a continuum and that all humans are constitutionally bisexual, but still he pathologized homosexuality. Issued in seven individual volumes, *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* explained a range of normal sex and sexual perversions, including inversion, auto-eroticism, and “eonism”-- the term he used for transvestism. Somerville argues that Ellis might have been the most authoritative sexologist in the U.S.¹⁰⁴ He was heavily involved in U.S. medical practice and associations. “Sexual Inversion in Women” his first work to appear in US, 1895 in journal...then in his book, *Sexual Inversion*. It gained attention in the US because of the censorship scandal that surrounded it. Banned in England, it was judged to not be a scientific work. Of all the volumes, only *Sexual Inversion* and *Eonism and other Supplementary Studies* were assigned the LC subject “Sexual perversion.”¹⁰⁵ Both the 1901 and 1915 editions currently only have the headings, “Sex” and “Paraphilias.” There are no headings for homosexuality. The volume on Eonism is assigned “Sex,” “Sex (Psychology),” and “Paraphilias,” with nothing indicating that this is a book about transvestism. The books are shelved together under HQ21, which is the LC classification for general works on sexual behavior and attitudes. Very few early sexologists include women among the case studies. The first one to appear in the first person was in Havelock Ellis’s *Sexual Inversion* in 1897, and women were underrepresented by the sexological

¹⁰³ Duggan, *Sapphic Slashers*, 161.

¹⁰⁴ Somerville, *Queering the Color Line*, 18-19.

¹⁰⁵ Volumes, in order: 1. The Evolution of Modesty, the Phenomena of Sexual Periodicity and Auto-eroticism; 2. Sexual Inversion; 3. Analysis of the Sexual Impulse; 4. Sexual Selection in Man; 5. Erotic Symbolism. The Mechanism of Detumescence. The Psychic State in Pregnancy; 6. Sex in Relation to Society; 7. Eonism and Other Supplementary Studies.

literature until Katherine Bement Davis conducted her studies in the 1920s.¹⁰⁶

Some of the psychoanalysts and social scientists of the early 20th century emphasized environment and believed in a plurality of experience, rather than sharp divide between normal and abnormal. Early psychoanalytic perspectives, led by Freud, gained preeminence after World War I. Like Ellis, Freud believed that people are essentially bisexual and that homosexuality was a stage in normal childhood development. Adult homosexuality, however, was considered to be a sign of immaturity, rather than disease, resulting from repression (which steered the sex drive away from normal its aim of procreation), and stresses of modern life, according to Freud. His theories did, however, “provide a much sharper definition of the ‘normal,’ with the libido moving in stages from polymorphous expression in infancy to genital heterosexuality in adults.” His students and successors almost entirely place homosexuality and other perversions in the category of pathology.¹⁰⁷

While none of Freud’s works were categorized as being about sexual perversion in the Library of Congress catalog, some of his followers’ publications were assigned the heading “Sexual perversion.” Among those authors was the inventor of “paraphilias,” Wilhelm Stekel, who coined the term in his 1917 volume, *Onanie und Homosexualität: Die Homosexuelle Parapathie*. The second part of this text was translated into English in 1922 and entitled *Bisexual Love: The Homosexual Neurosis*.¹⁰⁸ The Library of Congress records for some editions of

¹⁰⁶ Duggan, *Sapphic Slashers*.

¹⁰⁷ John D’Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States, 1940-1970*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 16.

¹⁰⁸ Stekel, Wilhelm. *Onanie und Homosexualität: Die Homosexuelle Parapathie*, (Berlin: Urban & Schwarzenberg, 1917); Stekel’s contribution to the psychoanalytic treatment of paraphilias remains understudied, especially considering his creation of a term that is now promoted as one that is neutral. Clearly, the origins of this term are embedded in discourses of neurosis; Although this book is not presently assigned “Paraphilias” in the Library of Congress catalog, local catalogs, including that of the University of Wisconsin-Madison do include this heading in bibliographic records for this book.

the book do retain the heading “Neurosis.” The Library of Congress assigns “Paraphilias” to Stekel’s later volume, *Sexual Aberrations: The Phenomena of Fetishism in Relation to Sex*, first published in German in 1923 and then published in New York in English in 1930. The book sets out to explain the psychopathology of fetishism by focusing on sadism and masochism. In it Stekel defines the following terms: “parapathia stands for neurosis; paralogia for psychosis; and paraphilia for perversion.”¹⁰⁹ Like other texts of this era on sexual perversion, the sale and distribution of this book was restricted to medical professionals, psychoanalysts, and scholars. The term “paraphilia” did not enter into common use, even among psychologists and medical professionals, until the 1980s when John Money promoted the use of the term. The definitions of fetishism and paraphilias as provided by Stekel demonstrate how central males and heterosexuality were to defining normalcy. He wrote of the perverted human as if it can only be male (with a few rare exceptions), and he describes homosexual fetishism as “a condition that can be totally explained as a retreat from the female, flight from woman.”¹¹⁰ For Stekel, a “true fetish lover dispenses with a sexual partner and gratifies himself with a symbol.”¹¹¹ Following Freud, who believed that all humans are born bisexual and grow to be heterosexual as mature adults, Stekel asserted that some paraphilias (or fetishes, as he understood them) are part of the make-up of all normal humans.¹¹² Stekel argued that homosexuals were incapable of real love and required treatment. He believed that homosexuality in men resulted from pathological families with strong mothers and weak fathers, and that their dread of women is rooted in a form

¹⁰⁹ Wilhelm Stekel, *Sexual Aberrations: The Phenomena of Fetishism in Relation to Sex* (New York: Liveright Publishing Corp., 1930), v.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 3.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

¹¹² Freud did not believe that homosexuality should be considered an illness or crime.

of sadism. Stekel accused Hirschfeld, who thought homosexuals should not be treated as criminals or psychiatric patients in need of curing, of creating homosexual propaganda. He opposed criminalization of homosexuality only because he thought it would only create “self-pitying martyrs.”¹¹³ Increasing numbers of psychoanalysts echoed this idea and went to such lengths as electric shock as aversion therapy in the 1930s.

Among the notable scientists who wrote about “marital hygiene,” arguing for rational sex education, women’s sexual rights, and access to safe contraception was Katharine Bement Davis, who conducted a study on normal women’s sexuality. Davis belonged to a minority of scientists who “saw single women, including lesbians, as key sources of information for determining what made women happy.”¹¹⁴ Davis’s study began in 1920 (same year as ratification of 19th amendment) in the wake of key historical developments, including women entering the paid work force, getting college educations, women’s colleges, lower birth rates, increasing divorce rates, and an increase in women’s rights.

Davis was one of the few women leaders in science in the early twentieth century.¹¹⁵ She graduated from Vassar in 1892, taught chemistry part-time at a seminary and at Columbia University, and then became the director of a New York state exhibit in Chicago World’s Fair with design of a model family’s healthy and economical home. In 1893 Davis went to the University of Chicago to study political economy and sociology. Earning her PhD at age 40, she went to work as superintendent of the Reformatory for Women at Bedford, New York. Davis was

¹¹³ Terry’s words used to describe Stekel’s opinion, *An American Obsession*, 292.

¹¹⁴ Terry, *An American Obsession*, 122.

¹¹⁵ Margaret Rossiter, “Women’s Work in Science, 1880-1910, *Isis* 71 (1980); Margaret Rossiter, *Women Scientists in America, Struggles and Strategies to 1940* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982); Evelyn Fox Keller, *A Feeling for the Organism: The Life and Work of Barbara McClintock*. (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman, 1983).

then appointed Commissioner of Corrections for New York City, and was the first woman to hold cabinet position in New York City. John D. Rockefeller established the Bureau of Social Hygiene and appointed Davis to the advisory board and then the Laboratory of Social Hygiene in 1912, which Davis directed. In 1917 she became general secretary of the Bureau of Social Hygiene, which focused its efforts on promoting scientifically sound sex education, preventing venereal disease, and reducing prostitution.

Using empirical methods, Davis studied the “normal” woman because she felt that sex, other than in its pathologized forms, was an unexplored science. She defined “normal” as a woman who was “capable of adjusting satisfactorily to her social group.”¹¹⁶ Her study reported data and findings without judgment, and the topics she chose set the standard for future sex surveys. Davis conceptualized lesbianism as a continuum of variations and believed it was much more common than previous sexologists thought. For example, among her findings were the following: half of the unmarried women experienced intense emotional relations with other women, and over one quarter said that a relationship was “carried to the point of overt homosexual expression.”¹¹⁷ Davis concluded that sexual satisfaction depended on knowledge and was an important factor in the well-being of normal women.

Given the fact that the study intentionally sought out “normal” subjects to gain an understanding of healthy marriage, it is curious that the 1929 edition of the published account, *Factors in the Sex Life of Twenty-two Hundred Women*, was assigned the heading “Sexual perversion” and retains the updated form “Paraphilias” in the Library of Congress catalog. The

¹¹⁶ It should be noted that Davis’s study population was entirely white, middle class women.

¹¹⁷ Katharine Bement Davis, *Factors in the Sex Life of Twenty-two Hundred Women* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1929), 248.

other headings are “Women--Health and hygiene” and “Marriage.” It is shelved under HQ21, which during the time it was cataloged was the class for “Sex relations-Later works. Scientific treatises, Psychology, etc.”¹¹⁸

Terry asserts that studies like Davis’s were sociological and considered individual traits and behaviors through empirical methods and statistical analysis to find variance. Such methods contrasted with clinical models that studied abnormal individuals based on assumptions about what constitutes “normal.” Rather than seeking out economically and socially marginalized individuals to make the case of degeneracy, sociological studies were almost all of middle class white men and women. “This represented a self-conscious move to a discourse of what *is* rather than what ought to be,” and led to a greater range of variation within the norm.¹¹⁹ At the same time, this shift operated under the assumption that whiteness and the middle class were normal.

As sexuality studies moved to fields outside the medical and psychiatric disciplines, ideas of normalcy and abnormality became more highly contested. Scientists in endocrinology, anthropology, and psychology during the 1930s focused their attention on sex differences and influenced how homosexuality would be studied in the U.S. Endocrinologists’s studies beginning in the late 1920s revealed that males and females have both male and female hormones, shattering the idea that males and females are hormonally distinct. By the mid-1930s, many scientists recognized a more fluid system influenced by factors inside and outside the body. Among the texts at LC are the anthropological studies conducted by Iwan Bloch published in English after his 1922 death, which explore perversions around the globe, particularly among

¹¹⁸ Library of Congress *Classification H, Social Sciences*, 2nd ed. 1920; The 1972 reprint is assigned “Women--Sexual behavior” and “Lesbianism” and is classed as HQ29, which is the LC classification for the sexual behaviors and attitudes of women.

¹¹⁹ Terry, *An American Obsession*, 155.

“primitive” societies. Bloch was particularly interested in the Marquis de Sade, and sought to understand strange sexual practices by looking to the cultural and historical positions in which they emerged. Although he is the author of the text mentioned earlier with the highly problematic chapter titles, Bloch’s overall mission might be considered benevolent, as he draws from the examples around the world to show that sexual variations and homosexuality occur everywhere, “independently of time, place, racial conditions and cultural forms.”¹²⁰ He rejected Krafft-Ebing’s degeneration theory and believed that the range of pathological sexual behaviors should be greatly reduced. Bloch’s studies preceded those of the pioneering anthropologist Margaret Mead, who called into question notions of deviance and normalcy and criticized society’s notion of dichotomized gender.¹²¹ Around the same time, classics scholar Hans Licht conducted a similar historical study on sex customs in ancient Greece to illustrate the temporal and spatial universality of sexual deviance.¹²²

In the area of psychology, though, standardized testing became the tool to identify individuals who deviated from social norms. The Lewis Termin Masculinity and Femininity Test was a seven part diagnostic tool most often used to identify individuals who deviated from norms, signaling homosexuality. This distinguished between true and situational inverts, and attempted to solve the ever-present nature versus nurture question. In the 1930s psychiatrists performed a central role in diagnosing sexual psychopathy and recommending policing mechanisms. This period witnessed an increasingly “rational” approach to treating homosexuality, which was generally regarded by medical professionals as pathological. This

¹²⁰ Bloch, *Anthropological Studies in the Strange Sexual Practises*, 2.

¹²¹ Margaret Mead. *Coming of Age in Samoa: A Psychological Study of Primitive Youth for Western Civilization* (New York: W. Morrow, 1928).

¹²² Hans Licht, *Sexual Life in Ancient Greece* (London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1932).

hysteria was generated in part by a rise in “lust-murders.” In the summer of 1937, in a response to a series of sex-related killings, Mayor La Guardia issued an order stating that all men in prison for indecent exposure, sodomy, or attempted rape be given a psychiatric examination and be considered for admission to a psychiatric ward upon completing their prison sentence. One book in the sample served this national mission: to perform these evaluations a sex clinic was set up on Rikers Island, and Bertram Pollens, the senior psychologist at that institution wrote one of the most widely held texts from the late 1930s.¹²³ As a researcher, Pollens cataloged deviant sexual behaviors and made recommendations for treatment and social control.

Only one book is classified as Psychoanalysis (the Stekel book on *Sexual Aberrations*), and three are classed under the medical sciences as either “Diseases and functional disorders of the genital organs” or “Internal medicine-Syphilis.” The remaining thirty-seven books are classed in the social sciences, thirty-two of which are in the HQs. Of those under HQ, fourteen are classed as HQ71. Early on, classes for sexual variation in the social sciences were named based on the medical sciences’ names and classifications. The former caption for HQ71 reads “Abnormal sex relations. General works. *Psychopathia sexualis*, etc.” LCC infrequently provides an example of literature in the caption defining a class, so it especially striking that one is included here. That this text is provided as an example is quite telling. While it does not prove that this was the source for literary warrant, it is clear evidence that the classification was based on medical/sexological works such as *Psychopathia Sexualis*, thus supporting the argument that this group of classes in LCC is rooted in the medical discipline.

Works about women that are currently assigned “Paraphilias” as subjects were classed

¹²³ Richard A. McGee, Introduction to *The Sex Criminal* by Bertram Pollens (New York: The Macaulay Company, 1938), 14.

under the general HQ21, designated as “Sex relations--Later works. Scientific treatises. Psychology, etc.”¹²⁴ despite the fact that there was HQ73 for “Special. Woman” under the broader class “Abnormal sex relations.” Somehow, HQ73 wasn’t shifted to represent Lesbians in later classifications, as today the class for Lesbians is HQ75 and the old HQ73 houses general works on sexual minorities. As a consequence of shifting cultural norms and classifications, combined with neglect and the lack of reclassifying, one work on lesbians is still classed as HQ76, the former class for homosexuality and current class for gay men. This means that this book on lesbians is currently shelved with books on gay men. Sixteen of the books from this period are classified under “Sexual practices outside of social norms,” and seven are under the much more general “Sexual behavior and attitudes.” The question remains: Why did catalogers put this in social sciences if the research being cataloged was produced by doctors and psychiatric professionals?

Figure 3. Library of Congress Classifications: 1910, 1920

1st edition, published 1910

HQ	
12-15	Periodicals
16-471	Sex relations.
16-18	History.
19-33	General works.
36-61	Special.
71-440	Abnormal sex relations.
71-71	General.
76	Homosexuality.
79	Sadism, etc.
101-440	Prostitution.
450-471	Erotica.

¹²⁴ Today HQ21 is described as “Sexual behavior and attitudes.”

LCC 2nd edition, published 1920

Social Groups: The Family. Marriage.

HQ

Periodicals. Collection.

12 English.

13 French.

14 German.

15 Other.

Sex relations.

History.

16 General.

17.A3 Antiquity.

.A4 Middle ages.

.A5 Renaissance (14th-16th century).

.A6 Modern, 16th-18th (-19th) century.

.A7-Z 19th-20th century

18 By country, A-Z

General works.

19 Early works, to 1800.

21 Later works. Scientific treatises. Psychology, etc.

23 Minor.

25 Curiosa.

Special.

26 Adolescence.

31 Practical works. Ethics, etc.

33 Essays.

Special.

36 Works for men.

41 Works for boys.

46 Works for women.

51 Works for girls.

56 Sex teaching.

58 The medical profession and sex teaching.

61 Love and religion. Religious emotion and eroticism.

63 Sex relations and the church.

Abnormal sex relations.

71 General.

73 Special. Woman.

76 Homosexuality.

79 Sadism, Masochism, Fetishism, etc.

101-270 Prostitution

The puzzling classification of works on sexual perversion, if seemingly deriving from medical and psychiatric disciplines, within the social sciences might be addressed by looking to the predecessor of the Library of Congress Classification, which was created before the arrival of the field of sexology. Charles Cutter's Expansive Classification, upon which LCC is largely based, set the precedent of placing things related to sexual relations under "Woman" as shown in Figure 4. In the expansive classification, Cutter created six versions, each more specific than the previous, so that the smallest libraries would be allowed to use the simplest of classifications. The smallest libraries would just divide their collections into eight sections, without subdividing these sections, and then arrange titles alphabetically by author's last name. The placement of sexual relations in the realm of women suggests that the classification reflects the prevailing attitude that women were defined as subjects in relation to their role in the family. It's striking that "Marriage" fell under "Sexual relations," which is under "Woman" in the earliest classification schemes. The broad class "K" was for "Legislation. Law. Woman. Societies" and was introduced with Cutter's third version.¹²⁵

Kw was sub-divided in the sixth classification, the most specific classification. In the simplest classifications, there is no K present. Rather, the subject of "Woman" (or as it is referred to in the simplest classifications, "The Woman question") falls under H, Social Sciences. Cutter did this so that a classification could expand as a collection grows: "Now appears the reason why some of the letters of the alphabet were not used at first, namely, that they were reserved for classes to be inserted later."¹²⁶ This allowed catalogers avoid the need to create a new

¹²⁵ Sexual ethics is specified in the scope note for BQ "Social ethic" under Philosophy. Class B, Philosophy, included BR religion and BI psychology.

¹²⁶ Cutter, *Expansive Classification*, 123.

classification scheme and reclass everything. “In the classification here set forth, on the contrary, the classes chosen are parts of a carefully prepared whole, and the notation is such that other classes, which are sure to be needed in a library grown larger, can be intercalated without changing the classes already in use, except by taking some books out of them.”¹²⁷

Figure 4. Cutter’s Expansive Classification, Kw.

Kw Woman

General and miscellaneous works, with the local list for the condition of women at various periods and in various countries.

KWA Quotations and other collections about woman, and Delineations of woman in literature and art.

KWB Body: Physiology, Hygiene, Therapeutics.

Better in class Q Medicine.

KWC Soul: Psychology

KWD Intellect

KWE Education

KWEC Co-education

The last two may be in I

KWF Emotions

KWG Morals, friendship

KWH Duties as daughter

Duties as wife. *See* KWN

KWI Duties as mother

KWJ Sexual relations

KWK Love

KWL Courtship

KWM Marriage

KWN Duties of husband and wife

KWO Restrictions on marriage

E.g., relationship (sister, cousin, deceased wife’s sister),
caste, ability to support wife.

KWP Primitive marriage, polyandry, etc.

KWQ Polygamy, etc.

Mormons. *See* B

KWR Adultery

KWS Divorce, separation.

KWT ‘Free love,’ ‘Spiritual wives’

¹²⁷ Ibid.

	Prostitution. See IBP
KWU	Single life
KWWV	The family

Source: Charles Ammi Cutter, *Expansive Classification* (Boston: C. A. Cutter, 1891-1893), 83.

Rather than categorizing all things related to sex and the family directly under “Woman,” the Library of Congress reversed the relationship, placing “Woman” under the broad class HQ: “Social groups: The family. Marriage.” As Intner and Futas explain, this may have everything to do with societal perceptions of gender roles:

The answer that might be given is the Family is largely a woman's issue, or that the rest of the classification is gender neutral, except for HQ and the scattering of sub-subclasses and sub-sub-subclasses devoted specifically to women. But it is these authors' opinion that the rest of the classification presumes any gender issues to be addressed relate solely to women because men are considered the norm.¹²⁸

The Library of Congress essentially reproduced an existing classification system, which classed most subjects related to sexuality under the social sciences as demonstrated in Figure 5.

Taking the smaller sample of the fifteen most widely held books, one sees further verification of the medicalization of the language. In fact, the fifteen titles can be grouped into two categories: those written by psychiatric or medical professionals and those written by laypeople or humanists. All of the books written by psychoanalysts tend to focus on diagnosing, classifying and treating various behaviors and desires. And all but one place these behaviors in the general category of “sexual perversion” and use terms such as “deviation,” “sexual neuroses,” and “sexual pathology.” The exception is Katherine Bement Davis, who wrote about normal women’s sexuality, and includes nonjudgmental descriptions of lesbianism. Hirschfeld

¹²⁸ Sheila S. Intner, Elizabeth Futas. The Role and Impact of Library of Congress Classification on the Assessment of Women’s Studies Collections. *Library Acquisitions: Practice & Theory* 20, no. 3 (1996).

may also be considered an exception for his advocacy for eliminating the criminalization and pathologization of homosexuality, but his volume on sexual perversion, entitled "*Sexual Pathology: A Study of Derangements of the Sexual Instinct*" does treat numerous sexual behaviors as diseases. Nearly all of the texts at least touch on homosexuality, and seven of them devote at least half of the content to the topic.

The five laypeople and literary scholars were also homosexuals or transvestites and wrote defenses of their identities and actions and rejected terms like "perversion." The non-scientists wrote as advocates, sometimes anonymously, as in the case of *The Invert, and His Social Adjustment*, written pseudonymously by Anomaly in 1929. Such texts tried to advance understanding of their experience as people, rather than patients or case studies. That these books rank among those most widely held suggests that a fair number of libraries held books that represented the voices of those being pathologized alongside the medical texts. It does seem that LC disregarded their language from the start by choosing medical terminologies, even when inverts, homosexuals, and transvestites clearly didn't accept the label "sexual perversion." This means that, from the earliest headings, LC engaged in the disciplining of sexual deviance.

There seems not to have been disagreement that sadism, masochism, and fetishism were perversions--at least not on the LC shelves--as no texts from this period advocate such acts. Three of the 41 works are classed under HQ79, "Sadism, Masochism, Fetishism," and a few more than that amount touch upon these subjects. Interestingly, the Stekel text, which is entirely about fetishism, is classed under BF173 (Psychoanalysis) instead of HQ79. Hirschfeld authored a book that is among the most widely held books in this category. At least half of the book is about fetishism and sadomasochism, but it receives the more general classification HQ71. Recall that

Hirschfeld was a transvestite and invert and did not consider homosexuality to be a perversion. It is worth noting that he devoted a book to sexual behaviors that he considered pathological, even calling the text *Sexual Pathology: A Study of Derangements of the Sexual Instinct*. It seems that he is very intentionally making a distinction between what he considers to be healthy sexual expression, even though most scientists and the public disagree, and more radical sex acts that should be truly considered perversions.

The *Venus Castina*, an illustrated book about female impersonators first published in the 1928, celebrated inversion in men and attributed the rise of the effimination of men to gender segregation and prohibition of prostitution in World War I camps and the increasing masculinity and independence of women. The book looks to historical texts and literature to unearth the origins of the recently named phenomenon of transvestism.¹²⁹ While the author does admit a correlation with homosexuality, he is most interested in the drive for men to express what are commonly assumed to be female expressions, such as women's general obsession with adornment and clothing.

¹²⁹ Hirschfeld coined the term in 1910 in *Die Transvestiten. The Transvestites: The Erotic Drive to Cross Dress*, trans. Michael A. Lombardi-Nash, (Buffalo, NY : Prometheus Books, 1991).

Figure 5. Cutter's Expansive Classification, 1898-93 and First LCC Outline, 1899.

<u>Expansive Classification</u>		<u>First LCC Outline, 1899</u>	
A	General Works	A 1-200	General Works
B-BQ	Philosophy	A 201-3000	Philosophy
BR-BZ	Religion	A 3001-B9999	Religion, Theology, Church History
C	Christianity & Judaism	C	Biography & Studies auxiliary to History
D	Ecclesiastical History	D	General History, Local History (except America)
E	Biography	E-F	America, history and geography
F	History & Studies auxiliary to history	G	Geography & allied studies, Anthropology & Ethnology
G	Geography & Travels	H 1-2000	Political Science
H	Social Sciences, Statistics, Economics, Political Economy	H 2001-9999	Law
I	Demotics, Sociology, Education	I 1-8000	Sociology
J	Civics, Political Science	I 8001-9999	Women, Societies, Clubs, etc.
K	Legislation & Law, Societies, Clubs	J 1-2000	Sports, Amusements
L	Science & Arts, Physics, Chemistry	J 2001-9999	Music
M	Natural History, Geology, Paleontology, Biology	K	Fine Arts
N	Botany	L-M	Philology & Literature
O-P	Zoology, Anthropology, Ethnology	N	Science, Mathematics, Astronomy, Physics, Chemistry
Q	Medicine	O	Natural History, Geology
R	Useful arts, Agriculture, Technology	P	Zoology, Botany
S	Constructive arts (Engineering & Building)	Q	Medicine
T	Fabricative arts, Manufactures, Handicrafts	R	Useful arts, Agriculture
U	Art of War	S	Manufactures
V	Athletic & Recreative Arts, Theatre, Music	T	Engineering
W	Art, Fine Arts	U	Military, Naval Science, etc.
X	Language	V-Y	Special Collections
Y	Literature		
Z	Book Arts		

Cutter's outline is from his Expansive Classification, Part I: The First Six Classifications (Boston: 1891-93); the first LCC outline from LaMontagne, American Library Classification, pp. 228-29.

Source: Miksa, *Development of Classification at the Library of Congress*, 20.

Summary

The histories of sexuality and librarianship are interconnected. As Terry suggests, “The invention of sex variance and of modern hygienic heterosexuality thus became powerful elements through which an elaborate regulatory apparatus was constructed, with scientists playing a central role in its implementation.”¹³⁰ Taking institutions of learning to be a critical part of the matrix of discourses, certainly the Library of Congress is a powerful arm of the apparatus regulating sexuality. Similarly, Canaday observes, “when perversion was policed in this early period, it was through regulatory devices aimed at broader problems: poverty, disorder, violence, or crime, for example. As the state expanded, however, it increasingly developed conceptual mastery over what it sought to regulate.”¹³¹ Categorization, classification, and knowledge building were integral to regulating that which the state deemed it necessary to control.

This chapter has demonstrated that, from the outset, when LC began writing subjects into the records, it organized and relied on medical discourses. The Library’s use of the heading “Sexual perversion” mirrors the wider psychiatric community’s conclusion that various sexualities should be considered abnormal. Early on, the most common and most researched perversion was homosexuality or inversion, and this trend continued through the postwar era.

¹³⁰ Terry, *An American Obsession*, 158.

¹³¹ Canaday, *The Straight State*, 3.

Top 15 books, in order of number of holdings in WorldCat for the same edition

Davis, Katharine Bement. *Factors in the Sex Life of Twenty-two Hundred Women*. New York: Harper and Bros., 1929.

Symonds, John Addington, *A Problem in Modern Ethics: Being an Inquiry into the Phenomenon of Sexual Inversion*. London, 1896.

Anomaly. *The Invert, and His Social Adjustment*. Baltimore, MD: The Williams & Wilkins Company, 1929.

Krafft-Ebing, Richard von. *Psychopathia Sexualis: A Medico-forensic Study*. New York: Pioneer Publications, 1939.

Stekel, Wilhelm. *Sexual Aberrations: The Phenomena of Fetishism in Relation to Sex*. New York: Liveright Publishing Corp., 1930.

Hirschfeld, Magnus, *Sexual Pathology: A Study of Derangements of the Sexual Instinct*. New York: Emerson, 1940.

Licht, Hans. *Sexual Life in Ancient Greece*. London: G. Routledge and Sons, 1932.

Cabanes, Augustin. *The Erotikon: Being an Illustrated Treasury of Scientific Marvels of Human Sexuality*. New York: Anthropological Press, 1933.

Ellis, Havelock. *Eonism and Other Supplementary Studies*. Philadelphia: F.A. Davis, Co., 1928.

Bulliet, Clarence Joseph. *Venus Castina: Famous Female Impersonators, Celestial and Human*. New York: Covici, Friede, 1933.

Bloch, Iwan. *Anthropological Studies in the Strange Sexual Practises of all Races in All Ages, Ancient and Modern, Oriental and Occidental, Primitive and Civilized*. New York: Anthropological Press, 1933.

Bloch, Iwan, *Marquis de Sade, the Man and His Age: Studies in the History of the Culture and Morals of the Eighteenth Century*. Newark, NJ, 1931.

Moll, Albert. *Perversions of the Sex Instinct: A Study of Sexual Inversion Based on Clinical Data and Official Documents*. Newark, NJ: Julian Press, 1931.

Pollens, Bertram. *The Sex Criminal*. New York: The Macaulay Company, 1938.

Taylor, William Sentman. *A Critique of Sublimation in Males: A Study of Forty Superior Single Men*. Worcester, MA: Clark University, 1933.

Chapter 3

HOMOSEXUALITY, 1946-1971

Sexual perversion (HQ71-78)

sa Exhibitionism; Homosexuality; Lesbianism; Masochism; Nymphomania; Sadism; Sex crimes; Transvestism.

xx Sex crimes¹

Homosexuality. (Social pathology, HQ76; Medical jurisprudence, RA1141)

Works on the criminal manifestation of homosexuality are entered under the heading Sodomy.

sa Sodomy.

xx Sexual perversion.

I went to texts on abnormal psychology, to encyclopedias, to medical books, to every book dealing with sex, as well as to whatever I could find under card catalog headings like 'sexual perversion.' I was so anxious to get to the materials on homosexuality, I didn't even mind looking in categories like 'perversion' and 'abnormal.' And I half believed them anyway.

--Barbara Gittings²

The state did not...simply encounter homosexual citizens, fully formed and waiting to be counted, classified, administered, or disciplined....Rather, the state's identification of certain sexual behaviors, gender traits, and emotional ties as grounds for exclusion was a catalyst in the formation of homosexual identity. The state, in other words, did not merely implicate but also constituted homosexuality in the construction of a stratified citizenry.

--Margot Canaday³

The subject heading "Homosexuality" was created in 1946, as the postwar era brought new attitudes and awarenesses about sexuality, including a more visible homosexual community and tensions between efforts to control, contain, and explain this population. The Library of Congress was one of the federal agencies that policed homosexuals among its ranks and censored

¹ LCSH, 6th ed., 1966.

² Barbara Gittings in *Gay Crusaders*, by Kay Tobin and Randy Wicker, (New York: Arno Press, 1975), 207.

³ Canaday, *The Straight State*, 4.

sexually explicit materials. It was also the leader in library automation and propelled librarianship into a new era of resource sharing, cooperative cataloging, and standardization. This chapter begins when World War II ends and follows the Library's involvement in postwar censorship and sexual policing and it ends with the civil rights era, just before the heading "Sexual perversion" changed to "Sexual deviation" and when the Gay Liberation movement was underway.

Technological Advances in Cataloging in the U.S.

Dismayed by the absence of a written manual on subject headings, David Judson Haykin, the Subject Cataloging Division's first chief, began writing one in 1946 and completed it in 1951. Haykin observed that the existing list of subject headings was "the product of many minds over a considerable period of time," arbitrarily chosen, rather than guided by principles. His manual was intended to provide guidelines for catalogers to create and assign headings to provide consistency and ease for the reader.⁴ Following Cutter's tradition, Haykin believed that terms recognized in society as conventional should be used, and a dictionary catalog should be a listing of commonly spoken subject names in alphabetical order. He wrote three operating principles in choosing headings for books: subjects should serve the reader, terms should be in common usage, and they should be specific. Haykin believed that subject terms reflected the way people thought, and headings should be made based on searching habits of users: "The heading chosen must represent common usage, or, at any rate the usage of the class of reader for whom

⁴ David Judson Haykin, "Let's Get Down to Fundamentals," *Bulletin of the Medical Library Association*, 36:2 (April 1948): 85.

the material within the heading falls is intended.”⁵ As Francis Miksa observes, Haykin meant the reader to be “the group for which any particular dictionary subject catalog was made. Since any single catalog might serve an array of variously defined groups, however, in practical terms ‘the reader’ meant the numerically superior group, or at least the target group, being served.”⁶ Similar to Olson’s assertion that Cutter spoke in terms that suggested a problematic singular public, Joan Marshall has stated that Haykin’s manual formalizes a policy oriented toward a majority, and because the majority (or rather, those in positions of authority) was male, heterosexual, Protestant, white, and middle to upper class, anyone who is not a member of the majority group is underserved by the subject representation system of the LC.⁷ Haykin did recognize different groups of users based on library type and purpose, and suggested that libraries choose headings that best serve their audience:

This usage would vary with the public which the library must serve. A public library must somehow, in a sense, strike an average, that is use the language of the layman; a children’s library must, as far as possible, limit itself to the language of the child and of the school; while the special library, such as the medical library, must base its choice on the usage of the specialists who it might serve.⁸

It would seem, however, that Haykin did not fully anticipate the extent to which the Library of Subject Headings would eventually be the tool for subject access in virtually all types of library catalogs. Although there are medical vocabularies and children’s vocabularies, LCSH is by far the most ubiquitous. Additionally, he may not have realized that single libraries frequently serve

⁵ David Judson Haykin, *Subject Headings: A Practical Guide* (District of Columbia: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1951).

