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From Library Work to Library Science: Forming Canadian Librarianship, 1920-1960

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Abstract

This paper explores the discourse presented about a distinctive chapter in Canadian librarianship when it emerged as a modern professional career between 1920 and 1960. During the four decades following the World War I (WWI), librarians sought to develop an intermediary role between different clienteles and the world of print. At the same time, library science evolved as a university-based discipline grounded in the knowledge and techniques of collecting, organizing, and managing printed records for public consumption. Three prominent issues are examined: the question of acceptable library education and training, the primacy of a service ethic, and issues surrounding the profession's female-intensity during first-wave feminism. Before the 1960s, a two-term bachelor's degree in library science was the standard requirement to gain entry into the profession. There was an identifiable blend of public-spirited service and print oriented stewardship to librarianship serving diverse clienteles in municipalities, universities and colleges, schools, businesses, and governments. As well, librarianship was a female-intensive career that strove to attain better public recognition. While there were many influences on the development of librarianship, the regional considerations, the ever-present English-French cultural divide, and the American precedents were very important. All these interconnected elements changed after 1960 as the core knowledge of librarians began to transition to library and information science, as they adopted new values, as the importance of print resources lessened, and as second-wave feminism came into being.

Keywords

history of librarianship, library science, library education, service ethic, gender, Canadian librarians

Introduction

Canadian society changed dramatically from the end of World War I (WWI) to the 1960s.¹ After a brief economic boom in the 1920s, the Great Depression witnessed a prolonged national economic slump that plunged many people into poverty. Subsequent wartime industrialization expanded the manufacturing sector thereby providing the foundation for a resumption of economic prosperity in the postwar period. As education became more affordable and research more vital, people pursued occupations in developing sectors of the economy, such as industry, consumer services, and government. Canadian librarianship was one such career closely associated with print culture at a time when new media, radio, and television, made information and entertainment accessible to a mass audience. Librarianship evolved progressively from elementary library training after WWI to the career-oriented service-minded librarian underpinned in the early 1960s by the academic subject of library science. It transcended diverse practices in the workplace to suit the needs of users by claiming a general societal role connecting people with books using professional expertise.

The origins of Canadian librarianship lie in the nineteenth century, of course, but the beginning of a distinct phase of modern professionalization rests in the years following the Great War. By 1920, leading librarians were already positioning librarianship as service-oriented profession, albeit an embryonic one. W. Stewart Wallace (1921), the University Librarian at the University of Toronto from 1923-1954, stated:

Library work—now dignified in certain quarters by the possibly somewhat presumptuous title of ‘library science,’—has developed within recent years with astonishing rapidity. A librarian is no longer merely a ‘Keeper of the Books’; and university and college libraries have ceased to be—as tradition insists was once the case—purely preserves for professors. The emphasis in library work is now placed on service, and service to the greatest number of people. (p. 261)

George Locke (1932), chief librarian of Toronto Public Library (TPL) and president of the American Library Association (ALA) in 1926-1927, expressed the view that the library must demonstrate the influence of the librarian’s talents to be effective: “Knowledge, judgment, desire to be of service, confidence in one’s self because of these possessions—then the Library becomes vitalized and individualized—and then becomes socialized” (p. 153). The service ethic infused library education. “The spirit of service” (de Sales, 1942, p. 3) was a personal requirement for students entering the library school at Mount Saint Vincent College in Halifax because this quality was important in preparing its female graduates for professional work.

¹ I am grateful to three anonymous reviewers for their helpful insights and suggestions.

Figure 1. Toronto Library School recruitment poster. Retrieved from *Ontario Library Review* (May 1945). Contains information licensed under the [Open Government Licence – Ontario](#).

"You like people you like books" (Figure 1) became a promotional catchphrase to attract students to choose librarianship in the postwar period (Meikelham & Waldon, 1950). Many librarians fostered the helpful linkage of people and communities with printed information. Stewart Wallace's observation on the service role of librarianship was confirmed more than three decades later by Rev. J. Bernard Black (1954):²

"Librarianship is an ancillary science, and librarians are primarily servants . . . but if ours is only an intermediary role we do have the satisfaction of hearing that the communication of ideas, from man to man, and generation to generation, would become much more difficult, if not impossible, without us" (p. 7). By stressing service and the application of abstract and practical knowledge to various types of libraries, librarianship emerged slowly as a self-directed profession in Canada before the dramatic social, educational, and cultural changes of the 1960s.

