

Toronto Public Library's services for immigrants during the administration of Chief Librarian George H. Locke, 1908-1937

Barbara Myrvold, Senior Services Specialist, Local History, Toronto Public Library
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Overview

Toronto Public Library responded to new waves of immigration to the city between the early 1900s and the mid-1930s with offerings such as foreign language collections and customized services for children. In this early period, services to immigrants, especially the so-called "foreigners," often sought to help to "Canadianize" and ease their transition to local community life.

Note: The paper follows the terminology used at the time. Non-British immigrants were called "foreigners" by Canada's censuses, and Toronto Public Library labelled any language other than English as "foreign."

1. Growth of Toronto and its immigrant population, 1911-1941

Toronto's population growth, 1911-1936

The early years of the 20th century were a period of huge national and local growth. Toronto's population rise was spectacular, increasing almost 81 percent from 208,040 in 1901 to 376,538 people in 1911, due mostly to high natural increase combined with migration from smaller centres and heavy immigration.

In the next two decades, Toronto continued to grow rapidly, a trend that was not even disrupted during the First World War when many went overseas to fight and immigration to Canada declined. In 1916, two years into the war, Toronto's population stood at 460,000, an increase of 22 percent since 1911.



After the war, with veterans returning and immigrants coming again, Toronto and its rival Montreal had over half a million people each, the first time any cities in Canada had reached this milestone. Toronto continued to boom during the 1920s, but population growth was not as dramatic. By the time of the 1931 census, there were 631,000 people in the city, only a 20 percent rise since 1921. The Depression significantly reduced Toronto's growth, a period not

Toronto in 1927

Oil painting by Robert Ford Gagen
Toronto Public Library 977-44-1

only of reduced immigration but of a long-term decline in the birth rate. In 1936, its population stood at 645,000, just 2 percent higher than it had in 1931.

Immigrants in Toronto

From about 1903 until 1914, Canada had a huge influx of population. Immigration peaked in 1913 when 400,870 people entered the country: the most ever recorded in any one year and a huge number in a country with a total population of just over seven million.

Many immigrants settled in Toronto, where jobs could be found in manufacturing, construction, commerce, transportation and services industries. From 1911 to 1941, immigrants comprised about 38 percent of the city's population - lower than today, however, when half of Torontonians were born outside of Canada.



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, Item 102

[British immigrants to Toronto, about 1911](#)

Emigrants from Great Britain were by far the most numerous group, accounting for 29 percent of the total population in 1911, gradually declining but still comprising 20 percent of Torontonians in 1941. Most of the British immigrants who arrived in Toronto from about 1897 on "came from a highly urbanized and industrialized homeland," historian J. M. S. Careless observes. "They moved with little noticeable disruption into factories, stores, services and dwellings across the city, although many did tend to settle in newer-developing neighbourhoods ... or other extending districts beyond the older, built-up core."¹

Some poor British immigrants settled outside the city limits in 'unplanned suburbs,' to use the terminology of geographer Richard Harris, often living in sub-standard, self-built dwellings constructed without municipal control. Many of the buildings in these "Little Britains" were mere shacks.²

British newcomers would have felt at home in Toronto, for they were coming to a city where the overwhelming majority were of British Isles ethnic origin, the largest group being English, followed by Irish, then Scottish and "others". However, a growing foreign presence in the city was reflected in the decline of the Anglo-Celtic majority from 91.7 per cent in 1901 to 86.4 in 1911. By 1921, this was down to 85.3 per cent, to further decline through successive decades as other immigrant groups arrived.

These so-called foreigners were comprised mainly of, again quoting Careless, "Austro-Hungarian and Italian nationals, and diverse former subjects of Imperial Russia [3 percent]. Many of the last were Jews, as were others drawn from Central Europe."³ The bulk of them were readily apparent by their language and cultural differences, and their residential clustering in low-rent, near central neighbourhoods.



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, Item 2348

[Jewish missionary Henry Singer in The Ward, 1912](#)



Funeral of Josephine Puccini, 1922
Toronto Public Library X 65-187

The two largest non-British ethnic groups for most of this period were Jewish and Italian. Listed both as a religion and as an ethnic group in the Canadian census, Jews made up more

than 6 percent of Toronto's population by the 1920s and Italians, 2 percent. French and Germans were between 1 and 2 percent, followed by Ukrainian, Polish, Hungarian, Dutch, Chinese, Japanese and African, all less than 1 percent each.

Many of the impoverished foreign-born immigrants lived downtown in a grim, but now-gone slum - 'the Ward' (originally St. John's Ward) – a neighbourhood in central Toronto bounded by Queen Street, College Street, Yonge Street and University Avenue. Approximately 10,000 foreigners lived in the Ward by 1907, often in buildings without running water, heat, and other amenities that had come to be accepted as standard in the early-20th-century city.



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, Item 596

The Ward, 1910

2. Toronto Public Library staff responsible for providing service for immigrants

Key players in shaping service policy: George H. Locke, Lillian H. Smith and Winifred Barnstead

Chief librarian George Locke, Lillian H. Smith, head of Boys and Girls Services, and to a lesser extent, Winifred G. Barnstead, head of the Cataloguing Division, were the key players in the development of Toronto Public Library's services for immigrants or foreigners during this period.



George H. Locke, ca. 1927
Toronto Public Library Archives

[George H. Locke \(1870-1937\)](#)

George Herbert Locke was the second chief librarian of the Toronto Public Library, serving from November 1908 until his death on January 28, 1937. Locke is credited with having "transformed a small institution into one of the most respected library systems on the continent."⁴ During his 29 years at Toronto, Locke established children's services, introduced books in several languages, and opened a new central library and 16 branches.

Locke had the remarkable ability to choose and inspire dedicated innovative staff. He hired Lillian H. Smith and Winifred Barnstead, who, like him, made outstanding, decisive contributions to the Toronto system, and also had a significant effect on librarianship across Canada and internationally.

[Lillian H. Smith \(1887-1983\)](#)

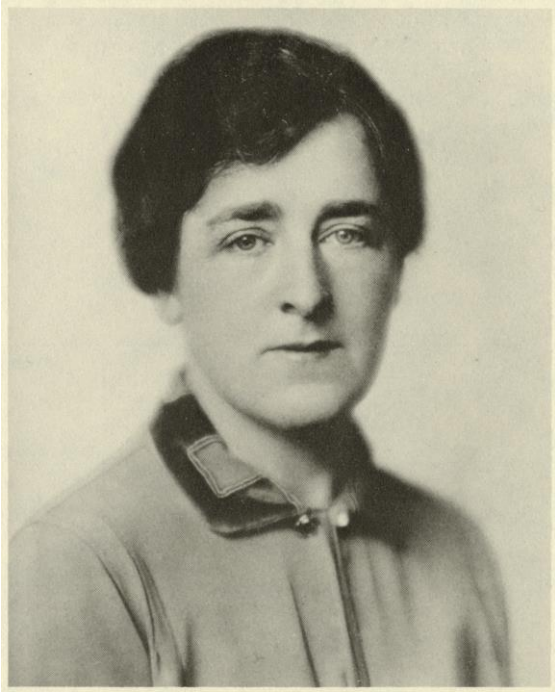
Lillian H. Smith was the first head of children's services at the Toronto Public Library, starting in the position in September 1912. Recruited by Locke, Smith was the first professionally trained children's librarian in the British Empire, and had worked for about a year in the Washington Heights Branch of the New York Public Library. Over the next 40 years, she developed children's library services, "to the point where they are now acknowledged to be the best in the world," the *Globe and Mail* stated at her retirement in 1952.⁵ By that time, Toronto children's libraries were in 16 branches, 30 schools and two settlement houses, and Boys and Girls House stood as the first library in the British Empire devoted to children. A firm believer that only the best was good enough for children, she trained generations of dedicated children's librarians to guide boys and girls to read books of high quality. Her book, *The Unreluctant Years*, written after her retirement and reflecting