⁶ Miksa, *The Subject in the Dictionary Catalog*, 346.

⁷ Joan Marshall, *On Equal Terms: A Thesaurus for Nonsexist Indexing and Cataloging* (New York: Neal-Schuman, 1977).

⁸ Haykin, “Let’s Get Down to Fundamentals,” 84.

diverse audiences. “Popular terminology would be preferred where the headings must serve the general public as well as the specialist, provided the popular term is as precise in its meaning as the technical or scientific one.”⁹ Nevertheless, Haykin’s manual became the textbook on subject headings for libraries across the U.S., and further established the LC as the authority. Two decades later, the creation of machine readable records for authority headings made the inclusion of LCSH in thousands of library catalogs even easier and, in fact, automatic.

Crucial to this story is the Library’s leadership in creating Machine Readable Cataloging (MARC) and the rise of the Library to a formal position of authority in librarianship. Although it wasn’t until the 1970s that U.S. libraries joined the automation movement, discussions of computers in libraries began as early as the 1950s, and LC programmers developed and implemented MARC in the late 1960s. Additionally, it was during this time that policies and procedures for subject heading creation and application were formalized.

Plenty of scholars have explored the role of libraries in the postwar era. As Greg Downey and others have observed, the postwar era witnessed a huge surge in knowledge production and systems.¹⁰ In the United States, the degree of involvement of different types of publicly accessible libraries in the war effort varied greatly. Richards asserts that library leaders were very aware of the critical role of U.S. libraries in wielding power through information systems.¹¹ She cites Jesse Shera, dean of the library school at Case Western Reserve University, who stated: “On

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Greg Downey, “The Librarian and the Univac: Automation and Labor at the 1962 Seattle World’s Fair,” in *Knowledge Workers in the Information Society*, ed. Catherine McKercher and Vincent Mosco (New York: Lexington Books, 2007).

¹¹ The Soviets believed that MARC was a threat, as it gave the U.S. license to exercise too much ideological influence in knowledge production and organization, Pamela Spence Richards, “Cold War Librarianship: Soviet and American Library Activities in Support of National Foreign Policy, 1946-1991,” *Libraries and Culture* 36, no.1 (Winter 2001): 197.

our own ability to put knowledge to work may rest the very future of our civilization and the perpetuation of our cherished way of life. We are engaged in a grim game; we may not long hold all the high cards, if indeed we do now, and--make no mistake about it--this time we are playing for keeps."¹²

As the volume of scientific and technical literature increased exponentially and as libraries faced ever-increasing pressures on their resources, the prospect of automation brought hope for managing the massive amounts of information.¹³ The idea of computer-based solutions to the range of increasingly difficult problems that libraries were experiencing became potentially attractive to them. Many libraries were beginning to face the breakdown of the systems with problems including increasingly large backlogs in cataloging, disorganized circulation and acquisitions records, as well as inconsistencies in local cataloging practices. Automation and computers seemed to offer librarians the promise of efficiency, resource sharing, and improved services with reduced costs.¹⁴

Investigations of the possibility of automation began at the LC in the 1950s.¹⁵ By 1963 a study funded by the Council on Library Resources determined the feasibility of automating, and a systems staff was assembled at the Library. Henriette Avram, a former computer programmer with the National Security Agency, was appointed Chief of the MARC Development Office to

¹² Jesse Shera, "Keynote Address Delivered before the Special Libraries Association," *Special Libraries* 47 (September 1956).

¹³ Rayward, "A History of Computer Applications in Libraries."

¹⁴ D. Reynolds, "Library Automation," *World Encyclopedia of Library and Information Services*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: American Library Association, 1993).

¹⁵ Henriette D. Avram, *History of MARC and Its Implications* (Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, 1975).

lead the project.¹⁶ The mission of the project was to develop a data format for the exchange of cataloging information in computerized form for a variety of uses. The anticipated benefits of standardization included a greater interchange of records, development of shared systems, union catalogs for interlibrary loan, minimization of costs, uniformity of processes, and reduced duplication of effort among librarians. A 1965 conference determined that machine readable records produced by LC would help libraries planning to automate, and agreement by a broad segment of the library community on the elements in the record was most desirable. It was decided that centralizing operations out of the LC was probably the best way to achieve standardization.¹⁷ That year, the Library received a grant from the Council on Library Resources to do a pilot project on the feasibility of distribution of records from LC to other libraries.¹⁸

The MARC pilot project initially included sixteen participating libraries and added four more as the pilot was extended the following year. “The project’s immediate goals were to develop a standard format, set up a record input system at the LC, and start a tape-based record distribution service from the Library.”¹⁹ The first distribution began in October 1966 and ended in June 1968, at which point 50,000 records had been distributed by LC. A year later LC finalized the first complete version of the format that forms the basis of current MARC records, MARC II. From July 1968 through March 1969 they tested the redesign and held series of workshops across the U.S. nationwide. These workshops, first held in 1968, were attended by over 2,000 people.

¹⁶ Sally H. McCallum. “MARC: Keystone for Library Innovation,” *Annals of the History of Computing* 24, no. 2 (2002).

¹⁷ Avram, *History of MARC and Its Implications*, 3.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ McCallum, “MARC.”

In March 1969 the MARC II system was officially launched, with records for all English language monographs cataloged by LC that year. The distribution cycle was weekly with 1000 records on each tape. From 1969 through the late 1970s, work continued at the LC to expand the format to accommodate all forms of material. It was then extended to controlled subject and name headings. According to Avram's report, there were 74 subscribers in 1974 and by March 1975 the database included 604,729 records, with some foreign language, films, maps, and serials.²⁰ At that time the primary use of the MARC service was to aid acquisitions librarians, including printing records and routing to selectors and producing orders from MARC records. The most popular operation was the production of catalog cards and book form catalogs by computer line printing, photocomposition, and microform. Some libraries wanted data in machine readable form, so records could also be output on tape.²¹

Around the same time, the first major bibliographic record supply network was created by several programmers involved in developing MARC.²² In 1967, the Ohio College Library Center (OCLC) was founded to develop a shared computerized system for the libraries of Ohio academic institutions. Frederick Kilgour from Yale was the principal developer of this system, which would eventually become the host to WorldCat. In the early 1970s, OCLC utilized MARC, enabling member libraries to search for a record and produce printed cards. If the desired record was not available, the member entered a local record which became available for others.

²⁰ Avram, *History of MARC and Its Implications*, 27.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 29-30.

²² McCallum, "MARC."

Homosexuality in the U.S. during the Postwar Era

Although homosexuals had started forming small communities in the early 20th century, WWII was what really created the environment for huge growth by dislocating people from homes, small cities and towns, and families and put them in sex-segregated situations.²³ The massive war mobilization allowed some men and women to discover their homosexuality, ended their isolation in small towns, and provided opportunities to participate in the gay nightlife in cities. Women were given the opportunity to leave male-run households, and live in all-female worlds doing “men’s work.” Allan Bérubé argues that the impact of this shift was lost in the tragedy of world war, with no gay movement or gay press to document the history, but World War II was as crucial for gays and lesbians as Stonewall was and laid the groundwork for later activism.

John D’Emilio asserts that early twentieth-century wage-labor capitalism allowed people to form an identity outside of the family unit, enabling underground social networks to form. World War II then pulled people out of their homes and segregated them by sex in GI, Women's Army Corps (WAC) and Women Accepted for Volunteer Emergency Service (WAVES) groups, providing ample opportunity to pursue same-sex relationships. Rather than focusing on discursive practices as Foucault does, D'Emilio takes a Marxist approach to understanding the emergence of a homosexual identity and community during World War II and the postwar era. He argues that “gay men and lesbians have not always existed. Instead, they are a product of history

²³ Allan Bérubé, “Marching to a Different Drummer: Lesbians and Gay GIs in World War II,” in *My Desire for History: Essays in Gay, Community, and Labor History* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011). Originally published in the *Advocate*, October 15, 1981, 20-25, 18; D’Emilio, “Capitalism and Gay Identity.”

and have come into existence in a specific historical era.”²⁴ D’Emilio challenges the idea that gay men and lesbians have always existed around the world, and asserts that capitalism has allowed large numbers of men and women in the late nineteenth century to call themselves gay, see themselves as part of a community, and organize politically on the basis of that identity. Over the course of the twentieth century, the family took on a different role and meaning. It became less of a vehicle exclusively for procreation and increasingly a space to develop emotional relationships. The family was part of one’s personal life, separate from work and production. Capitalism led to separation of sexuality and procreation. According to D’Emilio, capitalism is paradoxical, as it weakens the family by pushing people out of the home and into the labor force, making it possible for individuals to live outside of families. It also pushes men and women into families to create the next generation of workers. As a result, he says, the family has been elevated to ideological preeminence, producing heterosexism and homophobia.

As the homosexual subculture grew, oppression by the state intensified. According to Bérubé, “The massive mobilization of all Americans for World War II allowed the U.S. military to adopt its first explicit antihomosexual policy.”²⁵ Despite policies prohibiting homosexuals from the military, there was an overall tolerance because bodies were needed to fight the war. Only those “caught in the act” were discharged. Psychological tests developed during WWI were used to screen people in WWII, but many homosexuals got through the process, or simply didn’t identify as homosexuals. Thousands of homosexuals were discharged from the war, and many were sent to psychiatric wards, where doctors used them to develop new techniques for identifying homosexuals. This set a precedent for screening and purging homosexuals from

²⁴ D’Emilio, “Capitalism and Gay Identity.” 5.

²⁵ Bérubé, “Marching to a Different Drummer,” 18.

federal agencies after the war.²⁶ After the war, churches, government, and schools conducted a “heavy-handed campaign to reconstruct the nuclear family, to force women back into their traditional roles, and to promote a conservative sexual morality.”²⁷ A critical tactic was to identify homosexuals, like Communists, as dangerous and invisible enemies. Once this happened, gays and lesbians who refused to live traditional roles moved to cities and formed private communities that mostly stayed in people’s homes, where it was safe. “The taste of freedom during the war, the magnitude of the postwar crackdown, and the example of the growing black civil rights movement caused increasing numbers of lesbians and gay men to think of themselves as an unjustly persecuted minority.”²⁸ Gay liberation was a response to the contradiction found in the growth of community and danger.²⁹

LCSH does seem to reflect a change in discourses around this time, with the addition of “Homosexuality” to the lexicon in 1946. Until then, homosexuality was subsumed under the heading “Sexual perversion,” along with a variety of uncataloged sexual practices. “Homosexuality” was first applied as a heading to an Italian book entitled *Homosexualismo em medicina legal*, by Antonio Bello da Motta, published in 1937, but it was added to the printed list of headings in 1948.³⁰ When the heading first appeared in LCSH, it was cross-listed with “Sexual perversion” (a reference that would remain until 1972) and given a see also note to “Sodomy.” The call numbers assigned to it were those assigned to “Social pathology” and

²⁶ Bérubé, 94.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid., 97.

²⁹ Mattachine and Daughters of Bilitis were homosexual social groups with significant war veteran membership and influence. Kameny and Gittings were important players in these groups.

³⁰ Paul Weiss, personal email, June 26, 2009.

“Medical jurisprudence.” Further direction was offered to users regarding the heading: “Works on the criminal manifestation of homosexuality are entered under the heading Sodomy.”³¹ It seems reasonable to think that this categorization helped to propel homosexuality into mainstream discourse about sex, with the dominant attitude toward homosexuality as one of disdain and the perception of homosexuality as pathological and deviant. Canaday has noted that, during the postwar era, the federal government wrote new knowledge about sexual perversion into policy, in effect “helping to produce the category of homosexuality through regulation” and inscribing a homosexual-heterosexual binary in federal citizenship policy.³²

Homosexuals were perceived as threat to the nation. The family was believed to be the best defense against the enemy, but homosexuality signaled a lack of parental guidance that led to inversion and maladjustment in future citizens. Carrying on the Progressive era’s social reform actions of promoting eugenics and the patriotic duty of women as mothers, the 1940s and 50s witnessed a surge in the publication of books on parenting and the patriotic duty of mothers. And according to Terry, homosexuals became the “central figure against which proper patriotic citizenship was cast.”³³

Next to the family, government employment was the key site where sex perverts jeopardized the nation’s security. Alfred Kinsey’s pathbreaking reports on sexual behavior gave rise to a perception that homosexuals were everywhere. With the growing climate of cold war homophobia, the fear of conspiracies and infiltration and uncontrolled sex perversion led to the passage of laws to police perverted acts. J. Edgar Hoover, FBI director, had declared a “War on

³¹ Library of Congress Catalog Division, *Library of Congress Subject Headings* (Washington, D.C.: LC, 1948).

³² Canaday, *The Straight State*, 3.

³³ Terry, *An American Obsession*, 328.

the Sex Criminal” in 1937, and now in 1947 he stated that the most rapidly increasing type of criminals were degenerate sex offenders.³⁴ Canaday asserts that federal-level homophobia produced the most powerful and harmful discrimination by creating creation tools to detect and regulate perverted behaviors and identities as the federal government “employed sexuality to create a stratified citizenry, and that had the 'raw power' to make its categories 'stick.'”³⁵ Sexual perversion and communism were both to be combatted by surveillance, arrest, and punishment. In the federal government, this meant persecuting and firing suspected sex perverts, and intense censorship campaigns that centered on invasions of privacy through the Postal Service and the Customs Bureau. LC played a major part in both of these efforts. Louise Robbins has unmasked the Library’s participation in the purging of homosexuals from federal employment, but the Library’s role in postwar censorship has yet to be examined.³⁶

The Republican-controlled House Committee on Un-American Activities had sought out left-wing federal employees since 1938. Although Roosevelt didn’t allow these employees to be dismissed, the anti-communism fervor fueled right-wing efforts to undo the New Deal and weed out its policy-makers still in offices of the government. Truman issued Executive Order 9806 in late 1946, establishing a Temporary Commission on Employee Loyalty charged with investigating security risks in government. The Security Act of 1950 initiated a highly publicized Congressional attack on homosexuals, beginning with a unanimous vote in favor a study of the employment of “homosexuals and other moral perverts” in the federal government. In 1950

³⁴ Terry, *An American Obsession*, 323.

³⁵ Canaday, *The Straight State*, 261.

³⁶ Louise Robbins, “A Closet Curtained by Circumspection: Doing Research on the McCarthy Era Purging of Gays from the LC, in *Daring to Find Our Names: The Search for Lesbian History*, ed. James V. Carmichael, Jr., (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998).

ninety-one federal employees were dismissed for moral turpitude, and the vast majority of these were homosexuals. Sex perverts were classified as reliability risks, prone to pressure from foreign agents.³⁷

Increasingly, accusations of homosexual and communist tendencies became interchangeable. Kinsey was accused of aiding communism and censored based on the perception that Kinsey's work would undermine the status and power of the U.S. in the world.³⁸ On May 19, 1950 Senate floor leader Kenneth S. Wherry (R-Neb.) and Senator Lester Hill (D-Ala.) announced that about 3,500 perverts were employed in government agencies. Clyde R. Hoey (D-N.C.) issued the report, "Employment of Homosexuals and Other Sex Perverts in the Government" on Dec. 15, 1950. Eisenhower's 1953 Executive Order 10450 was the first presidential order to explicitly mention perversion:

Sec. 8. (a) The investigations conducted pursuant to this order shall be designed to develop information as to whether the employment or retention in employment in the Federal service of the person being investigated is clearly consistent with the interests of the national security. Such information shall relate, but shall not be limited, to the following:

- (1) Depending on the relation of the Government employment to the national security:
 - (i) Any behavior, activities, or associations which tend to show that the individual is not reliable or trustworthy.
 - (ii) Any deliberate misrepresentations, falsifications, or omissions of material facts.
 - (iii) Any criminal, infamous, dishonest, immoral, or notoriously disgraceful conduct, habitual use of intoxicants to excess, drug addiction, *sexual perversion* (emphasis added).
 - (iv) Any illness, including any mental condition, of a nature which in the opinion of competent medical authority may cause significant defect in the judgment or reliability of the employee, with due regard to the transient or continuing effect of the illness and the medical findings in such case.

³⁷ Terry, *An American Obsession*, 337-338.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 343.

(v) Any facts which furnish reason to believe that the individual may be subjected to coercion, influence, or pressure which may cause him to act contrary to the best interests of the national security.³⁹

Subsequent to this order, 837 investigations for sex perversion took place between May 1953 and June 1955. And although the 1957 Crittenden Report on navy personnel found that homosexuals posed no greater threat to national security than heterosexuals, the armed forces in general continued to treat homosexuality as a crime that should never be condoned on the grounds of mental illness, any more than homicide or theft.⁴⁰

The LC's participation in the postwar regulation of obscenity is part of a much larger story of government policing of sexual deviance. At the height of the McCarthy era the federal government dismissed more homosexuals than communists, and historian Louise Robbins has revealed the LC's participation in the 1947 Federal Loyalty Program, which included the purging of homosexuals from its workforce in the early 1950s.⁴¹

Two distinct but overlapping policies were at play. One was the ban of homosexuals from civil service, which had officially began in 1881 with the creation of the Civil Service Commission. Although the policy was rarely enforced before WWII, employees could be disqualified for immoral conduct, including homosexuality. The other issue was security clearance, which drew increased concern after WWII because of the proliferation of technologies, the atomic bomb, and communism. Frank Kameny, who will play a crucial role in the following chapter, was a victim of the Federal Loyalty program and lost his position as an

³⁹ Executive Order 10450 of Apr. 27, 1953, appear at 18 FR 2489, 3 CFR, 1949-1953 Comp., 936. <http://www.archives.gov/federal-register/codification/executive-order/10450.html> (accessed December 12, 2012).

⁴⁰ *The Crittenden Report: Report of the Board Appointed to Prepare and Submit Recommendations to the Secretary of the Navy for the Revision of Policies, Procedures and Directives Dealing with Homosexuals*, 21 December 1956-15 March 1957. www.lonelygods.com/res/crittendenreport.pdf (accessed December 12, 2012).

⁴¹ Chauncey, *Why Marriage?*, 12.; Robbins, "A Closet Curtained by Circumspection."

astrophysicist for the U.S. Army Mapping Service in 1957. Kameny held a PhD in Astronomy from Harvard and served in the U.S. Army in WWII but lost his job because he was a homosexual. Upon his dismissal, Kameny appealed to the president and the House and Senate Civil Service Committees.⁴² He filed a petition with the Supreme Court in 1961, and although the Supreme Court denied certiorari, this is considered the first homosexual rights case brought before the Supreme Court.⁴³ That year, Kameny helped found the Mattachine Society. This is particularly interesting, as the Mattachine Society would later be persecuted by a Congressman who used LC's collection to collect evidence, a subject that will be addressed in the following section.

Kameny cites three foundations for the belief that homosexuals were a security risk: 1) homosexuals were thought to be weak and submissive, therefore prone to blackmail; 2) they were unreliable because they were emotionally disordered; and 3) with sodomy being a felony in all 50 states, homosexual men were inherently habitual criminals and untrustworthy.⁴⁴ Indeed a memorandum from Robert M. Holmes, Director of Personnel and Personnel Security Officer, dated June 28, 1962, interrogated an employee of the Library, Nevin R. Feather, who sought Kameny's advice upon receipt of the letter. He was asked to deliver a notarized written statement responding to certain allegations:

It has been reported that during 1961 you disclosed to representatives of another government agency that, on a couple of occasions, you had permitted a man to perform a homosexual act (fellatio) on you. Also, that you related that you find members of the

⁴² Franklin E. Kameny "Government v. Gays: Two Sad Stories with Two Happy Endings, Civil Service Employment and Security Clearances." In *Creating Change: Sexuality, Public Policy, and Civil Rights*, eds., John D'Emilio, William B. Turner, and Urvashi Vaid, (New York : St. Martin's Press, 2002).

⁴³ Interview of Kameny by Will O'Bryan, "Gay Is Good: How Frank Kameny Changed the Face of America" *MetroWeekly*, Oct. 5, 2006. <http://www.metroweekly.com/feature/?ak=2341> (accessed December 1, 2012).

⁴⁴ Kameny, "Government v. Gays," 198.

male sex attractive; that you have been in bed with men; and that you have enjoyed embracing them.

1. Is this report true? If it is, please state whether or not your conduct in this respect has been confined to the foregoing, and if it has not, please explain.
2. If the above report is true, then please explain your negative answer to that part of item 20 on the Standard Form 89, "Report of Medical History", which reads "Have you ever had or have you now homosexual tendencies?"⁴⁵

In 1966 Kameny and Barbara Gittings, who would become coordinator of the Gay Liberation Task Force of the A.L.A. in 1971, were appointed co-counsel for an federal employee whose clearance was going to be revoked.⁴⁶ The Department of Defense engaged Charles Socarides (author of books included in this study for his treatment of paraphilias) to be the expert witness. Socarides testified that homosexuals could be converted to heterosexuals with treatment. Gittings and Kameny successfully discredited him in a three-hour cross-examination, and after the hearing the Defense Department dropped him from their roster of expert witnesses on homosexuality.⁴⁷ Thus began their decade-long battle to convince the American Psychiatric Association to remove homosexuality from their diagnostic manual.

It was in this tense climate of sexual policing that LC was also faced with the responsibility of assessing and storing sexually explicit materials. While publications on homosexuality and perversion were part of this collection, the topics were far more wide-reaching, and the motives for restricting access were varied.

⁴⁵ Robert M. Holmes to Nevin Feather, June 28, 1962. The Kameny Papers. <http://kamenypapers.org/correspondence.htm> (accessed, December 2, 2012).

⁴⁶ Gittings was founder of the New York chapter of the Daughters of Bilitis, an early lesbian organization and editor of *The Ladder*, a lesbian periodical.

⁴⁷ Kameny, "Government v. Gays," 199.

Censorship and the Delta Collection

Federal agencies have fully participated in the policing of obscenity, and while scholars have explored the roles of the Customs Bureau and the Postal Service in intercepting and seizing materials deemed to be obscene, very little mention has been made of the LC's role in this process or its policies for both protecting materials from defacement by the public and protecting the public from the harm of obscenity.⁴⁸ Paul and Schwartz's account of the Library's involvement praises the LC for saving materials from the agencies who would destroy them:

Material which is seized is either destroyed or sent to the LC. The Library does not collect obscene or pornographic materials as such; it receives such materials because it is a repository for publications produced the world over...Selection criteria are broad, for the Library is not worried about protecting the public; it is worried about retaining all materials--anything which may reflect some facet of the world's culture or may be useful for research.⁴⁹

While this position is perhaps naive and too celebratory, it would be equally naive to argue that the LC's actions described below constitute simply a sweeping act of censorship. The LC was one of many institutions that struggled to come to terms with the protection of materials, protection of the rights of individuals, and protection of the public from the harm of an ever-increasing amount of sexually explicit materials. In this section I will present key moments in the history of censorship that inform the story of the formation of the Delta Collection. I will then illustrate how the Library of Congress staff struggled to manage this collection, and I will discuss the problems with cataloging the materials.

⁴⁸ Helen L. Horowitz, *Rereading Sex: Battles over Sexual Knowledge and Suppression in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York : Alfred A. Knopf, 2002); James C. N. Paul and Murray L. Schwartz., *Federal Censorship: Obscenity in the Mail* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961).

⁴⁹ Paul and Schwartz, *Federal Censorship*, 273.

Censorship of obscenity in the U.S.

By enacting laws prohibiting the importation, mailing, and distribution of “obscene” materials, Congress has historically played the most significant role in censorship in the U.S. The first law ever passed in the U.S. was in 1842, when Congress stated that the importation of obscene pictorial materials was prohibited. The most influential act, though, was the first sweeping anti-obscenity law, now commonly called the Comstock Act, passed in 1873. Anthony Comstock was then the leader of the powerful New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, which held tremendous influence in American politics. The law outlawed importation of obscenity from foreign countries and made it a felony to send or receive obscene materials through the mail. It established the framework upon which further obscenity laws would be built and enforced, the most powerful of which were enacted during the postwar period.

Oboler asserts that the first twentieth century attack on obscenity happened in 1952, with the House of Representatives Special Committee on Current Pornographic Materials, led by Representative Ezekiel C. Gathings (D-Ark.), which recommended legislation to widen and increase federal power in the policing of obscene materials. Oboler writes, “One of the most extraordinary bills ever to come out of Congress was presented in 1952 by Representative Harold Velde, former F.B.I. agent and a member of both the House Committee on Un-American Activities. He proposed “a bill to provide that the Librarian of Congress shall mark all subversive matter in the LC and compile a list thereof for the guidance of other libraries in the United States.”⁵⁰ Although this bill was never enacted, the LC certainly did play a key role in the censorship efforts, a facet that which remains grossly overlooked by scholars.

⁵⁰ Eli M. Oboler, “Congress as Censor,” *Library Trends*, 18 (July 1970): 69.

Federal censorship played a key role in suppressing subversive, communist materials and obscenity in the mass media, including print and film.⁵¹ The Foreign Agents Registration Act of 1938 (22 U.S.C. 611(j)) required the registration of all foreign agents and foreign political propaganda disseminated in the U.S. The Attorney General stated in 1951 that the U.S. Postal Service may seize propagandist literature distributed through the mail if sent by an unregistered foreign agent in aid to a foreign government. In 1952 this was expanded to distribution from abroad through other means than the mail. Therefore, in 1952, all political propaganda from Communist-controlled countries and not destined to a registered agent were to be seized, and all forfeited publications were to be sent to the Exchange and Gift Division of the LC, and the Library would retain up to fifty copies of each publication.⁵²

Robbins has observed that by 1957 “the ‘obscene’ had begun to overtake the ‘subversive’ as the target of censorship.”⁵³ The Supreme Court’s 1957 Roth decision tested the constitutionality of the conviction of a New York man for mailing obscene materials. Prior to *Roth v. United States*, works could be banned if they contained even isolated passages that could “deprave and corrupt those whose minds are open to such immoral influences.”⁵⁴ In 1957, though, the Supreme Court ruled that material is obscene if, “to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material, taken as a whole,

⁵¹ Paul and Schwartz, *Federal Censorship*, 86.

⁵² Frank Dow to Collectors of Customs, appraisers of merchandise, and supervising Customs agents, April 1, 1952. Keeper of the Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C.

⁵³ Louise Robbins, *Censorship and the American Library: The American Library Association's Response to Threats to Intellectual Freedom, 1939-1969* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1996), 90.

⁵⁴ *United States v. One Book Entitled Ulysses by James Joyce*. (Random House, Inc., Claimant). No. 459. Circuit Court of Appeals, Second Circuit. 72 F.2d 705; 1934 U.S. App. LEXIS 4661.

appeals to prurient interest” and obscenity is “utterly without redeeming social importance.”⁵⁵ It also ruled that obscenity was not protected by the First Amendment and upheld the conviction of Samuel Roth for sending obscene materials through the mail. The ruling also stated that the “federal obscenity statute, 18 U.S.C. 1461, punishing the use of the mails for obscene material, is a proper exercise of the postal power delegated to Congress.”⁵⁶

In 1956 Congress passed a law which permitted the Post Office to impound mail suspected of promoting fraud, obscenity, and gambling, except for publications with second-class mail privileges. In 1960 Representative Kathryn E. Granahan (D-Penn.) investigated the distribution of pornography throughout the U.S. and concluded that there was causal relationship between obscenity and juvenile delinquency, and told the press that “distribution of smut was part of the Communist conspiracy.”⁵⁷ Following her investigation Granahan introduced a bill to broaden the Postmaster General’s powers to seize mail. A bill was passed by Congress giving the U.S. district courts jurisdiction in assigning impounding power. What is less understood is where those impounded materials ended up, and how the LC struggled to manage the growing collection of obscenity acquired through these seizures. Materials that were not destroyed were frequently added to the Delta Collection.

Part of the postwar era hysteria over obscenity resulted from an increasing struggle to strike a balance between the desire to allow adults to decide for themselves what to read, and the mass exploitation of commercial forms of speech that were viewed as potentially harmful to the public. World War II and the postwar era also brought heightened passion from the American

⁵⁵ Roth v. United States, 354 U.S. 476 (1957). LEXIS 587.

⁵⁶ Roth v. United States.

⁵⁷ quoted in Oboler, 70 (original citation not provided).

Library Association. The A.L.A. had adopted the Library Bill of Rights in 1939 partly as a response to the 1938 House Committee on Un-American Activities to investigate subversives, and in 1948, with the expansion of World War II and McCarthyism, the A.L.A. strengthened the Library Bill of Rights by taking a firmer stance on censorship and intellectual freedom, stating that libraries have a responsibility to challenge coercive measures that limit access to resources that inform moral and political opinion.⁵⁸ LC, however, opposed or disregarded many of the A.L.A.'s resolutions, and in 1948 Verner Clapp, Chief Assistant Librarian of Congress in charge of the loyalty program at the LC, led the opposition to the A.L.A.'s resolution opposing the Resolution Protesting Loyalty Investigations in Libraries.⁵⁹ Over time, the Library tightened its relationship with the Postal Service and the Customs Bureau and played a key role in policing and retaining materials gained through mail and customs seizures.

Placing materials in the Delta Collection was an act of labeling, with the intent to restrict access. The practice of labeling library materials is a form of classification that specifically groups “questionable” resources based on content or themes that may be deemed inappropriate for users. In 1951 the A.L.A. Council issued a Statement on Labeling. Among its recommendations was the following:

Although totalitarian states find it easy and even proper, according to their ethics, to establish criteria for judging publications as ‘subversive,’ injustice and ignorance rather than justice and enlightenment result from such practices, and the American Library

⁵⁸ Robbins, *Censorship and the American Library*.

⁵⁹ Robbins *Censorship and the American Library*, 42; Verner W. Clapp began his Library of Congress career in 1921 in the Manuscript Division. Over the years he held a number of administrative positions, including Chief Assistant Librarian of Congress (1947) and Acting Librarian of Congress (1953-54). Clapp resigned from the Library of Congress in 1956 to become president of the Council on Library Resources. There he led the movement to create a library of the future, http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/freedoms_fortress/mffbio4.html; Downey, 39

Association has a responsibility to take a stand against the establishment of such criteria in a democratic state.⁶⁰

The account below reveals how the Delta Collection stood in direct opposition to the Statement on Labeling as the collection served to hide items from view and placed a Delta symbol on the spine labels of the books. Books were frequently incompletely cataloged, and access was highly restricted.

Creating and Managing the Delta Collection

The Keeper of the Collections, an administrative office held solely by Alfred Kremer, was, along with other duties related to preservation and protection of the Library's collections, charged with the maintenance of the Delta Collection from 1940 until 1963.⁶¹ References to the Delta Collection do not appear in published directories of special collections or histories or encyclopedias about the LC.⁶² Although the Delta Collection is described in unpublished annual reports, these accounts never made it into the published reports submitted to Congress. In fact, the unpublished 1953 report states that many of the Keeper's functions should remain in confidential files. Among the Keeper's papers, however, are records of transfers of materials to the Library, excerpts of the Keeper's diary detailing his thought processes regarding the Delta Collection, correspondence with other internal and external offices, policies, meeting minutes,

⁶⁰ American Library Association, *Intellectual Freedom Manual*, 8th ed. (Chicago: American Library Association, 2010), 158.

⁶¹ The Keeper was also in charge of Defense planning for the protection of the collections, determining the effects of nuclear war on library materials, fire prevention, water damage prevention, binding, preservation, organization and maintenance of the collection, thefts and mutilations, security of rare materials, door passes, security of exhibits, access controls, and allocating bookstack space for protected collections.

⁶² Works consulted include Jane Aikin, John Y. Cole, (Eds.). *Encyclopedia of the LC: For Congress, the Nation & the World*. (Washington D.C.: LC, 2004); *Subject Collections: A Guide to Special Book Collections and Subject Emphases as Reported by University, College, Public, and Special Libraries and Museums in the United States and Canada*. (New York: Bowker, 1958-)

and reports of items designated for destruction. The only log of registered users of the Delta Collection reveals that 3,545 uses of the collection between August 1, 1951 and September 12, 1955.⁶³ This section examines the LC's Delta Collection to illustrate the Library's role in policing materials on sex and sexuality. Just as the history of queer lives and literature is all too frequently hidden, misremembered, or forgotten, the LC has its own hidden history of sexuality.