Librarians graduating from Canadian library schools in the Maritimes, Quebec, and Ontario influenced changes in libraries by invoking librarianship as a pragmatic career committed to serving adults, children, students, researchers, the government, and businesses. The assistant librarian at the Bibliothèque de Montréal from 1922-1943, Marie-Claire Daveluy (1947), recalled her summer session at the McGill library school in 1920 which "ouvrit bien grands mes yeux" [opened my eyes wide] (p. 7) to the possibilities of a career in librarianship. She was instrumental in the establishment of the École de bibliothécaires in 1937 as well as the Association canadienne des bibliothécaires de langue française in 1943. Hélène Grenier (1942) best expressed the activist role for librarians:³ "La carrière de bibliothécaire est donc vraiment plus qu'une

² J. Bernard Black was Chief Librarian at St. Michaels College, Toronto, 1961-1985.

³ Hélène Grenier was a writer, teacher, as well as librarian and director of school libraries for the Commission des écoles catholiques de Montréal, 1931-1961. She obtained her diploma in Library Science at McGill University in 1932 and her MA from the Université de Montréal in 1944.

carrière, je dirai que bien comprise elle est une vocation qui comporte des devoirs intellectuels, professionnels et moraux” [The career of librarian is truly more than a career, I would say it is clearly understood to be a vocation that includes intellectual, professional and moral duties] (p. 6). Dalhousie University Librarian, Douglas Lochhead (1956), held that librarians primarily ought to “assist the teaching faculty in the stimulation of intellectual curiosity amongst students” (p. 100). Howard Overend (2001), intrepid crusader of the isolated Peace River District in British Columbia, drew on his experience to develop a unique tenet: “appreciation varies directly as the distance between the reader and the library” (p. 48). Personal values, beliefs, and opinions interweaved with the concepts and methods of library science to disseminate knowledge thereby creating a coherent synthesis about the “professional librarian” defined by Winifred Barnstead (1945), the Director of the Library School at the Ontario College of Education, University of Toronto from 1928-1951.

From 1920 until 1960, better educated and better trained librarians, mostly single women with career aspirations, addressed the central mission of libraries, which consisted of the collection of, organization of, preservation of, and access to knowledge and information. They did so at a time when the proportion of women entering the Canadian labour force doubled from 13% in 1911 to 27% in 1961.⁴ Canadian librarianship progressed from optimistic expressions about its potential after WWI to firmer recognition of its standing in society by mid-century. The formation of library schools and associations was a significant factor in the improvement of library services and public acceptance. As librarians endeavoured to meet the needs of rising rates of literacy and urbanization in an increasingly prosperous nation, they provided better access to information needed for work, schooling, research, and leisure. Librarianship positioned itself as a vital link in the communication between the past, present, and future in terms of the published cultural record, and librarians emphasized a proactive public service ethic in various ways despite libraries developing unevenly across a sparsely populated country. Ideas accepted in regional locales often influenced collective action and library practices. This trend was most noticeable in Quebec where parish libraries were widespread and librarians were instilled with French Catholic values about the duty to censor improper publications.

National growth of librarianship and libraries was measured and mostly centred on the need to improve public library service. Three contemporary national surveys charted the advance of libraries and librarianship: *Libraries in Canada* in 1933, financed by the Carnegie Library Corporation of New York, *Libraries in the Life of the Canadian Nation*, produced by the Canadian Library Council in 1946, and *The Present State of Library Service in Canada* in 1961, prepared by the Canadian Library Association (CLA). These studies summarized existing conditions from regional and national perspectives and set forth ideas that helped shape the basis for discussion about future progress and change. Localized, regional, and incremental change was a notable feature of the 1920-1960 era. Efforts to establish public libraries on a coast-to-coast basis came to fruition

⁴ Work force, by industrial category and sex, census years, 1911 to 1971 ([Series Table D8-85](#)) in *Historical Statistics of Canada*, 2nd ed. (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, 1983). There were 366,629 employed females in 1911 and 1,763,862 in 1961.

when New Brunswick, Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, and Quebec enacted library legislation between 1929 and 1959. Organizations that promoted libraries and librarianship also developed gradually. At the end of WWI, there were only two provincial library associations—one in Ontario and one in British Columbia. Steadily, between 1932 and 1944, six more regional and provincial associations were organized in the Maritimes, Quebec, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta to provide leadership in both languages. The bilingual Canadian Library Association/ Association canadienne des bibliothèques (CLA) came into existence in 1946 to promote and organize national concerns, which was a noteworthy step recognized by contemporaries in the evolution of librarianship (Peel, 1982-83).