Lillian H. Smith, ca. 1920
Toronto Public Library Archives

her philosophy, remains a standard.⁶

Winifred G. Barnstead (1884-1985)



Winifred G. Barnstead joined Toronto Public Library in 1909, having spent two years at Princeton University Library in the Cataloguing Department. Over the next two decades, she developed and organized the library's cataloguing system during the period Toronto Public Library was expanding. Its catalogue soon became a model for other library systems at a time when, one librarian recalled, "Good cataloguing, any cataloguing indeed, was rare and classification in most libraries was a 'scandal'."⁷ She left Toronto Public Library in 1928 to become the first director of the library school at the University of Toronto, holding the position for 23 years, until her retirement in 1951.

3. Library programs for immigrants

3.1 Foreign language collections (for adults only apparently)

Toronto Public Library provided books in German and French almost as soon as the library was established in 1883, and by the turn of the 20th century books in Italian and Spanish had been added as well. Tellingly these were categorized as "Literature" in the statistical tables of the library. In 1903, there were almost 1,700 foreign language books in the collection, 2.5 percent of the library's total book stock of 70,000.

Until 1909, foreign language books were housed at the Central Library, the old Mechanics' Institute Building at Church and Adelaide streets, but some circulated from the branches as well. The library had purchased a horse and wagon in the 1880s to transport books between the central library and the branches.

When the new Central Library opened at College and St. George streets in 1909, most of the foreign language books remained at Church Street, but beginning in 1910, small foreign language collections were added to some branches, notably in German at College Street (the circulating branch in the basement of the Reference Library), Yorkville, and Riverdale. In addition, there were a few foreign language



*Newspaper Reading Room, Toronto Public Library,
Church and Adelaide streets, 1900*

Toronto Public Library X 71-6 Cab

periodicals.

Books in additional languages began to be added to Toronto Public Library's collections when George Locke became chief librarian at the end of 1908, reflecting Toronto's changing population composition. Five books in Yiddish were added in 1910, and another 133 were purchased in 1911. The small collection of 137 volumes circulated 1,157 times in 1910, for a whopping stock/circulation ration of 8.4. This far outstripped the use of the 1,000 books in the French language collection, which had the highest circulation of all the foreign language books, with 2,338 circulations, but a stock/circulation ratio of a measly 2.3

Toronto Public Library highlighted its foreign language book collection with a short list in the April 1914 issue of its monthly bulletin of new books. Prepared by the Cataloguing Department headed by Winifred Barnstead, the bulletin noted, "The foreign collection of books has received 332 accessions. For these 354 titles have been made, of which 205 are for Russian and Yiddish books."⁸ Barnstead reported in 1916 that great strides were being made to catalogue the foreign language collection:

By the purchase of a Hammond typewriter we were able to type and place in the College Street Branch special catalogues in the Modern Greek, Yiddish and Russian scripts. This is far more satisfactory to those of our readers who wish to find books in their native tongue. Cards in the transliterated form are also to be found in the regular catalogue.⁹

She also noted the addition of an important accession to the foreign collection – books in Lithuanian and 115 had been catalogued. This may seem a strange choice, considering the small size the community, but many Jews in Toronto had originated from Lithuania and would have grown up speaking the language. Another 336 books were purchased in other foreign languages, Barnstead reported, "our French section received the largest share" - official bilingualism was a long way off. Two "foreign supplements" were issued in library's monthly bulletin of new books in 1916, by which time, there were almost 4,000 foreign books in the collection, accounting for 2 percent of the collection, but less than 1 percent of the library's total circulation.

The Library continued to acquire and catalogue multilingual books, evidently basing their selection on statistical data they had gathered on the local ethnic population. In 1927, Barnstead reported: "At the beginning of the year an effort was made to satisfy the demands of the foreigners, who constitute an increasing element of the population within the neighbourhood of the College Street Branch. According to the statistics there are 3,500 Poles, 3,000 Finns, 2,000 Bulgarians and 1,000 Swedes in Toronto. About 100 popular books were added in these languages, in addition to 125 Yiddish and Russian accessions."¹⁰

Barnstead also reported that in 1927 the cataloguers were providing assistance to public service staff who worked with the collection: "To assist the girls who are in charge of the circulation of foreign books we included on the face of our cards the translation of the title. This entailed a more thorough examination of the book, and is at present an experiment." She felt frustration over the duplication of work and proposed that cooperative cataloguing projects be considered:

... the Yiddish books catalogued in the Fall were included in the recent Pittsburgh Library bulletin, too late for our use. Co-operative cataloguing, particularly of foreign books would be of inestimable value to us. We calculate that it would save us the time of one assistant for three months of the year. This whole subject will be discussed again at the American Library Association Catalog Section in June of this year [1928], and it is hoped that action will be taken to establish some central agency where cards can be obtained for these foreign books, particularly those in the non-Roman type.¹¹

Nevertheless circulation remained abysmal, and the proportion of foreign language books in the collection continued to decline; by 1929 both were less than 1 percent of Toronto Public Library's total in both of these categories.

Some of the ethnic groups established their own libraries. Almost all Finns were literate by the turn of the 20th century, and the Finnish Society of Toronto set up a library shortly after its establishment in 1902, Varpu Lindstrom-Best recorded in her history, *The Finnish immigrant*



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1266, Item 475

[Toronto Finnish Hall, Broadview Avenue, 1923.](#)

community of Toronto, 1887-1913 (1979): "It promptly set up a library and stocked it mainly with scientific books, socialist literature, immigrant newspapers, Finnish novels and dictionaries."¹² Two decades later, the library was placed in a section of a three-storey building known variously as "Toronto Finnish Hall" "Don Hall"

and "Finnish Club House" that

opened in 1923 on the east side of Broadview between Fulton and Nealon avenues.

The Jewish Public Library was founded in Toronto in 1941 by bookseller Ben Zion Hyman. It was housed in several places over the years, but settled at its present location at 4600 Bathurst Street in 1983 and now is known as the Albert and Temmy Latner Jewish Public Library.