A local Washington, D.C. publication published when the Delta Collection still existed claimed that the origins of the Delta collection date back to the 1880s with the bequest of a valuable rare book collection from a California tycoon.⁶⁴ Included in that collection were such titles as the *Khamasutra*, *Fanny Hill*, and *The Perfumed Garden*. The author states, "The greater part of the erotic treasure was saved by an anonymous administrator with foresight. He realized, regardless of its contents, or because of them, the collection was rare."⁶⁵ Although the article is quite sensational, and as of yet is unsubstantiated by LC employees or archival evidence, it is worth pondering the possibility that Ainsworth Spofford was the librarian who initiated this secret collection. Spofford is recognized as a visionary who, emblematic of his era, promoted the best reading, but also recognized the cultural value of books of lower quality.⁶⁶ He distinguished the mission of smaller public libraries from that of a national library and said that while books of questionable morality may not belong in a small public library, "national libraries...would be derelict in their duty to posterity if they did not acquire and preserve the whole literature of the

⁶³ This is probably not the number of unique users, as people signed in with each use. The actual number of individual users is probably fewer than 3,545. Keeper of the Collections, Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

⁶⁴ John Gardener Race. "The World's Lewdest Library," 54, Undetermined publication, n.d.. Keeper of Collections, Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Carl Ostrowski, "The Choice of Books: Ainsworth Rand Spofford, the Ideology of Reading, and Literary Collections at the Library of Congress in the 1870s." *Libraries and the Cultural Record*. 45, no. 1 (2010): 74.

country.”⁶⁷ He also observed, “what is pronounced trash today may have an unexpected value hereafter, and the unconsidered trifles of the press of the nineteenth century may prove highly curious and interesting to the twentieth, as examples of what the[ir] ancestors ... wrote and thought about.”⁶⁸ Whether this account is at all accurate or not, the Delta Collection did contain some books that would generally not be held by the LC, and part of the rationale for retaining these items was preservation of the cultural record.

The earliest documented correspondence concerning the collection is from 1936, when U.S. Congressman Millard Caldwell (H.R.--Florida) wrote to the Librarian of Congress concerned about obscene items that might be in LC’s collection. Librarian Herbert Putnam informed him that the books were held by the LC but were in a restricted collection. An attached letter from the Superintendent of the Reading Room to Putnam names the Delta Collection, and states that the four books in question were copyright deposits. “Items 1 and 2 are now in the ‘Delta’ Colletcion [sic] (a collection whose use is restricted to adults and only consulted under supervision in the Rare Book Room). Items 2 and 3 are in process of being catalogued and classified and will soon also be part of the ‘Delta Collection.’”⁶⁹ In 1920, a librarian had written to a member of Congress requesting he return the book *Madeleine*, which had recently been identified as immoral and outlawed. The letter stated that the book was to either be withdrawn or kept in a special collection in the Copyright Office as part of the legal record there.⁷⁰ This may

⁶⁷ Ainsworth Spofford, *A Book for All Readers: Designed as an Aid to the Collection, Use, and Preservation of Books and the Formation of Public and Private Libraries*. (New York: G.P. Putnam’s Sons, 1900), 20.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 419.

⁶⁹ Herbert Putnam to Millard Caldwell, 27 March 1936, Library of Congress Central File, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

⁷⁰ Librarian to Charles Booher, February 3, 1920, Library of Congress Central File, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

have been the precursor to the Delta Collection (or it may have actually been the Delta Collection).

Appointed by Librarian of Congress Archibald MacLeish, Alfred Kremer became the first and only Keeper of the Collections in 1940.⁷¹ The Keeper's primary duties were to protect collections from war damage. In that year's *Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress*, Archibald MacLeish listed the Library's new "Canons of Selection and Service." The "selection canons" stipulate that the Library of Congress/Library Services should acquire all material needed by members of the Congress and government officials to carry out their duties; the Library should possess all books and other materials which record the life of the American people; and the Library should possess the records of other societies, past, and present. The "service canons" required that the Library carry out research and reference for the Congress and government officials and that the Library's collections are made available to the public, universities, learned societies, and other libraries.

MacLeish also appointed Luther Harris Evans director of the Legislative Reference Service (currently the Congressional Research Service) in 1939 and Chief Assistant Librarian in 1940. On May 30, 1942 Evans delivered the address, "The Library of Congress and the War" before the Librarian's Council, during which he told Council members that the Library, in support of the war, had increased its circulation of books and opened its facilities and services to researchers. Evans also described the struggle to find a balance in its role as a national library between serving the federal government and the general public.⁷²

⁷¹ MacLeish, a journalist, lawyer, playwright, and poet, served as Librarian of Congress from 1939 until 1944. During his tenure he reorganized the Library and increased the Library's services to the Congress and the nation. He inherited a collection of roughly six million books and pamphlets, manuscripts, maps, prints, and pieces of music, as well as an 1,100-person staff.

⁷² Library of Congress, Freedom's Fortress, http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/collections/freedoms_fortress/mfftime4.html (accessed February 21, 2012).

Wishing to play a more personal role in the war, MacLeish resigned as Librarian of Congress on December 19, 1944. President Franklin D. Roosevelt immediately appointed him Assistant Secretary of State for Cultural and Public Affairs, and Luther Evans was appointed acting Librarian by President Truman in 1945.⁷³

Correspondence from 1944 begins to outline the rationale for returning the Delta collection to the Rare Books Room. The Alien Property Custodian, an officer in the Exchanges and Gifts division, deposited “vast quantities of enemy-produced film which he had seized” in the Reserve Storage Collection, composed of 35,000 volumes. Fifty thousand volumes and pamphlets from miscellaneous special collections were transferred from deck 37 to deck B in the Main Bldg.⁷⁴ It is likely that the Delta Collection was included, as a 1946 plan to relocate the collection within another part of the Library was agreed upon by a group of librarians, including the Assistant Director for the Circulation Service and the Chief of Book Services. The memorandum stated: “It is believed that the adoption of these recommendations will result in the establishment of controls that could not be perfected while the Collection was shelved in a grill set up in a general stack area and the materials issued for use in a general reading room.”⁷⁵ It was placed in locked vaults on Deck 37 near the Federal Agencies Collection in the LC.⁷⁶

⁷³ MacLeish had sent President Franklin D. Roosevelt a confidential letter in which he offers a list of possible successors as Librarian of Congress, including Vannevar Bush. The appointment was delayed due to Roosevelt’s 1945 death, and his successor Harry S. Truman, nominated Luther Harris Evans as Librarian of Congress on June 18, 1945.

⁷⁴ *Annual Report For the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1956*. The Keeper of the Collections, 34. Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

⁷⁵ Donald G. Patterson, “Disposition of the Delta Collection,” 12 February, 1946. Keeper of Collections Papers, Manuscript Division, LC.

⁷⁶ Alvin W. Kremer, Diary. July 17, 1956. Keeper of Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

As the collection grew, receded, altered according to principles, and grew and receded again, it moved to different areas of the Library. In 1944 72 vertical sections of shelving contained Delta items, and two years later librarians began weeding it to reduce it to 15 units.⁷⁷ In 1947, “following a justifiable reduction in the size of this collection, it was transferred from a locked enclosure, deck 11, Annex, to the custody of the Rare Books Division, Main Building.”⁷⁸ In 1952, however, Librarian of Congress Luther Evans wrote to the Commissioner of the Customs Bureau to express concern that materials were being destroyed in customs and postal seizures. He petitioned to amend the *United States Customs Manual of 1943*. The amendment stated:

Printed matter of all kinds...for which an assent to forfeiture has been obtained, will be forwarded by the Bureau to the LC....If libel action is necessary in connection with items of the above specified kinds, the United States attorney shall be requested to have the condemnation decree provide...for the delivery of such items to the LC for official use in lieu of destruction.⁷⁹

The understanding was that materials would either be destroyed or returned to the Customs Bureau once the materials for “official use” had been withdrawn from the Library.⁸⁰ As the postwar obscenity and propaganda seizures were retained by the thousands in a Federal Agents Collection awaiting selection, the amount of obscenity quickly grew unwieldy again. In 1956

⁷⁷ Alvin W. Kremer to Luther H. Evans, 13 July 1944, Keeper of the Collections, Papers, Manuscript Division, LC.; Patterson, 1946, Keeper of Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

⁷⁸ Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1947. The Keeper of the Collections, 27. Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

⁷⁹ United States Bureau of Customs. *Customs Manual of 1943* Amendment No. 288. 12.40.e., 1952, Keeper of Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

⁸⁰ Luther Evans to Frank Dow, January 17, 1952. Keeper of the Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

Librarian of Congress L. Quincy Mumford issued General Order No. 1615, which transferred administrative control from the Stack and Reader Division to the Rare Books Division.⁸¹

It does not appear that it was ever entirely clear what “official use” meant. As the collection grew to overflowing, Kremer investigated the reasoning behind the acquisition of fifty copies of subversive and obscene materials and found an exchange of letters between Librarian of Congress Archibald MacLeish and the Postmaster General from October and November of 1941 in which MacLeish wrote, “Such intercepted materials forwarded by the Postoffice [sic] Department would be withheld from the general public and used for the purposes of the agencies of the government.” The Postmaster replied supporting LC’s research of the literature concerning the war to inform federal agencies for the protection of Americans.⁸²

It was apparent that subversive materials were not to be permanently restricted, but rather, they were to be released to the public when they no longer served propagandist purposes. Upon completing this investigation in 1953, Kremer determined that the best practice for the Library would be to secure at least one copy of subversive materials in a “special collection to be located in the Federal Agencies Collection.” His conclusion is quite telling, as it seems that Kremer was willing to overlook questions of intellectual freedom because there was simply nothing that could be done about the law and prior agreements:

I realize that there are a whole group of problems raised in the connection with the handling of this type [of] material. The problem of intellectual freedom is of course involved, as well as the problem of labeling, etc. However, it does not seem to me that these numerous and perplexing problems are involved in this particular circumstance. Regardless of how the Library may feel about the propriety of the Postoffice Department

⁸¹ L. Quincy Mumford. General Order No. 1615, May 28, 1956. Keeper of Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

⁸² Archibald MacLeish quoted in Alvin W. Kremer to John W. Cronin and Alton H. Keller, March 31, 1953. Keeper of the Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

seizing the particular publications transmitted to us under this program, it seems clear to me that since they are seized and are transferred to us under a special agreement for their handling that there is nothing we can do about these particular copies but to handle them in accordance with the agreement under which we received them, in spite of the fact that our collections may already contain other copies of the same publication which are being made freely available.⁸³

Kremer did recommend a search of the collection to see if any of the questionable materials were already held by the Library. If so, they were to be transferred to a special collection for six months from the date of receipt and then made available to the general public. In an effort to both meet the terms of the initial 1941 agreement and provide a means to prevent further overflow, Kremer suggested that federal agencies be allowed to select materials from the collection and research libraries should be solicited to determine interest in receiving copies of the materials. The Library would then destroy remaining surplus copies.⁸⁴

On April 22, 1954, President Dwight D. Eisenhower nominated Mumford to become Librarian of Congress; when confirmed by the Senate, he would be the first professionally trained librarian to be appointed Librarian of Congress. Mumford had been at New York Public Library when he was asked to analyze the Library of Congress's cataloging operations and make recommendations for their improvement from 1940 until 1941. After the report was issued in 1941, Librarian Archibald MacLeish persuaded Mumford to take a leave of absence from the New York Public Library to organize the new Processing Department at the Library of Congress and serve as its director. Relations between the Congress and the Library had deteriorated during the Evans administration, and Congress refused to approve the Librarian's requests for a greatly

⁸³ Alvin W. Kremer to John W. Cronin and Alton H. Keller, March 31, 1953. Keeper of the Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

⁸⁴ Alvin Kremer to John W. Cronin and Alton H. Keller, March 31, 1953. Keeper of the Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

increased budget. At Mumford's confirmation hearings he learned that Congress was displeased with Evans's frequent absences from Washington, and that some members of Congress believed the Library should reduce its national services. Mumford successfully revitalized relationships with Congress during his term, which resulted in increased financial and political support.⁸⁵

While Library policy was to not maintain a collection of pornography for its general collection, it did add items valuable for the history of manners and customs, art and literature, or those having a bearing on psychological or legal studies, even if they had some pornographic aspects. The Acquisitions policy statement of 1954 specified protocols for selecting pornographic and obscene materials:

1. The Library of Congress will acquire for addition to its collections pornographic or obscene materials only on a selective basis.
2. Materials to be acquired shall include works of recognized authors and composers, classics of the various civilizations, examples of fine printing, illustrations by recognized artists, and photographs essentially artistic in character. Materials not included in these categories shall be acquired only on a sample basis.⁸⁶

In 1952, when the Customs Manual was first amended to deliver items to the LC, the Library requested that up to 50 copies of each text should be kept for distribution to other government agencies. By 1953 the range of shelving in the Exchange and Gift Division was overflowing, as they received an average of two to three mailbags of subversive materials per day.⁸⁷ The Keeper lamented in his notes that the volume of the seized materials held and the

⁸⁵ In fact, Mumford obtained funding for the James Madison Memorial Building, the largest library building in the world, in 1965. And in two decades, the size of the Library's annual appropriation increased from \$9,400,000 to \$96,696,000; the number of staff members grew from 1,564 to 4,250; and the number of items in the collections more than doubled from approximately 33 million to 74 million. Mumford was the Librarian of Congress during President Lyndon B. Johnson's "Great Society" era, which increased federal expenditure and involvement in education and research. <http://www.loc.gov/about/librarianoffice/mumford.html> (accessed February 21, 2012).

⁸⁶ LC Acquisitions, "Acquisitions Policy Statement No. 44," 1954, Keeper of the Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

⁸⁷ Cronin to Alton Keller, 1953, Keeper of the Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

work required to evaluate and select from them just didn't seem to be worth it. On July 17 and 30, 1956 his diary entries read:

I visited the Delta Collection to survey the status of "inventoried" intercepts and large quantities of unprocessed filth...A sizable quantity of seized dirt was obviously sent to the former custodians of the Delta Collection with little or no formality involved in the transactions...I still hold the view that the value of the materials selected from this source is hardly equal to the expense in time required by the messes thus far.⁸⁸

It should be noted that the Keeper used terms like "pornography," "obscenity," and "erotica" interchangeably, and used words like "dirt," "filth," and "perverted" to describe such materials.

The 1956 unpublished annual report of the Exchange and Gift Division stated that the Post Office Department transferred 224,113 pieces of war propaganda, which were excluded from the mails in accordance with the Postal Manual. Two copies of each were segregated for LC's collection and those not selected by other Federal Agencies were pulped monthly.

Approximately 4,000 pieces (mostly press releases and tourist information) were received under the Foreign Agents Registration Act. Of these most were sent by the British Information Service, The Australian News, Information Service, and the Turkish Information Office. That year the Bureau of Customs also transferred "several thousand pieces of obscene literature and motion picture films" as required by the Customs Manual. Representative selections were kept for the collections of LC, and the remaining items were forwarded to the Keeper of the Collections for disposal.⁸⁹

In a February 1957 memo the Keeper reported that only twelve items were selected out of a massive quantity. What remained unselected filled more than seven large cartons, which were

⁸⁸ Alvin W. Kremer, diary, 17 July 1956, 30 July 1956, Keeper of the Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

⁸⁹ *Annual Report of the Exchange and Gift Division, Processing Department, For the Year Ending June 30, 1956*, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

sent to be burned.⁹⁰ A carton was apparently quite large, as a 1963 memorandum reported that one carton and one crate containing 232 copies of *Formen und Linien*, 1388 other magazines, and 57 obscene pictures were delivered to the LC from the San Francisco Customs office.⁹¹ It must be noted that the source of these materials remains unknown. But that same year *Formen und Linien* was part of a collection of magazines seized by the Customs Bureau in San Francisco. It was determined that *Formen und Linien* was not obscene, but other publications in that seizure were deemed unlawful. Under Title 19, U.S.C. Sec. 1305, the United States “may seize and forfeit non-obscene material if it is found in the same package with seizable obscene material.”⁹² It is certainly possible that the multiple copies of this non-obscene publication arrived at LC by this or a similar path.

Still, the Keeper did not have jurisdiction over selection of materials. That was left to the subject divisions and Selection Officers, and in his diary Kremer expressed frustration about waiting for selectors to wade through massive amounts of materials that he would have preferred to destroy.

I have to be very careful in not giving the impression that I am meddling into the affairs of the Processing Department and possibly, into the affairs of the Reference Department in connection with this very touchy business. Believe me, any residue of this seized material which will be fed to us in the future will be destroyed just as quickly as we can get it off the premises.⁹³

⁹⁰ Alvin W. Kremer to Robert C. Gooch, 19 February 1957, Keeper of the Collections, Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

⁹¹ Jennings Wood, 13 September 1963, Keeper of the Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

⁹² *United States v. 18 Packages of Magazine*, 227 F.Supp. 198 (1963), No. 41194. United States District Court N. D. California, S. D, June 7, 1963.

⁹³ Alvin W. Kremer. Diary. March 8, 1957. Keeper of the Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

Kremer was also frequently confused about protocols concerning the Delta materials and where his responsibilities began and ended, and there was clearly disagreement among the staff about what to do with the materials received from Customs and the Postal Service. Without the authority to burn materials, Kremer was careful not to overstep his bounds. He finally made a formal request to be granted such authority on February 19, 1957, when he found himself burdened by accumulating cartons of unselected films, books, and other printed material.⁹⁴ He “assumed an active role as the Library’s Security Officer in sponsoring action leading to the appropriate disposition of large masses of such material, and finally established and effected the security measures resulting in satisfactory disposal measures.”⁹⁵

As it became clear that the collection was growing out of control, the Customs Manual was again amended in 1957 stating that only one or two copies of intercepts should be sent to the LC,⁹⁶ and in 1958 it was decided that 500 duplicate copies of Delta items needed to find a new home, preferably in another library.⁹⁷ These duplicates had mostly come through copyright and were not viewed to be grossly obscene, but rather, were sealed away to prevent mutilation by the public. The materials received from the Postal Service and Customs Bureau were not to be exchanged or transferred.⁹⁸ Great precautions were taken before exposing other libraries to this

⁹⁴ Alvin Kremer to Robert C. Gooch, February 19, 1957. Keeper of the Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

⁹⁵ *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1957. The Keeper of the Collections*, 2. Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

⁹⁶ Ralph Kelly, Customs Manual Amendment No. X-532. Keeper of the Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

⁹⁷ Robert D. Stevens to Rutherford D. Rogers, 27 August 1958, Keeper of the Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

⁹⁸ Letter to Rutherford D. Rogers, Chief Assistant Librarian, and Lewis C. Coffin, Assistant Director Processing Dept., October 21, 1958. Keeper of the Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

collection, because, although the vast majority of the surplus designated for removal was not obscene or pornographic and had come through normal copyright or gift channels, there was concern about revealing the contents of the Delta Collection:

It is carefully screened precisely for the purpose of removing any material which could possibly be considered as obscene, subversive or communistic in nature, in order that it might not inadvertently be selected in a donation program and forwarded to a primary or secondary institution...or which, for any other reason, are not appropriate for distribution or which might possibly cause embarrassment to the Library or to a Congressional office if included in the donation program.⁹⁹

Out of the 500 items, the National Library of Medicine selected ten for their collection. Paul Gebhard of the Kinsey Institute then reviewed the materials for selection on November 21, 1958, but it is unclear how many items he chose.¹⁰⁰ By 1959 it was recommended that only one copy of intercepts should be retained in the Delta Collection and others should be destroyed by the Keeper. Only one copy of materials acquired through normal processes, such as copyright or gifts should be in the Delta Collection, with all other copies in the general collection. Exceptions were made if there was anticipated heavy use for an extended time, such as *Lolita* or the *Kinsey Reports*; then more than one copy might be held in the Delta Collection.

By 1960 the Keeper reported that formal procedures for the efficient handling of materials received as Customs and Post Office intercepts were enacted, with Kremer “bearing the major responsibility for custody until reviewed for selection purposes by the Chief Assistant Librarian and others, and disposal of those rejected.” Selected items were added to the Delta Collection, and processing treatment was begun on the surplus Delta duplicates for which the

⁹⁹ Alton H. Keller, 28 April 1958, Keeper of the Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

¹⁰⁰ Paul Gebhard to Jennings Wood, 21 November 1958. Keeper of the Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

Keeper had custodial responsibility. At the end of the fiscal year, only those to be added to the general collections remained.¹⁰¹

Reports of quantities retained or discarded do not seem to have been produced with regularity, but in 1960 it was reported that 1,233 total pieces in the Delta Collection were selected from intercepts through 1960s fiscal year, including 917 photos, 158 printed matter, 26 prints, 8 decks of playing cards, 3 handkerchiefs, and a variety of other types of materials.¹⁰² At the close of the fiscal year 1961 there were 1,343 items in the collection.¹⁰³ In 1962, the last year that the number of Delta materials was reported, 227 pieces were added, making a total of 1,570 items in the Delta collection. The Keeper reported that certain Delta items were to remain unprocessed and contained in a secure area of the Rare Books Division.¹⁰⁴

One hundred twenty-three burn bags were filled on May 23, 1963, and 600 books and 500 magazines still awaited review.¹⁰⁵ On Nov. 5, 1963 a report indicated that 487 monographs sent from Customs were rejected and were to be destroyed. Nine monographs were sent to the Descriptive Cataloging Division to be forwarded to Delta Collection through regular processing channels, and 17 sample monographs were sent to the Delta Collection without cataloging. Fifty-

¹⁰¹ *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1960, The Keeper of the Collections*, 14-15, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

¹⁰² "Lot inventory of materials in Delta Collection selected from Customs and Post Office intercepts," December 19, 1960. Keeper of the Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division.

¹⁰³ *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1961, The Keeper of the Collections*, 72, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

¹⁰⁴ *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1962, The Keeper of the Collections*, 14, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

¹⁰⁵ George M. Hall to Robert C. Gooch, 27 May 1963, Keeper of the Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

six serials were rejected, and 13 were selected for the sample file and forwarded to the Delta Collection.¹⁰⁶

The Library did share items with other government agencies and members of Congress. The LC loaned seven uncataloged and unprocessed publications to Congressman John Dowdy (D-Texas) from its restricted Delta Collection on August 8, 1963, during a hearing to pass a bill banning homosexual groups from soliciting funds.¹⁰⁷ The impetus for the bill proposal occurred when the Mattachine Society, a homosexual social and activist organization in Washington, D.C., had applied for a license to solicit charitable contributions. As there was no municipal or state law prohibiting such action, Dowdy proposed a federal law to prevent homosexual groups from receiving donations. In his statement to Congress Dowdy proclaimed, “The Mattachine Society is admittedly a group of homosexuals. The acts of these people are banned under the laws of God, the laws of nature, and are in violation of the laws of man.”¹⁰⁸ The bill died in the Senate, so the Mattachine Society remained relatively unscathed, but this case reveals LC’s role in the policing of sex and sexuality after World War II. The librarian’s correspondence does not indicate which publications Dowdy viewed, but the record clearly states that the materials were obtained from the Library’s restricted Delta Collection.

¹⁰⁶ Nathan R. Einhorn to Paul E. Edlund, 5 November 1963, Keeper of the Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

¹⁰⁷ Ralph L. Henderson, [Memorandum], August 8, 1963, Keeper of the Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

¹⁰⁸ Congressional Record Appendix A4211, “The Mattachine Society of Washington: Extension of Remarks of Hon. John Dowdy of Texas in the House of Representatives, July 5, 1963, Kameny Papers, <http://kamenypapers.org/correspondence/congressionalrecord-1963.jpg> (accessed April 12, 2012)

Toward the end of his tenure at the LC, Alvin Kremer indicated that he was firmly opposed to the idea of placing the Delta books in the general collection.¹⁰⁹ Robert D. Stevens, Coordinator for the Development and Organization of the Collections wrote:

I can make no claim to a knowledge of the workings of the perverted mind. Consequently, I asked the Keeper of the Collections, who has had some experience in this area, to assist me to the extent of pointing out publications he felt to be particularly vulnerable to mutilation or theft. He did not care to prepare this advice. The recommendations that follow then are solely my own based on my best rational judgment.¹¹⁰

It not clear why Kremer did not offer any advice, although it does seem that he and Stevens had serious differences of opinion regarding the preservation and access to the Delta books. Stevens recommended transferring the entire collection (with the negligible exception of a few items to be discarded) to the open shelves. In fact, all items except for those determined to be rare books were moved to the general collection beginning in 1964. Librarians ceased adding to the collection in 1964 and then interfiled most of the materials within the general collection just after the office of the Keeper of the Collections was eliminated. After Kremer retired in 1963, LC disbanded the Office of the Keeper and established an Office of Collections Maintenance and Preservation, with Paul Edlund as Chief.¹¹¹

Turning to the cataloging practices concerning this collection, a Delta shelflist was mentioned in a 1956 procedure memoranda labeled “Handling Customs Intercepts,” but as of this

¹⁰⁹ Alvin W. Kremer, Diary, 25 February 1960. Keeper of the Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

¹¹⁰ Robert D. Stevens to Rutherford D. Rogers, 14 March 1960, Keeper of Collections Papers, Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

¹¹¹ *Annual Report for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1963. Office of Collections.* Library of Congress Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

writing a shelflist has not been located.¹¹² However, a search of the LC online catalog using “Delta” in the call number field turned up 543 bibliographic records. An additional search using “delta” as a “keyword anywhere” and “problem” as a keyword in holdings, turns up 467 more records. The keyword anywhere search using “delta” retrieves all records that include this word in the 991 field.¹¹³ All together, precisely 1,010 bibliographic records indicate items that were formerly part of the Delta Collection. This is relatively close to the last reported amount in the Delta Collection in 1962 (1570 items) and may reflect the number of materials still in the Delta Collection when it was removed to the General Collection. Prior to this, duplicates had been moved out of the collection and into the General Collection each year. Perhaps some materials were mishandled and lost in the transition, or perhaps some items were mutilated or stolen. Another possible explanation for the discrepancy of approximately 500 items is that they may not have been cataloged when they were in the Delta Collection and did not have Delta marks to retain. Some of the materials in Delta received limited cataloging, and in some cases they might not have been cataloged at all until they were requested.¹¹⁴

Taking the 543 records that include “Delta” in the call number as a sample, almost forty percent of these are in the HQ section, which includes works on marriage, sex, family, women, and the same quantity is in the P’s, designated for literary works, and includes erotica. Nearly ten percent are books of photography, and the remaining are books on medical aspects of sexuality,

¹¹² “Procedures for Handling Customs Intercepts now on Deck 39,” 26 March 1956, Keeper of Collections Papers, Manuscript Division, LC; A shelflist is a list of bibliographic records arranged by call number, i.e. items are listed in the same order as the materials on the shelves.

¹¹³ The 991 field contains local information about library holdings and is primarily intended for staff use. In this case the field provides further information about the “problem location” designation in the catalog record and states that the item was previously located in the Delta Collection.

¹¹⁴ Beacher Wiggins, interview with author, July 10, 2010.

gambling, nudism, and law. Interestingly, many of the Delta books have no subject headings. Precisely one-third of the 543 sample records have no headings, and another 40 records have only genre headings. Items like *Sexorama, A Treasure of Pleasure: How to be Sexcessful*, and *Are You Over Sixty* are all given only the heading “American wit and humor,” which is anything but descriptive. The vast majority of those without subject headings are literature and fiction, but some of these are also in the HQs. Delta books in the HQ section range from books about birth control, to books about homosexuality, prostitution, pornography, sex and marriage, and paraphilias.

In addition to the records for items that can be searched by call number, other records in the catalog state “Problem location” in the holdings, and the 991 field of such MARC records indicate that these were former Delta books. It seems as though some of the items in the Delta were lost in the moves or removed, possibly by vandals. A 2010 visit to the LC in search of historical books that fall under the heading “Paraphilias” revealed that many books are shelved in locations other than those listed in the online catalog or are missing. Books that indicated “Problem location” in the holdings sent me on a chase in different reading rooms, searching card catalogs, filling out paper call slips, and sometimes ending up empty-handed because librarians were unable to locate the items.

It is rather surprising that these items still bear the marks of the Delta Collection, particularly because policy memoranda explicitly state that traces of the collection were to be removed: the Delta symbol was supposed to be erased from the spine labels and catalog cards. Either this project simply was never completed, or the policy was changed at some point. Several books reviewed in 2010 still bear the Delta symbol on the spine or on pages of the book, and the

catalog clearly reveals at least 1,010 books that were formerly part of the Delta Collection. As a historian, I view this trace of the Delta Collection as a gift and as affirmation of the preservation of historical records.¹¹⁵

Cataloging perversions, 1946-1971

This era witnessed an important shift from postwar hysteria and fear about homosexuality to the beginnings of the Gay Liberation movement. The literature from the period portrays precisely this change, largely due to the rise of studies of deviance in the social sciences. Terry observes a sharp methodological contrast between the medical/psychiatric profession and the social sciences. She describes the medical research as “putatively neutral” projects that aided moral conservatives in their campaign to protect citizens from homosexuals, whereas the social sciences began to normalize homosexuality and aided the emerging homophile movement.¹¹⁶ The effect of social scientific approaches offered homosexuals and activists a new model by which to understand their place in society. Rather than being the antithesis of the healthy, patriotic American family, they were increasingly understood as a variation of normal. Increasingly, activists regarded psychiatry as archaic and oppressive. Even psychiatrists recognized the role of society in determining and defining norms and deviance. As this era moved through the 1950s and 1960s scholars increasingly defended the social and cultural aspects of sexual deviance. Additionally, the era witnessed a shift from exploiting “primitive” cultures and racial and ethnic minorities as examples of deviance, to a remarkable absence of

¹¹⁵ This is particularly meaningful to me, as I witnessed the entire card catalog, along with volumes of union lists, disappear from the card catalog room at UW-Madison in December of 2011. I saved some cards, but was frustrated by the removal of items that I was using for this dissertation. The room was cleared to make way for a new digital humanities initiative.

¹¹⁶ Terry, *An American Obsession*, 353

ethnic and racial minorities as subjects of studies or commentary.

With the recognition of deviance as a social phenomenon, scholars began to question the efficacy of psychological and biological methods to explain sexual behaviors. As Steven Epstein observes, the 1960s witnessed a shift in the sociology of sexuality. Epstein credits social interactionists, including George Herbert Meade, Erving Goffman and Howard Becker, with reframing sexuality studies by explaining categories of sexual deviance in terms of social constructions, instead of biological and psychoanalytic terms.¹¹⁷ Epstein further argues that although there is currently a tension between sociology and queer theory, these approaches are tied to each other, and queer theory and LGBT studies as we know them would not exist if it weren't for the social theorists of the 1960s and 1970s.

The labeling theory of deviance that grew out of the social interactionists has tremendous implications and applications for my work on the social construction of the category "Sexual perversion"/"Sexual deviance"/"Paraphilias." Meade is often thought to be the originator of labeling theory in his 1934 *Mind, Self, and Society*, and it was later taken up by Goffman in his study of mental institutions and in his work *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*.¹¹⁸ For Goffman, stigmatizing effects have tremendous influence on individual behaviors and expressions, including homosexuality. Mary McIntosh used labeling theory in her 1968 study to understand sexual categories and argued that "homosexual" was a stigmatizing category created to enforce a purified norm.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁷ Steven Epstein. "A Queer Encounter: Sociology and the Study of Sexuality." In *Sexuality and Gender*, ed., Christine L. Williams, Arlene Stein, (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 2002).

¹¹⁸ Erving Goffman, *Asylums: Essays on the Social Situation of Mental Patients and Other Inmates* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1961); *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh, Social Sciences Research Centre, 1956).

¹¹⁹ Mary McIntosh, "The Homosexual Role." *Social Problems* 16, no. 2 (1968).

Howard Becker drew attention away from the behaviors of people labeled deviant and focused on the process of institutionalization of deviance through labeling.¹²⁰ According to Becker, deviance is defined and enforced by people in positions of power that create and assign labels. Becker understands deviance as breaking rules that are held to be societal norms. Both a precursor to queer and LGBT studies, and a sociological theory, Becker's theory of deviance provides a social scientific lens through which to analyze the role of the LC in naming deviance and enforcing sexual norms. Knowledge of the evolution of sociological thought concerning deviance also provides greater context for understanding the collection and organization social science texts at the LC. The processes and policies discussed in this chapter should be considered acts of labeling. The categorization of "perversion," the placement of items on the shelves under "abnormal sex," and the blatant banishment of works to the Delta Collection all mark these texts as "deviant." And while the A.L.A. had created a clear statement disavowing the act of restriction through labeling as early as 1951, it has not taken a formal position on categorization and classification. "When the subject of 'labeling,' recognized as a violation of the Library Bill of Rights, arises it is often defended by the assertion that subject headings themselves constitute a legitimate and necessary form of labeling."¹²¹ As the next chapter will show, though, the Task Force for Gay Liberation, in the Social Responsibilities Round Table of the A.L.A., was the major force behind removing the cross listing from "Homosexuality" to "Sexual perversion."