General histories, such as the one by Elizabeth Morton (1971) who served as CLA executive director from 1946 until 1968, have outlined the development of libraries during the period under study; however, seldom has librarianship itself been scrutinized. Bak (2002) examined the Maritime region in the 1930s and found evidence to conclude that many aspiring librarians preferred non-academic training (i.e., apprenticeship, optional courses, and conferences) and learned their techniques in the workplace. Bruce (2012) outlined the hesitant course of professionalization in Ontario, which was where the majority of librarians worked. Studies of prominent librarians, such as Mary Kinley Ingraham (Harrison, 2012), Nora Bateson (Adams, 2009), Ægidius Fauteux and Edmond Desrochers (Lajeunesse, 2012), Bruce B. Peel (Jobb, 1987), Edgar Robinson (Curry & Carre, 2002), Marie-Claire Daveluy (Chabot, 1968), and August-M. Morisset (Greene & LeBlanc, 2000) have illuminated careers, private viewpoints on librarianship, and the role of formal education. Houser and Schrader (1978) investigated library education in the North American context (particularly the Graduate Library School of the University of Chicago), arguing that library educators failed to develop a “scientific profession” due to excessive emphasis on management studies and a reliance on qualitative humanistic methods. Likewise, there was no pursuit of rigorous empirical methodology in Canadian library schools. The humanist impulse, sprinkled with quantitative social science methods, conceived library science to be “the knowledge and skill by which printed or written records are recognized, collected, organized, and utilized” according to the ALA (Thompson, 1943, p. 82). As such, the discipline of library science was primarily concerned with developing common solutions for organizing and providing access to library holdings in a variety of situations. Similarly, librarianship was viewed as “the application of knowledge of books and certain principles, theories and techniques to the establishment, preservation, organization and use of books and other materials in libraries and to the extension of library service” (CLA, 1961, p. 3; Thompson, 1943, p. 80). These ALA definitions were acceptable to a broad range of Canadian librarians; indeed, they were often used interchangeably.

The construction of Canadian librarianship and the identification of its leaders are documented primarily in library literature, news, official publications, and archival sources. The composition of the workforce exclusively defined as “librarian” is available in the national censuses between 1931-1961. The literature provides applied and personal conceptualizations that disclose the substance of librarianship as a practice and library science as an evolving field of study. Certainly, care needs to be exercised in the use of contemporary statements that are exhortatory, prescriptive, or biased, but

these sources provide a deeper awareness about the Canadian development of library science and the modern professionalization of librarianship. By describing their views about librarianship and their educational research and training, many librarians self-identified with shared commonalities. Personal views sometimes transcended the institutions where librarians worked and provide a general view of shared changes. However, regional distinctions, especially the French-speaking, Roman Catholic society in Quebec, tempered efforts to achieve a truly unified national consensus. In addition, strong American influence was evident in the workplace and professional life. Librarians' values and beliefs intertwined with gender and educational attainment to shape collective interests, thereby creating a modern societal role for librarianship. The emphasis in this paper will focus on three vital aspects in an evolving profession that were acknowledged by contemporaries: the central importance of library science education, librarians' service orientation, and gender considerations.

The immediate years after WWI mark an important starting point in the search for core concepts about librarianship. A trio of prominent librarians, Mary J.L. Black, B. Mabel Dunham, and Mary Kinley Ingraham, presented the case for librarianship as an emerging profession, each with her own insight. Mary Black, the chief librarian of the Fort William Public Library from 1909-1937, became the first woman to become president of the Ontario Library Association (OLA) in 1917. In her presidential address she (1918) plainly stated, "Librarianship, is undoubtedly a profession, even though a very immature one, and the person who thinks differently is holding a fallacy, the dissemination of which will do great harm" (p. 57). She was known for professing strong views. To her, the qualifications of a successful librarian were the spirit of service, knowledge of people, knowledge of books, library technique, and business training and in that order (Black, 1919). Her Maritime contemporary, Mary Ingraham (1921), who was the chief librarian at Acadia University from 1917 until 1944 and a graduate of a 1917 short session at the Simmons Library School in Boston, also accorded library training passing import:

The best preparation will not make a librarian out of a man or woman who has not innate fitness for the work. No one should seriously consider librarianship as a profession who does not know himself to have in his approach to books the grave, searching attitude of the scholar. (p. 38)

Ingraham believed that a scholar without library school credentials could be an able administrator, a reasonable position at a time when the term "library economy" was still in use to emphasize business efficiency in library management. On the other hand, B. Mabel Dunham, chief librarian of the Kitchener Public Library from 1908-1944 and a graduate of the McGill University summer library school, voiced a very different outlook about education. Lacking educational standards, librarianship was open to the untrained; Dunham (1921) felt it was called a profession as a "courtesy" (p. 2). Although librarianship was a profession "eminently suited to women," she cautioned that it was circumscribed by few openings, beset by uncertain advancement, and male directors who regarded tenure as a right. Dunham encouraged the young female university graduate to better her career opportunities by undertaking a measure of professional library training. In so doing, librarians could display "the splendid spirit of unselfish

service for others” (Dunham, 1919, p. 1). The themes of education, service, and gender raised by these administrators became central to Canadian developments before 1960.

Library Science and Professional Training

The debate concerning educational qualifications and library training addressed by Black, Ingraham, and Dunham continued after 1920. In due course, the short summer schools opened by McGill University in 1904 under direction of Charles Gould and the Ontario Education Department in 1911 evolved into degree-granting graduate schools on university campuses before World War II (WWII). William O. Carson, president of the OLA 1914-1915 and Inspector of Public Libraries in Ontario between 1916-1929, lauded the progress of library science: It was “a department of study that is entitled to scientific rank, by reason of the importance of its results, the precision of its methods, and the range of its details” (Carson, 1912, p. 108). He oriented the Ontario Training School for Librarians in Toronto towards preparation of young women working in small public libraries after 1916 before it relocated to the University of Toronto in 1927 (Boone, 1997, pp. 101-121). In 1927, University Librarian Gerhard Lomer (1920-1947) formed the McGill Library School with a one-year diploma program and began awarding degrees in librarianship after 1930. The McGill and Toronto schools developed a common curriculum around bibliography, administration, and technical work; the one-year programmes normally required students to possess a bachelor’s degree for admission and issued their graduates a Bachelor of Library Science (BLS). The ALA accredited both schools in the 1930s. Pervasive American influence did not suit everyone: Diplomas offered by the School of Librarianship at the University of London attracted students as well (Tremaine, 1930). Ultimately, a CLA examination supported ALA accreditation citing the lack of Canadian funding and experienced educators to serve on visitation committees (Chatwin, 1955). Smaller library schools that opened in the late 1930s never sought ALA accreditation: two bilingual ones at the University of Ottawa and the École des bibliothécaires at Montréal and one at the women’s college, Mount St. Vincent, in Halifax. The development of BLS programs occurred in tandem with other female-intensive professional education degrees established in university curricula from 1920-1960: nursing, household science, music, fine arts, and social work (Harris, 1976, pp. 397-425 & 528-551). However, until 1960, the number of diplomas and degrees granted annually in library science seldom rose above 100 (Figure 3).

As the discipline of library science matured, courses, subject matter, and standards progressed. Toronto introduced Canada’s first master’s program in 1951 followed by McGill in 1956 (McNally, 1993). Before 1960, the core curriculum at all schools centred on administration, book selection, reference work, bibliography, history of the book and printing, cataloguing, classification, and electives, such as children’s libraries, college and university libraries, and special libraries. Bibliography and librarianship formed a close relationship (Lunn, 1962; Murray, 1963). Librarians such as Olga Bishop (Chang, 1991) and Marie Tremaine (Van der Bellen, 1984) made important contributions in the identification and description of Canadian publications by librarians. Essential course offerings like administration did not stress theory; for example, McGill’s university librarian and director of the McGill Library School, Gerhard Lomer (1928, pp. 4-5), emphasized efficient management of people, efficient use of time, economy, and the