3.2 Outpost work: children's libraries in settlement houses

Background

One of Toronto Public Library's most prominent services for immigrants in the Locke era was the establishment of libraries in settlement houses to provide extra library services to inner city children. Toronto's first settlement houses opened in 1910-12, almost at the same time as Locke began his tenure as chief librarian. They modelled themselves on English and American settlement houses, notably Toynbee Hall, opened in the slums of east London in 1884 – coincidentally the same year as Toronto Public Library opened – and Hull House, started by Jane Addams in a downtrodden area of Chicago in 1889. Surprisingly, settlement houses were not named because settlement workers helped immigrants settle in their new country, which is our modern understanding, but instead, as Elspeth Hayward points out in *The Story of the Toronto Settlement House Movement 1910-1985*, the term comes from the early days of the movement in England:

Settlement Houses were named such because concerned individuals, at first University trained men and many from the church, moved into the poorer districts of large cities and “settled” there. The settler gave up the comforts of a middle class home and became a “friend of the poor.”¹³

The British emphasis was on bridging the ancient distinction between social classes and the major interests of the early settlers were in religion, education and social harmony rather than economic equality. The Americans adopted a more secular approach in dealing with their diverse immigrant and multi-racial populations, and translated social action into social reform. With an aim to integrate immigrants into American society, their target groups included women, considered the most isolated on the new immigrants, and their children, unlike their British houses, which focussed on the working man, particularly on providing educational opportunities.

As is the Canadian way, settlement houses in this country used the ideas of both their



City of Toronto Archives, Series 372, s0372_s0032_it0311n

British and American predecessors. The first Canadian settlement was started in Toronto - University Settlement in 1910 - followed by Central Neighbourhood House in 1911, and St. Christopher House and Memorial Institute in 1912. Toronto Public Library eventually operated libraries in all four of these settlements.

[Infant Clinic, Memorial Institute, 682-692 Richmond Street West, 1914](#)

The strongest features of the settlement house movement in Canada in the early 20th century were the religious intent to “Christianize”, and the intent to integrate immigrants into

Canadian society, or to “Canadianize” them. Dependent on the sponsorship of the house, one or the other may have been the stronger focus. In Toronto, St. Christopher House was operated by the Presbyterian Church and Walmer Road Baptist Church ran Memorial House. The founders of the church-sponsored settlements would have been influenced by the social gospel, the belief especially strong among Methodists and Presbyterians that churches should broaden the scope of their responsibilities from exclusively saving souls to also responding to human needs through social services. All of this would have been familiar rhetoric to George Locke and Lillian H. Smith, who, like many librarians of the day, were children of the manse – in both cases, their fathers were Methodist ministers.

University House was started by Robert Falconer, president of the University of Toronto,



City of Toronto Archives, Series 372, s0372_ss0032_it0881

who saw it, among other things, as a training ground for social workers. Avowedly non-secular, nevertheless its first director was a graduate of Victoria College – Locke’s alma mater - and a Methodist minister. Only Central Neighbourhood House had a firmly non-sectarian approach, and its organizing committee included a Catholic priest, a rabbi, a Unitarian minister, three women and several businessmen.

[Learning English, Central Neighbourhood House, ca. 1913](#)

Despite their different philosophies and diverse religious bases, Toronto’s earliest settlement houses provided many similar programs, as settlement workers in Toronto attempted to alleviate some of the urban ills posed by rapid industrialization and rising immigration at a time before governments were active in such matters. Programs included English-language courses, well baby clinics, social clubs and athletic games. Over the years many social workers trained at the settlement houses went on to assume national prominence in their profession.

Front-line library staff in settlement houses

Three librarians are mentioned in Toronto Public Library annual reports as working in the settlement house libraries during the 1920s and 1930s. Like many other settlement house workers, the trio were women of the middle- or upper-classes; at times their social activities were reported in the society pages of Toronto newspapers.

Gladys Burns (1893/5-1929): Born Mary Gladys Burns on 12 February 1893/5, she was the youngest of four children child of Robert Newton Burns (1856-1943), a Methodist minister, and

his wife, Mary Jane Crossen (1854-1935). Gladys's grandfather, James Crossen (1826-1890), had been the owner of a prosperous foundry and railway-car manufactory in Cobourg, Ontario.

Gladys and her family lived in a few Ontario towns before moving to Toronto in about 1909 when her father became the pastor of Berkeley Street Methodist Church; they resided at 486 Jarvis Street, the fashionable section just north of Wellesley Street. In 1911, 18-year-old Gladys was an arts student, but she did not graduate from Victoria College, University of Toronto until 1918. During the First World War, when both her father and her only brother served overseas, Gladys operated a market garden on the grounds of the family home. She reported her occupation was "Gardener" (for two years) on the ship's manifest when she returned from England in October 1918 with her mother and two sisters; her older brother, Major William James Gordon Burns, was killed in action at Bourslon Wood, France on 28 September 1918.¹⁴ She was living in the family home and not working, the 1921 census recorded. In the same year, she was included in her family's listing in the *Torontonian society blue book and club list: a social and club directory*. Her father's memberships included the Canadian Club, the Empire Club of Canada, the Granite Club, the Lambton Golf and Country Club and the Rosedale Golf Club.

Gladys may have started her career with the Toronto Public Library around that time, and eventually was assigned to the settlement house libraries. Gladys died at the family home on 12 June 1929 "after a long illness"¹⁵ and was buried in Cobourg Union Cemetery. Two days after her death, the secretary of the Toronto Public Library Board "was instructed to write a letter of sympathy to the parents of the late Gladys Burns, who had done valuable work in the Settlement Libraries."¹⁶ Lillian H. Smith paid tribute to Gladys in her 1929 annual report: "The entire division was saddened in June with the news of the death of Gladys Burns, who had been in charge of the Settlement branches for some years. Miss Burns's exceptional qualities of heart and mind, devoted unselfishly and wholeheartedly to the work she loved, gave leadership of a unique and far reaching character to the Settlement branches."¹⁷

Hope Ellsworth (1895-1991): Esther Hope Ellsworth was born at Port Hope, Ontario on 1 July 1895, and was the daughter of Oren Maitland Ellsworth (b. 1864) and Edith Jennie Wallace (b. 1865). Shortly after her birth, Hope moved with her family to the United States, joining her



City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1244, Item 3121

[Holwood, 78 Queen's Park's Crescent, ca. 1912.
Residence of Hope Ellsworth's uncle, Sir Joseph Flavelle](#)

father who had lived there since the 1880s. She remained in the States for the next 26 years, but after a year abroad in 1922-3, she returned to Canada, giving her address in December 1923 as 78 Queen's Park. This was the location of *Holwood*, the palatial mansion of her uncle, Sir Joseph Flavelle, one of Canada's wealthiest and most influential businessmen.¹⁸ The connection must have given Hope an entry into Toronto's high society. In August 1927, for example, she was a guest at *Chorley Park* when Ontario's lieutenant governor

entertained their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales and Prince George.