I have used the same methodology for selection of titles to review as I did in the previous chapter. Far more books on sexual perversion were added to LC's collection than during the

¹²⁰ Howard Becker, *Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance* (London: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963); John D'Emilio has also identified this as the "standard text" deviance studies in the 1960s, and he notes its influence on gay and lesbian studies. John D'Emilio. *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities*, 142.

¹²¹ Introduction to Joan K. Marshall. "Viewpoint: Prejudice through LC Subject Headings," *Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom* (November 1971): 126

earlier period, and in analyzing the sample of the fifteen most widely held books, eleven explicitly state that notions of sexual deviance derive from social conditioning and devote sections of text to the topic.¹²² The book most widely held for this period conveys this shifting attitude about sexual perversion. Deriving from sociology, rather than the medical and psychiatric sciences, this edited volume, *Sexual Deviance*, published in 1967, states that deviance is determined by social practices. According to the editors, interactions of institutionalized norms produce definitions of “normal” and deviance should be understood in terms of social structure, social situation, and the character of the actors:

a form of behavior becomes deviant when it is defined as violating the norms of some collectivity. Usually, the collectivities that are relevant are those formally empowered to sanction deviant behavior in general, though for certain forms of sexual behavior only informal and covert sanctions are applied by selected collectivities....Deviance exists in social systems as a necessary complement to conformity...to speak of one is to imply the other.¹²³

What is key to our understanding of cataloging processes and practices is the complete absence of terms in the catalog record referring to the actual topics covered in this text: homosexuality and prostitution. The authors interrogated the inclusion of these two categories in the broader category, sexual deviance, and they studied the role of norms of deviance within these communities. Nevertheless, the bibliographic record only includes “Paraphilias” as a subject

¹²² John H. Gagnon, William Simon, and Donald E. Carns, eds., *Sexual Deviance* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967); Irving H. Buchen, *The Perverse Imagination: Sexuality and Literary Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 1970); Frank S. Caprio and Donald R. Brenner, *Sexual Behavior: Psycho-legal Aspects* (New York: Citadel Press, 1961); Louis S. London and Frank S. Caprio, *Sexual Deviations* (Washington, D.C.: Linacre Press, 1950); Lars Ullerstam, *The Erotic Minorities* (New York: Grove Press, 1966); James M. Reinhardt, *Sex Perversions and Sex Crimes* (Springfield, IL.: C.C. Thomas, 1957); Hervey M. Cleckley, *The Caricature of Love: A Discussion of Social, Psychiatric, and Literary Manifestations of Pathologic Sexuality* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1957); Harry E. Wedeck, *Pictorial History of Morals* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1963); Albert Ellis and Ralph Bracale, *The Psychology of Sex Offenders* (Springfield, IL.: C.C. Thomas, 1956); J. Paul De River, *The Sexual Criminal: A Psychoanalytical Study* (Springfield, IL.: C.C. Thomas, 1956); Hendrik M. Ruitenbeek, *The Psychotherapy of Perversions* (New York: Citadel Press, 1967).

¹²³ Gagnon, Simon, and Carns, *Sexual Deviance*, 2, 12.

heading, and there are no terms describing homosexuality or prostitution that might turn the record up in a keyword search. Such an absence is striking, given the fact that both concepts were well established in LCSH at the time this book was cataloged. It may be due a lack of effort or inadequate expertise of the cataloger, who may have simply read the title, *Sexual Deviance*, and applied “Sexual perversion” as a heading. If the cataloger had turned to the introduction and table of contents, however, she would have seen that the book gives an overview of theories of sexual deviance, and then applies these specifically to homosexuality and prostitution. This meets the requirement of the rule of three, which states that no more than three subject headings were to be added to catalog records, as well as the rule designating that a topic must make up at least twenty percent of the book for it to be included as a subject heading.

Within the sample for the years 1946-1971, the prevailing attitudes and theories shift quite dramatically. A book published early in this period, De River’s 1950 *Sexual Criminal*, is a graphic account of sex crimes in the U.S., complete with shocking photographs of murder and rape victims, including children. Aimed at criminal justice professionals, the book provides a telling glimpse of the perceptions and aims of law enforcement by placing homosexuals in the same category as murderers and rapists. In his introduction to the text, attorney Eugene D.

Williams calls readers to take precautions against “sex perverts”:

Sex perversion, of course, includes many types which manifest themselves in the form of homosexuality, exhibitionism, and so on down the categories, until we reach the dangerous sadomasochist whose frequent terminal outbursts direct the attention of the world to the fact that sex perverts do exist.¹²⁴

Williams cautions readers against thinking that perverts, including homosexuals, are harmless, and argues that they pose a particular danger to young people. The book does provide some

¹²⁴ De River, *The Sexual Criminal*, xi.

accounts of homosexual sex crimes in addition to plenty of heterosexual sex crimes. The introduction seems to imply that every homosexual should be considered dangerous and likely to commit such crimes. This attitude was common, though, and supported J. Edgar Hoover's fear-mongering and war against sexual perverts.

Frank S. Caprio and Louis S. London's *Sexual Deviations*, published in 1950, is a book almost entirely about homosexuality, intended for a general lay audience. This is of interest, particularly because it indicates a shift from directing books of this nature exclusively toward medical and legal professionals and scholars, but also because it was a part of the Delta Collection and is currently located in a "Problem location." By placing the book in this collection, it was actually kept away from the very audience it hoped to serve. Published in 1950, the authors followed Stekel's psychoanalytic approach to understanding sexual perversion as illness. As the book was written with the belief that marital troubles stem from misinformation and a need for laypeople to understand the "sexual deviate" to prevent sexual perversion, the front matter reads,

The prevalent lack of understanding toward sexual problems--coupled with the growing public concern over sex crimes--make this book an invaluable guide to the layman. *Sexual Deviations, Volume I*, includes chapters on: Analysis of a homosexual neurosis--The psychobiography of a lesbian--A case of psychosexual hermaphroditism (bisexuality)--Deep analysis of a married lesbian--Hypno-analysis of an exhibitionist--A case of exhibitionism with special reference to the family setting--Plus much, much more.

The bibliographic record does not include any information regarding homosexuality at all, nor do many of the titles for this period that address the subject. A search using "Homosexuality" and "Paraphilias" as subjects only returned three bibliographic records for this period: the periodical *Man and Society*; the book *Male Sexual Deviations and Bizarre Practices*, by Robert J. Bledsoe, published in 1964 and located in Rare Books; and *Mr. Madam: Confessions of a Male Madam*,

by Kenneth Marlowe, also published in 1964 and given the additional heading “Transvestism.” I determined the coverage of homosexuality in the sample books by looking at the number of pages and chapters devoted to the subject in each book, and I found that nine of the fifteen do address homosexuality quite extensively. In each each of these nine books, at least twenty percent of the content deals directly with homosexuality.

We also see a move toward questioning the categorization of homosexuals as perverts, as well as a distancing from Freudian psychoanalysis to explain homosexuality and other deviations. In the 15 book sample, four are Freudian, at least one explicitly rejects Freud, and others seem to have moved on. Those that follow Freud discuss perversion in terms of psychosexual immaturity or illness, whereas the others view it as a social problem. Two of the books in the sample are anthologies on sexual perversion. They are very similar, as both accept Freud’s theories on sexual perversion, and both include the essay entitled “Perversion, Cultural Norm and Normality,” by Warner Muensterberger, in which the author explores cultural, sociological, and statistical definitions of “norm” and “normal.” And while he concedes that notions of sexual perversion are socially determined, he concludes his paper by asserting, “any concept of what is ‘normal’ should be arrived at not by standards suggested by society--the legal codification of cultural expectations--but by genetic criteria as they have been developed in clinical and bio-psychological research.”¹²⁵

It is also worth noting that the second most widely held book comes out of literary studies--*The Perverse Imagination: Sexuality and Literary Culture*, by Irving H. Buchen, published toward the end of this period, in 1970. Of the seventy titles held by the LC and cataloged with

¹²⁵ Warner Muensterberger, “Perversion, Cultural Norm and Normality,” in *Perversions, Psychodynamics and Therapy*, Sándor Lorand, ed. (New York: Random House, 1956), 66.

“Paraphilias,” 52 are in the HQs, and of those, over half are classed under HQ71, including a range of titles from *Sex Perversions and Sex Crimes*, to *Follywood Fantasies: Who’s Doing Who, and How!* and *Magica Sexualis: Mystic Love Books of Black Arts and Secret Sciences*. A smattering of titles are classed as psychology, literature, legal studies, or internal medicine. Whereas the previous chapter indicated that most books came from European publishers, and many were originally written in a language other than English, this period witnesses a shift to American authors and publishers. Only a quarter of the titles were published in Europe, with the remainder published in the U.S. Twenty percent of the titles were translated into English from another language, but all but four of these are reprints of earlier editions that were originally published before 1946. Sixteen of the seventy titles are not listed as LC holdings in WorldCat. Eighteen are located in problem locations.

Six of the books state that sexual deviance should not be considered an illness, but rather a product of social conditioning. All of the texts deriving from sociology and the humanities reflect this position, whereas all of the psychiatric texts say that the behaviors they write about are problems. They define them as problems differently, from De River’s pathological sex criminals, to the Freudian scholars who believe that sexual variance signifies immaturity. The psychiatric texts overwhelmingly use the word “perversion,” whereas the humanists steer away from using the term, arguing that readers should be cautious when making judgments about morals, or even encouraging deviance and multiplicity of sexualities and behaviors.¹²⁶

Finally, of the 79 titles published before 1964 and currently assigned “Paraphilias,” 33 were formerly part of the Delta Collection. More striking is the fact that during the period that

¹²⁶ Wedeck, *Pictorial History of Morals*; Ullerstam, *The Erotic Minorities*.

the Keeper of the Collections was an official office, 1940-1964, forty titles were cataloged and assigned this heading, and of these 23 (nearly 60 percent) were placed in the Delta Collection.

Summary

Part of this project is to figure out what has not been cataloged or documented. This chapter has centered on the hidden history of sexual policing at the Library of Congress by exposing the use of medical jargon, the creation of a secret collection with restricted access, a lack of documentation, limited cataloging, labeling, and the destruction of materials. Policies and procedures have been hidden from the view of the public, but by digging through the archives, MARC record codes, and unpublished reports, I have found that the Library of Congress has played a critical role in sexual regulation in the U.S. During the postwar era, the Library of Congress recognized and created the category “Homosexuality,” at the same time that the federal government was waging a war against sexual perverts. As the federal government improved and increased methods to classify and identify sexual perverts, the nomenclature in the Library expanded its categorizations, eventually policing perversion the Library personnel and the stacks. At the same time it was also solidifying relationships with the Postal Service and Customs Bureau to be the final destination for obscenity seized through the mails or at the border. The ramifications of these policies reach beyond simple questions of access to information, and extend to questions of how power relations operate in information production and consumption. As the political and social climate worked toward civil rights, the literature produced and collected reflected a marked shift in understanding sexual deviance not as a disease, but as a variance of being human.

Top 15 books, in order of number of holdings in WorldCat for the same edition

Gagnon, John H., William Simon, and Donald E. Carns, eds. *Sexual Deviance*. New York: Harper & Row, 1967.

Buchen, Irving H. *The Perverse Imagination: Sexuality and Literary Culture*. New York: New York University Press, 1970.

Caprio, Frank S. and Donald R. Brenner. *Sexual Behavior: Psycho-legal Aspects*. New York: Citadel Press, 1961.

London, Louis S. and Frank S. Caprio. *Sexual Deviations*. Washington, DC: Linacre Press, 1950. (Delta)

Allen, Clifford. *A Textbook of Psychosexual Disorders*. London: Oxford University Press, 1962.

Storr, Anthony. *Sexual Deviation*. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1964.

Ullerstam, Lars. *The Erotic Minorities*. New York: Grove Press, 1966.

Reinhardt, James M. *Sex Perversions and Sex Crimes*. Springfield, IL: C.C. Thomas, 1957. (Delta)

Cleckley, Hervey M. *The Caricature of Love: A Discussion of Social, Psychiatric, and Literary Manifestations of Pathologic Sexuality*. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1957.

Wedek, Harry E. *Pictorial History of Morals*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1963. (Delta)

Masters, Robert E. L. *Eros and Evil: The Sexual Psychopathology of Witchcraft*. New York: Julian Press, 1962.

Lorand, Sándor. *Perversions, Psychodynamics and Therapy*. New York: Random House, 1956. (Delta)

Ellis, Albert and Ralph Bracale. *The Psychology of Sex Offenders*. Springfield, IL: C.C. Thomas, 1956.

De River, J. Paul. *The Sexual Criminal: A Psychoanalytical Study*. Springfield, IL: C.C. Thomas, 1956. (Delta)

Ruitenbeek, Hendrik M. *The Psychotherapy of Perversions*. New York: Citadel Press, 1967.

Chapter 4

SEXUAL DEVIATION: 1972-2006

Sexual deviation

x Deviation, Sexual; Perversion, Sexual; Sex perversion; Sexual perversion
xx Sexual disorders¹²⁷

Sexual deviation

sa Psychosexual disorders; Sex therapy; Sexual masochism; Transvestism
x Paraphilia; Sexual perversion
xx Psychosexual disorders; Sexual disorders¹²⁸

The current library classification and subject heading systems do not reflect the changing social attitudes. Fifteen million gay men and women in this country refuse to be called sexual aberrations...And why must the 'Sexual deviations' category remain at all?

--Steve Wolf¹²⁹

Cataloging should be fun. And challenging. And useful. But too often it's none of those things. Too often it's regarded not as an art nor craft, but merely as a process, a procedure, something clerical, mechanical. It's widely assumed either that our governing codes and schemes are so irredeemably bad and foolish, and so permanent, that it's just not worth trying to do anything about them--or, conversely, that our illustrious code- and scheme-makers, including the Library of Congress, the principal source of cataloging copy for most libraries, are so completely sensible and trustworthy that they merit deep, unending gratitude rather than constant criticism and complaint.

--Sanford Berman¹³⁰

...political activism by openly homosexual men and women during this period altered the terms of knowledge production about homosexuality.

--Jennifer Terry¹³¹

¹²⁷ LCSH, 8th ed., 1975.

¹²⁸ LCSH, 10th ed, 1986.

¹²⁹ Steve Wolf. "Sex and the Single Cataloger," in *Revolting Librarians*, ed., Celeste West and Elizabeth Katz (San Francisco, Booklegger Press, 1972), 39.

¹³⁰ Berman, *Joy of Cataloging*, xi

¹³¹ Terry, *An American Obsession*. 375.

The 1960s and 70s brought intense social movements for civil rights in the United States, and librarians were a major force for change both within and outside the library profession. Library activists played a critical role in changing practices regarding cataloging, classification, and acquisition of materials on sex and sexuality. This chapter begins when the heading “Sexual perversion” was changed to “Sexual deviation,” and traces the movement of homosexuality out of the category of deviance with a proliferation of headings pertaining to gay and lesbian subjects. It also provides an account of the role of the Library of Congress in library automation, and how machine-readable cataloging solidified the Library’s position as an authority in standards development and cataloging practices. The chapter ends in 2006, when digital libraries and next generation catalogs were in full force and just before the Library authorized “Paraphilias” to replace “Sexual deviation.”

Gay Liberation and Library Activism

The A.L.A.’s Round Table on Social Responsibilities of Libraries (SRRT) was born out of a climate of social activism. It provided a space and opportunity for progressive librarians to collectively work for social justice issues related to librarianship. Unanimously approved by the A.L.A. Council on January 30, 1969, SRRT stood in opposition to the long-standing ideal of library neutrality. The organization both asserted that neutrality is impossible and advocated for political and cultural action.¹³² Within a year SRRT authorized members to create problem-based task forces, and among the first of these were groups for library education, black librarians, and publishing. The Task Force on Gay Liberation was the first professional organization in the U.S. to formally organize to protect rights and promote awareness of gays and lesbians. Founded in

¹³² Toni Samek, *Intellectual Freedom and Social Responsibility in American Librarianship, 1967-1974* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2001).

1970, the Task Force has evolved to become the Gay Lesbian, Bisexual, and Transgendered Round Table (GLBTRT) of the A.L.A.

While the Task Force was undoubtedly a crucial player in the movement to revise classifications and subject headings, the success and momentum of this agenda depended on the tireless efforts of Sanford Berman, who advised the Task Force and pushed for revisions of gay subject headings. Berman printed a regular bulletin announcing local changes to the Hennepin County Library catalog and recommendations for the Library of Congress, along with extensive supporting documentation, and offered the bulletin for subscription. Much of this bulletin was devoted to citing reasons for changing headings regarding sex and sexuality. In the third issue of the bulletin, printed just after “Sexual perversion” was changed to “Sexual deviation,” Berman observed the abandonment of “see also” references from headings for deviation to “Fellatio” and “Cunnilingus” and from “Sexual perversion in literature” to “Homosexuality in literature.”¹³³

Among Berman’s most widely espoused ideals were three principles, which he said “should underlie and animate all cataloging.” These principles deeply inform the problems surrounding the Library of Congress’s cataloging of sexual deviance.

- Intelligibility. Bibliographic data--the substance and format of catalog entries--should be helpful to catalog users. And should make sense.
- Findability. Access should be quick and liberal. (This involves the use of contemporary, familiar language; entering works under the author’s title-page name; and assigning enough added entries for titles, subtitles, collaborators, and subjects to make the material findable where people are likely to look for it.)
- Fairness. That is, fairness to the material being cataloged and, with particular respect to subject cataloging, to the topics themselves. (For instance, it’s *not* fair to the whole category of materials called *audiovisual* or *nonprint* to either not catalog them at all or to treat them in a second-class way by comparison to book. And as another example, it’s not

¹³³ *Hennepin County Library Cataloging Bulletin* no.3 (September 17, 1973): 14. (Hereafter *HCL Bulletin*)

fair to employ rubrics for age, sex, or ethnic groups that are not their own, preferred names.) (italics in original)¹³⁴

I will return to these principles in the following chapter, but for now it should be noted that they served as a sort of mission statement, guiding Berman's activism and influencing cataloging practices at the Library of Congress. Below is an account of the accomplishments of Berman and the Gay Liberation Task Force in bringing change to LC's subject headings and classification beginning in the 1970s.

The first meeting of Task Force on Gay Liberation occurred on the Tuesday of the 90th annual conference in Detroit in 1970. Fifty librarians attended this first meeting. The major concern was "opportunities for, and security of, employment regardless of their sexual orientation."¹³⁵ Israel Fishman had the idea to organize the caucus and became the first coordinator. Throughout the conference, the group held meetings and socials, and the Thursday meeting included social and consciousness-raising with presentations from members of the Detroit Gay Liberation Front. By the end of the conference, the Task Force had set an agenda with a variety of goals that included creating bibliographies, making plans for future conferences, reviewing and revising of library classifications and subject headings, collection building, and ending job discrimination in librarianship. By the following year, the Task Force held a highly visible presence and raised awareness of gay and lesbian issues in librarianship in the A.L.A.

At the 1971 A.L.A. annual conference in Dallas, Texas, the Task Force announced the first winner of its Gay Book Award and conducted its first formal program: "Sex and the Single

¹³⁴ These principles appear in various publications of Berman's, including the *HCL Cataloging Bulletin*, *Worth Noting*, etc. Sanford Berman, *Joy of Cataloging*, xi-xii.

¹³⁵ Social Responsibilities Round Table. *Newsletter*, no. 8 (July 1, 1970).

Cataloger: New Thoughts on Some Unthinkable Subjects,” featuring librarian panelists Joan Marshall and Steve Wolf. At that meeting, after hearing gay library worker Michael McConnell describe the legal battle surrounding his employment at the University of Minnesota, Task Force members insisted that A.L.A. Council, members, and the Intellectual Freedom Committee (IFC) respond to this instance of job discrimination, “a case the IFC had earlier decided to ignore.”¹³⁶ At the same conference, the Task Force hosted a Hug-a-Homosexual booth, which brought extensive media coverage, although the A.L.A. was not pleased that such attention was devoted to that event, rather than other conference events. The Task Force also drafted a pro-gay resolution and the Council (the elected policy-making body of A.L.A.) and the general membership to pass the resolution:

The American Library Association recognizes that there exist minorities which are not ethnic in nature but which suffer oppression. The association recommends that libraries and members strenuously combat discrimination in services to, and employment of, individuals from all minority groups, whether distinguishing characteristics of the minority be ethnic, sexual, religious, or any other kind.¹³⁷

Marshall and Wolf’s panel was of the earliest public criticisms of the Library of Congress’s treatment of gay and lesbian subjects, Wolf’s piece was revised and included in the first *Revolting Librarians*, edited by lesbian librarians, Celeste West and Elizabeth Katz, and

¹³⁶ Cal Gough, “The Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Task Force of the American Library Association: A Chronology of Activities, 1970-1995,” in *Daring to Find Our Names*, ed., James V. Carmichael, Jr., 121; McConnell and his partner, Jack Baker, were the first gay couple to apply for a marriage license in Minnesota in 1970. When they were turned away on the basis of the illegality of same-sex marriage, McConnell legally adopted Baker so that they would have legal recognition of their relationship. At the same time, McConnell had just been nearly hired by the University of Minnesota, with only the approval of the Board of Regents needed. However, in the aftermath of the publicity of the attempted marriage, the University of Minnesota Board of Regents determined that “his conduct was not in the best interest of the university” and did not hire him. The case went to the Intellectual Freedom Committee, the A.L.A.’s Executive Director, and the Staff Committee on Mediation, Arbitration and Inquiry. Each report recommended “No action,” because the university hadn’t violated any existing A.L.A. policy. As late as 1975, the A.L.A. still refused to defend McConnell.

Also see: Jack Baker and Michael McConnell, in *Gay Crusaders*, ed., Tobin and Wicker; Gittings, “Gays in Library Land: The Gay and Lesbian Task Force of the American Library Association: The First Sixteen Years,” *Daring to Find Our Names*, ed., James V. Carmichael, Jr. (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1998).

¹³⁷ Quoted in Gittings, “Gays in Library Land,” 92.

Marshall's talk was printed in the *Intellectual Freedom Newsletter* in November 1971.¹³⁸ Wolf, a librarian at the University of Massachusetts in Boston, credited the Task Force with precipitating the corresponding change in the Library of Congress Classification in 1972: "After agitation by the cataloging sect of SRRT's Task Force on Gay Liberation, LC pulled 'Homosexuality' from the shadow of 'Sexual deviations' into the clear descriptive light of 'Sexual life.'" ¹³⁹ That same year "Sexual Deviation" replaced "Sexual Perversion."¹⁴⁰

The addition of "Gay Liberation Movement" as a subject heading and class is also viewed as a pivotal moment in this movement, as it is the first non-clinical heading related to sexual variance created by the Library of Congress. In LCC it appeared as an expanded class under Homosexuality--HQ 76.5. Wolf wrote to C. Sumner Spalding on January 10, 1972 recommending a new heading, "Gay Liberation Movement" or "Homophile Movement," for Donn Teal's *The Gay Militants* and Arthur Bell's *Dancing the Gay Lib Blues*. These books on the Gay Liberation Movement did provide warrant for new headings, but instead had been assigned "Homosexuality." After two years of publication of books on the Gay Liberation Movement, the heading was created. However, a number of books were not recataloged with the more appropriate heading, and when Wolf inquired about updating previous classifications, Sumner responded, "Ordinarily we do not go back and reprint cards to show the newer subject headings or classification."¹⁴¹ In this case, LC catalogers did meet Wolf's request, but it prompted Berman

¹³⁸ Wolf, "Sex and the Single Cataloger;" Joan K. Marshall, "Viewpoint: Prejudice through Library of Congress Subject Headings," *Newsletter on Intellectual Freedom* (November 1971): 126.

¹³⁹ Wolf, "Sex and the Single Cataloger," 42.

¹⁴⁰ The change was implemented in 1972, but the printed list of subject headings that included "Sexual Deviation" was the eighth edition, published in 1975.

¹⁴¹ Edward J. Blume, Chief of LC's Subject Cataloging Division, quoted in *Bulletin*, no. 11/12/13 (March 15, 1975): 79

to suggest that “Subject Authority in Waiting,” similar to today’s tentative lists, be available to keep new subjects on file so that they can be applied as books on the new subjects are published.¹⁴² In Spalding’s response to Wolf, stamped Feb. 19, 1972 he wrote:

Since works on the gay liberation movement do not concern themselves with the origin and nature of homosexuality, but rather with the efforts of homosexuals to achieve justice, Homosexuality is far too broad a subject heading to assign such works. Therefore, we are establishing the more specific heading Gay Liberation Movement, corresponding to the heading Women’s Liberation Movement which we established last year.

Spalding also explained to Wolf that the caption for the LC class HQ71 had been changed from “Abnormal sex relations” to “Sexual deviations” in 1966, but added that this correspondence had led them to also change the indentation so that homosexuality aligned with but was not hierarchically under “Sexual deviations.” This speaks directly to Mary K. D. Pietris’s correspondence at the beginning of this dissertation, in which she claims that current placement of items on the shelves is simply an accident of classification. The 1966 shift provides evidence that homosexuality was classed under abnormal sex relations, right along with sex crimes. Removing the hierarchical relationship from the classification system did not change the arrangement of books on the shelves, and the legacy of the previous arrangement was not wiped away by changing the indentation. Wolf also notes problematic cross references embedded in the Library of Congress Classification. For instance RA1141, “Sexual offenses, diseases, etc.” provides a “see also” note guiding users to look under HQ 71-471, which is designated for “Abnormal sexual relations.” “Here, in its lovely, nonprejudicial way,” wrote Wolf, “LC not only calls gayness a crime and a disease, it also, by its cf. note, lumps gayness together with those two

¹⁴² Stephen H. Wolf, “LC Grim on Gay,” *School Library Journal* (April 1972): 3. Wolf wrote the letter on January 10 and sent it to C. Sumner Spalding and *Library Journal*.

‘related’ subjects, Prostitution (RQ 101-440) and Pornography (HQ 450-471).”¹⁴³ Hierarchically under KF9325-9329, “Criminal law--Sexual offenses” was the now canceled “Unnatural sexual intercourse,” which would have included homosexuality. The hierarchical chain for RC558 is ‘Neurology and psychiatry. Neuropsychiatry. Psychiatry. Psychopathology./Mental, psychoneurotic, and personality disorders. / Disorders of character, behavior, and intelligence. / Sexual deviation. / Homosexuality, with the note “Cf. HQ 71-79, Sex crimes.” This hierarchy still exists as of 2012, with a minor change in the language indicating “Class here works on the psychiatric issues associated with homosexuality.” Certainly, there is not a class for works on the psychiatric issues associated with heterosexuality.

In his letter to Wolf, Spalding also wrote:

You apparently have a mistaken view of the nature of our cataloging function. We do not establish usage by means of our subject heading list or our classification schedules, and therefore these bibliographic tools can never be found in the vanguard of social change, however desirable that change may be.... It is our mission to identify properly by means of the appropriate subject headings and class numbers the subject contents of the new books we catalog. New headings and numbers are established at any time as required by the material in hand....only those terms or phrases are selected which reflect current authoritative American usage in the relevant subject area.¹⁴⁴

Spalding’s response is a valid one, insofar as it is true that LC does establish headings and classes based on the literary warrant. However, it is apparent that LC chose particular types of sources on which to base the new headings and classifications. LC relied heavily on psychiatric literature for literary warrant for subjects related to sexual variance, while tending to underserve other audiences.

¹⁴³ Wolf, “Sex and the Single Cataloger,” 40.

¹⁴⁴ C. Sumner Spalding to Stephen H. Wolf. [February 19, 1972] American Library Association Gay Liberation Task Force Papers, University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign.

Renowned for her gay activism outside of librarianship, Barbara Gittings became the second coordinator of the Gay Liberation Task Force in 1972. Among the Task Force's achievements under her leadership were the publication of bibliographies of gay-positive books, and the gay book award, now known as the Stonewall Book Award. Although Gittings was not a librarian, she is often regarded as the most influential member of the Task Force. Her activism outside of A.L.A. included testifying before the American Psychiatric Association, along with Frank Kameny. Their efforts led to the removal of Homosexuality as a mental disorder from the DSM in 1972. Gittings remained coordinator until 1986.

Wolf also noted the flawed terminology in these systems: they “still need to replace ‘homosexual,’ a ‘nigger’ label adopted by heterosexists, with the preferred term ‘gay.’” He finally asked, “And why must the ‘Sexual deviations’ category remain at all?” suggesting that the Library of Congress should not be in the business of making moralist determinations of normal and abnormal.¹⁴⁵ Wolf further challenged Spalding's statement: “While we are continually flattering ourselves with claims that we are ‘educators,’ whom can we possibly enlighten when our own ‘intellectual tools’ are so hopelessly backward?”¹⁴⁶ He quoted Thomas S. Szasz, the “prophet of anti-psychiatry,” in defending the need for change:¹⁴⁷

We may safely conclude that psychiatric opinion about homosexuals is not a scientific proposition but a medical prejudice...It is clear that psychiatrists have a vested interest in diagnosing as mentally ill as many people as possible, just as inquisitors had in branding them as heretics....We must realize that in situations of this kind we are confronted, not

¹⁴⁵ Wolf, “Sex and the Single Cataloger,” 39; The argument that the Library of Congress is not a leader in producing meaning, but simply reflects the published literature, will be reproduced in the following chapter. The contradiction of this statement is revealed by the heading “Paraphilias,” which does not widely appear in the literature. The Library has made a choice to defer to the medical community in adopting “Sexual perversion,” “Sexual deviation,” and “Paraphilias.”

¹⁴⁶ Wolf, “Sex and the Single Cataloger,” 44.

¹⁴⁷ Oosterhuis, *Stepchildren of Nature*, 7.

with scientific problems to be solved, but with social roles to be confirmed. Inquisitor and witch, psychiatrist and mental patient, create each other and authenticate each other's roles.¹⁴⁸

The assertion that “homosexual” is a deeply flawed label is one with which the Library of Congress, Berman, and gay and lesbian activists wrestled for years. Like debates about the use of “queer” today, conflict over the connotations and denotations of “homosexual” (derived from stigmatization from the psychiatric community) struck at the heart of Gay Liberation Movement. Although “Homosexuality” was no longer a cross reference for “Sexual deviation” or “Sexual perversion,” gay people believed that the term “homosexual” was stigmatized because of its medical origins. J. Michael McConnell, catalog librarian at Hennepin County Library, was deeply invested in gay liberation personally and professionally, and as catalog librarian he worked closely with Berman to advance subject cataloging practices, especially with regard to sexual orientation. In an exchange between Don Slater, of the Homosexual Information Center and McConnell, Slater urged the abandonment of a “gay lifestyle/homophile lifestyle/same-sex lifestyle” cross-reference to “Homosexuality.”¹⁴⁹ He stated, “Homosexuality is a general category of sexual activity, not a way of life; “‘homosexual’ has no real useful significance” in terms of describing a group of people, there is not a distinct and definable group of homosexuals.” McConnell seemed to accuse Slater of having out-dated opinions: “the new generation of young Gay people wants the right to express their emotions openly, honestly and publicly.” He noted the increase in literature about relationships with sexual activity being a subset of personal relationships. He believed it made sense to use a non-judgmental reference

¹⁴⁸ Szasz 1970, quoted in Wolff, “Sex and the Single Cataloger,” 40-41.

¹⁴⁹ Slater was a co-founder of ONE, Inc., an early homophile organization. The organization produced *ONE Magazine*, the first pro-gay magazine in the U.S., in 1953. ONE, Inc. split in 1965 due to differences, and Slater led a section that branched off and became the Homosexual Information Center. C. Todd White, “Don Slater,” OutHistory, 2008. http://outhistory.org/wiki/Don_Slater (accessed March 30, 2012).

like “relationship(s)” or “lifestyle” to represent the reality that gays and lesbians have complex relationships that include, but should not be solely defined by sexual activity.¹⁵⁰

Almost 300 people turned up to hear “Let’s Not Homosexualize the Library Stacks,” Michael McConnell’s 1974 appeal to change “Homosexual” to “Gay” in subject headings.¹⁵¹ In this talk McConnell asserted that the label “homosexual” prevents acquisition of gay materials.