ability to handle and accept criticism. The influence of Anglo-American ideas was evident in all schools, including the school intended for French-language students in Montreal. One student, Lucien Lusignan (1939), explained the outlook of the École de bibliothécaires: "L'enseignement de l'École vise à adapter au milieu canadien-français, les méthodes françaises et américaines employées en bibliothéconomie" [The School's teaching aims to adapt French and American methods used in librarianship to the French-Canadian setting] (p.6). Despite its meagre resources, the Montreal school was a source of French-Canadian nationalist pride and contributed to the development of librarianship and library service in Quebec (Delisle & Savard, 1998) before the major reforms of the Quiet Revolution in the 1960s.

Divergent attitudes about the centrality of library science schooling as a vital ingredient of professional life were apparent across Canada and especially in the Maritime region (Bak, 2002, pp. 371-374). For many years, librarians in Atlantic Canada voiced a higher regard for personal growth and on-going collegial assistance through the Maritime Library Association (MLA). This regional preference for experiential learning and self-improvement through courses was a recommended course of action, a practical alternative to the unaccredited program at Mount St. Vincent (closed in 1958) or a sojourn at library schools in Quebec, Ontario, and the United States. In the western provinces, the McGill library school provided occasional summer institutes at Vancouver and Banff (Figure 2). Victoria Public Library's in-service training program headed by Margaret Clay was another successful, though limited, entry into librarianship for British Columbians (Clay, 1949).⁵ In central Canada, self-directed improvement organized by the Special Libraries Association (SLA) and centred in New York, was a popular resort. Personal upgrading could be achieved by attending workshops and major SLA conferences conveniently hosted in Montreal in 1936, Toronto in 1953, and eastern American cities. Before WWII, some special librarians did not possess any library training. Peter Morgan (1937), librarian of Confederation Life Association in Toronto, advised novices about basic management: know the collection, build a reference card file of subjects, and cooperate with corporate officers to develop an efficient library. Because library schools did not adequately prepare one for special librarianship, Winifred Barnstead (1947) suggested post-graduate internships as a remedy. A McGill graduate, Beatrice Simon (1948), agreed:⁶ she recollected that "it was my 10 years' experience in the Medical Library which provided the practical answers to the many problems I encountered" (pp. 71-72). Yet, higher entry standards eventually prevailed in special librarianship. By the early 1960s, George Bonn (1963), author of the national report *Science-Technology Literature Resources in Canada*, noted the value of library school training and close relationships with nearby SLA chapters in the application of specialized principles and practices.

⁵ Margaret Clay was educated at Victoria College affiliated with McGill University, 1909-1911 and received her library science diploma from the Carnegie Library School 1915.

⁶ Beatrice Simon was a McGill University Medical Library librarian, 1928-1938, and Assistant University Librarian, 1947-1965. She earned a library diploma (1928), a BA (1943), and MA (1950) from McGill University.

Figure 2. McGill summer library institute, Banff, Alberta, August 1941. Retrieved from McGill University Archives, (PR009243).

School librarians presented large segment of librarianship where the BLS was not standard. Many teachers were already trained in a cognate career, some with basic library knowledge. Teacher-librarians recognized the worth of short summer library courses, counsel from experienced colleagues, and hands-on practice. Larger collections became necessary as Canadian schools shifted from textbook-centred classes in the 1930s to more student-centred progressive curricula that emphasized a variety of sources. School publications from 1920-1960 were peppered with suggestions for better student service opportunities and book selection. Arthur Slyfield (1929), a secondary school librarian in Oshawa who authored *A Library Primer; Elements of Library Science for Students in Canadian Secondary Schools* in 1932, firmly believed student instruction in the use of books and libraries could create an enjoyable rapport between students and librarian. As a secondary school librarian in Galt, Margaret Fraser inspired one of her students, Sheila Egoff, to become a children's librarian (Egoff, 2005, pp. 22-23). Later, after working at TPL as Head of the Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books, Egoff taught at the University of British Columbia School of Librarianship and became an authority on children's literature. Mary Mustard, another pioneering school librarian, published a handbook for students in 1948 titled *Library ABC's*, which taught students how to use and appreciate libraries. She eventually became Ontario's inspector of secondary school libraries from 1956-1963 and ended her career at a time when training for school librarianship was developing from the initial stage that she had helped shape.