Hope probably joined the staff of the Toronto Public Library around that time. In her report for 1929, Lillian Smith noted that "Hope Ellsworth returned to the staff after a year's leave of absence to attend library school."¹⁹ On 11 June 1929, Locke recommended that she be appointed to the Boys and Girls Division, as of September 3, "being graduated from the University of Toronto Library Training School." Hope was put charge of the settlement branches, but resigned in June 1932 to be married to Robert Burns Bond (d. 1964). Evidently, though, Hope never forgot her association with the settlement houses, for when she died on 11 January 1991 in her 96th year, her family requested: "If desired, a remembrance may be made to St. Christopher House...Toronto."²⁰ She is buried in Mount Pleasant Cemetery

Ruth Cornish Soward (1905-1994): Born Lillian Ruth Cornish at Lindsay, Ontario on 4 April 1905, she was the daughter of George A. Cornish (1874-1960), a teacher who became a professor at the Ontario College of Education, University of Toronto, and Maud Samson (1875-1950). Ruth was an outstanding student at Oakwood Collegiate and University College, University of Toronto. In June 1929, the Toronto Public Library Board approved the appointment of "Miss Ruth Cornish, B. A." to the staff.²¹ Ruth was married on 14 October 1931 to Reginald Harvey Soward (1907-2001),²² but she continued to work at Toronto Public Library, making her a rare species for, in those days, women usually resigned after marriage. Staff shortages and Ruth's exceptional abilities probably protected her.

Ruth and her husband were active in church work, locally at St. Timothy's Anglican, Toronto and nationally. Ruth served on the Canadian Council of Churches, and Reginald's wide-ranging activities with the Anglican Church of Canada included being chancellor of the General Synod (1983-1986) and solicitor for the Toronto Diocese for 30 years. Ruth died on 4 October 1994; she and her husband are buried together at St. John's Anglican Cemetery, Toronto.

Library programs in settlement houses

Toronto Public Library's involvement with settlement houses began before the end of the First World War, and by 1921 it had formed partnerships with Central Neighbourhood House, St. Christopher House and University Settlement. Toronto Public Library provided staff, books and programs, notably story hours and the settlements gave space for the libraries, which they fitted up for library purposes, and also dedicated some staff to keep the library open additional hours. Often, they also provided books, but these seldom met the high standards of Toronto Public Library staff, who chucked them as soon as they could. Initially, the settlement libraries were intended for small children "who were unable to travel as far as College Street" the adult circulating library and children's library on the ground floor of the Reference Library at St. George Street, but before long older children also used the service.²³

In 1918, Toronto Public Library opened a library at Central Neighbourhood House, placed in the basement of a "dingy building" at 25 Elm Street. The settlement was started in 1911 by J. J. Keslo who also founded the Children's Aid Society. Initially housed at 82-84 Gerrard Street West just west of Bay Street, in 1918-19 it moved closer to Yonge Street locating in two adjoining houses at 25-27 Elm Street.

Librarian Gladys Burns later recalled the miserable facilities at the Central Neighbourhood House Library. "Overhead were the octopus arms of furnace pipes stretching

from the roaring, ashy furnace which monopolized one end of the room. On built-in shelves were ranged books, drab both inside and out. The only bright spot was the fireplace where on story hour days a fire cracked merrily.”²⁴

Miss Burns decried the collection that she had inherited: “Kindly but misguided friends, not understanding the mental digestion of the child, sent a diet of “Elsie” books and “Algers” and from the branches of the public libraries came contributions of withdrawals of such solid, dull fare as Stables and Reid.”²⁵ (Although they were extremely popular and in high demand, series books, such as the rags to riches story of Horatio Alger, were not included in Toronto Public Library collections. In her PhD thesis, “Service to children in the Toronto Public Library, a case study, 1912-1949,” Leslie McGrath cites a conversation recorded in a daybook by a librarian at High Park Branch, containing what must have been a frequent theme. “Two boys were overheard talking – first boy new to the library. “Where are the Alger books? Second boy – well versed in Library way, “They haven’t any but if you ask Miss Page²⁶, she’ll give you an imitation Alger.”²⁷) At that time, the Central Neighbourhood House library was open two afternoons a week, operated by Toronto Public Library staff on Tuesdays and a settlement staffer one other afternoon.

Around the same time as the library started at Central Neighbourhood House, Toronto Public Library formed a relationship with St. Christopher House, which the Presbyterian Church had opened in 1912 at 67 Bellevue Place (now Wales Avenue) in the Kensington Market area. By 1914, St. Christopher House had a library with books provided by local churches and by James Woods, a Toronto industrialist and philanthropist who was the founder of the house and personally added hundreds of titles to the collection.

In 1917, Lillian H. Smith visited St. Christopher House, which was about seven blocks west of the College Street Branch, and arranged an indefinite loan of several dozen new books. That same year, Woods announced that he intended to rebuild the house, and in the next three years he spent \$100,000 of his own money doing just that. Semi-detached houses on either side of St. Christopher House were purchased and then converted into a club room, meeting spaces and an enlarged library. Smith was asked to plan the new children’s library, which opened in 1920, containing, Gladys Burns noted approvingly, “Attractive bookcases, well fitted with books suggested by Miss Smith – books that children rightly love – and racks bulging with gay picture books, contrived together to make this Library a very inviting place.”²⁸ Children could view the books sitting at low tables or on a window seat. “A perfect library in miniature,” one adult visitor exclaimed.

At that time, the St. Christopher House Library was open three afternoons a week, operated on Thursdays by a librarian from Toronto Public Library, likely Gladys Burke, when a story hour was provided, and by St. Christopher House staff the other two afternoons. Initially membership in St. Christopher House meant library membership, but in 1923, Toronto Public Library took over the registration. The children at the settlement house were fully impressed by their Library’s importance, evidenced by the enquiry of a little girl, “Is College Street a branch of St. Christopher’s now?”²⁹

Toronto Public Library’s third “outpost library” was at University Settlement, which had been established in 1910. The library was housed in a rented building comprised of two family mansions merged into one house with 22 rooms. It was located at the corner of Peter and Adelaide street, “in the midst of one of the most densely populated areas of Toronto,”

according to a 1914 article in the *Toronto Star*.³⁰ University Settlement asked Toronto Public Library to establish a library in 1921. “Another basement room was provided,” librarian Gladys Burns noted with a tinge of martyrdom. “Four steps led from the street into this room, and each new arrival brought with him an accompaniment of dust and draught. The inevitable furnace was close at hand, this time separated from the Library from an almost transparent partition.”³¹

Settlement house libraries were helpful not only to provide community-based library services but to divert some of the children who then were crowding into the small space provided for them at the College Street Branch on the ground floor of the Reference Library at the northwest corner of St. George Street. In Toronto Public Library’s 1920 annual report, Smith despaired of the library’s inability to do its job because of its poor facilities. She used an interesting modification of “strangers within our gates,” the term that Canadian social reformer J. S. Woodworth coined in his classic study of 1909.³²

The most pressing need of the children’s work in the Library to-day is a new building for the College Street Branch district. The over-crowding is such that it is almost impossible to work under present conditions, and at the same time we feel that, over-crowded as we are, we have not begun to reach the vast number of children in this district whom this Library should serve but cannot because of the lack of space. In the last couple of months, children have come to the College St. children’s rooms from Russia, Poland, Scotland, England, the United States, Roumania³³, Australia, Assyria, Hungary, Italy, France, Ireland, Barbados, Germany, Finland, Guernsey, Czechoslovakia, Jamaica, Palestine; Holland, Wales and Belgium. With these little strangers at our gates comes the responsibility of training them in Canadian citizenship and giving them a background of the history of Canada and Canadian heroes, through which they will become enthusiastic citizens and patriots. This work must of necessity be seriously handicapped until we have a building large enough to carry on and enlarge the work that is being done under such discouraging conditions at present.³⁴



Smith’s campaign for more space resulted in Toronto Public Library acquiring an old house on St. George Street, up the street from the Reference Library, where Boys and Girls House opened in 1922, also serving a large immigrant clientele.