Gay men and women will remain unspeakable so long as we remain bound by the label of “homosexual”...Unspeakable topics seldom find a warm welcome in public library collections. And when they do, you can be sure they’re medicalized, criminalized, or sociological entities. Positive, or even neutral subject headings will not refer you to the Gay materials. And, besides, you’ll probably find them locked away.¹⁵²

He credited the Library of Congress for “taking its first steps toward fair treatment by dumping obnoxious headings like ‘perversions,’” but argued that the Task Force on Gay Liberation has much more work to do on the subject headings front.

Berman observed that, until consensus was reached, “subject cataloging remains ‘stuck’ with the inherited, admittedly ‘unsatisfactory’ catch-all term, ‘Homosexuality,’” and “Gay lifestyle” and “Homophile lifestyle” could be cross-references.¹⁵³ He recommended that the Task Force undertake a study on how the major homophile groups viewed and named themselves and what kind and extent of subject-access to homophile material authority sources and libraries prescribed or provided. Upon investigation, it became clear that “gay” was the term preferred by the gay community and that “homosexual” carried negative connotations. Jack Baker cited the

¹⁵⁰ McConnell, *HCL Bulletin*, no. 4 (November 21, 1973): 4.

¹⁵¹ Gittings, “Gays in Libraryland,” 86; Gough, “The Gay, Lesbian, and Bisexual Task Force,” 122.

¹⁵² McConnell, “Text of remarks by J. Michael McConnell to the Task Force on Gay Liberation,” American Library Association, July 9, 1974, Sanford Berman papers, University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign.

¹⁵³ *HCL Bulletin*, no. 4 (November 21, 1973): 4; Today the notion of a gay or lesbian “lifestyle” is highly contested, primarily on the grounds that it suggests that people choose a way of life, rather than being born gay.

work of the Gay Activist Alliance, which published an annual list of gay organizations, in defending the proposal to replace the subject heading “Homosexuals” to “Gays” and stated that Slater was out of place for encouraging the use of “homosexuality”:¹⁵⁴

“Why are librarians such semantic worry-worts? The terms ordinary people (Gay and nongay) use in everyday conversation should not control the way in which minorities will be represented to the public. Otherwise, we would have headings like ‘nigger,’ ‘kikes,’ ‘cunts’An analysis of the comprehensive list of Gay organizations compiled by Gay Activist Alliance (GAA) of New York City shows that a mere 16 of the 652 (3.2%) known Gay organizations in this country have chosen to be publicly identified with the term ‘homosexual’¹⁵⁵

Such statements reflect the growing recognition that names for groups of people should be assigned according to what that group would call itself. At its July 11, 1974 business meeting at A.L.A., the SRRT Task Force on Gay Liberation unanimously approved resolution authored by McConnell that concluded:

THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED that it is the position of the American Library Association/Social Responsibilities Round Table Task Force on Gay Liberation that ‘homosexual’ and ‘homosexuality’ are inappropriate library subject headings for Gay people and same-gender lifestyles.

AND BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Task Force Coordinator is directed to appoint a committee to study subject heading lists and other pertinent library tools for terms applying to Gay people and make recommendations to A.L.A. at the 1975 San Francisco Conference.¹⁵⁶

In fact, the A.L.A. and the Library of Congress did endorse a statement issued in 1975 stating:

The authentic name of ethnic, national, religious, social, or sexual groups should be established if such a name is determinable. If a group does not have an authentic name, the name preferred by the group should be established. The determination of the authentic

¹⁵⁴ Jack Baker was an activist, but not a librarian. He was J. Michael McConnell’s (cited above and below) partner.

¹⁵⁵ Jack Baker, *HCL Bulletin*, no. 5 (January 21, 1974): 4.

¹⁵⁶ “SRRT Task Force launches offensive against ‘Homosexuality,’” *HCL Bulletin*, no. 8/9/10 (September 1, 1974): 33-34.

or preferred name should be based upon the literature of the people themselves (not upon outside sources or experts), upon organizational self-identification, and/or upon group member experts.”¹⁵⁷

Joan Marshall asserted that LCSH had a structural problem resulting from Haykins’s principles, which inhibited the practice of using names preferred by those being named. She believed that an insensitivity toward minority groups is a result of Haykin’s focus on “the reader,” which assumed that headings should serve a majority, while the non-preferred terms serve as references for the needs of the minorities.¹⁵⁸ Marshall points out that the “‘majority reader’” is white, Christian, male, and straight, and suggests that the majority is equal to the norm. “To be outside the norm means, in the philosophy underlying the list, that everything you do is colored by your ‘normless’ place in society.”¹⁵⁹ So necessarily, headings implicitly account for a norm, and exceptions must be named, e.g., Women as librarians, Jews as scientists, etc. Jack Baker seems to fully agree, as he stated “Minorities have always had to use subject headings which the majority considered to be ‘proper’ descriptions of their life style. It can’t be too unthinkable to assume the converse should also be true.”¹⁶⁰ More recently, Rose Schlegl and Hope Olson analyzed how well subject access standards represent marginalized groups and topics and found three general problems, affirming Marshall’s critiques: “first, pleasing the majority of library users sometimes results in biased subject representation; second, attempts at objectivity can result in equal treatment when what is required is equitable treatment to accommodate differences; and third, that standards homogenize the results of cataloguing and, thus, impose a universal language in

¹⁵⁷ *GLC Voice*, March 21, 1983, 4.

¹⁵⁸ Joan Marshall, “LC Labeling: An Indictment.” In *Revolting Librarians*, ed. West and Katz, 45.

¹⁵⁹ [JAH], Introduction to “Viewpoint: Prejudice through Library of Congress Subject Headings,” 126.

¹⁶⁰ Jack Baker, *HCL Bulletin*, no. 5 (January 21, 1974), 4.

diverse contexts.”¹⁶¹

Although, the 1974-1976 Supplement did add “Homosexuals” (recognizing them as people, rather than a condition), with “Gays” as a non-preferred term, “Gays” would not be the authorized heading for another 12 years. People searching for “Gays, male” would be directed to “Homosexuals, male,” and those searching for “Gays, female” would see “Lesbians.” Previously, these were only represented as conditions, such as “Homosexuality” and “Lesbianism.” The supplement moved the “See also” cross-reference for “the criminal manifestation of homosexuality under Sodomy” to “Homosexuality--Law and legislation.”

On February 10, 1978 Task Force member John Cunningham wrote to Berman seeking advice on how to best approach LC to adopt changes.¹⁶² The top priority was to replace “Homosexuals” with “Gays,” and new headings, such as “Gay rights,” “Gay teachers,” “Jewish gays,” “Homophobia,” and “Homophobia in education,” as well as “Heterosexuality” as a complement to “Bisexuality” and “Homosexuality,” were to be recommended. By this time Berman had already added “Heterosexuality” to the Hennepin County Public Library catalog based on a variety of sources, including E.M. Brecher’s 1969 *Sex Researchers*, which includes information on homosexuality, bisexuality, and heterosexuality.¹⁶³ Berman responded on February 13, agreeing that it was a good time to push LC. He included a sample letter, which was copied almost word for word, signed by Barbara Gittings, and to the Chief, Subject Cataloging Division on April 4, 1978. The change from “Homosexual” to “Gay” did not occur until 1988,

¹⁶¹ Olson, *Power to Name*, 9; Olson has recommended breaching the limits of the existing systems, making spaces for the Other to fill as desired, and creating dynamic, reflexive systems that change over time and space.

¹⁶² John Cunningham to Sanford Berman, February 10, 1978, Sanford Berman papers, University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign.

¹⁶³ *HCL Bulletin*, no. 27 (April 1, 1977); LC authorized “Heterosexuality” in 1993. See LC Authorities. s.v. Heterosexuality, <http://authorities.loc.gov/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?AuthRecID=4855057&v1=1&HC=1&SEQ=20120423112310&PID=SH7D9g-T6R2yGBoeaKYlq2Jlilo2aLn>

when the Library of Congress announced in its Cataloging Service Bulletin that uses of Homosexual will be changed to Gay, including Homosexual Couples, Parent, Legal Status, etc.¹⁶⁴ New headings included Gay couples, Gay parents, Lesbian mothers, Gay teenagers, Homosexuality-Law and Legislation, Gays--Travel, Lesbians--Travel, Gays--United States, Lesbians--United States, etc. "Gay" and "Gays" were to be chosen for books about both men and women, and books solely about gay women would be assigned the existing "Lesbians."

Gay Task Force member, Marjorie Morgan noted the medicalization of sexual orientation in 1975, in her piece "MeSH 1975: The Gay Person as a Medical Phenomenon."¹⁶⁵ The Medical Subject Headings (MeSH), produced by the National Library of Medicine, are firmly established as an international authority for medical subject headings. Additionally, the Library of Congress cites MeSH in its authority record for "Paraphilias," indicating that the Library views MeSH as an authoritative source the subject. MeSH is composed of a thesaurus of subject headings and a group of categorized lists, or "trees," which are hierarchies of MeSH terms, intended for the sophisticated user or medical practitioner. The only subject heading at the time of Morgan's writing regarding homosexuality or homosexuals was "Homosexuality," and "Lesbianism" was provided only as a cross reference to "Homosexuality." In the hierarchical arrangement, "Homosexuality" was listed under "Sex Deviation," which was under "Sociopathic Personality," which was under "Personality Disorders" which was under "Mental Disorders." Morgan noted that homosexuality was "squeezed in between Fetishism and Incest" on the MeSH tree.

Homosexuality was also added in 1975 under Behavior--Sex Behavior, between Masturbation and Extramarital Relations. These classifications problematically ignored love and relationships

¹⁶⁴ Cal Gough, *GLTF Newsletter*, 1 (Spring 1988).

¹⁶⁵ Marjorie Morgan, "MeSH 1975: The Gay Person as a Medical Phenomenon." *HCL Bulletin*, no. 27 (April 1, 1977): 41.

and placed emphasis on sex. Lesbianism did not appear under the Behavior tree, but did appear on the Mental Disorder tree. In response to Dr. Clifford A. Bachrach's claim that the structure derived from the literature, which predominantly reflected the maladaptive aspects of the homosexual, Morgan wrote:

Of course, to structure an international classification system to suit the literature being written sounds ideal, but in reality it's unnecessary to the extent carried out here, and can only serve, in the case of gay people, to perpetuate the destructiveness we have already endured at the hands of the medical profession...In this case, our tax money is going to support a system which is labelling [sic] us, if not mentally ill, then at least symptomatic of illness...there should be no subject heading tree or hierarchy to support these pseudo-scientific inaccuracies.¹⁶⁶

Homosexuality was to be taken out of the Mental Disorders category in MeSH in 1976, and the 1977 update to Morgan's essay states that "Homosexuality" was no longer under "Sex Deviation," but did still appear under Behavioral Symptoms which falls under Behavioral and Mental Disorders.¹⁶⁷

Although the 1972 LCSH change from "Sexual perversion" to "Sexual deviation" was celebrated among Gay Liberation Task Force members, it may not have been quite as momentous as it appears, for all cross references, except from "Sexual disorders" were eliminated. This stands in sharp contrast to the previous edition, which cross-referenced "Sexual perversion" with "Exhibitionism," "Homosexuality," "Lesbianism," "Masochism," "Nymphomania," "Sadism," "Sex crimes," and "Transvestism."¹⁶⁸ Apart from "Homosexuality," most of these and other headings would slowly reappear as references in subsequent editions.

Transvestism was the first of the sexual behaviors or phenomena to reenter the hierarchy

¹⁶⁶ Morgan, "MeSH 1975," 42-43.

¹⁶⁷ *HCL Bulletin*, no.28 (June 1, 1977): 35.

¹⁶⁸ *LCSH*, 6th ed. 1966.

in 1980, along with “Sexual disorders,” and “Transvestism” remained a cross-reference for “Impersonators, Female,” a heading whose scope note would not change until the 1988 edition: “Here are entered works on men impersonating women. Works on women impersonating men are entered under the heading Impersonators, Male. Works on impersonation of the opposite sex as a manifestation of sexual perversion are entered under the heading Transvestism.” In 1910 Magnus Hirschfeld wrote of transvestism in *Die Transvestiten*, in which he seemed to conflate homosexuality with transexuality.¹⁶⁹ “Transvestism” first appeared as a subject heading in 1948 and “Transvestites” was added in 1989 “despite prior long term community preference for the terms “cross-dressing” and “cross-dressers.”¹⁷⁰ Ellen Greenblatt has suggested, “For many, the terms transvestism and transvestites are seen as defamatory due to their association with fetishism, deviance, and perversion” In the 1970s these terms were replaced with “cross-dressing” in popular usage.¹⁷¹ Because the terms “transvestism” and “transvestite” have become so closely identified with the language of psychopathology, most people who engage in this practice for whatever reason have come to prefer the terms “cross-dressing” and ‘cross-dresser.” In recent years the Library of Congress has continued to resist making requested changes to “Transvestites” and related headings.¹⁷²

Berman proposed the heading “Drag Queens” on August 24, 2005, and others followed suit, including the Tretter Collection in GLBT Studies at the University of Minnesota, and the

¹⁶⁹ Magnus Hirschfeld. *The Transvestites*.

¹⁷⁰ Weiss, quoted in Greenblatt; Greenblatt, “Homosexuality,” 219.

¹⁷¹ Greenblatt, “Homosexuality,” 216.

¹⁷² Tillett to Berman, January 27, 2006, Sanford Berman papers, University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign.

change has still not been adopted as of January 2012.¹⁷³ In a 2006 letter, Barbara Tillett commented, “There are a few headings that appear on your recent lists that we will be happy to consider establishing.”¹⁷⁴ Drag queens was one of these headings. Berman was pleasantly surprised that this was under consideration and responded that in 2005 Tillett “unequivocally stated that ‘The term ‘drag queens’ is an upward see reference to ‘Transvestites,’ which we continue to feel is appropriate.’ What happened in the meantime?”¹⁷⁵

In the six years that have passed since this correspondence, very little has changed. “Transvestites” is no longer a “See also” reference, but the heading is still the preferred term for cross dressers. “Female impersonators” is still the preferred term for “Drag queens,” and “Male impersonators” is used in place of “Drag kings.” The Library of Congress now distinguishes between female/male impersonators and transvestism based on whether the act of dressing in the manner of the opposite sex is for entertainment or for psychological gratification. The scope note for “Female impersonators” reads: “Here are entered works on men who impersonate women, generally for purposes of entertainment or comic effect.” “Transvestism” and “Transvestites” have identical scope notes: “Here are entered works on the practice, especially of males, of assuming the dress and manner of the opposite sex for psychological gratification.” As K.R. Roberto puts the point, “Calling drag performers ‘impersonators’ emphasizes artifice over intent,

¹⁷³ Berman, “Personal LCSH Scorecard”; “Tretter Board Urges Library of Congress to Adopt New Cataloguing, *Tretter Letter* 2 no.1 (January 2007) Sanford Berman papers, University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign.

¹⁷⁴ Tillett to Berman, January 27, 2006.

¹⁷⁵ Berman to Tillett, February 6, 2006, Sanford Berman papers, University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign.

creating a hierarchical structure where drag performance is less important than the gender being imitated."¹⁷⁶

Berman created an index for sex-related subjects, which was published in *The Joy of Cataloging* in 1981. In the introduction to the index, he observed that, while "Sexual deviation" and "Sexual perversion" appear in LCSH, many common terms in sexuality literature are absent. "If There Were a Sex Index..." demonstrated that a significant number of articles and journals were poorly indexed, simply because there was no such thing as a thesaurus for sex and sexuality in use by any of the major indexing companies, such as H.W. Wilson or Haworth Press.¹⁷⁷

An excerpt shows how a rich index would have helped to retrieve articles by subject:¹⁷⁸

DANGER SEX. See AIRPLANE SEX; BONDAGE AND DISCIPLINE; CARRIAGE SEX; ELEVATOR SEX; EXHIBITIONISM; MUSEUM SEX; OFFICE SEX; RESTAURANT SEX; ROLLER-COASTER SEX; SADOMASOCHISM; SAUNA SEX; STORE SEX; TAXICAB SEX; THEATER SEX; TRAIN SEX.

DATING

Smith, Belle

Sexual myths. Hum Dig 3-1:46-9 Jan 79

DIAPER FETISH--PERSONAL ACCOUNTS

Diaper lover [letter]. Var spec 5: 160-1 Mid-Spr 79

DILDOS

¹⁷⁶ K.R. Roberto, "Bodies in the Library Catalog." In *Thinking Critically* (Milwaukee, WI.: Center for Information Policy Research, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, 2008), 172.

¹⁷⁷ A number of people and organizations developed thesauri and classifications for Gay and Lesbian special collections and periodicals beginning in the late 1970s. Dee Michel: Gay Studies Thesaurus; Cataloging Manual; Michel/Moore Classification Scheme (1990), David Allen White, San Antonio PL: Homosexuality and gay liberation: an expansion of the Library of Congress classification schedule; From a report Joe Gregg sent to Dee Michel: "The working group on a subject thesaurus, classification schedule and Lesbian/Gay archives/libraries has been polled to establish agreement on specific goals (which may include indexing), their prioritizing and the mechanics to be applied in their accomplishment. The group is also examining its role in relationship to the tasks of other working groups in an attempt to coordinate energies and avoid duplication of efforts." Joe Gregg, Henry Gerber-Pearl M. Hart Library, The Midwest Lesbian & Gay Resource Center, Oct. 31, 1985, American Library Association Gay Liberation Task Force Papers, University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign.

¹⁷⁸ Berman, "If There Were a Sex Index," *Joy of Cataloging*, 38.

Double dong [letter]. Var spec 5: 101-2 Mid Spr 79

DISCO SKATING

Beckley, Tim

Sex at the Roller Disco. Pillow T 3-6:62-6 Sep 79

Although this hypothetical index was directed primarily at journal indexers, which may aim to be more specific than LCSH, it does bring to light the level of subject access that might be possible.

Literary warrant for sexual subjects

The Gay Book Awards and the bibliographies signaled and contributed to an emerging field, and the creation of new subjects and classifications firmly placed the growing discipline in the catalog and on the shelves. The first bibliography published by the Gay Liberation Task Force in 1971 included 35 nonfiction, gay-positive titles. Subsequent editions were published annually, and by 1977, 250 items appeared on the bibliography, of which 23,000 copies were distributed.¹⁷⁹ The first Gay Book award was given to Isabel Miller for her *Patience and Sarah* in 1971, and importantly, the 1974 book award went to Jeannette Howard Foster for *Sex Variant Women in Literature*, first published in 1956 by a vanity publisher.¹⁸⁰ A librarian at the Kinsey Institute, Foster indexed all subtle and overt references to same-sex love between women portrayed in literature.¹⁸¹

¹⁷⁹ "A.L.A.'s Gay Task Force Celebrates Seven Years of Accomplishment," in *SRRT Newsletter*, (July 3, 1977),

¹⁸⁰ Gittings, "Gays in Libraryland."

¹⁸¹ For a thorough account of Foster's life and contribution to Gay and Lesbian studies, see Joanne Passett, *Sex Variant Woman: The Life of Jeannette Howard Foster*. (Philadelphia: De Capo Press, 2008).

The establishment of academic disciplines was a part of both the women's movement and the Gay Liberation movement, and it's very likely that the bibliographies and book awards created by the Gay Liberation Task Force had something to do with the creation of Gay and Lesbian Studies.¹⁸² At the very least the lists would have supported the rising disciplines, but it may be true that the lists actually propelled sexuality studies by bringing more visibility and access to resources. Research in these fields has produced a body of literature on a wide range of subjects related to gender and sexuality, and it would stand to reason that such literature would provide warrant for new subject headings. The growing discipline meant that new topics were being studied from the perspective of those who were members of the group and for an audience of liberation-minded gays and lesbians. As I will demonstrate in coming paragraphs, such scholars, audiences, and librarians would eventually demand that subject headings be based on their terms, rather than those of medical professionals who had historically pathologized homosexuality. While librarians have been slow to build gay and lesbian collections, they did recognize a growing field of study that required support.

The 1990 *Gay and Lesbian Library Service* was published just as gay and lesbian courses and programs were beginning to emerge. Its author, Ellen Greenblatt, wrote a critique of LCSH for gay and lesbian topics. She asserted that one root of the many problems with LCSH was its conflation of sex and gender, viewing them as synonymous. She also claimed that LC was extremely slow in adopting terminology in common use. Greenblatt proposed two changes and seven new headings, and she observed in the follow-up edition that it took LC 20 years to

⁵⁴ For resources on the formation of Women's Studies and LGBT Studies see Mary Hawkesworth, *Feminist Inquiry: From Political Conviction to Methodological Innovation* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2006); Mary Romero, "Disciplining the Feminist Bodies of Knowledge: Are We Creating or Reproducing Academic Structure?" *NWSA Journal* 12, no. 2 (Summer 2000); Leora Auslander, "Do Women's + Feminist + Men's + Lesbian and Gay + Queer Studies = Gender Studies?" *differences* 9 (1997); Judith Butler, "Against Proper Objects," *differences* 6, no. 2,3 (1994); Grace Kyungwon Hong "The Future of Our Worlds: Black Feminism and the Politics of Knowledge in the University Under Globalization," *Meridians* 8, no. 2 (2008).

address each of them.¹⁸³ A piece on library services for Gay and Lesbian programs in the academy also revealed the challenges librarians faced when collecting materials on Gay and Lesbian subjects. Suzy Taraba noted the elusive character of Gay and Lesbian Studies at most colleges and universities resulting from the interdisciplinary, non-centralized nature of the field, as well as the rarity of majors, minors, and courses on the subject, makes it difficult for librarians to ascertain the needs of the students and faculty. And although the field was becoming increasingly visible in the 1990s, much about it was still closeted. Scholars were cautious about coming out, and many of their colleagues perceived that the field was not a legitimate object of study.¹⁸⁴

Women's Studies programs were first offered in the 1970s. Founded in 1977, The National Women's Studies Association (NWSA), has been a leader in teaching, service, and the advancement of women's and gender studies. Members of the association joined forces with librarians in 1988, when Berman created a petition to abandon "Gays" as an umbrella term for men and women, create a "see"-reference from "Gays" to "Gay Men" and "Lesbians," and establish others, including "Heterosexuality" "Gay and Lesbian Rights" "Gay authors" "Gay baths" "Gay literature" "Lesbian battering" "Lesbian feminism" "Lesbian literature" "Homophobia." Gender and Women's Studies scholars Judith Butler and Joan Wallach Scott were among the signatories. The petition was reprinted in *Gay and Lesbian Library Service*, and Berman advised readers to make copies of the page, circulate it, and send it to Mary K. D. Pietris.

¹⁸³ Greenblatt, "The Treatment of LGBTIQ Concepts in the Library of Congress Subject Headings," 219.

¹⁸⁴ Suzy Taraba, "Collecting Gay and Lesbian Materials in an Academic Library," in *Gay and Lesbian Library Service*, ed., Cal Gough and Ellen Greenblatt, (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1991).

The NWSA created and distributed their own petition demanding changes for headings concerning women: “WHEREAS many women-related topics have appeared in both scholarly and popular literature but have not yet been recognized by Library of Congress descriptors, making such topics difficult to identify and retrieve...,” the NWSA listed a number of LCSH terms to be replaced by preferred, more inclusive terms, such as “Man/Human” and “Watchmen/Guards,” and they advocated the creation of new terms, many of which overlapped with Berman’s petition. The National Director of the NWSA captured the role of the Library of Congress in the production of knowledge in her letter to the Library:

As educators whose task it is to enlarge the mind’s boundaries and make knowledge readily accessible, NWSA seeks the cooperation of the Library of Congress in that adventurous process. By making women or other groups invisible through language, we rob learners of crucial information and diminish the complex reality of our world. By describing more accurately the categories of information, the Library of Congress would be acknowledging the lush diversity of our culture and inviting researchers to explore uncharted territory.”¹⁸⁵

Publications such as the *Lambda Book Report* and *Women Librarian Workers Journal* announced petitions initiated by Berman’s Cataloging Consumers Network.¹⁸⁶

Although it would seem like just plain common sense to make sex-related topics easy to identify, particularly [sic] since many library users simply won’t approach librarians for help in locating book, tapes, films, and pamphlets on ‘sensitive’ subjects, current cataloging practice--as largely dictated by the Library of Congress (LC) doesn’t help much. So the Cataloging Consumers Network (CCN), convinced that sex education and unabashedly erotic materials alike deserve to be found quickly and painlessly in this time of raging controversy over abortion, AIDS, homosexuality, pornography, birth control, and transgender issues, today announced another petition urging LC to effect immediate catalog reforms.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁵ Caryn McTighe Musil, National Director, September 22, 1988 Sanford Berman papers, University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign.

¹⁸⁶ “Finding Sex in the Library: New Petition Seeks to Make it Easier,” April 9, 1993, Press Release, in *Women Librarian Workers Journal* (Summer 1993).

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

The first Gay and Lesbian Studies department in higher education was launched at the City College of San Francisco in 1988. The Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies (CLAGS) at the City University of New York was founded in 1991 as the “first university-based research center in the United States dedicated to the study of historical, cultural, and political issues of vital concern to lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender individuals and communities.”¹⁸⁸ *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* was first published in 1993, and Transgender Studies was launched around 1992 following the presentation and publication of Sandy Stone's “The Empire Strikes Back: A Posttranssexual Manifesto.” It was at the same time that “Queer Theory” was coined by Teresa de Lauretis in a special issue of *differences*, *Queer Theory: Lesbian and Gay Sexualities*.¹⁸⁹ In the following chapter, I will demonstrate that, with Berman’s support, LGBTQ librarians and archivists have petitioned for new headings.

Alternative sexualities, such as polyamory, bondage/domination/sadism/masochism (BDSM), and fetishism, remain largely untouched in mainstream discourses, and many alternative sexual behaviors were (and continue to be) diagnosed as disorders by the DSM IV-TR. According to the National Coalition for Sexual Freedom, “*we must conclude that the interpretation of the Paraphilias criteria has been politically – not scientifically – based*” (emphasis in original).¹⁹⁰ The striking lack of materials on these subjects on mainstream

¹⁸⁸ CLAGS, The Center for Lesbian and Gay Studies. <http://web.gc.cuny.edu/clags/index.html#> (accessed September 2, 2012)

¹⁸⁹ Teresa De Lauretis, “*Queer Theory: Lesbian and Gay Sexualities: An Introduction*,” *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies* 3, no. 2 (1991).

¹⁹⁰ National Coalition for Sexual Freedom (NCSF). “DSM Revision White Paper,” Updated on July 4, 2010, <https://ncsfreedom.org/resources/document-library/activist-resources/489.html> (accessed May 4, 2010).

library shelves observed by the preeminent library critic, Sanford Berman, may be both reflective and productive of this silence.¹⁹¹

Automation and Democratization at the Library of Congress

The MARC format was developed in the late 1960s, but the impact of the computerized cataloging was not felt until the 1970s and 1980s. Avram, the developer of MARC, understood the system as “an assemblage of formats, publications, procedures, people, standards, codes, programs, systems, equipment, etc., that has evolved over the years stimulating the development of library automation and information networks.”¹⁹² MARC has been a major player in standardization, as machines bring standardization to a new level. The need for hardware and software, cooperation, and readability by computers all made uniformity of shared systems essential. When MARC was introduced, catalogers did not do their own tagging. They cataloged items and then the information was sent to Adams building to do the MARC tagging.¹⁹³

By 1975, roughly 60 percent of the records produced annually by the Library of Congress were available as MARC records, and within a few years MARC was also being used for serials, maps, films, music, and sound recordings. And although an automated file of the seventh edition of LCSH had been created in 1966, it was cumbersome and of little use to libraries nationwide. An example that demonstrated the limits of the system occurred with the massive change from Mohammedanism to Islam, as it became clear that additions and changes could not be made. A new batch system was developed using the MARC format in 1970, and the eighth edition of

¹⁹¹ Sanford Berman, “Inside Censorship,” 50.

¹⁹² Avram, *MARC, Its History and Implications*, 31.

¹⁹³ Mary K. D. Pietris. Interview with author, July 10, 2010.

LCSH was produced in MARC in 1975, with the capability to add to the files. Catalogers' need for access to an automated file of name and subject "authority" records led to the development and refinement of a MARC Authority record format.

The National Commission on Libraries and Information Science (NCLIS) funded a survey of 23 libraries to determine the ideal role of the Library of Congress in a national bibliographic network in 1975.¹⁹⁴ Among the key findings were that the Library should perform the leading coordinating role of securing funding for technical and standards related tasks for linking systems to the national system. The commission also recommended that LC create and distribute catalog and authority control data, maintain an online national database of cataloging and authority data, maintain national union catalog in machine readable format, and provide training.¹⁹⁵

Initially, in the 1970s, networks such as OCLC primarily printed cards and shipped them to participating libraries, as only a few organizations were able to use electronic MARC records locally. As a (planned) by-product, the networks accumulated large union catalogs, with holdings attached to MARC bibliographic records, which they used to support a growing national, and eventually global, interlibrary loan program. By the late 1970s, several libraries around the country had online catalogs under development.¹⁹⁶ Thus the many retrospective conversion projects in the 1980s resulted in an explosion of MARC records in union catalogs like OCLC. Even the Library of Congress undertook the conversion of its retrospective file of more than five million records, a project that had been explored by the Avram team as early as 1968. The

¹⁹⁴ The NCSLIS was consolidated into the Institute of Museum and Library Services

¹⁹⁵ Lawrence F. Buckland, William L. Basinski. *The Role of the Library of Congress in the Evolving National Network*. Washington DC, Library of Congress, 1978.

¹⁹⁶ McCallum, "MARC," 44.

bibliographic utilities contributed greatly to reducing the cost of later conversions by making the records converted by one library available to other libraries.¹⁹⁷

A number of institutions used automation technology to create bibliographic services for libraries. OCLC was one of these organizations that began offering access to bibliographic utilities, which provided services including bibliographic records to upload into local catalogs.¹⁹⁸ Several utilities began development in the 1970s, but most have now been absorbed by OCLC. These organizations copied Library of Congress catalog records, as well as records created by other libraries, directly into the network systems. Initially, the services primarily printed cards and shipped them to member libraries, as only a few organizations were automated. This system resulted in a huge union catalog, with holdings information attached to MARC records, enabling programs like interlibrary loan. Today WorldCat, the international catalog maintained by OCLC, contains 255,600,000 bibliographic records, which are shared by 72,000 participating libraries. Of these, over 9,743,381 were created by LC and another 1,982,455 were added by members from LC copy.¹⁹⁹ As McCallum suggests, “the MARC format role in these developments was like a currency.”²⁰⁰ By the late 1970s, several libraries around the country had online catalogs under development.

The Library of Congress established the Network Development Office (NDO) in 1976.

One of the first projects of the NDO was to determine the role of authority files in the evolving

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., 45.

¹⁹⁸ OCLC was originally named the Ohio College Library Center, but as it became national in the 1980s and global in 1999, its name changed to Online Computer Library Center; Services included online searching for bibliographic and serial records; modification; original cataloging; card production; labels production. Such services copied Library of Congress cataloging records, as well as records created and input by other libraries directly into the network systems.

¹⁹⁹ OCLC Customer Support Department, personal email January 16, 2012.

²⁰⁰ McCallum, “MARC,” 44.

national network and to establish requirements for and design a nationwide authority system. The greatest challenge was to create a national database made up of separate databases that served and was created by many institutions. In 1976, when the proposal was submitted to NCLS, authority control was a manual process performed at local institutions. OCLC was concentrating on the online supply of bibliographic records and leaving it to individual institutions to generate and maintain authority files. The role of LC had been simply to furnish lists of authorized headings, but eventually both LC and OCLC would create databases of authority files for names and subjects for libraries to load into their local systems.

Mary K. D. Pietris stated that some of the problems with LCSH arise out of the legacy of the pre-computer era when there more general subject heads that were based on the old A.L.A. system. She said that, until around 1980, LC didn't make many changes because of the huge impact on cards and the labor required when a heading was assigned to a large number of bibliographic records.²⁰¹ For instance, to change the heading "Negro" to "African Americans," library staff had to refile all cards A-N, and to make the changes to the cards, the new headings were hand-written on bottom of card and sent in and retyped. In 1999 LC acquired Voyager, an Integrated Library System, and started performing global updating around 2005.²⁰² Called "BatchCat," this enabled 350,000 bibliographic records to be corrected in ten months. The software's primary initial use was for correcting subject and descriptive cataloging headings in bibliographic records from older forms to current authorized headings.²⁰³

²⁰¹ Interview

²⁰² Integrated Library Systems are networked computer systems that perform all of the automated processes in libraries, including acquisitions, cataloging, and circulation.

²⁰³ "CPSO Query and Communication Policy," June 30, 2005, Sanford Berman Papers, University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign.