The range of student abilities, strength of teaching staff, and priorities of local school authorities prompted diverse approaches. Margaret Fraser (1943) advised, "It is my conviction that it does a student far more good to enjoy reading a fairly commonplace book than to push and plough his way through a classic that is for the moment far beyond him" (p. 118). Mary Mustard (1943) counselled teachers appointed as a school librarian that the "ideal method for book selection is personal investigation" (p. 306). She

(1948) believed that book discussions and library clubs could instil a love for books and good school citizenship (pp. 71-74). The British Columbia Library Commission published a brief *Manual for Small School Libraries* in 1940 to guide teachers and to encourage uniformity of practice in the province's small school libraries. Training for school librarianship was not a priority in provincial education departments. The Ontario government did introduce short summer courses to help teachers make the most of the school library ("Teacher librarians taking new course at summer school," 1930, July 18), but this was an episodic effort for three decades. The slow development of school libraries and shortage of qualified librarians induced many city and rural school authorities to rely on bookmobiles or classroom libraries managed by librarians who worked in public libraries. After a 1957 national review reported that only six provinces regularly offered library training at teacher-training institutions, arts colleges, or library schools (Evans, 1957), the CLA helped organize a national conference to improve standards of training and service (CLA, 1959). Still, by 1960 there were only 155 professional school librarians with library degrees and 281 teachers or other trained library workers in larger centralized Canadian libraries.⁷ Upgraded school library training would have to await the transformation of provincial teacher education programs at the elementary and secondary levels in the mid-1960s.

Potential students who possessed advanced standing or wished to pursue library scholarship were not always satisfied with Canadian library schools, which held fewer resources than American schools. One young French-Canadian librarian, Juliette Chabot,⁸ expressed her admiration for the vast resources of the Columbia library school library in New York: it contained 21,000 technical works on bibliography, librarianship, as well as publishers' catalogs, book reviews, and almost 2,000 periodicals and review journals (Chabot, 1937). She later received permission from Charles C. Williamson, the Dean of Columbia's School of Library Service, to translate Columbia's useful manual of technical terms in order to assist French-speaking students who might be unfamiliar with the vocabulary of library science (Chabot, 1943). Another leader, Helen Gordon Stewart,⁹ earned her master's in library science at Columbia University with a thesis on adult education in 1927 and then a doctorate in sociology before returning to Canada in 1930. When the Carnegie Corporation of New York announced its intention to fund fellowship grants to persons in library work in 1929, opportunities to study beyond Canadian borders arose. In fact, 19 librarians working in Canada received \$32,100 between 1931-1942 from a total of 107 Carnegie awards (Appendix 1). The Carnegie program was based on a dual purpose: the development of future library leaders and the recognition of scholarship deemed to constitute a contribution to library science or professional work (Carnegie Committee, 1943). A major requirement of the grants-in-aid was submission of a report on a topic proposed at the time of receiving the grant.

⁷ Details are reported in Canada Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Survey of Libraries, Part II: Academic Libraries, 1960-61* (Ottawa, 1963), Tables 18 and 19.

⁸ Juliette Chabot held various positions at the Bibliothèque de Montréal, 1930-1965, and taught at the École de bibliothécaires, 1940-1960. She earned her BLS and MLS at McGill University.

⁹ Helen G. Stewart was chief librarian, Victoria Public Library, 1912-1924, and director of the Fraser Valley Public Library demonstration, 1930-1934. She was president of the British Columbia Library Association for three terms, 1917-1919 and 1932, and the Pacific Northwest Library Association, 1920-1921.

Canadian librarians focused on five main subjects: bibliography, administration, adult education, government publications, and children's librarianship. Some fellows, notably Freda Waldon,¹⁰ continued their scholarly endeavours and published their research throughout their lifetime.