Boys and Girls House, 1922

Toronto Public Library X 71-40 Cab

Seeing circulation at the settlement libraries almost double from 8,700 in 1922 to 16,000 in 1923, Toronto Public Library increased opening hours to each weekday afternoon and Saturday mornings. Book collections also improved, with the addition of new and better books. "It was a tremendous help to replace the stodgy Stables and Reid," librarian Gladys Burns noted, "by bright new copies of Heidi, Master Skylark and many other children's classics." The young readers were quick to notice the change, and one little boy asked, "Is this place under new management now. The books are all so shiny and such bully ones." This also gave librarians an opportunity to impress on the children the Canadian value of "responsibility in regard to books. This training had been quite impossible when the books were in a state of dilapidation such as when they first reached the Settlements."³⁵

Two of the settlement houses improved the library facilities in 1924, as use continued to explode, increasing from 26,857 circulations in 1924 to 40,058 in 1925 and 50,574 in 1926, when Smith reported:

The children crowd to these Settlement Libraries, which are in the heart of the foreign districts, and no advertising is needed. The book collections have been improved to a great extent this year, and new books for the Settlements are now ordered regularly, instead of their being almost entirely dependent, as they were at first, on cast-off books from the branches. In all cases the Settlement houses have given the most attractive and convenient rooms at their disposal for the use of the library, but already these rooms are filled to capacity, often to overflowing, and we feel that the solution of this problem, each year becoming more acute, lies in the provision of a large branch library south of College Street, specially adapted to the needs of the foreign population.³⁶

At St. Christopher House, James (by then Sir James) Woods provided funds to expand the library into an adjoining room, doubling the space. Increased use followed, and in 1926, Smith reported, "The circulation of 25,000 at St. Christopher's challenges that of three of our smaller branches."³⁷ She described the operation in some detail several years later, by which time opening hours had increased and the effects of the economic depression were being felt.

In ... St Christopher, we have a separate, well-equipped room, with a separate entrance. This library is open on four afternoons a week and Saturday morning, with a special story hour on Wednesday afternoon, when the room is not open for circulation. This is the busiest of the three libraries, with a circulation averaging two hundred books an afternoon, and is equal to one of the smaller branch children's rooms. The children of the district are for the most part rough and untrained, and, unlike the foreign children of Boys and Girls House district and the University Settlement, they are not the kind who instinctively turn to books and music. We feel very strongly that the development of a reading taste in these children which will lead to a thoughtful understanding of international affairs and a real affection for their adopted country; is an effort well worth while, one which should result in lessening the social dissatisfaction prevalent in this district.³⁸

Meanwhile, in 1924, the Library at University Settlement moved from the “draughty dingy room in the basement” of the Peter Street house “to two attractive rooms on the second floor.”³⁹ Hours were extended so that library was open two evenings a week; to help children with homework and “to give the privileges of the library to wage-earning boys and girls.” Like the other settlement house libraries, the one in University Settlement was a partnership operation, and settlement workers operated the library when Toronto Public Library staff was not there.

In 1925, Smith reported that the settlement house libraries no longer met local needs of the large immigrant population in south central Toronto, and Boys and Girls House was already overcrowded.

The only solution is a large branch Children's Library in the midst of the foreign section directly south of us, from which the greater part of our patronage is drawn. We are attempting to meet this need by putting libraries for children in the Settlements, but even these libraries are growing by leaps and bounds, and have already outgrown the accommodation available in these institutions. The importance of influencing so many thousands of "Canadians by adoption" by putting into their hands books that will make for a high standard of citizenship and for enlightened patriotism is self-evident. That the privileges of the Library are appreciated by these "little foreign cousins" is shown not only by the over-crowded condition of the children's rooms in their vicinity, but also by the fact that these boys and girls read more and better books than are read in any other part of Toronto.⁴⁰



[Children at York Street Public School, northwest corner of Richmond Street West, 1923](#)

Toronto Public Library X 65-55

Smith knew that providing larger facilities was crucial in these poor areas, where a great many of the children could not even afford the five cents to join the Library, and very often the rooms were filled with children who came there to read. One child at St. Christopher House

reportedly declared in 1927, "I'm savin' up to join the wibry... I keep my pennies in my shoe, but two fell out the hole."⁴¹

Gladys Smith echoed Smith's sentiments in her 1926 report about "our settlement libraries". She pointed out that if these libraries had not been established, many children would never have discovered what she called "the magic playground of bookland." She reinforced the importance of providing children with books and story hours so they could "pass the bounds of their own drab lives and sail or roam where poverty melts away. ... 'Once upon a time' seems to act as an open sesame to an imaginative mind and shining eyes tell their tale of the hunger for things beautiful and unusual."⁴²

Burns was especially forceful in the role that settlement libraries played in helping immigrant children and their families learn English:

These children often come to the Library soon after their arrival and very haltingly ask for "thin books with big letters." However they soon progress from this stage and then frequently take books to teach English to their mother or father, or possibly a cousin who has just come from "the Old Country." These little libraries, being in the districts where foreigners are found in such numbers, are the means of rapidly educating these non-English citizens, and are thus rendering a great national contribution. However, it is to the books we look to carry out our chief educational function. Through them happiness enters into so many little hearts, noble ambitions are fostered, and children of all nationalities learn to love the beautiful and the good.⁴³

A decade later, Ruth Soward, the librarian at University Settlement, related an anecdote that described similar steps that children used to learn English:

Solly, a Roumanian boy, and one of the ardent supporters of the Library, rushed in one day with a bewildered long lanky boy in tow. "This is Josef – he is just here from Austria – he can't speak English, but he is a grand fighter, and he is my friend. He wants to join the Library – please let him! He can look at the pictures now, and he will soon be able to read." Solly's confidence was well founded for Josef was soon able to read, and has long since spurned the 'easy books' and passed on to fairy tales and Pinocchio.⁴⁴

But, just because English was not a child's first language, Toronto Public Library was not going to dilute its high standards for book selection, or waver from its mantra of "the right book for the right child at the right time." Burns stated unequivocally, "We feel that by giving these very best books to the boys and girls of these down-town districts we are not only giving them "talismans and spells" but enabling them to acquire a relish for the good company of the race by intercourse with some of the great minds of all ages." Sheila Egoff, who began work in the Boys and Girls Division in 1942, recalled that "Lillian Smith believed with Walter de la Mare that "only the best was good enough for children, so therefore Lillian Smith's philosophy was to treat each child alike whether they were pink, green or blue. She was against watering down the Collections to appease any certain group at all. A child deserved the best..."⁴⁵

Smith was unsuccessful in her campaign to get another children's library, however, and in 1928 a little theatre and story-hour room were added at the rear of Boys and Girls House.