In 2012 the Library of Congress database contains 265,000 subject authority records.²⁰⁴ The process of creating and authorizing new headings evolved into a more democratic process than its original practice, which only allowed subject catalogers at the Library of Congress to establish headings. Institutions that employ catalogers with sufficient training in LCSH principles and applications may join the Subject Authority Cooperative Program (SACO), a component of the Program for Cooperative Cataloging (PCC), operated out of the Library of Congress.²⁰⁵ In 1988 Pietris wrote to Berman:

Now that the Library of Congress subject headings can be input and updated online and tape distribution of subject authorities with updates has begun, the Library is experimenting with cooperative projects to establish subject headings similar to the projects to establish name headings...Participants are expected to follow all instructions and procedures in the Subject Cataloging Manual: Subject Headings and to propose headings that will fit into the LC structure. Since the Library is staffed to establish headings needed only in its own cataloging, it welcomes the cooperative efforts of others in order to build a subject authority file that will be useful to other libraries receiving materials not acquired by LC or cataloging items at a depth not practiced by the Library of Congress.²⁰⁶

According to the 2008 annual report of the PCC, 116 institutions proposed new records or revised authority headings through the SACO program that year. Headings could also be proposed by libraries that are not members of SACO, and proposals are submitted to an editorial committee at the Cataloging Policy and Support Office (CPSO) at the Library of Congress using an approved form. However, they generally require a good deal of labor and research to complete. If a heading is approved it is usually available for use within six weeks after its

²⁰⁴ Library of Congress. About Library of Congress Authorities. <http://authorities.loc.gov/help/contents.htm> (accessed September 21, 2011).

²⁰⁵ SACO was formally created in 1992, Ana L. Cristán, "SACO and Subject Gateways," *Authority Control in Organizing and Accessing information*, ed., Arlene G. Taylor, Barbara B. Tillett.(New York: Routledge, 2005), 315.

²⁰⁶ Letter to Sanford Berman from Mary K.D. Pietris, March 24, 1988, "Establishing Subject Headings for the Library of Congress" (enclosure in letter and later published in LC Cataloging Service Bulletin), Sanford Berman Papers, University of Illinois, Urbana/Champaign.

submission. New headings are established on the basis of literary warrant, defined as “the use of an actual collection of material or body of literature as the basis for developing an indexing or classification system.”²⁰⁷ The PCC also offers the option of creating and participating in a funnel project, thereby assigning one library to be a coordinator and funneling proposals from members through that coordinator to LC. SACO libraries may propose headings for works that are outside the scope of the Library of Congress collection.

The Library of Congress' policy states: "Establish a subject heading for a topic that represents a discrete, identifiable concept when it is first encountered in a work being cataloged, rather than after several works on the topic have been published and cataloged."²⁰⁸ Theoretically, if a work is cataloged by an employee of the Library of Congress, or a member of SACO, and there is no adequate subject heading to represent the “aboutness” of that work, a new heading should be created. In practice, however, subject heading proposals are frequently denied by the Library of Congress because the subjects are determined to be represented by existing headings. The authorization of new terms must weigh the benefits of adding the term against the cost of implementing the changes, including adjusting existing bibliographic records.

Berman's 1971 *Prejudices and Antipathies* is an early in-depth analysis of particular headings and groups of headings. Berman was the one of the first (and certainly the most outspoken) advocates for change and revision in LCSH, and he is well-known for his letter writing campaigns and subject heading petitions. His discussions-by-mail of cataloging and subject headings for gay materials and Cataloging Consumers Network were key in distributing a variety

²⁰⁷ Chan, *LCSH*, 518

²⁰⁸ Library of Congress, *Subject Cataloging Manual*, 2008 update, H 187.

of subject heading petitions through the mail and in publications.²⁰⁹ Prior to SACO, such petitions were the only avenues for proposing subject headings, as there was no formal process in place to enable cooperative subject cataloging. Today, this is still sometimes an option of choice, especially for librarians who aren't members of SACO.

²⁰⁹ "A.L.A.'s Gay Task Force Celebrates Seven Years of Accomplishment," *SRRT Newsletter*, (July 3, 1977); this is how the petitions mentioned earlier were distributed.

Cataloging Sexual Deviations

Just as the previous chapters show that the books cataloged with heading “Sexual perversion” reveal shifts in content and attitudes in sexuality scholarship, the books that were cataloged with “Sexual deviation” from 1972 to 2006 reveal that library holdings and cataloging practices reflected, perpetuated, and contributed to changes in sexuality studies. The survey of literature held by the Library of Congress for this period corresponds with the trends in medical journal publishing of articles on LGBT persons. John E. Snyder conducted a study of over 21,000 articles published on LGBT issues between the years 1950-2007, and found important shifts in content and attitudes. Among his findings was a spike in published literature concerning LGBT people as deviant, criminal, or diseased during the postwar era, followed by a steady decline, and parallel patterns with literature concerning the identification, diagnosis, and treatment of LGBT individuals.²¹⁰ As the literature about homosexuality as a disease witnessed its sharpest decline, awareness of HIV/AIDS started to increase. The published literature on AIDS spiked during the 1980s, with about half of it being related to gay men. Huber and Gillaspay discussed the importance of understanding the social construction of AIDS as they created a controlled vocabulary for the disease. They reported that the stigmatization of AIDS and its association with homosexuality made the illness uniquely pathological. “By representing HIV/AIDS as being reflective of particular socio-sexual categories and marginalized populations in public discourse, the body politic is provided the opportunity to promote the normalcy of ‘traditional’ behavior and the abnormality of ‘deviant’ conduct.”²¹¹ Furthermore, they expressed

²¹⁰ John E. Snyder, “Trend Analysis of Medical Publications About LGBT Persons: 1950–2007,” *Journal of Homosexuality*, 58, no. 2 (2011): 176, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/00918369.2011.540171> (accessed January 20, 2012), 176.

²¹¹ Jeffrey T. Huber and Mary L. Gillaspay, “Social Constructs and Disease: Implications for a Controlled Vocabulary for HIV/AIDS” *Library Trends*, 47, no. 2 (Fall 1998).

a fear that the association of HIV/AIDS with homosexuality would undo the social tolerance for sexual minorities that had just begun to be gained.²¹²

None of the works on characterized as “Paraphilias” are explicitly about HIV/AIDS. The Library of Congress authorized the heading “Acquired immune deficiency syndrome” in 1984.²¹³ The heading was changed to AIDS (Disease) in the following edition of LCSH. Prior to that, in 1983 Hennepin County Library added AIDS to their list of authorized headings and provided See references from “Community-acquired immune deficiency” and “Gay-related immunodeficiency.”²¹⁴ From the LC authority record for AIDS (Disease) it appears that LC used Hennepin’s record as a source of evidence for adopting the heading.²¹⁵

Taking the entire group of 196 works published 1972-2006, 112 are classed as HQ (Social Sciences-The Family, Marriage, Women), 44 are under RC (Internal medicine-Sexual and psychosexual conditions), 11 are classed as P (Literature), 8 are under BF (Psychology), 9 are under HV (Criminology), and only 3 are classed as K (Law). The remaining titles are scattered in a few other categories. Looking to the fifteen-book sample for this period, we see a shift that mirrors Snyder’s literature review--a decline in pathologization of sexual deviations. Corresponding to that decline is an increase in other perspectives, particularly that of sociology, who advanced Howard Becker’s theory of deviance, and increasingly distance themselves from making ethical judgments. There was also a shift away from writing about homosexuality. Those who did write about it were doing so historically, such as John Dollimore’s literary study of St.

²¹² Ibid., 198.

²¹³ LCSH, 10th ed, 1984, 17.

²¹⁴ *HCL Bulletin*, no. 63 (March/April 1983), 2.

²¹⁵ Library of Congress Authorities, s.v. AIDS (Disease) <http://lccn.loc.gov/sh85002541> (accessed December 12, 2012).

Augustine, Freud, and Wilde.²¹⁶ The earlier texts, written by Bullough and Plummer, published in 1975 and 1976, discuss homosexuality at length, but only as part of an argument to remove it from the stigmatized position of deviance.

Overwhelmingly, authors used the term “deviation,” and where “perversion” was used, it’s generally as a historical term. A number of the texts avoid using terms of deviation or perversion altogether, or like Henslin, they may redefine or clarify “deviance.” He writes in his *Deviant Lifestyles*, “...my use of the word *deviant* to modify lifestyle does not mean *bad, sick, perverse*, or even *undesirable*...These terms simply mean *nonnormative* or *departing from generalized expectations*, often in such a way that negative sanctions are the typical result.”²¹⁷ Plummer, a social interactionist following Becker, stated that the term “deviance” is problematic and prefers words that don’t presume a norm, such as “differentiation” and “variation.”²¹⁸

This period also witnessed a rise in the representation of sexual deviance in the humanities, as well as popular literature, as the disciplinary reach and coverage of the topic expanded out of the medical and social sciences. This served to legitimize a wider range of perspectives on sexual variance by bringing more voices to different areas of the academy and the public. Vern Bullough stated that historians had been silent and argued that “A major obstacle to understanding our own sexuality is realizing we are prisoners of past societal attitudes toward sex....I have accepted the notion that no form of sexuality is against nature, and although I find some expressions of sexuality more distasteful than others, I have tried to avoid

²¹⁶ Dollimore, *Sexual Dissidence*.

²¹⁷ James M. Henslin, *Deviant Life-styles* (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1977), 13.

²¹⁸ Kenneth Plummer. *Sexual Stigma: An Interactionist Account*. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975).

condemnation.”²¹⁹

Only a couple of the works should be considered as psychology, and even those deal with social aspects of sexual deviation. The three-volume reader *Sex and Sexuality, published in 2006* is edited by psychologists, but the authors come from a variety of disciplines, including the social sciences. The reader aimed at a wide audience, including lay people, and although it is a psychiatric text with articles on disorders and dysfunctions, it also examined the social construction of sexuality, discusses race and ethnicity, and is presented with accessible language. Two books by John Money appear in the sample of most widely held books: one is a history of sexual degeneracy theory, and the other is a book intended for the general reader trying to understand gender and sexuality. Both are aimed at a popular audience. It is during this period and in these books that Money revives the term “Paraphilias,” first introduced by Wilhelm Stekel in the 1920s, bringing it into common practice among psychiatrists.²²⁰ Money has been a highly controversial figure in the psychiatric profession, not least because he led a sex reassignment surgery for a boy whose penis was seriously damaged during a surgical operation as a baby. Money believed that performing surgery and socializing the child into a gender role from early childhood would result a normal, healthy girlhood. His methods for socialization and observation included having the child perform mock coitus with her twin brother, numerous physical inspections, and invasive interviews. As an older child the patient elected to be reassigned as male. The patient committed suicide in 2004 at the age of 38, and Judith Butler has suggested

²¹⁹ Vern L. Bullough, *Sin, Sickness & Sanity: A History of Sexual Attitudes* (New York: Garland, 1977), xi.

²²⁰ Both MeSH and the DSM started using “Paraphilias” in place of “Sexual deviation” or “Sex deviations” in 1980. This topic will be further addressed in the following chapter.

that perhaps his gender simply wasn't survivable.²²¹ Recall that Stekel's attitude toward homosexuals was one of contempt, and he believed that homosexuality was a pathological condition. Even for his day, Stekel's views were radical, extending beyond prevailing beliefs about sexual variance. Whereas most psychiatrists held the view that homosexuals should be treated with a certain degree of sympathy, Stekel's view propelled the perception that homosexuals were dangerous. The controversiality surrounding both Money and Stekel raise questions about the motivations and implications of using the term that they both promoted, "paraphilias." As I will demonstrate later in chapter five, LC asserts that they authorized the term in 2007 because it is more neutral, but as the examples of Money and Stekel demonstrate, the medical profession is anything but neutral.

Summary

While homosexuality officially moved out the category of sexual deviance in the DSM and in LCSH, both civil rights and vocabularies expanded. This period witnessed a proliferation of terms for gay and lesbian subjects, as well as greater recognition of variations in sexual expression. This chapter has provided an account of the influence and limits of library activists--particularly Sanford Berman and the Gay Task Force of the A.L.A.--on change in cataloging practices at LC. I have demonstrated that the changes in headings were tied to social movements in the U.S., and that cataloging practices mirrored wider events and discourses. The growth of women's studies and gay and lesbian studies programs resulted in an increase in literature on a wider range of subjects regarding sexuality, thus providing warrant for new headings. Regarding

²²¹ Judith Butler, "Doing Justice to Someone: Sex Reassignment and Allegories of Transsexuality," in *Undoing Gender* (New York: Routledge, 2004); For a defense of Money's research and methods see Katrina Karkazis. *Fixing Sex: Intersex, Medical Authority, and Lived Experience* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

sexual deviation the Library seems to have relied primarily on the sciences for subject headings.

Top 15 books, in order of number of holdings in WorldCat for the same edition

- Money, John. *Sexual Signatures: On Being a Man or a Woman*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1975.
- Salter, Ann. *Predators: Pedophiles, Rapists, and Other Sex Offenders: Who They Are, How They Operate, and How We Can Protect Ourselves and Our Children*. New York: Basic Books, 2003.
- Ariel, Phillip. *Western Sexuality: Practice and Precept in Past and Present Times*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell, 1985.
- Smith, Rosamond. *You Can't Catch Me*. New York: Dutton, 1995.
- Schwartz, Anne. *The Man Who Could Not Kill Enough: The Secret Murders of Milwaukee's Jeffrey Dahmer*. Secaucus, NJ: Carol Publishing Group, 1992.
- Henslin, James M. *Deviant Life-styles*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Books, 1977.
- Bullough, Vern L. *Sexual Variance in Society and History*. New York: Wiley, 1976.
- Davis, Murray S. *Smut: Erotic Reality/Obscene Ideology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983.
- Plummer, Kenneth. *Sexual Stigma: An Interactionist Account*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975.
- Bullough, Vern L. *Sin, Sickness & Sanity: A History of Sexual Attitudes*. New York: Garland, 1977.
- Mary DeYoung. *The Sexual Victimization of Children*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1982.
- Money, John. *The Destroying Angel: Sex, Fitness and Food in the Legacy of Degeneracy Theory: Graham Crackers, Kellogg's Corn Flakes & American Health History*. Buffalo, NY: Prometheus Books, 1985.
- Dollimore, Jonathan. *Sexual Dissidence: Augustine to Wilde, Freud to Foucault*. Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press, 1991.
- McAnulty, Richard D. *Sex and Sexuality*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006.

Oosterhuis, Harry. *Stepchildren of Nature: Krafft-Ebing, Psychiatry, and the Making of Sexual Identity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.

Chapter 5

PARAPHILIAS, 2007-

Paraphilias

NT Bestiality; Exhibitionism; Fetishism (sexual behavior); Masochism; Pedophilia; Sadism;

Voyeurism

rt Psychosexual disorders¹

In a library, the machinic and the cultural collide like two tectonic plates, and naming lies at the fault-line where librarians use vocabulary control to try to mitigate the linguistic ruptures and slidings they can neither prevent nor avoid. So, in the quiet bustle of the library there is an endemic battle between the incorrigibly cultural and aesthetic character of the underlying mission and the machinic tendencies essential for cost-effective performance. The central battle-line of these tensions is in the naming of documents and what they are about.

--Michael Buckland²

Readers will recall this dissertation's introductory passages: in response to a library patron's request to have the library move materials on gay men and lesbians away from books on child molestation, Mary K. D. Pietris stated, "this is an accident of classification, in which some topics must appear next to other topics although there may be no relation between them except that they are subtopic of a larger subject."³ In this case, child molestation and gays and lesbians all fall under the very broad heading "Sex relations." This is still a very real phenomenon in 2012, as a visit to University of Wisconsin-Madison's Memorial Library proved. There I witnessed precisely this type of placement of books on the shelves, with *Gayspeak*, a book about

¹ *Library of Congress Subject Headings*, 31st ed. 2009.

² Michael Buckland, Preprint of "Naming in the Library: Marks, Meaning and Machines," in *Nominalization, Nomination and Naming in Texts*, ed. Christian Todenhagen & Wolfgang Thiele, (Tübingen, Germany: Stauffenburg Verlag, 2007), 6.

³ Mary K. D. Pietris. March 1, 1989.

communication styles of gays and lesbians, shelved between two books on child molestation, as illustrated in Figure 6. Pietris's explanation leaves out crucial historical details. As the previous chapters have demonstrated, "Homosexuality" was once under the broader heading "Abnormal sex relations," next to other classes of relations considered to be "abnormal," including child molestation and other sex crimes.

Figure 6. Book on communication styles of gay people shelved next to books about abuse.



Doing the History of Sexuality--Perverse Presentism

Taxonomic discourses for sexual practices and identities are constantly changing, expanding, reappropriating, offending, and refusing to be pinned down, presenting a challenge for the Library of Congress, which strives to describe its literature in contemporary terms. Classification's goal to fit phenomena neatly into categories for information retrieval is in direct conflict with the elusive, expansive, and shifting nature of “queer,” and for that matter, sexuality.

As the largest library in the world, the LC houses and organizes some of the earliest printed texts, as well as the most recent, respected scholarship on virtually every discipline. LCSH and the LC catalog are sites where present-day authorized terms are used to facilitate the retrieval of works published over the course of history. As Anthony Franks, senior cataloger at LC writes, “LCSH is an historical accretion. There are certain embedded practices—the treatment of ethnic groups, languages and literatures—that do not stand up in this new environment. Simply observing these anomalies as a fact neither explains them nor justifies them. Some of these hinder making LCSH easier to apply and to augment or to revise.”⁴

Classification of materials on sexuality has presented particular issues, as definitions and membership within categories have shifted quite dramatically since the Library first started categorizing its collection with subject headings on printed cards in 1898. What bearing does describing the past in today’s terms have on sexuality scholarship, and by what process is authority granted? Michael Buckland calls into question the efficacy of naming subjects, as he observes that controlled vocabularies are always derived from usage, and therefore, are always

⁴ Anthony Franks, *Library Matters*, 2008, <http://anthonyrdfranks.blogspot.com/2008/02/alcts-catalog-management-discussion.html> (accessed February 12, 2008).

fixed in a receding past. “The librarian’s formal act of naming, of recording the topical description of a document or of specifying a relationship between named topics, is necessarily performed at some point in time and inscribed into the apparatus of indexes and catalogs.”⁵

Presentism is a persistent historiographical challenge for anyone trying to explain the past by using current terminologies that did not exist or have significantly changed in meaning since the period under investigation. Historians of sexuality are keenly aware of the changing nature of taxonomies and the inherent struggles in understanding past sexual practices, identities, and scholarship in the context of the present, in intelligible terms. The work of sexuality scholars depends on and contributes to an understanding of how categories have emerged, expanded, disappeared, and changed over time, as well as how these categories have been explained and defined in terms of identities, behaviors, conditions, and difference.

“Perverse presentism,” as proposed by Judith Halberstam, is a methodology that attempts to account for and overcome the problems of presentism by denaturalizing the present as a point toward which all of history is moving and improving, and applying “what we do not know in the present to what we cannot know about the past.”⁶ Using present-day terms and definitions to describe the past greatly oversimplifies and distorts the historical record. It leads to a perversion of meaning and misunderstanding, and when speaking of subjects of sexuality, it may inaccurately or unfairly render certain acts and identities as perverted. However, an awareness of the limitations of language and the capacity to know both the present and the past, as well as trying to understand the past in its own terms, expands the opportunities to interpret the historical record. Halberstam uses this methodology to study 19th and early 20th century same-sex desire

⁵ Buckland, “Naming in the Library,” 1.

⁶ Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 53.

among women, taking care not to use “lesbian” as a blanket term to describe women who desired women during an era when “lesbian” did not exist.

Using a mixed-method, interdisciplinary approach in the book *Female Masculinity* Halberstam illustrates the ways in which female masculinities have been socially and historically constructed. She asks “whether there is a form of queer theory or sexual theory that is not textually based,” and reads social events and phenomena as texts. Approaching popular print, film, late 19th and early 20th century sexological texts, boxing, and drag king performances as social texts, she uses literary analysis, ethnography, and historical research to explore the range of expressions of female masculinities. My dissertation continues this tradition by reading LCSH and catalog records as texts with social and intellectual histories.

Halberstam critiques some lesbian historians, including Lillian Faderman, for their conflation of early, pre-lesbian behaviors with current understandings of lesbians.⁷ Halberstam argues that considering women who desired women as lesbians or proto-lesbians erases their histories and the specificities of identities and activities of tribades, female husbands, and a whole range of expressions. Halberstam implores readers to understand that, “far from being an imitation of maleness, female masculinity actually affords us a glimpse of how masculinity is constructed as masculinity.”⁸ She further states that “female masculinity is not simply the opposite of female femininity, nor is it a female version of male masculinity.”⁹ And she reemphasizes these points when she introduces perverse presentism: “This book rises and falls

⁷ Faderman is considered a leading scholar and is best known for *Odd Girls and Twilight Lovers: A History of Lesbian Life in Twentieth-Century America* (1991) and *Surpassing the Love of Men: Romantic Friendship and Love Between Women from the Renaissance to the Present* (1981).

⁸ Halberstam, *Female Masculinity*, 1.

⁹ *Ibid*, 29.

on two propositions....The first claim is that women have made their own unique contributions to what we call modern masculinity, and these contributions tend to go completely unnoticed in gender scholarship. The second claim is that what we recognize as female masculinity is actually a multiplicity of masculinities...”¹⁰ Halberstam is opening up a category to a range of historically situated and ever-changing possibilities and is demanding that we pay attention to context when speaking of gender and sexual expressions. Such a methodology invites questions concerning the representations of sexual behaviors and identities in library catalogs, especially with regard to historical works.

In the case of the subject heading “Paraphilias” what is at stake is not only whether the term is useful today, but if it has any descriptive power with regard to older works. In both senses, the perversion of meaning carries implication for access to information, as well as knowledge production.

Due to the cataloging technology known as “batch updating” or “global updating,” all subject headings can be automatically converted in local catalog records to the most current version of the heading. Before the advent of this technology, records were changed by hand to update bibliographic records. Therefore, everything that was previously assigned “Sexual perversion” would have been manually updated and categorized as “Sexual deviation.” With the global update “Paraphilias” has replaced “Sexual deviation” in most catalogs, including that of LC, without any human review of the catalog records. This means that texts that were cataloged in the early part of the twentieth century have retained some of the long abandoned attitudes.

Even Melvil Dewey was aware of the possibility of variation among catalogers across

¹⁰ Ibid, 46.

time and space, but he seemed to think that his system could overcome such challenges if catalogers just assigned classification numbers according to the content of the book, rather than the idea of the age. (The spelling in this passage derives from Dewey's attempt at standardizing a simplified spelling.):

Different librarians, or the same librarian at different times, class the same or similar books in widely different places. Where one man did all the work for many years, there was a degree of uniformity; but even then there was danger of looking at the same book at different times from different viewpoints, thus causing confusion. When the daily press is full of one phase of a subject, tendency is strong to class all books on this subject from current viewpoint; and next year, if a different side of this same subject is before the public, there is same tendency to class books from new viewpoint, thereby separating similar books and bringing together books on different phases. But fortunately, practical usefulness does not require that the ideas of this or that one be followed, but only that books of same character be always put in same place, and that there be some means of knowing readily what that place is.¹¹

In 1929 after the third edition of subject headings were published, Mary MacNair, subject cataloger at LC charged with overseeing the list of subject headings, recognized the historicity of subject terms: "Sometimes, also, it is difficult to arrive at a decision as to the best term of subject heading to be adopted. Words in common parlance in 1920 may be infrequently used in 1925 and may become almost obsolete in 1929."¹² She expressed concern that outdated headings were commonly left unchanged because of the large amount of labor and materials involved in changing catalog cards. MacNair recommended a cautious, but conscientious approach to updating headings:

A subject index must be clear to guide the general reader, suggestive to lead the unaccustomed searcher, sufficiently detailed to satisfy the specialist. In a particular class of headings it should conform in general arrangement with similar headings in other classes. It must be fairly flexible, but the headings should not be changed often enough to

¹¹ *Dewey Decimal Classification and Relative Index*, 14th ed. (Lake Placid Club, NY: Forest Press, 1942), 13-14; the spelling in this passage derives from Dewey's attempt at standardizing a simplified spelling.

¹² Mary MacNair, "The Library of Congress List of Subject Headings," 55.

confuse the reader. Though it should not be afraid of innovations, neither should it too quickly adopt new terms as permanent headings.”¹³

David Judson Haykin, the first chief of the Subject Cataloging Division formed in 1941 wrote:

In the application of the principle of usage we inevitably become involved with semantic change. In order that the catalog might meet the needs of the reader from day to day, the cataloger must be aware of the changes in concepts and the meaning of the terms applied to them. He must, moreover, be aware of the vagaries of language and use current terminology, at the same time avoiding purely local usage and slang.¹⁴

To ascertain the most current usage, Haykin warned against dictionaries because they include all terms past and present, and he suggested using current periodicals for literary warrant instead.

What Haykin’s approach does not account for, though, is the loss of historical specificity that comes with assigning new terms to works from the past. What happens to subjects when terms that were not in use in the past are used to describe things? What happens when terms are automatically updated to replace former terms without human oversight?

Most obvious is the problem of presentism, which happens anytime current terms are used to describe past phenomena, with the assumption that what applies today is suitable to describe the past. This overlooks the fact that definitions and connotations change, shift, expand, or recede over time, as exemplified by “queer,” whose meaning depends largely upon the cultural/historical situation in which it is been deployed, who is speaking, and the subjects being described by the term. The *Oxford English Dictionary* locates the first usage of the term in the 16th century. The definition still resonates with our usage of the term today: "Strange, odd, peculiar, eccentric. Also: of questionable character; suspicious, dubious." Over the course of the 20th century, it came to be used as a derogatory term for homosexuality:

¹³ MacNair, “The Library of Congress List of Subject Headings,” 57.

¹⁴ Haykin, “Let’s Get Down to Fundamentals,” 84

colloq. (orig. *U.S.*). Of a person: homosexual. Hence: of or relating to homosexuals or homosexuality. Although originally chiefly derogatory (and still widely considered offensive, esp. when used by heterosexual people), from the late 1980s it began to be used as a neutral or positive term (originally of self-reference, by some homosexuals).¹⁵

As suggested by the above definition, “queer” has been reclaimed and reappropriated by those whom the word would have once excluded or marked as deviant from heteronormative society. Currently, “Queer” is used as an umbrella term to describe any non-heteronormative sexuality or gender expression, and may also include alternative sexual identities or practices, such as Bondage/Domination/Sadism/Masochism (BDSM). The theory that bears this name invites researchers to “queer” (used as a verb) their subjects and objects of study. This may apply to spaces and places, populations, practices, organizations, and institutions.¹⁶

A further complication introduced by LC’s updating technology is that while the definitions of terms change, so do social preferences for using certain terms, and such preferences depend on the group doing the speaking. So, although “queer” was once derogatory, it has now been reclaimed by many (but by no means all) members of the queer or LGBTQ community. The acronym LGBTQ itself reveals the ever-fluctuating nature of the category. What was once defined simply as the gay or gay and lesbian community now includes bisexual, transgender, queer, questioning, intersex, and asexual people, and sometimes allies, stretching the acronym out to LGBTQIA. At the same time that LGBTQ becomes more inclusive, those identities and behaviors move out of the category of deviance. Acts that were once considered perverted, illegal, immoral, or pathological have fallen out of the DSM and into wider public and

¹⁵ Oxford English Dictionary, s.v. Queer.

¹⁶ It must be noted that, although LC has authorized the subject heading “Queer theory,” the term “Queer” is not a subject heading, nor is it anywhere in the authorities database as a non-preferred heading. LC catalogers stated that the offensive connotations and disagreement among the LGBTQ community about the term are the reasons for not authorizing “Queer,” despite the fact that there has been a wealth of literature using this term.

clinical acceptance as normal variations of gender and sexual expression. As Michael Buckland observes,

Even when denotation is stable, the connotation or attitudes to the connotation may change. Always, some linguistic expressions are socially unacceptable. That might not matter much, except that what is deemed acceptable or unacceptable not only differs from one cultural group to another, but changes over time, and, especially during changes, may be the site of contest.¹⁷

A common reaction to my work is the assertion that it is accurate to maintain the categorization of homosexuality as a sexual perversion for older works because this represents the point of view of scientists and society at the time the works were published. What follows from this perspective is that “Paraphilias” is the appropriate subject heading because it is the term used instead of “Sexual perversion” and is the closest we can come to accurately depicting the work using the authorized terms of today. The problem is that “Paraphilias” carries historically and culturally specific denotations and connotations, and to simply replace “Sexual perversion” erases the prevailing attitudes and beliefs of previous eras while imposing new definitions on past meanings. We know that homosexuality was considered a perversion or deviation for most of the twentieth century, so it’s unsurprising to find such terms used to describe works that promoted such points of view. Although I haven’t conducted a formal study on this, I can say with a great degree of certainty that “Paraphilias” is a term that simply doesn’t carry meaning for the majority of people today. Whenever I discuss this topic I ask my audience for a show of hands to see how many people have ever heard of the term, and frequently no hand is raised. Occasionally, one person is familiar with the term. (I should also point out that my word processor’s spell check does not even recognize the word.) Therefore, something is very

¹⁷ Buckland, “Naming in the Library,” 8.

seriously altered and confused when the automatic replacement occurs in bibliographic records for such varied works as *Sexual Feeling in Woman*; *Venus Castina: Famous Female Impersonators, Celestial and Human*; *The Invert and His Social Adjustment*; *Sex Variant Women in Literature*; *The Case Against Pornography*; and *The Erotic Minorities*. Similarly, it's remarkable that the LC Classification system also uses "Paraphilias, Sex practices outside of social norms" as a caption describing the scope of HQ71. The caption changed at around the same time as the LC subject heading. The inclusion of the medical term "Paraphilias" to describe a social science classification is problematic for a number of reasons, including the fact that social scientists rarely use the word, as well as the insertion of medical authority in a non-medical discipline. The wording accompanying "Paraphilias" in the caption for HQ71 was also changed from the former caption. "Abnormal sex relations" was replaced with "Sex practices outside of social norms," clearly suggesting a norm, but taking into account the social aspects of "normal."

The term "Paraphilias" is even more problematic than the headings that preceded it-- "Sexual deviation" and "Sexual perversion." Although the earlier headings were clearly drawn from the medical literature, the words themselves had further reach and were intelligible to a broad population (even if offensive or harmful to some). Even the texts written by lay people during the early twentieth century used the word "perversion" to make a case against the inclusion of inverts, homosexuals, and transvestites in the category of "sexual perverts." In sharp contrast, the term "Paraphilias" is not only problematic because of its medical origins, but because it is obscure and potentially prohibits access to materials cataloged with this heading.

Perhaps the clearest example of perverse presentism and changing conceptions of sexual deviance in the LC catalog is the case of homosexuality, as over the course of the twentieth century scholarship explaining homosexuality shifted from thinking about homosexuality as an indicator of degeneracy and perversion to an expression of normal sexuality. The language moved from of criminalization toward pathologization, before it was removed from the DSM as a disorder in 1972.¹⁸ The Library of Congress has responded to these shifts. As demonstrated in earlier chapters, homosexuality was subsumed under the heading “Sexual perversion,” until 1946, when the heading “Homosexuality” was authorized, cross-listed with “Sexual perversion,” and “Sodomy.” The related headings which recognized groups of people, rather than conditions, “Homosexuals” and “Lesbians,” were created in 1976, and in 1987, “Homosexuals” was replaced by the headings “Gays.” However, as LC has responded to the literature by updating headings for homosexuality, the resulting catalog records are sometimes rendered inaccurate both according to current and former understandings of homosexuality.

Of the 550 unique titles assigned “Paraphilias” in the current LC catalog, a significant number of these bibliographic records are for works on homosexuality. For instance, a search using the heading “Paraphilias” and the truncated keyword “Homosexual?” turns up 25 records published from 1961 through 2002. It is very likely that these books were earlier given the headings “Sexual perversion” or “Sexual deviation,” and through global update technology, were automatically changed to “Paraphilias.” Some of the books are general works on sexual deviations with an emphasis on homosexuality. The single book published in 2002 that associates homosexuality with paraphilias, *Objects of Desire: The Sexual Deviations*, is puzzling for a few

¹⁸ Canaday, *The Straight State*; Terry, *An American Obsession*.

reasons, which I will describe below. The work is edited by Charles W. Socarides and Abraham Freedman, psychologists who devoted a good deal of their careers to reorienting homosexuals to be heterosexual.¹⁹ Recall that Socarides was the psychiatrist removed from the U.S. Defense Department's roster of expert witnesses on homosexuality when Barbara Gittings and Frank Kameny testified and discredited him in the late 1960s.