When the Carnegie stimulus to library scholarship ended in 1942, ambitious students seeking higher qualifications continued to enroll in American library schools (Appendix 2). Olga Bishop, who became the first Canadian woman to receive an AMLS and PhD in library science, offered a simple rationale for choosing Michigan in 1951 (Chang, 1991):

The reason for going to Ann Arbor rather than to Toronto was that I could get a Master's degree there. I didn't want to do another Bachelor's degree, which was the degree in librarianship offered then at Toronto. (p. 37)

These post-Carnegie studies show a shift to more systematic methodology (i.e., case studies, comparative approaches, bibliography, and surveys) that aligned library science closer to the social sciences. Many recipients became well known in the postwar library community throughout Canada as administrators, teachers, or prominent leaders, including Bertha Bassam, Robert Blackburn, Edmond Desrochers, and Donald Redmond. This was not an instance of the "brain drain" of able students to the United States after 1945, but rather an acknowledgement that Canadian-based educational opportunities for personal advancement were lacking. When American library schools began replacing the BLS after 1948 with a one-year master's degree as the first entry into librarianship, Toronto (1951) and McGill (1956) partially did likewise; however, both schools insisted that the one-year master's program, which was regarded as a research degree in Canadian higher education, require a BLS as a prerequisite. Thus, the Canadian standard diverged from American practice because the BLS remained the choice for most Canadian professionals into the 1960s.

Although persistent objections continued about the nature and necessity of graduate library science education, its American orientation, and the entry level BLS (McLeod, 1953), the general statement by the 1943 *A.L.A. Glossary* held sway: library science was deemed to be the knowledge and skill by which printed records were identified, acquired, organized, and utilized. This is the essence of a student course book developed by two Western University librarians in London, Ontario, which was published for two decades (Campbell & Welling, 1936). All five Canadian library schools were offering the BLS by the mid-1940s although there was some disagreement about the equivalency of accredited and non-accredited degrees. The BLS became a staple in permissive certification of librarians in British Columbia and Ontario under provisions of the provincial public libraries acts.¹¹ By 1960, the combination of a subject bachelor's degree, followed by graduate study in library science, and then experience acquired in practical work had become the three pillars in a librarian's career. The importance of a

¹⁰ Freda F. Waldon received her MA at Columbia in 1931 and a Diploma in Librarianship from the University of London in 1931. She was president of the OLA in 1941-1942 and the CLA in 1946-1947. Her *Bibliography of Canadiana Published in Great Britain, 1519-1763* appeared posthumously in 1990.

¹¹ Certification for public librarians existed in Ontario from 1946-1972 and in British Columbia from 1944-1985.

degree was emphasized by the *Toronto Globe and Mail* (St. John, 1960, June 1), which noted that a BLS was a challenging undertaking. Bertha Bassam (1956), the director of the University of Toronto Library School between 1951-1964, encouraged young graduates who had attained a BLS to look to their more experienced colleagues to further their careers:

It is the competent, progressive librarian who can assist the beginner by making real and effective for him the theories and attitudes acquired at the university. It is through the performance of the daily duties that expertness may be attained. (p. 142)

The discussion highlighted by Black, Ingraham, and Dunham after WWI had reached a resolution point.

The movement towards adapting American trends in professional education and practices to Canadian circumstances was inexorable. The University of British Columbia began seriously considering the establishment of an ALA accredited school on the Pacific coast by the mid-1950s (Dattilo & Saltman, 2001, pp. 1-7). Leading educators, such as Neal Harlow (1953 & 1956) and Ronald Hagler (1958), raised awareness about the challenge posed by American documentalists concerning new methods for storage and retrieval of information. Jack Brown (1960), library director of the National Research Council from 1957-1974, responded by pioneering emerging technical applications in the dissemination of scientific information in Canada that eventually entered the curricula of library schools. In commercial enterprises where executives expected prepared abstracts (Turnbull, 1946), special librarians were already more attuned to new methods of access to technical reports and business intelligence. Catalogue and reference librarians began utilizing new mechanized processes, such as microphotography, teletype, and punched cards systems, in order to cope with the knowledge explosion of the 1950s. A professor at the University of Toronto Library School, Florence Murray (1956), suggested that librarians ought to “welcome experiment in an age when the rapidity of change is the only constant” (p. 51). Yet, even in the late stages of the 1950s, library educators still had experienced critics, such as the head of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics Library, Bernard Ower (1958), who felt “the rush to the bandwagon to have all library science first professional degrees made Master’s degrees has been a sad mistake” (p. 18). Notwithstanding criticism, five new ALA accredited library schools opened at the universities of British Columbia, Alberta, Western, Montreal, and Dalhousie between 1961-1969 to meet the demand of an expanding library workforce.