The situation in the settlement house libraries changed as well. Library facilities were greatly improved at University Settlement, which in 1926 moved to 23-25 Grange Road, off McCaul Street between Queen and Dundas, owning its own building for the first time, and providing Toronto Public Library with half of the house at 23 Grange Road. Smith described the facility in her report of 1931:

In University Settlement House the library is situated in one downstairs room and a hall, where is a passageway to and from clubs and music lessons. One busy afternoons there is a seething mob of children intent on choosing and reading books, while wails from the baby clinic on one side and the efforts of young musicians from above fill the air. In spite of certain difficulties, due to the crowded conditions, most interesting work can be done here among children who are unusually gifted, as this Settlement is closely allied with the Grange and is developing dramatic and music schools of its own. The children here are natural readers, too, and show a keen delight in their books. If there was room for expansion a large circulation could be built up.⁴⁶



Library at University Settlement, 1920s

In 1928, Toronto Public Library ceased to operate the library at Central Neighbourhood House once it moved out of the Ward and relocated to a Sherbourne Street mansion near Cabbagetown. The settlement's clientele shifted from immigrants to poor Canadians, for, as novelist Hugh Garner explained, "Cabbagetown, before 1940, was the home of the social majority, white Protestant English and Scots. It was a sociological phenomenon, the largest Anglo-Saxon slum in North America."⁴⁷

By 1931, Toronto Public Library still operated three settlement house libraries – the traditional ones at St. Christopher and University, but now also one at Memorial Institute, a Baptist operation at 682 Richmond Street West:

It is here perhaps that books mean most to the children, and here that the librarian works under the most difficult conditions. The Settlement has very little equipment and owns two of the ordinary dwelling-houses of the district, which are poorly built and without central heating. The district is a needy one, and so far most of the work of the Settlement is confined to adult classes and baby clinics. There are few things done for the children of the district, and to them the library means a great deal. It is the most attractive room in the house, and with a big fire burning in the grate and the shelves lined with books there is an atmosphere in it (despite its drawbacks) which delights these imaginative and fairy tale loving children. Because of inadequate staff we can have the library open only two days a week. On these two days the small room is filled to overflowing with children. It is a rewarding place in which to work.⁴⁸

Despite the value of the work, budgets were shrinking in the economic depression, and Toronto Public Library faced a dilemma, as Smith noted in her report of 1931: “During the past year the question of our library “outposts” has become an increasingly important one and we are confronted with a definite problem as to policy and administration.”⁴⁹ Smith appears to be signalling a shift away from increasing libraries in settlement houses and towards establishing more Toronto Public Library-run libraries in schools. That year, her report on library outposts not only included the three settlement libraries but also one on the library in Queen Victoria School in Parkdale.

In her 1932 report, Smith mentioned that Hope Ellsworth, the librarian who had been in charge of settlement branches, had resigned in June to be married (with no indication of her replacement), but, for the first time in a decade, provided no statistics on the use of settlement libraries. In that year, school libraries attached to seven branch libraries had 150,156 circulations, far fewer per “outpost” than the 55,690 circulations at the three settlement libraries in 1931.

Smith saw that Toronto Public Library-run school libraries also were effective to develop what she called “taste and discrimination in children” by putting them “in touch with the best literature available to them.” In 1934, she reported that a school inspector, “speaking of compositions written by classes in a school of almost entirely foreign children, said that in spite of their language handicap (many of them hearing no English in their homes), their vocabulary and power of expression was the equal of those of any school in the City, and gave the credit to the books those children read regularly from the Public Library Branch in their school.”⁵⁰

Support for increasing settlement libraries may have been waning but their use remained high – circulation at University Settlement increased from 15,700 in 1932 to 19,600 in 1933 - as did a belief in their value. In 1933, Lillian Smith devoted more than half of her six-page annual report to a poignant account of Toronto Public Library’s University Settlement Branch, beautifully written by Ruth Soward, the librarian stationed there. Soward discussed the library as a meeting place for children of many origins, where traditional hostilities and enmities were forgotten:

Last year at this Branch children from twenty-five different countries became members of the Library. Only one or two English names appear on each page of the registration book, for here the child of English parentage is the exception. Every afternoon about our round library table sit peacefully boys and girls from most of those southern European countries which had been at each other's throat for centuries.⁵¹

Toronto Public Library continued to provide to the settlement houses until 1959; the one at St. Christopher House was the last to close. In its final year, 41,601 items were circulated at "Settlement," according to the library's annual report, a drop of almost 10,000 circulations since 1958. Service was focused on work in branch libraries and libraries in schools. "Today a network of 49 children's libraries, 30 of them in schools, is able to serve the 100,000 boys and girls who live in the City of Toronto. 740,000 books were circulated to the children in school libraries, but this number is only part of the 1,900,000 books circulated to boys and girls through the public library system as a whole."⁵²

3.3 Story telling particularly Toronto Public Library's Canadian story-telling programs

Story telling was an important method that librarians at the Toronto Public Library used to reach children of all nationalities (and maybe some adults too), particularly those that flocked to Boys and Girls House and the settlement house libraries. Both traditional folk and fairy tales were told, as well as stories about Canada, as a hook to get immigrant children into the library, and as a way for listeners to improve English-language skills, to be introduced to books, and to learn more about their new country.



["Waiting for the Story Hour," Central Library,
College Street, northwest corner of St. George Street, 1921](#)

Toronto Public Library X 71-16 Cab

In 1926, Gladys Burns, described the popular program at the three settlement house libraries:

Story-hours are held each week at each of the Settlements, and certainly play their part in stimulating a keen interest in the Library. Imagine the joy of a little Ukrainian child hearing for the first time about "Sleeping Beauty" or "The Tinder Box"! When April comes with its announcement of "no more stories until September" the children keep coming back each week hoping that you will change your mind, and the excited exclamations of "Oh! Stories today! "Library teacher's here! Often result in "just one more story-hour."⁵³

Librarians selected stories for immigrant audiences that used simple, clear language. Fairy tales and folktales were standard story telling fare at all branches, but, as Leslie McGrath noted, "the celebration of international cultures through imaginative literature and story telling provided a valuable and empowering resource to children who were marginalized in the public school system."⁵⁴

Librarians also were careful to make their programs welcoming at all the branches, and advised educators to be careful in their selection of stories. In 1912, the children's librarian at Riverdale Branch related, "A school teacher was here today looking for the story of Christmas (The Birth of Christ). I told her I would be very careful about telling that in a class where there are probably Jews and Gentiles. At any rate, we shall keep away from anything in our story hour that might offend the smallest or most humble child."⁵⁵