The subject headings for *Objects of Desire* include "Paraphilias," "Sexual orientation," "Psychoanalysis and homosexuality--Case studies," "Gays--Case studies," and "Lesbians--case studies." Viewing the table of contents reveals that this book is almost entirely about treating homosexuality as an illness with reorientation therapy, with chapter titles like "Shift from Homosexual to Heterosexual Orientation During the Termination Phase of Analysis," "A Note on the Resolution of Separation-Individuation Transference Phenomena in the Analysis of a Homosexual Woman," and "The Analysis of a Prehomosexual Child with a Twelve-Year Developmental Follow-Up." By cataloging the book using the pathologizing heading "Paraphilias," the LC seems to affirm the opinion of the authors who assert that homosexuality is a disease. Perhaps the cataloger just chose the heading "Sexual deviation" based on the title of the book, and it may be true that the term, although a medical one, is somehow less problematic than "Paraphilias." While "Sexual deviation" was derived from the medical literature, it was also widely used in other literatures. The use of the obscure term seems to alter the meaning, unquestionably linking homosexuality to a medical condition. As society in general, including the medical establishment, has depathologized homosexuality, the existence of "Paraphilias" in records for materials on homosexuality has effectively repathologized homosexuality. This

¹⁹ Charles W. Socarides and Abraham Freedman, Abraham, *Objects of Desire: The Sexual Deviations* (Madison, CT: International Universities Press, 2002).

brings into question the role of librarians when assigning subjects. Should they try whenever possible to capture the attitudes of the authors? Should they attempt to be objective when determining the aboutness of a work? Should they ever make value judgments about the works they are cataloging? Since the book was cataloged, a new heading, “Sexual reorientation programs” was created in 2006, and the heading “Ex-gay movement” (which may not be an entirely appropriate choice, as the book is not *about* the movement, but seems to be a part of it) was created in 2005. We cannot know who cataloged this book, so it is also possible that the cataloger did not have sufficient knowledge of the topic. What we do know is that when this book is acquired by libraries, catalogers are likely to import this bibliographic record data from OCLC and are unlikely to edit the subject headings.²⁰ In other words, this language is likely to be reproduced in local library catalogs.

Many early bibliographic records lack terms for homosexuality. Although some catalog records join the concepts of paraphilias and homosexuality, other books are cataloged using only the term “Paraphilias,” either because it is a general work that includes a section on homosexuality, or because it was published before the terms “Homosexuality,” “Gays,” or “Lesbians” were authorized as part of the LCSH lexicon. The records for Marion Zimmer Bradley’s *Checklist: A Complete, Cumulative Checklist of Lesbian, Variant, and Homosexual Fiction...For the Use of Collectors, Students, and Librarians* and the first edition of Jeannette Foster Howard’s *Sex Variant Women in Literature: A Historical and Quantitative Survey*,²¹ each

²⁰ Thomas Mann. *The Oxford Guide to Library Research*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 25-26; Bade, *Responsible Librarianship*.

²¹ Marion Zimmer Bradley, *Checklist: A Complete, Cumulative Checklist of Lesbian, Variant, and Homosexual Fiction...For the Use of Collectors, Students, and Librarians* (Rochester, Texas, 1960); Jeannette Foster Howard, *Sex Variant Women in Literature: A Historical and Quantitative Survey* (New York, Vantage Press, 1956); recall that Howard received the 1974 Gay Book Award from the A.L.A. Gay Liberation Task Force for the reissue of this book.

have two subject headings: “Paraphilias in literature” and “Literature--History and criticism.” In fact, there are no words for lesbians or homosexuals anywhere in the Howard record that would turn up this record in a keyword search.”²² Fortunately, later editions of the book do have the appropriate headings, including “Lesbians in literature.” Unfortunately, there are no later editions of the Marion Zimmer Bradley text, so it is lost among archaic terms. In a similar vein, *Diana: A Strange Autobiography*, a memoir published in 1939, is assigned “Paraphilias.”²³ Even more confusing, is the fact that it is classed as HQ76, the LC classification for gay men.

To add yet another layer of complication to this time warp, the language used by doctors and sexologists to describe homosexuals varied from degeneracy to inversion to perversion. While some of these words do turn up in the titles, there is really no way for catalogers to capture the nuances and complexities and differences of opinions and perspectives. While there is plenty of evidence to suggest that medical terms were appropriated by those whom the vocabularies were intended to describe, LC’s choice to defer to medical authorities ignores important communities. As Buckland explains,

Additional complexity arises because there are, of course, not one but many simultaneous communities of discourse. Language evolves within communities of discourse and produces and evokes those communities. So every such community has its own more or less specialized, stylized practice of language. Attempts at controlled or stabilized vocabulary must deal with the multiple and dynamic discourses and the resultant multiplicity and instability of meanings.²⁴

Buckland’s point directly addresses my concerns with the case of “Paraphilias.” There are numerous types of people and discourses that LC intends to serve, so they should strive to

²² Gittings, “Gays in Libraryland,” 86.

²³ The memoir was authored pseudonymously by Diana Frederics, who has recently been determined to be the late Frances Remmel. Interestingly, the identity of the author was discovered by the History Detectives by looking at the original copyright records at the Library of Congress. <http://www.pbs.org/opb/historydetectives/investigation/diana/>

²⁴ Buckland, “Naming in the Library,” 7.

choose subject terms that speak to the most users. Additionally, the historicity of the term and its predecessors are lacking in the catalog.

A word must be said about works on women's sexuality. As mentioned in the second chapter, Katharine Bement Davis published a study of the sex lives of 2,200 "normal" women in 1929, and arrived at the conclusion that many of these women had had same-sex sexual relationships. It was problematic to assign "Sexual perversion" at the time of publication, but it's even more troubling to see this work now assigned "Paraphilias." The author herself did not consider these women to be perverted, but clearly a cataloger did, and this attitude continues to be reproduced and modernized by cataloging technologies.

What does this mean for behaviors that still fall under the category "Paraphilias" in LC's current authority record. Might acts such as fetishism and consensual BDSM become more socially acceptable over time, leaving no victimless sexual act to be defined as a paraphilia? As it stands now, these acts are along side "Lust murder" and "Pedophilia" as narrower terms under "Paraphilias." Criminal acts against victims are still associated with consensual acts, just as they were when homosexuality was considered a perversion. Intrinsic to this question is the whether it is appropriate to link victimless and criminal sexual behaviors that deviate from a social norm. Is it reasonable to imagine a time when "Paraphilias" is no longer relevant, given the changing nature of sexual taxonomies and definitions. As the next section will demonstrate, the American Psychiatric Association is significantly revising its diagnostic manual for paraphilias. What are the implications, then, for LC cataloging using this term? What would happen to all of the bibliographic records if the subject heading were canceled? The heading would be automatically removed from all records, with no human intervention, possibly impeding access even further.

Consider the *Psychopathia Sexualis*, for which the records for every edition only has the single subject heading “Paraphilias.” The deletion of the heading would lead to the elimination of subject access for the many editions and manifestations of this book.

Looking at the work, *The Erotic Minorities*, one sees a certain effect of the change. When published in 1966, the book was assigned “Sexual deviation,” which was likely a fitting category. While problematic because the term derived from the psychiatric literature, it was at least a term commonly used by scholars and the public outside of the psychiatric universe. The act of assigning the heading “Sexual deviation” may be interpreted as librarians effectually performing a diagnosis, and the automatic replacement with “Paraphilias” firmly places the work under the purview of psychiatry. In the case of *The Erotic Minorities*, though, far from pathologizing behaviors, the author of the book advocates a greater appreciation for sexual variation, condoning and at times celebrating acts that fall under the category of “Paraphilias.” In fact, the author explicitly states that “perversion” is a poison label and that sexual deviance should be encouraged. The distinction between “Sexual deviation” and “Paraphilias” becomes clearer with examples such as this one.

Similarly, the shifting meaning and terminologies for cross-dressing, ranging from “Female/Male impersonators,” “Transvestites,” and “Drag queens,” makes retrieval of materials on these subjects quite challenging. Although “Transvestites” is no longer a narrower term under “Paraphilias,” and “Female impersonators” never was, the book *Venus Castina* is currently assigned “Paraphilias” in the LC catalog. As suggested in the previous chapter, the unwillingness to use the term “drag” is highly problematic, especially for current works on the topic. In this case, the term “Female impersonators” is more suitable for the historic text than it is for most

current publications on drag. But the fact that “Paraphilias” is included in the record reveals that the prevailing attitude toward the type of female impersonation written about in the *Venus Castina* was that it was a perversion. This attitude remains, as the heading lives in the record in its updated form.

As I’ve suggested, this perversion of meaning extends to local catalogs. In fact, this study was inspired by a search of the University of Wisconsin-Madison’s catalog, which resulted in stumbling upon a record for *Bi-Sexual Love*, by Wilhelm Stekel.²⁵ The headings didn’t include bisexuality or homosexuality or what was recognizable at first glance as sexuality at all. Rather, the only headings assigned to this work were “Paraphilias” and “Neuroses.” Again, due to global updating, what had been cataloged under “Sexual perversion” and “Neuroses” is now under the pathologizing headings “Paraphilias” and “Neuroses,” with no heading for homosexuality, bisexuality, or any reference to this as a historical text. Incidentally, a book on bisexuality should be in HQ74, but this book is classed in HQ71 which is designated for “Sexual practices outside of social norms.”²⁶ This means it is not shelved with other books on similar subjects, but rather, it is among other books on sexual perversion and deviation.

In 2012, 634 books in the LC collection are currently cataloged with the subject heading, “Paraphilias.” Of these, approximately 550 are unique titles, and 353 are originally written in or translated into English. Searching WorldCat for the 353 books written in English has yielded information about the extent of library holdings in the United States, and which types of libraries own them. The total number of U.S. library holdings for these books is nearly 50,000, with the

²⁵ Recall that Stekel coined the term, but it did not come into popular usage.

²⁶ Library of Congress. Classification [HQ71-72]. Classification Web, <http://classificationweb.net/> (accessed October 12, 2010).

majority of libraries being general academic libraries, followed by public libraries, and medical and law libraries being in the relatively small minority of holding libraries. This means that the reach of LC's patterns extend way beyond that library's walls, and the use of "Paraphilias" both reproduces highly medicalized language and inhibits access to information in libraries of all types across the U.S.²⁷

To illustrate a related point, I cite my previous work, in which I found serious problems with the cataloging of the book *In a Queer Time and Place: Transgender Bodies, Subcultural Lives*, also by Halberstam, published in 2005. It, like many of the books in this study, was published before "Transgenderism" and "Transgender people" became authorized subject headings. The bibliographic data in WorldCat are up-to-date and descriptive, as the subject headings were changed in 2007, when "Transgenderism" was added to the authority file. The WorldCat record offers "Transgenderism," "Gender identity," "Sex role," "Transgender people in motion pictures," "Transgender people in literature," "Marginality, Social." In some local catalogs, including the University of Wisconsin-Madison, however, there are no headings for "Transgenderism" or "Transgender people" in the records for this book. "Transsexualism," "Gender identity," "Sex role," "Transsexuals in motion pictures," "Transsexuals in literature," and "Marginality, Social" are the only headings provided. This indicates that bibliographic records pulled from WorldCat for local catalogs may not include updated subject headings as they are added.²⁸ Had this been a one-to-one replacement, with "Transgender people" replacing "Transsexuals" in LCSH, the global updating technology would easily facilitate the change of all

²⁷ This study is limited to the United States, but LCSH is used in library catalogs worldwide.

²⁸ Melissa Adler, "Transcending Library Catalogs: A Comparative Study of Controlled Terms in LCSH and User-Generated Tags in LibraryThing for Transgender Books," *Journal of Web Librarianship* 3, no. 4 (2009).

records with the heading “Transgender” to “Transsexual.” In this case, though, the change is not a synonymous change, but rather, an addition. “Transgender” may be thought of an umbrella category that includes, but is not exclusively, “transsexual.” In a Queer Time and Place is much more aptly cataloged with “Transgender” than “Transsexualism,” but because “Transsexualism” was not replaced by “Transgender,” global updating will not have any effect, and in most cases it should not. Adding another dimension to the problems with global updating, the only way that this catalog record can change is if an individual cataloger at the local library system recognizes and manually updates it.

LC is at the center of scholarly discourses and is the position to produce meaning and subjects. I would argue that librarians and scholars should consider the act of subject heading creation and assignment to be much more than metadata. Rather, we need to acknowledge the fact that the Library is producing knowledge about knowledge. However, Halberstam might argue that, since it is impossible to “know” what perversion is or what qualifies as a paraphilia today, it is certainly impossible to “know” what perversion was over the course of the twentieth century. The authorization of new terms to replace the old in the catalog, and using present-day terms to describe works on past practices serves to confine the past to the present and erases the historical record. As we move toward the present, and presentism is no longer quite the problem at hand, there are still questionable aspects of the use of the term “paraphilias” to provide subject access. The following sections will examine the problems of disciplinarity, censorship, and audience.

The Medicalization of Sexual Deviance Revisited

A key message of this dissertation is that LC has depended on the medical establishment to determine how to organize materials on sexuality. This is problematic in a number of ways, as it takes for granted that sexual deviations from “normal” sex practices are medical conditions or problems. Although the medical community shifts its definitions of perversion and deviation, and reconsiders the types of behaviors that are members of the broader category intended to mark deviance, LC consistently defers to these authorities for its vocabulary.

Interdisciplinarity has long presented a challenge for the management of Women's Studies collections, and it clearly raises issues for LGBTQ collections. Suzy Taraba wrote in 1990, “Where gay and lesbian studies ends and another discipline begins may remain forever problematic.”²⁹ While this is still and may forever remain true, the rise of LGBTIQ programs in college and university curricula has changed ways of thinking about the problem. Writing when gay and lesbian studies was virtually invisible, Taraba observed that “the discipline-oriented thinking in most colleges and universities (and, consequently, in most academic libraries) can mask the need for academic librarians to collect materials to support gay and lesbian studies.”³⁰

Sanford Berman’s three principles for subject headings--intelligibility, fairness, and findability--can guide theory on the disciplinary problems inherent in the heading “Paraphilias.” Berman believes that groups should name themselves and that medical and professional jargon should be replaced with headings that are intelligible to the general user. Each of these three principles is relevant to the discussion of the term “Paraphilias”: it can be argued that this term is

²⁹ Taraba, “Collecting Gay and Lesbian Materials in an Academic Library,” 26.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 25-26.

not intelligible to most users, and therefore does not enhance findability; fairness comes into question as sexual behaviors and minorities are authorized based on a psychiatric diagnostic tool--the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders IV* (DSM), rather than using language that might be more likely to be used by the wider audiences and people and acts described by the literature; and although “Paraphilias” does not refer to a group of people or a community, it does refer to a group of behaviors that many people engage in--it is not unlike Gittings’s and others’ experiences browsing the card catalog under “Sexual perversion” to try to find materials on homosexuality and homosexuals. Until 1976 LC did not recognize homosexuals as a group of people, but the acts that they performed--and by extension, those who performed them--were filed under “Sexual perversion.” People interested in consensual sex practices may not perceive these acts as belonging to a medical category.

In response to the claim that LC should aim for fairness in its choice of terms for headings, Barbara Tillett, Chief of the LC Policy and Standards Division, asks, “‘Fairness’ to whom?” and she has stated that LC wishes to be informed of headings considered to be outdated or offensive. But she adds that one group or person does not always match with the general consensus: we must weigh the impact of change, and test the current literary warrant and appropriateness of terminology in today’s society: “This involves checking the Web and other current news media to verify terminology that may appear on a new book and checking authoritative sources to assure the suggested new term is acceptable. Often we work in consultation with special interest groups or those who are most knowledgeable about a particular field.”³¹

³¹ Barbara Tillett, interview with Rory Litwin, *Library Juice*, entry posted on August 9, 2006, <http://libraryjuicepress.com/blog/?p=115> (accessed January 21, 2012).

My research suggests that LC has chosen the medical and psychiatric disciplines to be the experts to rely upon when deciding how to describe materials on sexual deviance. The normalizing effects of these professions are at play in the LC collection and catalog, as these areas seem to have great influence on subject authorization and knowledge organization. And the term “Paraphilias” serves a very limited audience--the psychiatric community--at the expense of other potential audiences. Although it is intelligible to the psychiatric community and may help them find materials, the term is rarely used by other disciplines. The works assigned this heading tend to be aimed at a multidisciplinary audience. As demonstrated in the previous section, these books are held by a wide variety of libraries--not just medical libraries. According to the LC catalog, 62 percent of these books are classified in the HQ section, which is the LC class for family, marriage, and women in the social sciences. It is curious that the LC would choose a highly medicalized term for a subject that serves a general audience, including literary scholars, social scientists, and the general public, particularly when the U.S. has a national medical library with its own controlled vocabulary that serves the psychiatric community.

Tillett has also acknowledged that, as the Library of Congress, subject choices tend to reflect the attitudes and beliefs of the federal government.³² As earlier chapters have made clear, LC has participated in the policing of sexuality. Just as sexologists assisted in the federal program of classifying and identifying sexual perverts, LC classed its personnel and materials and marked them as deviant. The use of “Paraphilias” as a subject heading performs the disciplinary act of prohibiting access while pathologizing certain behaviors and expressions.

³² Ibid.

The term “Paraphilias” was authorized by LC in 2007 to replace “Sexual deviation,” which had replaced “Sexual perversion” in 1972. The term itself was coined in 1922 by Wilhelm Stekel and translated into English in 1930 and was popularized within the psychiatric community in the 1980s.³³ It first appeared in the DSM in 1980, replacing “Sexual deviation.” Researchers, practitioners, and the public disagree on what counts as sexual perversion or a paraphilia. Even the psychiatric community disagrees on the definition and diagnosis of paraphilias. Charles Moser states: “Creation of the diagnostic category of paraphilia, the medicalization of nonstandard sexual behaviors, is a pseudoscientific attempt to regulate sexuality.”³⁴ At the heart of Laws and O’Donohue’s description of the controversy surrounding sexual deviance, is the fact that the DSM-IV-TR is an “institutional rather than a scientific resolution to the definitional problem,” which is value-laden, created and negotiated by committees, and subject to personal and political influences.³⁵ They explain that, although the DSM is the primary, standard-setting diagnostic tool for psychiatrists, it does not describe how decisions regarding inclusion and exclusion in the category were made.

In light of the psychiatric community’s disagreement on the meanings of deviance and paraphilias, LC’s simultaneous deference to the psychiatric literature and claim to authority over knowledge is problematic, as catalogers have authorized the subjects and assign them to books in the collection. The 2007 heading change was intended to “reflect contemporary medical and

³³ Wilhelm Stekel, *Sexual Aberrations*; Oxford English Dictionary Online, s.v. “Paraphilias,” accessed October 12, 2010, <http://dictionary.oed.com.ezproxy.library.wisc.edu/cgi/entry/50171251>.

³⁴ Charles Moser, “Paraphilia: A Critique of a Confused Concept” in *New Directions in Sex Therapy: Innovations and Alternatives*, ed. Peggy J. Kleinplatz. (Philadelphia: Brunner-Routledge, 2001).

³⁵ D. Richard Laws and William T. Donahue. *Sexual Deviance: Theory, Assessment, and Treatment* (New York: Guilford Press, 2008), 1.

psychological thinking and usage.”³⁶ The terms that hierarchically fall under “Paraphilias” are “Bestiality,” “Exhibitionism,” “Fetishism (Sexual behavior),” “Lust murder,” “Masochism,” “Pedophilia,” “Sadism,” and “Voyeurism.” Transvestism is not among the narrower terms, as it was under “Sexual deviation,” but users of the term “Paraphilias” are advised to see the related heading, “Psychosexual disorders,” under which “Transvestism” is one of ten narrower headings. The authority record cites several sources for literary warrant for the new heading, “Paraphilias,” including *Medical Subject Headings* (MeSH), the *Thesaurus of Psychological Index Terms*, athealth.com, and *Human Sexuality: An Encyclopedia* (1994), which is quoted in the authority record for justification of the term:

Paraphilia is defined as an erotosexual and psychological condition characterized by recurrent responsiveness to an obsessive dependence on an unusual or socially unacceptable stimulus. The term has become a legal synonym for perversion or deviant sexual behavior, and it is preferred by many over the other terms because it seems more neutral and descriptive rather than judgemental.”³⁷

Interestingly, MeSH, which used “Sex Deviation” from 1963 until 1980, when it replaced it with “Paraphilias,” is the primary supporting documentation for the justification of the new heading. MeSH takes its definition for “Paraphilias,” as it does for most psychological concepts, from the DSM-IV. This brings a number of questions to mind. Why does LC defer to the medical literature as the authority? How is this term deemed to be neutral? What are the implications for finding information? LCSH are supposed to reflect the current literature, but whose literature? What are the implications of using a medical term to describe non-medical research and popular works?

According to the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-IV-TR), The Paraphilias are characterized by recurrent, intense sexual urges, fantasies, or behaviors that involve unusual objects, activities, or situations and cause clinically

³⁶ Paul Weiss, Personal email, June 29, 2009.

³⁷ Library of Congress. *Authorities*, “Paraphilias,” <http://authorities.loc.gov/> (accessed October 12, 2010).

significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other important areas of functioning. The Paraphilias include Exhibitionism, Fetishism, Frotteurism, Pedophilia, Sexual Masochism, Sexual Sadism, Transvestic Fetishism, Voyeurism, and Paraphilia Not Otherwise Specified.”³⁸

The DSM does recognize the socio/cultural quality to defining sexual deviance: “It is important to note that notions of deviance, standards of sexual performance, and concepts of appropriate gender role can vary from culture to culture....The diagnosis of Paraphilias across cultures or religions is complicated by the fact that what is considered deviant in one cultural setting may be more acceptable in another setting.”³⁹ The DSM also indicates that the diagnoses of paraphilias are highly gendered: “Except for Sexual Masochism, where the sex ratio is estimated to be 20 males for each female, the other Paraphilias are almost never diagnosed in females, although some cases have been reported.”⁴⁰

It must be noted that the DSM V, due to be released in May 2013, will bring significant changes to the Paraphilias diagnosis. In order to be considered a disorder, the paraphilia must be one “that causes distress or impairment to the individual or harm to others.”⁴¹

This approach leaves intact the distinction between normative and non-normative sexual behavior, which could be important to researchers, but without automatically labeling non-normative sexual behavior as psychopathological. It also eliminates certain logical absurdities in the DSM-IV-TR. In that version, for example, a man cannot be classified as a transvestite—however much he cross-dresses and however sexually exciting that is to him—unless he is unhappy about this activity or impaired by it. This change in viewpoint would be reflected in the diagnostic criteria sets by the addition of the word “Disorder” to

³⁸ American Psychiatric Association. *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: DSM-IV-TR*. (Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association, 2004) STAT!Ref, <http://online.statref.com> (accessed May 6, 2010).

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ American Psychiatric Association. “Timeline,” <http://www.dsm5.org/about/Pages/Timeline.aspx> (accessed March 2, 2011).

all the paraphilias. Thus, Sexual Sadism would become Sexual Sadism Disorder; Sexual Masochism would become Sexual Masochism Disorder, and so on.⁴²

Certainly, this should carry new meaning into library catalogs, and it could further complicate categorization by bringing together non-pathological with the pathological paraphilias, as well as the non-medical fields.

“Paraphilias” as Censorship

By deferring to the psychiatric literature as the authority and medicalizing alternative sexualities, it seems that the LC has effectively made it much harder to find information on this topic, committing the act of “bibliocide”--the annihilation of material through bad cataloging. The term “Paraphilia” is meaningful for psychiatrists and addresses a subset of the total literature on sexual deviance. The social science and humanities literature infrequently uses this terminology. While the librarians and authority record states that this term is preferred because it is neutral, the truth is that the term is anything but neutral, being a term that is authorized by the DSM IV-TR, pathologizing certain sexual behaviors. One might speculate that the neutrality derives from the fact that people aren’t familiar with this term and therefore it is rendered meaningless. If this is the case, then it is a clear case of censorship, which according to Berman, is pervasive in libraries. He cites five key means of censorship and suggests that sex is one of the most highly censored subjects, “particularly if it’s in the form of photos or film or deals with beyond-the-pale topics like anal intercourse or S&M.”⁴³

⁴² Kenneth J. Zucker. *Report of the DSM-5 Sexual and Gender Identity Disorders Work Group*. (Arlington, Va: American Psychiatric Association, 2009). accessed 3/2/2011 <http://www.dsm5.org/progressreports/pages/0904reportofthedsm-vsexuA.L.A.ndgenderidentitydisordersworkgroup.aspx>

⁴³ Berman, “Inside Censorship,” 3.

- failure to select whole categories or genres of material, despite public interest and demand on the one hand or the need to reflect a broad spectrum of human belief and activity on the other,
- irresponsible, often circulation-driven weeding, consigning sometimes valuable, classic, and unique works to the dumpster,
- economic censorship in the form of fines collected solely for revenue and the imposition of fees for services that make them unavailable to poor or fixed-income people,
- inadequate, if not outright erroneous cataloging, as well as restrictive shelving practices, rendering much material inaccessible even though it *is* in the collection,
- repression in the workplace, denying staff the opportunity to express themselves without fear on professional and policy issues, and -- especially by means of electronic monitoring -- creating an atmosphere of intimidation and submissiveness.⁴⁴

While some of these issues are less relevant to LC's practices, some are actually produced by LC. I have demonstrated that LC actively participated in the policing and censorship of sexually explicit materials and homosexual practices of LC personnel in the postwar era. At issue with the use of "Paraphilias" is the effects of inadequate cataloging. The standards produced by the Library of Congress extend to all libraries that use them. Alternative sexualities and acts, such as polyamory, BDSM, and fetishism, remain largely untouched in mainstream discourses, and many alternative sexual behaviors are diagnosed as disorders by the DSM IV. According to the National Coalition for Sexual Freedom, "we must conclude that the interpretation of the Paraphilias criteria has been politically – not scientifically – based."⁴⁵ The striking lack of materials on these subjects on mainstream library shelves observed by Berman, may be both reflective and productive of this silence.⁴⁶ Indeed, very few books in this study touch on these subjects with a non-clinical approach. As Berman has suggested, such materials should be collected by public libraries for those who are curious or need to know safe practices.

⁴⁴ Berman, "Inside Censorship," 2.

⁴⁵ National Coalition for Sexual Freedom, "DSM Revision White Paper."

⁴⁶ Sanford Berman, "Inside Censorship," 50.

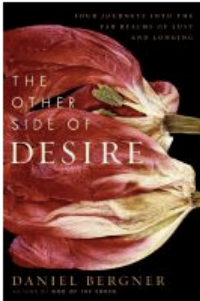
Cataloging Paraphilias

Upon examination of the works cataloged since 2007--those which the heading is intended to describe--it becomes apparent that the use of “Paraphilias” is fitting for a certain few titles, and the rest are underserved. Twenty-four books were published in English since 2007, and of those and looking to the index, table of contents, and titles, the language preferred by the authors is clear. Only a handful of these texts use the term “paraphilias” at all, and those that do are unquestionably derived from psychiatric disciplines, with the subjects being sex crimes and violence.⁴⁷ Ten books pertain to legal and psychiatric aspects of sex offending, but most of texts intended for popular audiences or scholarly audiences in the humanities. Seven may be considered histories or cultural studies of sexual perversion, four are literary analyses, and three seem to be specifically aimed at the curious general public. Truly, these books present challenges for catalogers, and the options for subject terms are few.

The situation extends beyond research libraries and into local public library systems. Madison Public Library is part of the South Central Library System, a consortium of 53 libraries in southern Wisconsin that share a common catalog. A subject search using “Paraphilias” results in 22 records, published between 1972 and 2010, and including 18 works originally cataloged by the Library of Congress, as well as three video recordings. Among these materials is the book, *The Other Side of Desire: Four Journeys into the Far Realms of Lust and Longing*, the catalog record for which is shown in Figure 7.


⁴⁷ Titles that use “paraphilias” are the following: *Forensic and Medico-legal Aspects of Sexual Crimes and Unusual Sexual Practices*; *Sex Crimes: Patterns and Behavior*; *Sexual Deviance: Theory, assessment, and treatment* (this author indexes on both “deviance” and “paraphilias”); *Sex offending : causal theories to inform research, prevention, and treatment* (this author uses “deviance” primarily, with “paraphilias” in a clinical sense); *Sex offenders: identification, risk assessment, treatment, and legal issues*

Figure 7. Bibliographic Record for *The Other Side of Desire*, South Central Public Library



The other side of desire : four journeys into the far realms of lust and longing /
by [Bergner, Daniel .](#)

[Normal View](#) [MARC View](#) [Expanded MARC View](#) [Card View \(ISBD\)](#)

Type:  Book
 Publisher: Ecco, c2009 New York .
 Edition: 1st ed .
 Description: x, 205 p. ; 24 cm .
 ISBN: 9780060885564 (alk. paper); 0060885564 (alk. paper).
 Related Subjects: [Paraphilias -- Case studies](#) | [Compulsive behavior -- Case studies](#)
 Contents: The phantom of the opera -- The beacon -- The water's edge -- The devotee.

[Holdings \(3 \)](#) [Title Notes](#) [Reviews](#) [About the Author](#)

Library	Location	Collection	Call Number	Status	Date Due
Madison PL-Pinney	Adult	Non-Fiction	306.77 B454o (Browse Shelf)	Available	
Middleton Library	Adult, Lower Level	Non-Fiction	306.77 BER (Browse Shelf)	Checked out	02/07/2012
Monona Library	Adult	Non-Fiction	306.77 BER 01/10 (Browse Shelf)	Claims Returned	

Source: South Central Library System, LINKcat, <http://www.linkcat.info/cgi-bin/koha/opac-main.pl> (accessed April 21, 2012).

The South Central Library System catalog reveals that the text is held by three libraries in the system, and one copy is currently (January 21, 2012) checked out. The subject headings are “Paraphilias--Case studies” and “Compulsive behavior--Case studies,” just as they are in the record originally created by the Library of Congress. It does appear that this record (as is common practice) was copied from the shared OCLC catalog, and imported without any local editing of the subject headings. While we don’t know how this patron located the book--whether the patron knew the title before searching for it, stumbled upon the title by searching the catalog with keywords or subject searches, or browsed the stacks--we can see that the bibliographic record could do much more to foster findability (See Figure 7). One might assert that this is either a blatant or an unintentional case of censorship or what Berman calls “bibliocide,” where national cataloging standards tend to produce records that are unintelligible to users, thereby

prohibiting access to materials.⁴⁸ Nothing in this record indicates what the book is truly about--it is a collection of case studies about foot fetishism, acrotomophilia (sexual interest in amputees), sadism, and a man's desire for his step-daughter. This title is held by more public libraries than academic libraries, with the total number of holdings in the U.S. exceeding 300 libraries.

In her review of the book, Lori Gottlieb tells readers about how it altered her frame of mind, causing her to question her own beliefs about perversion.

After reading Daniel Bergner's unsettling but riveting new book, *The Other Side of Desire*, I'm no longer sure where normal ends and abnormal begins. Take the people Bergner, a contributing writer for *The New York Times Magazine*, introduces us to: a devoted husband with a foot fetish, a fashion maven who's a sadist, a man who becomes sexually attracted to his young stepdaughter (Woody Allen, anyone?) and an advertising executive who lusts after amputees.

Are all of them deviant? None of them? Or is deviance a matter of time and place, the way that a century ago, fellatio and cunnilingus were regarded as perversions in some psychoanalytic circles? I'll ruin the ending for you right now: these questions are unanswerable, but that's precisely what makes the asking so engrossing.⁴⁹

This reviewer recognizes precisely the issues brought forth by this dissertation, but unfortunately, libraries are not supplying this type of information to their patrons. Rather, this book is effectively hidden by undercataloging and the use of a medicalized term by which few public library patrons are likely to search.

Tagging and Folksonomies in Online Social Network Sites

The discussion of disciplinarity neglects a segment of the population who would potentially seek and use materials on sexual practices that the LC and the medical establishment might consider paraphilias. Anyone who engages in or is curious about such practices are

⁴⁸ Berman, "Inside Censorship," 9.

⁴⁹ Lori Gottlieb. "A Love Life Less Ordinary." *New York Times-Sunday Book Review*, February 2, 2009. <http://www.nytimes.com/2009/02/08/books/review/Gottlieb-t.html> (accessed December 12, 2012).

underserved by this heading. To understand the information needs of these people, we can look to social media to find the terms they use to describe themselves and their practices.

LibraryThing.com provides a good point of comparison as users of the site organize their personal collections and find related books by adding and searching tags. This social network site enables members to catalog their own books by pulling bibliographic information from such sources as Amazon.com and the LC. Librarything and other social networks provide a window with a view to the names that users assign the resources they read, thereby giving librarians access to user feedback that was previously not available.