There is evidence that the librarians accommodated story hours to the needs of their patrons. In a memorial tribute to Ruth Cornish Soward (1905-1994), long-time children's librarian, Margaret Johnston quoted a letter in which Soward described the story hour at University Settlement House:

Because the children were largely from an orthodox Jewish background we held our story hours between school out and [sundown] the boys and girls shared my enthusiasm for books and reading. They, in turn, shared with me glimpses of Jewish family life and especially their festivals which obviously brought not only solemnity but also joy and family fun. Over the years as a librarian, I told stories in many settings but it was those told at University Settlement which have lingered in my memory. Was it because the majority of my listeners brought their enthusiastic empathy from a heritage of stories and story-tellers unsurpassed in the history of the world.⁵⁶

Creating the proper setting was crucial. To create a homey atmosphere, stories usually were told in front of a fire. Smith insisted that fireplaces be in all of the children's rooms that she designed, including the settlement house libraries. Ruth Soward related the magic of the story hour at University Settlement in a 1933 report:

On Friday afternoons when I see our children gathered around the hearth for the story-hour, with the flickering flames lighting up their little foreign faces – Greeks, Slavs, Ukrainians and Finns – all filled with animation as they listen intently for the sound of

dancing feet of fairy princesses or the swish of the witch's broomstick, I realize that if many of these children are to have their golden egg, it is the Library which must don the plumage of the golden goose.⁵⁷

An extra educational element was introduced to the story-hour program in 1912 with the institution of Canadian History Story Hours. This was a pet project of George Locke, who promoted the "Historical Story hour" at every opportunity. In Toronto Public Library's 1915 Annual Report, Locke stated the goals of the program "That part of the Story Hour which is devoted to Canadian historical characters is really a national movement, for it supplies to the children, many of whom are of foreign parentage, a Canadian historical background, something much needed in a new country with its great problems to be solved by those who now are but children."⁵⁸ The year before Locke had described the program and its anticipated results:

The Historical Story Hour, when our Children's Librarians tell to groups of thirty children, once or more a week, stories of the early explorers of our country, and of the men who helped its development, - these hours are eagerly looked for, and as a result we expect to develop Canadian nationality by giving a background of Canadian history to thousands of children, who when they grow up will be intelligent and well informed Canadians.⁵⁹

As with traditional story-hours setting the proper atmosphere was important. Locke encouraged the use of the John Ross Robertson Room, which displayed the Canadian Historical Picture Collection donated by the newspaper publisher to the Library in 1911, for thematic storytelling, and great numbers of children attended sessions about pioneers, fur traders and explorers.



[John Ross Robertson Room, Toronto Public Library, College and St. George streets, 1912.](#)

Locke delivered a number of the story hours as a guest lecturer, but he did not take part in regular branch storytelling. In 1916, 15,000 children attended these sessions.

The Canadian story hours were held in branches as well, often with success, but some

disheartening failures as well, as one staff member recorded:

Now the storyteller had intended to give them an intellectual treat. Slowly and with great labour she had thoroughly memorized the Feast of Eat-Everything. She inflated herself and began. But sudden puncture awaited her. A few rude boys at the back, with a contemptuous cry of "a-w-w-history" suddenly but not silently disappeared. Others were inspired to do in like manner and when the words "But the mission had been an utter failure" were sympathetically pronounced the once brave story hour attendance was reduced to - oh, I should say about twenty to twenty-five. I have never told another Canadian history story.⁶⁰

Many of us probably would have had a similar reaction upon hearing "The Feast of Eat-Everything," not because it was "history" but because it a highly racist account of French Jesuits, fearing they will be killed by a group of Iroquois, in whose village they had established a mission, and then tricking the natives to hold a traditional "Feast to Eat Everything" in order to get them so full of food and drink that they will not notice that the priests have escaped. Nevertheless the story was used frequently at Toronto Public Library, according to the daybooks of branch librarians.

The story came from a book published in about 1912 called *Canada's story: told to boys and girls*, written by a Scottish-born writer by the name of Henrietta Elizabeth Marshall,⁶¹ who visited Canada in the fall of 1913. She was well known for her works of popular national histories for children.

Her book may have been a source for some of the stories that Toronto librarians used in the early years of the Canadian history program, but evidently staff wrote some of the stories themselves. In 1914, Smith reported, "During the summer months the staff prepared a series of Canadian history stories, which involved considerable research work. These stories are now being successfully told at all the branches."⁶² Later, staff would have relied heavily on Locke's own book for young people, *When Canada Was New France*, first published in 1919 with several subsequent editions.⁶³

Locke preached his message about his pet project at professional gatherings in Canada and the United States. At a meeting of the Library Institute held in Ottawa on 29 November 1917, Locke discussed the effectiveness of the Canadian Story Hour in promoting patriotism, in an address entitled, "Who is a Canadian and Why and What has a Public Library to do with it, any how?" The Ontario Library Review reported:

He spoke of the importance of a historical background in the development of intelligent citizens. He suggested that many problems which as a nation we shall be facing after this war, and the intelligent solution of these will depend upon the boys and girls who are now growing up, not upon the older persons. The one institution where this great work can be done is the public library. The speaker avowed himself a Canadian nationalist in that he believed this acquaintance with the origin of our problems is the first necessary step toward the solution of them. He illustrated the oft-repeated question, "Why are the French in Canada?" by telling in graphic story form of Cartier and Champlain, suggesting the methods followed in the story hour in the library system with which he is connected.⁶⁴

In the 1920s, Locke spoke to a group in California, and mused that that adults also might benefit from hearing heroic stories about their new country.

How are we to give the Englishman, the Scotchman and the Irishman, the Frenchman, the Italian, the Lithuanian, the Greek, and others who come to our shores, the idea of what our country stands for, and in such a manner that he will take an active interest in its affairs.⁶⁵

After adding an aside in his notes, "You know how difficult it is to deal with adult immigrants - It would be a fine thing if at the end of four years or thereabouts every immigrant could go back home to his native land. Nothing we can devise would make him as good a Canadian,"⁶⁶ he got back on topic.

The immigrant comes over here with pride of his ancestry, or of his country, or of its heroes. Rarely can you find a man who has not some pride in his country. That is the basis of patriotism.

... They boast of the marvellous deeds of men, of their ancestors, of deeds of daring and prowess where, in general, man and the good triumph over some lower person or animal or passion.

With this in mind, we might organize our campaign for intelligent citizenship by introducing to our boys and girls and our men and women - especially those both young and old, who were not born in our country - to literature, oral and visual, which deals in an interesting and dramatic manner and in a story form, with episodes in the lives of these men and women eminent in our history.⁶⁷

But staff believed the Library was a place where children (and adults) not only could learn to be "good Canadians" but also where they could reinforce the traditions they brought from their homelands. I will conclude by telling you part of a story related by Ruth Soward of University Settlement.

Most of these children of stalwart peasant stock come to this country with a precious inheritance, of which they are quite unconscious, an inheritance of native folklore, of native handicrafts, and native songs and dancing. Sophie, a small Ukrainian girl came to register. Her shoes were heavy and much too big, and her coat was too small, but on her cotton blouse was a priceless bit of native embroidery, artistic in design and beautiful in colour – and the folklore of her country is just as colourful. But in her home in this land Sophie will probably never master the difficult stitches of intricate embroidery patterns that her mother executes so deftly, and will probably seldom hear of the old witch Baba Yaga, or little Prince Ivan, or Martha and her bridegroom, Frost. ... The restoring to these boys and girls the wonderland of their own folklore, and introducing them to that of other countries, is largely the privilege of the Library.

In the foreign section, the first duty of the school-teacher is to teach the children to speak and read and write English, and to become familiar with the manners and

customs of the land of their adoption, and all of this is accomplished with amazing rapidity. The Library, on the other hand, provides the means of keeping alive the vivid imagination, that God-given gift of so many of these girls and boys, and thus provides a means of escape from the dullness and cares about them.⁶⁸

She and other librarians were at least 40 years ahead of their time in recognizing the worth of retaining traditional cultures within a Canadian context for our Multiculturalism Act was not passed until 1985.

Endnotes

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- ⁶ Lillian H. Smith, *The unreluctant years: a critical approach to children's literature* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1953).
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- ¹⁰ Winifred G. Barnstead, "Cataloguing Division" in *Toronto Public Library forty-fourth annual report for the year 1927* (Toronto: Toronto Public Library Board, 1928), 14.
<http://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/detail.jsp?Entt=RDMDC-TPL-A-0044&R=DC-TPL-A-0044>
- ¹¹ Ibid.
- ¹² Varpu Lindstrom-Best, *The Finnish immigrant community of Toronto, 1887-1913* (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1979), 45.
- ¹³ Elspeth Heyworth, *The Story of the Toronto Settlement House Movement 1910-1985* (Toronto: Toronto Association of Neighbourhood Services, 1986), 3.
- ¹⁴ <http://www.veterans.gc.ca/eng/remembrance/memorials/canadian-virtual-war-memorial/detail/259429>
- ¹⁵ "Deaths," *Toronto Globe*, 13 June 1929, 16.
- ¹⁶ Toronto Public Library Board, Minutes, 14 June 1929, 726.
- ¹⁷ Lillian H. Smith, "Boys and Girls Division," in *Toronto Public Library forty-sixth annual report for the year 1929* (Toronto: Toronto Public Library Board, 1930), 25.
- ¹⁸ Joseph Flavelle (1858-1939) married Clara L. Ellsworth (1858-1932), an older sister of Hope's father, in 1882. His Queen's Park mansion, designed by architects Darling and Pearson in 1902, now forms part of the University of Toronto Faculty of Law.
- ¹⁹ Lillian H. Smith, "Boys and Girls Division," in *Toronto Public Library annual report for 1929*, 25.
- ²⁰ "Deaths," *Globe and Mail*, 15 January 1991, C8.
- ²¹ "Appointing B.A.'s scored at library; others than graduates should have chance says chairman," *Toronto Globe*, 15 June 1929, 18.
- ²² "Weddings: Soward-Cornish," *Toronto Globe*, 15 October 1931, 14.
- ²³ Gladys Burns, "Our Settlement Libraries," in *Toronto Public Library forty-third annual report for the year 1926* (Toronto: Toronto Public Library Board, 1927), 42. <http://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/detail.jsp?Entt=RDMDC-TPL-A-0043&R=DC-TPL-A-0043>

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- ²⁴ Ibid, 38.
- ²⁵ Ibid, 39.
- ²⁶ Muriel Page (1895-1986) left Toronto Public Library in 1936 to become the first librarian of the Okanagan [British Columbia] Union Library, officially changed to the Okanagan Regional Library in 1953. Later married, Muriel retired in 1964 as Muriel Page Ffoulkes. The Muriel Ffoulkes Learning Resource Center at Okanagan College, Kelowna, B.C. was named in her honour ca. 1975.
- ²⁷ High Park Day Book, entry for 10 October 1921, quoted by Leslie Anne McGrath, "Service to children in the Toronto Public Library, a case study, 1912-1949," PhD thesis, Faculty of Information Studies, University of Toronto, 2005, 122.
- ²⁸ Gladys Burns, *Our Settlement Libraries*," 38.
- ²⁹ Ibid, 39.
- ³⁰ "The University Settlement was a need long realized," *Toronto Star*, 18 April 1914, 23.
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- ³⁶ Lillian H. Smith, "Boys and Girls Division," *Toronto Public Library forty-third annual report for the year 1926* (Toronto: Toronto Public Library Board, 1927), 19. <http://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/detail.jsp?Entt=RDMDCTPL-A-0043&R=DC-TPL-A-0043>
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- ⁴¹ B. Finlayson, "St. Christopher House, Toronto," *Social Welfare*, (April 1927), p. 398, quoted by Patricia J. O'Connor, *The Story of St. Christopher House - 1912 to 1986* (Toronto: Toronto Association of Neighbourhood Services, 1986), 18. <http://www.stchrishouse.org/st-chris/history/TheStoryOfStChristop.php>
- ⁴² Gladys Burns, "Our Settlement Libraries," 42.
- ⁴³ Ibid.
- ⁴⁴ Ruth Soward, "Boys and Girls Division," in *Toronto Public Library fiftieth annual report for the year 1933* (Toronto: Toronto Public Library Board, 1934), 28.
- ⁴⁵ Sheila Ego, TL to McGrath, 24 January 2003, Quoted by McGrath, "Service to children in the Toronto Public Library," 132.
- ⁴⁶ Lillian H. Smith, "Library outposts," 24.
- ⁴⁷ Hugh Garner, *Cabbagetown*, (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1967), vii.
- ⁴⁸ Lillian H. Smith, "Library outposts," 24.
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- ⁵¹ Ruth Soward, "Boys and Girls Division," 28.
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- ⁵³ Gladys Burns, "Our Settlement Libraries," 41.
- ⁵⁴ McGrath, "Service to children in the Toronto Public Library," 100.

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- ⁵⁵ Riverdale Day Book, 11 November 1912, quoted in McGrath, "Service to children in the Toronto Public Library," 351.
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- ⁶¹ H. E. Marshall, *Canada's story: told to boys and girls* (London; Toronto: T. Nelson (incorporating T.C. & E.C. Jack), [1912?])
- ⁶² Lillian H. Smith, "The Children's Department," in *Toronto Public Library thirty-first annual report for the year 1914* (Toronto: Toronto Public Library Board, 1915), 14.
<http://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/detail.jsp?Entt=RDMDc-TPL-A-0031&R=DC-TPL-A-0031>
- ⁶³ George H. Locke, *When Canada was New France* (Toronto: J.M. Dent, 1919).
- ⁶⁴ "The second four Institutes of 1917," *Ontario Library Review* 2 (November 1917), 61.
<https://archive.org/details/ontariolibraryre00ontauoft>
- ⁶⁵ George H. Locke, [speech in California], 1920s, 14. Toronto Public Library Archives.
- ⁶⁶ Ibid, 14-15.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid, 14-16.
- ⁶⁸ Ruth Soward, "Boys and Girls Division," 28.