Folksonomies, also known as ethnoclassifications, distributed classifications, social classifications, and free tagging systems, have arisen out of social networking applications as a user-generated, collaborative approach to categorizing content. Millions of users are actively tagging in online social networks like LibraryThing and Delicious. According to Thomas Vander Wall, the information architect who invented the term, a folksonomy is:

the result of personal free tagging of information and objects (anything with a URL) for one's own retrieval. The tagging is done in a social environment (shared and open to others). The person consuming the information does the act of tagging. The value in this external tagging is derived from people using their own vocabulary and adding explicit meaning.⁵⁰

Louise Spiteri asserts that the growth of folksonomies is due to the need to control the huge amount of digital information and “a desire to democratize the way in which digital information is described and organized by using categories and terminology that reflect the views and needs of the actual end users, rather than those of an external organization or body.”⁵¹

⁵⁰ Thomas Vander Wal, Folksonomy Definition and Wikipedia, 2005 <http://www.vanderwal.net/random/entrysel.php?blog=1750> (accessed April 13, 2009).

⁵¹ Louise F. Spiteri, “Use of Folksonomies in Public Library Catalogues,” *Serials Librarian* 51, no. 2 (2006).

Folksonomies adapt very easily to shifts in user needs and vocabularies, as additions of tags are immediate. Users may simply add a tag at no cost, and over time, folksonomies become collections of all of the terms that people use to identify the object being tagged. “In a folksonomy the set of terms is a flat namespace; there are no clearly defined relations between and among the terms in the vocabulary, unlike formal taxonomies and classification schemes, where there are multiple kinds of explicit relationships (e.g., broader, narrower, and related terms) between and among terms.”⁵²

Although LibraryThing does suggest related tags based on algorithms, there are no formal, hierarchical relationships among terms, no predetermined order, and no authority to dictate rules about relationships among tags. Clay Shirky, an expert on the social effects of the Internet, provides a defense of social tagging:

[I]f we are, from a bunch of different points of view, applying some kind of sense to the world, then you don't privilege one top level of sense-making over the other. What you do instead is you try to find ways that the individual sense-making can roll up to something which is of value in aggregate, but you do it without an ontological goal. You do it without a goal of explicitly getting to or even closely matching some theoretically perfect view of the world. Critically, the semantics here are in the users, not in the system.⁵³

Rather than being arranged hierarchically, social networking tools, such as LibraryThing, link items that are assigned the same tags. For instance, clicking on the tag “paraphilias” will lead a user to all of the books tagged “paraphilias.” Tags do tend to lack uniformity because there is no governing body regulating the establishment of terms. Problems arise when systems are not smart enough to locate variant forms of words or synonyms. LibraryThing gathers some tags with their aliases, which serve, in a loose sense, like cross-references in LCSH: for example,

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Clay Shirky, “Ontology is Overrated” (2005) http://www.shirky.com/writings/ontology_overrated.html (accessed October 8, 2008).

“bdsm” “bd/sm,” and “BDSM” are considered equivalent. However, this is not always perfectly employed. The variations of the acronym for Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Queer, Questioning (lgbt, glbt, lgbtq, lgbtiq, etc.) are not entirely brought together. “Lgbtq” is an alias of “glbtq,” but “lgbt” and “glbt” are not aliases of each other or with “lgbtq”/ “glbtq,” nor are any other variations assigned aliases.

One can get around some of these problems by using or creating a “tagmash,” which, according to LibraryThing creator Tim Spalding, “closes some of the gap between tagging and professional subject classifications.”⁵⁴ Users can combine tags, and the system then stores these as permanent tagmashes that appear on tag and subject pages, offering another search and access option. This powerful feature gives users much greater control and lets them perform more precise searches. For example, the tagmash “bdsm, fantasy” pulls together the books that have been assigned each of these tags (or their aliases), and on the results page there is the list of books there is a set of suggested related tagmashes, tags, and subjects.

Perhaps the greatest strength of folksonomies is that they allow everyone who is interested in the subject to add to the vocabulary, reflecting all users' positions without bias and without definitive rules. By bringing minority and marginalized voices together with the more popular, a folksonomy allows people to represent concepts that are left out of controlled vocabularies. The flexibility of folksonomies rests in their capacity to respond to shifts in terminologies as they happen; terms are added immediately to the vocabularies through tagging by any member of the network. By contrast, a large taxonomy such as the LC classification scheme may take years to add a heading, if it is added at all. Controlled vocabularies are mostly

⁵⁴ Tim Spalding, “Tagmash: Book Tagging Grows Up.” *Thingology Blog* (2007) <http://www.librarything.com/thingology/2007/07/tagmash-book-tagging-grows-up.php> (accessed May 27, 2009).

about describing and finding specific information, whereas folksonomies, though less precise, allow for more serendipitous searching through current language that includes more representations of minority or marginalized voices.

The folksonomies that have arisen out of user-generated tags reveal the multiplicity of terms that people use to describe sexualities that might be categorized as paraphilias by the LC. Whereas all terms are retained in a collective folksonomy, if a controlled term is updated in LCSH, the older form disappears from the catalog records. The range of gender and sexual expressions may shift over time in the vocabulary along with cultural and political shifts in society. In a folksonomy, rather than the meanings being perverted by the authorization of controlled terms, members have the freedom to use the terms that are meaningful to them. And as Annelise Ornelas has observed, “Without question, as people who have had to supersede semantics to survive and thrive, queer folks tag with an eye to inclusiveness and sensitivity to the power that words hold.”⁵⁵

Members of communities will frequently adopt common vocabularies, allowing people to name and locate their own items, and to communicate with other members of the community who might be interested in similar subjects. In fact, within a folksonomy a common language begins to emerge as users share tags. In another study on collaborative tagging in Delicious, Golder and Huberman found that tagging patterns stabilize as the number of users increase.⁵⁶ Looking to LibraryThing and Delicious reveals that a common language regarding alternative sexual practices has emerged.

⁵⁵ Analisa Ornelas, “Queer as Folksonomies.” in *Serving LGBTIQ Library and Archives Users: Essays on Outreach, Service, Collections and Access*, ed., Ellen Greenblatt (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2010), 237.

⁵⁶ Scott Golder and Bernardo Huberman. “Usage patterns of collaborative tagging systems.” *Journal of Information Science* 32 (2006).

Members of LibraryThing rarely tag books in their personal catalogs with the term “paraphilias.” The term and the singular form “paraphilia” have only been assigned a combined total of 21 times by ten different users, and most of these were assigned by special collections libraries, rather than individuals. “Perversion” or “sexual perversion” is applied 180 times by 80 members. “Sexual deviation” or “sexual deviance” is used 37 times by 28 members. Much more common are tags for specific practices, such as bdsm, fetishism, fantasy, etc. In fact, “bdsm” is used 6,458 times by 716 LibraryThing members, and “kink” is assigned 1,489 times by 113 users. Historical texts, such as Richard Krafft-Ebing’s *Psychopathia Sexualis*, originally translated into English from German in 1892, is assigned a wide variety of terms ranging from “bdsm,” “gay,” “historical,” “gender,” “psychology,” and “necrophilia.” The LC records for various editions of this early work only includes “Paraphilias,” omitting terms for range of practices and identities covered in this text and providing users with no information about its historical significance.

There is a disconnect between LCSH and taggers of transgender-themed books in LibraryThing. A previous study has revealed two striking features of folksonomies in this particular environment: 1) there is some degree of consensus regarding tagging, i.e., “transgender” is by far the most frequently used tag for the books at hand, and 2) the range of expressions of minority voices is highly visible and negotiable. Social tagging reflects the relationships between language and communities, and results in very different practices and vocabularies than an authorized, regulated discourse might allow.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ Adler, “Transcending Library Catalogs.”

One can easily draw key differences between the tagging of personal collections and the creation and assignment of the heading “Paraphilias” by LC and libraries using LCSH. I would suggest that the tags assigned by users of LibraryThing can inform and contribute to discussions of authorizing and assigning subjects in public, academic, and special library catalogs, as well as digital library metadata. Certainly, local libraries would better serve patrons interested in alternative sexualities by paying attention to the terms that users assign to their own collections. The Library of Congress would better serve the wider library community by authorizing a term less embedded in medical discourses and more accessible to the general population who would seek materials on alternative sexual practices.

The Radical Reference group, an organization that provides web-based reference services to activists and independent journalists, held a “Blog-a-Thon” in 2008 in a grass-roots effort to solicit subject heading proposals.⁵⁸ Jenna Freedman uses her personal blog, *Lower East Side Librarian*, to discuss proposals she submits, invite conversations about headings changes and proposals, and announce interesting weekly lists from LC. Below, in Figures 8 and 9 provide parts of a conversation in a recent post on proposing headings to represent butch and femme gender expressions.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ “Library of Congress Subject Heading Suggestion Blog-a-thon,” *Radical Reference*, entry posted April 22, 2008, <http://radicalreference.info/lcsh/2008/blog-a-thon> (accessed March 21, 2012).

⁵⁹ Jenna Freedman, “Butch and Femme Once Again,” *Lower Eastside Librarian*, entry posted May 5, 2011, <http://lowereastsidelibrarian.info/butchandfemme/onceagain> (accessed March 9, 2012).

Figure 8. Blog conversation about “Butch and Femme”

Hypothetically speaking...butch and femme

Play along with a hypothetical situation, if you will.

If you happened to strike up a friendship with the **Godfather of the Gay Cataloging Mafia** who also happens to be a God (Cataloging) of SACO, and if he were willing to work with you to pitch **butch and femme subject headings** to the Library of Congress, what would you want those headings to be?

The headings would want to be separate, right? Something like **Butch (Gender expression)** and **Femme (Gender expression)**?

Should they be plural?

Should the parenthetical be Gender identity?

Something else entirely?

Submitted by jenna on Mon, 05/09/2011 - 11:53am

Tags: **butch and femme** **gay cataloging mafia** **lcsh**

Source: “Butch and Femme Once Again,” *Lower Eastside Librarian*, <http://lowereastsidelibrarian.info/butchandfemme/onceagain>

The “Godfather of the Gay Cataloging Mafia” Freedman refers to is Adam Schiff, University of Washington library cataloger and author of the SACO Manual. Part of his response is captured below:

Figure 9. Blog conversation about “Butch and Femme,” continued.

#3 FG

I like the singular butch and femme. However, I would use both expression & identity in the parentheses (Gender identity/expression). People I have talked to are divided about how they experience their butchness or femmeness -- some people feel like they take it on and off, some people feel like it is an intrinsic part of them, immutable and innate. Sooo...there's my two cents as well!

reply

May 11 2011 - 8:43am

#4 Adam

I can tell you that LC would not approve a parenthetical of the type (Gender identity/expression). The qualifier should be one or the other, especially it would likely be preferred to be an existing LCSH term itself.

reply

May 16 2011 - 1:33am

#5 Adam

Follow up: just checked LCSH and there is no term for Gender expression in it. Do we need to propose that as a separate term or would it be a cross-ref to Gender identity? It is not currently in the LCSH vocabulary at all.

Source: “Butch and Femme Once Again,” *Lower Eastside Librarian*, <http://lowereastsidelibrarian.info/butchandfemme/onceagain>

The heading “Gender expression” became authorized shortly after this exchange on July 15, 2011. But the heading “Butch/femme (Gender identity),” discussed in a subject approval meeting on December 19, 2011 was declined, with the following reasoning:

The meeting feels that the proposal is too narrow and specialized for a general vocabulary such as LCSH. Libraries needing specialized headings of this type should consider creating them as local headings rather than proposing them for inclusion in LCSH. The proposal was not approved.⁶⁰

K.R. Roberto, another member of the “Gay Cataloging Mafia” brought this into view by posting it to the listserv RADCAT, pointing out that scientific and technical terms, which are arguably just as specialized, are frequently approved.⁶¹ He also compared it to a similar case in which the heading “fisting” was declined for the same reasons. A former LC employee writing under the pseudonym “Beartooth” suggested that, because LC is an arm of Congress, catalogers tend to avoid potentially politically loaded moves and try to be neutral.⁶² This resonates with my experience interviewing LC cataloging staff, who indicated that “Paraphilias” was chosen because it is neutral, and they prefer to never use terms that might be vulgar or offend. The difficulty rests partly in the queer community itself, as there is frequently disagreement on terms, a phenomenon that will be further discussed in the following chapter. It seems that LC catalogers believe that relying on the medical establishment to take a seemingly objective point of view is safer than using the terms in literatures of other areas.

⁶⁰ Acquisitions and Bibliographic Access Directorate, Policy and Standards Division. Summary of Decisions, Editorial Meeting Number 27, December 19, 2011, <http://www.loc.gov/catdir/pcc/saco/cpsod/psd-111219.html> (accessed February 15, 2012).

⁶¹ K.R. Roberto, Message posted to RADCAT, January 17, 2012.

⁶² Beartooth (pseud.), Message posted to RADCAT, January 20, 2012.

Current Political Context at LC

Discussions comparing LCSH and keyword searching ignited in 2006, when Karen Calhoun of Cornell University was commissioned by LC to draft a report on the “changing nature of the catalog.” Her assessment argued that LC needs to adopt a business model to compete in the information marketplace with such corporations as Google and Amazon.com. With respect to subject access, Calhoun advised in her blueprint for action, “Abandon the attempt to do comprehensive subject analysis manually with LCSH in favor of subject keywords; urge LC to dismantle LCSH.”⁶³ Calhoun interviewed academic librarians and LIS faculty in the U.S. for the study and found varying opinions on LCSH, ranging from “strongly critical to an attitude akin to quiet resignation.”⁶⁴ Those who support LCSH stated that keyword searching was insufficient, and those opposed to maintaining LCSH believed it was an inefficient, costly system that required behind-the-scenes knowledge. They also thought that the increasing amount of full text available online will soon make subject headings irrelevant.

Thomas Mann, reference librarian at LC and long-time advocate for better (rather than increasingly minimal) cataloging, including the use of LCSH, wrote an extensive critique of Calhoun’s report. He essentially asserted that her entire report was based on a flawed premise-- that research libraries should work toward market forces. He argues that, although it may be true that the majority of information seekers are likely to operate under the principle of least effort and may prefer simple Google-type searching, the quality of results will pale in comparison to subject driven catalog searches. Scholars are poorly served by relevance-ranked keyword

⁶³ Karen Calhoun, *The Changing Nature of the Catalog and its Integration with Other Discovery Tools*, prepared for the Library of Congress (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, 2006), 14.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 33.

searches, and materials used by researchers simply aren't gained by using quick internet searches. While he agrees that LCSH is not perfect, he thinks that librarians should educate library users to show them how to locate the best resources, and encourage them to use those techniques, rather those that produce results deemed best based on algorithms that may or may not be relevant to the user.

Keyword searching of titles and tables of contents, no matter how the results are ranked, cannot possibly provide such an overview because it cannot retrieve, to begin with, all of the relevant English language records, let alone the scores of non-English books. Records that are not found cannot be ranked.⁶⁵

The Library of Congress Working Group on the Future of Bibliographic Control reached the following conclusion in 2008:

While subject headings are recognized as essential for collocating topical information, the complexity of LCSH creates difficulties for heading creation and use. At present, the process of maintaining LCSH and of creating new or revised headings can be slow to meet the needs of those working with emerging concepts in both published and archival materials.⁶⁶

Among the working group's recommendations was a restructuring and transformation of "LCSH into a tool that provides a more flexible means to create and modify subject authority data."⁶⁷ At this time, LC has not yet publicly moved to make significant changes to LCSH.

While this dissertation may seem to be purely a critique of LC's subject cataloging choices, I do wish to recognize LC's growth with regard to LGBTQ issues. The Library has recently made a number of public proclamations and has developed initiatives that indicate it is

⁶⁵ Thomas Mann, "The Changing Nature of the Catalog and Its Integration with Other Discovery Tools: A Critical Review" (2006), 12, <http://www.guild2910.org/future.htm> (accessed December 15, 2012).

⁶⁶ Library of Congress Working Group on the Future of Bibliographic Control, *On the Record: Report of the Library of Congress Working Group on the Future of Bibliographic Control* (2008), 21, <http://www.loc.gov/bibliographic-future/news/lcwg-report-draft-11-30-07-final.pdf> (accessed February 3, 2008).

⁶⁷ Library of Congress Working Group, *On the Record*, 35.

becoming more inclusive. In 2009, the Library began holding an annual LC pride month. The Kameny Papers Project arranged in 2006 for more than 50,000 of Kameny's papers to be donated to the Library of Congress and made available to researchers.⁶⁸ Kameny's 1961 petition to the Supreme Court has been on display at the Library of Congress in its exhibition: "Creating the United States," which chronicles the evolution of civil rights in the U.S. The Library has also increasingly promoted collections of LGBTQ-related materials, including Walt Whitman papers and LGBTQ-themed dissertations through their Web site.⁶⁹

That said, even in recent history, LC has made controversial personnel decisions, the most publicized one being the firing of a transsexual employee in 2008. Diane Schroer had begun transitioning from male to female "shortly after retiring as a Colonel after 25 years of distinguished service in the Army."⁷⁰ She accepted a position as a terrorism research analyst at LC, thinking it was the perfect fit "given her background and 16,000-volume home library collection on military history, the art of war, international relations and political philosophy."⁷¹ Once she informed LC that she was in the process of transitioning, LC rescinded its offer. A federal court determined that this was a case of discrimination on the basis of sex, and the judge

⁶⁸ Lou Chibbaro, Jr., "Kameny 'farewell viewing' set for Nov. 3," *Washington Blade*. Oct. 20, 2011, <http://www.washingtonblade.com/2011/10/20/paying-our-last-respects-to-an-american-civil-rights-hero/> (accessed April 16, 2012).

⁶⁹ Library of Congress. "LGBT Pride Month: Resources," <http://www.loc.gov/lgbt/resources.html> (accessed April 16, 2012).

⁷⁰ American Civil Liberties Union, "Transgender Veteran Wins Sex Discrimination Lawsuit Against Library of Congress," Sep. 19, 2008, http://www.aclu.org/lgbt-rights_hiv-aids/transgender-veteran-wins-sex-discrimination-lawsuit-against-library-congress (accessed April 16, 2012)

⁷¹ American Civil Liberties Union, "Schroer v. Library of Congress: Case Profile" Nov. 19, 2009, http://www.aclu.org/lgbt-rights_hiv-aids/schroer-v-library-congress-case-profile (accessed April 16, 2012).

ordered the government to pay nearly \$500,000 (the maximum award possible) as compensation.⁷²

"The evidence established that the Library was enthusiastic about hiring David Schroer – until she disclosed her transsexuality. The Library revoked the offer when it learned that a man named David intended to become, legally, culturally, and physically, a woman named Diane. This was discrimination 'because of . . . sex.'"⁷³

It is strikingly reminiscent of the policies aimed at eliminating homosexuals from the LC staff in the 1950s and 1960s. Although there was not an outright purging of employees based on sex or gender, the Library's attitude was clearly that a transsexual was unemployable based on her status as a transgender person.⁷⁴

Additionally, this study is important because of the growth of sexuality studies in the academy. As demonstrated in Chapter 4, Gay and Lesbian Studies began to take form in the 1970s and the field has flourished with greater inclusion and areas of emphasis, growing into LGBTQ studies, Queer Studies, Sexuality Studies, and Gender Studies. Today there are numerous LGBTQ departments or programs within Women's and Gender Studies departments. Most colleges and universities at least offer courses on some facet of LGBTQ Studies. Many offer certificates and some offer major or minor degrees in the field, while others provide opportunities for interdisciplinary degrees, for which LGBTQ Studies may be a concentration. Nearly every school in the U.S., depending on the size and type of institution, has some kind of

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ American Civil Liberties Union, "Transgender Veteran Wins Sex Discrimination Lawsuit."

⁷⁴ As of April 20, 2012, LC is facing another discrimination case, as Peter TerVeer, 30, a gay auditor at the Library of Congress, filed a complaint in late 2011 based on religious and sexual orientation harassment and discrimination. LC's Equal Employment Opportunity Complaints Office is due to respond by May 9, 2012. Susanna Kim, "Gay Federal Employee Says Facebook 'Like' Led to Discrimination, Harassment and Firing," *ABC News*, April 13, 2012, <http://abcnews.go.com/Business/facebook-led-discrimination-gay-federal-worker/story?id=16126685#.T5Ash44W8oY> (accessed April 16, 2012).

LGBTQ student group, resource center, or other type of organization to support the college or university LGBTQ community.

Such programs require library support, including adequate access to resources. As a discipline with connections to nearly all other disciplines in colleges and universities, the acquisition, organization, and access to knowledge about sexuality is of utmost importance. However, as my 2010 study indicates, library services for LGBTQ students and faculty are less than satisfactory in many regards, including types and amount of materials available, and communication and promotion of services.⁷⁵ Libraries must respond to the needs of scholars in this expanding and specialized field, and one way they can do that is to seek out their voices when determining which terms to use to describe sex practices and identities.

Summary

In 2012 we are witnessing a tremendous shift in librarianship, with the proliferation of digital libraries and new metadata formats to describe digital and textual objects. If we are to be persuaded by those in Karen Calhoun's camp, libraries are seemingly becoming less relevant. At the very least, the nature of libraries is dramatically changing, and with it the modes of access and delivery. This chapter may be read as support for the argument that LCSH is an outdated system that fails to serve its users, or it may simply be interpreted as a call for attention to the information seeking behavior of a wider range of library patrons. It's certainly a cautionary telling, as readers now understand some of the pitfalls and challenges of using library resources. Ultimately, though, as I stated at the outset, I do not pretend to have solid answers or to prescribe

⁷⁵ Melissa Adler, "Meeting the Needs of LGBTQ Library Users and their Librarians: A Study of User Satisfaction and LGBTQ Collection Development in Academic Libraries," In Ed. Ellen Greenblatt, *Serving LGBTIQ Library and Archives Users: Essays on Outreach, Service, Collections and Access* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2010).

a solution. Rather, by providing a history of how “Paraphilias” came into being at the Library of Congress, I hope that my readers come away with an understanding of the library catalog as a historical and social text. In this chapter I have explored the possibilities for using Halberstam’s perverse presentism to analyze library subjects, and I have demonstrated that “Paraphilias” fails to meet the needs of most of the library users who might be searching for information on the topic. Finally, I showed that social tagging may inform LC cataloging practices, particularly in this era when the Library seems to be struggling to find its own identity and purpose. I don’t at all advocate dismantling LCSH, but I do believe the more LC opens up to the voices of those who use the Library, the better served those users will be. Keeping “sensitive” subjects under the arm of the medical establishment serves to hide resources from a key segment of the public.

Top 15 books, in order of number of holdings in WorldCat for the same edition (out of order)

- Aggrawal, Anil. *Forensic and Medico-legal Aspects of Sexual Crimes and Unusual Sexual Practices*. Boca Raton, FL: CRC Press, 2009.
- Peakman, Julie, *Sexual Perversions, 1670-1890*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Friday, Nancy. *Beyond My Control: Forbidden Fantasies in an Uncensored Age*. Naperville, IL: Sourcebooks, 2009.
- Bergner, Daniel. *Other Side of Desire*. New York: Ecco, 2009.
- DiClaudio, Dennis. *The deviant's pocket guide to the outlandish sexual desires barely contained in your subconscious*. New York: Bloomsbury, 2007.
- Roudinesco, Elisabeth. *Our Dark Side*. Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2009.
- Morgan, David. *Lectures on Violence, Perversion, and Delinquency*. London, UK: Karnac, 2007.
- Holmes, Stephen T. *Sex Crimes: Patterns and Behavior*. Los Angeles: Sage, 2008.
- Chenier, Elise Rose. *Strangers in Our Midst: Sexual Deviancy in Postwar Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008.
- Vadolas, Antonios. *Perversions of Fascism*. London, UK: Karnac, 2009.
- Naiman, Eric. *Nabokov, Perversely*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2010.
- Laws, D. Richard. *Sexual Deviance: Theory, Assessment, and Treatment*. New York: Guilford Press, 2010.
- Stinson, Jill D. *Sex Offending: Causal Theories to Inform Research, Prevention, and Treatment*. Washington, DC: American Psychiatric Association, 2008.
- Flora, Rudy, Joseph T Duehl, and Wanda Fisher. *Sex-offender Therapy: A 'How-to' Workbook for Therapist's Treating Sexually Aggressive Adults, Adolescents, and Children*. New York: Haworth Press, 2008.

Saleh, Fabian M. *Sex Offenders: Identification, Risk Assessment, Treatment, and Legal Issues*.
Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Chapter 6

Conclusion

The story of the twentieth century catalog presented here has revealed the successes and the limitations of attempting to organize the bibliographic universe using standards and policies set forth by the Library of Congress. This top-down approach to imposing order sometimes resulted in the reproduction of dominant norms which alienated certain users. As we have fully entered the digital era, 21st century librarians are still left with the legacy and challenges of the 20th century catalog. The future of cataloging is uncertain, but the rapid creation and adoption of new metadata formats and cataloging codes make it clear that information professionals are changing with the evolving and ever-increasing universe of information resources. Social tagging is just one way that new technologies expand opportunities to manage information, and it provides a democratic approach to naming resources, as opposed to the narrow, medicalized terminologies used in libraries.

The debate surrounding the causes and consequences of sexual deviation play out on the shelves and catalog of the Library of Congress and by extension, in local libraries and communities. Although the catalog does not indicate the positions and arguments put forth by the authors of the books represented by bibliographic records, it does reveal prevailing attitudes toward sexual perversion and deviance. From the beginning, terms used by LC and science for sexuality differed from those used by laypeople and the general public, but as others have shown, the public has been in dialogue with doctors and both have informed each others' vocabularies and meanings. "Paraphilias" was coined by an early sexologist at the end of the Progressive Era but wasn't widely adopted. John Money picked up the term and popularized it within the

psychiatric community in the 1970s and 1980s, leading to its authorization by MeSH and the DSM. The term still has not entered the layperson's lexicon and was not authorized by LC until 2007. Might "paraphilias" come into common usage, and if it so, would it be possible to locate the Library of Congress in that process?

The very existence of "paraphilias" relies on the assumption that sexual deviations, in their various forms and manifestations, are medical problems. It presupposes that sexual variance is a medical condition to be explained, classified, and when necessary, treated. But as other scholars have shown, the medicalization of sexuality plays a major role in the social construction of sexuality. Furthermore, what is considered a perversion or a paraphilia is subjective, and differs from person to person, culture to culture, and over time.

As the case of homosexuality makes clear, perversion is socially, historically, and politically defined, and the project of classifying and policing sexual deviance has been an obsession of medical professionals, politicians, and government agencies. Homosexuality was not a disease until psychoanalysts determined it was. Whereas homosexuality was considered one of the most dangerous and insidious perversions for the greater part of the twentieth century, requiring strong punishment and/or clinical treatment, it is now regarded by medical professionals and associations as a variation of normal, healthy sexuality. Still, the category "perversion" remains, but in the medical literature and in LCSH, it is represented by highly medicalized jargon. The adoption of "paraphilias" as an authorized term indicates the belief that certain sexualities and sexual behaviors should be treated as disorders. Even the psychiatric community struggles to agree on definitions and diagnoses and the revised edition due out in 2013 advances its thinking by marking a difference between paraphilias and paraphilic disorders,

stating that a behavior or condition is not to be considered a disorder unless it “causes distress or impairment to the individual or harm to others.”¹ Over the five years since LC adopted the term, it has already taken on new meaning, possibly rendering the heading inaccurate, even according to the psychiatric community. As Michael Buckland points out, “The librarian, then, is creating descriptions by drawing on the past, but expressing them with an eye to the future. This Janus-like stance might seem difficult enough in a stable world, but the reality of library naming practices is made much worse by time, by technology, by the nature of language, and by social change.”²

In this dissertation, I have reviewed the history of the Library of Congress’s selection and organization of materials regarding sexual deviance. I’d like to echo Judith Halberstam’s cautions against viewing this history as a linear progressive one, inherently advancing toward a better present. Certainly, the Library of Congress has made many improvements, but I hope this account reveals the problematic nature of naming socially constituted subjects. This study should be relevant to researchers of any social group or movement, as the problems of historicity, fairness, and intelligibility operate by similar mechanisms across categories in library cataloging--particularly those regarding race, ethnicity, different abilities, religion, class, and gender. In the case of “paraphilias,” LC’s drive to remain neutral and unoffending seems to render the subject virtually meaningless and invisible, impeding access to information. While LC did move away from being part of the federal project to eliminate homosexuals, and toward collecting, publicizing and displaying LGBTQ-themed materials, the organization still mirrors

¹ Zucker, *Report of the DSM-5 Sexual and Gender Identity Disorders Work Group*.

² Buckland, “Naming in the Library.”

certain pathologizing attitudes toward sexual deviations, and as Huber and Gillaspay have demonstrated,

Bodies of knowledge are bound by societal norms, policies, and processes, and scientific discoveries, social interactions, and personal beliefs are recorded within the containers of information that support those bodies of knowledge....In order for a body of knowledge about a pathological condition to develop, the disease must exist and have been discovered. The body of knowledge concerning a disease, then, is generated to define and describe the malady, classify the pathological, and provide discourse regarding affected individuals. In return, this pool of knowledge breathes life into the pathological, providing it visibility.³

Each chapter of this dissertation has addressed some means of disciplining whether it is censorship by undercataloging, labeling, selection, classifying, or restricting access. In chapter two I showed how sexology and librarianship are connected, and how LC drew authority from the medical community and brought subjects under the heading “Sexual perversion.” The third chapter discussed acts of labeling and restriction in the Delta Collection, the problematic establishment of “Homosexuality” and its cross-listing with “Sexual perversion.” The fourth chapter illustrated the influence of library activists on access to materials on gay and lesbian themes, and I concluded with the disciplinary and historical challenges the heading “Paraphilias” brings. In each section of this dissertation I have tried to show that political and social conditions shape and are shaped by LC’s practices.

I have had to be necessarily selective concerning the types of literature and voices to include in my research. Because LC is a large research institution, this study leaves out the books solely intended for lay audiences--particularly fiction, which is a vital source for identity formation for LGBTQ people. Dime novels have been shown to be extremely influential in

³ Huber and Gillaspay, “Social Constructs and Disease,” 201.

forming lesbian identities.⁴ Such items will certainly be in short supply at LC, which may explain why LC has been slow to find literary warrant for some subjects. Studies have shown that fiction is generally undercataloged, so the fiction that LC does hold is likely to have limited subject access.⁵ Looking to older titles that were formerly in the Delta collection, one finds that most of the fiction titles lack subject headings. Even current fiction is undercataloged. The LC catalog record for one of my favorite pieces of lesbian Victorian crime fiction, *Fingersmith*, by Sarah Waters and published in 2002, provides only one subject heading: London (England)-fiction. There is nothing indicating that this book is about same-sex love between women during the Victorian era. The record for *Tipping the Velvet*, a book about a male impersonator theater performer and her lovers (also by Sarah Waters) offers no subject headings.

As more voices have contributed to the universe of published work, a wider variety of headings has been added. At its best, literary warrant is supposed to reflect a dialogue between LC and the works it catalogs. At its worst, it relies on the wrong sources for warrant or determines that there is no warrant based on the literature. The proliferation of headings for GLBT-related subjects from the 1970s on directly reflects the wave of literature produced. But the heading “Paraphilias” indicates a narrow view of a set of behaviors.

The Library’s placement at the center of scholarly discourses in a U.S. federal institution uniquely positions it as the authority on most subjects.

Importantly, the Library of Congress is not exactly at the margins of information society. Rather, it forms an important scaffolding for the more mobile, more capitalized organizations that typify our information age. The LC is charged with the production of crucial, state-sanctioned orders that frame information--e.g., copyright, cataloging, LC

⁴ Yvonne Keller. “‘Was It Right to Love Her Brother's Wife So Passionately?’: Lesbian Pulp Novels and US Lesbian Identity, 1950-1965.” *American Quarterly*, (2005): 385-410.

⁵ McClary and Howard, “From ‘Homosexuality’ to ‘Transvestites’

Classification and Dewey Decimal numbers, ISBN an ISSN numbers--and allow it to be bought, sold, copied, loaned, codified, shelved, filed, stacked, ordered and indexed. Without the Library's explicit *production* of information, there would not be "information" or "knowledge" to speak of.⁶

To say that the Library of Congress simply reflects society or organizes materials produced outside of itself is short-sighted at best. Through its classifications, technologies, and selection practices, LC has set the standard by which libraries organize their practices and materials. By situating discourses on shelves, in disciplines, and in catalogs, the Library of Congress also brings certain meanings, interpretations, and logic to the collections in libraries everywhere. The history of sexual perversion through the lens of the Library of Congress catalog reveals the Library as an unquestionably critical site of knowledge creation about sexual deviance.

⁶ Collins. *Library of Walls*, 14.

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