The Value of Service

Service was a positive principle in libraries by the 1920s, on route to surpassing the time-honoured value of stewardship: the librarian as a custodian of books, as a guardian of literature for future generations, and as a responsible minder of community morality. In 1919, Ellen Mary Knox (1919), principal of Havergal College in Toronto, posed a question for young women interested in librarianship: “have you a passion for service” (p. 78). She knew women frequently pursued public service positions where

they could apply their education and cultivate their interests. George Locke (1926) was an influential promoter of library activism, and he concurred with Ellen Knox, as well as Mabel Dunham and Mary Black: "The ideal is to serve the public so that pleasure and profit may be combined without either being too exclusive or predominant. . . . It is experimental socialism of the most interesting kind" (p. 265). In this case, Locke accentuated the direct relationship between librarians and patrons. His associate, Lillian Helena Smith, a 1912 graduate of the Carnegie Training School for Children's Librarians who directed Toronto's Boys and Girls House from 1912-1952, presented another facet of service: its practical application in the development of a children's department as a public service. Smith (1923) applied her idealism regarding the librarian's selection of quality reading materials and its beneficial possibilities for children: "Thoughts make acts, acts make habits, habits make character. It sounds like [Ralph Waldo] Emerson, but what a chance a librarian has to implant some of the right thoughts" (p. 806). She expounded her philosophy in the classic work, *The Unreluctant Years: A Critical Approach to Children's Literature* which was published in 1953 by the ALA.

Leaders within the library community accentuated positive, human elements of the essence of service, especially in public library work. Mary Black (1935) characterized the "ideal librarian" to be one who above all had "a love of people, and a great sympathy with and understanding of their characteristics, their motives and actions" (p. 125). Richard Crouch (1945), London Public Library's advocate for community-oriented librarianship after WWII, explained things in a more instrumental way:

The librarian is called on to perform two functions—first, to assemble and preserve printed matter, music, records and films, in organized collections; second, to stimulate and promote their use so that our citizens—young and old—will have the opportunity of continuing their development through life. (p. 7)

Margaret Gill (1945), who headed the National Research Council Library in Ottawa between 1928-1957, believed talented persons could contribute to public life through library work:

This is the place for men and women of scholarship, vision, enthusiasm, judgment and understanding, who may not always come from the library schools but who bring their individual gifts to the practice of their vocation and enrich the life of the community in which they serve. (p. 19)

The sense of vocation fitted with the professional aspirations of librarians who felt that work experience, combined with education, could enhance their enjoyment of a career that served both people and the dissemination of knowledge.

Service as a personal value intertwined with institutional operations to create new administrative agencies and areas of work in the first half of the twentieth century. A national library service was the most notable: the CLA advocated successfully for the foundation of the National Library of Canada in 1953, although its development was measured before 1960 (Donnelly, 1973). A service orientation spurred librarians to

improve access to resources, notably in public libraries. One progressive aim, library extension, revolved around Mary Black's (1931) rallying cry for rural service: "Equal library opportunities for all a national necessity" (p. 138). Extension, or the promotion and supply of books and assistance to people or groups beyond a public library's regular jurisdiction, was fuelled by the value of equity in remedying disparities between urban and rural libraries. Travelling library boxes and the "open shelf" concept (i.e., books sent by request from a central library to rural residents) were particularly important in western provinces, chiefly Saskatchewan, which began operating these services as early as 1914 (Kerr, 2005, pp. 31-46). There was a blossoming of regional library projects serving large districts in a nation with more than half the rural population unserved by public libraries in the 1930s (Rochester, 1995). Leading organizers of this distinctive Canadian movement, namely Helen Gordon Stewart (1940), Nora Bateson (1944), and Marion Gilroy (1936), helped transform the way public library service was delivered in rural areas before Canada's centennial year.

Adult education emerged as a special field of endeavour for public librarians. They encouraged the promotion of books and the use of library resources by working with community organizations. William O. Carson authored a Canadian section in the landmark 1926 ALA study, *Libraries and Adult Education*, in which he emphasized the role of trained librarians in the pursuit of lifelong learning. Readers' advisory staff, a library application of adult education, sought to recommend worthwhile titles to individuals and compose systematic reading courses, a valuable service in larger public libraries. The librarian for the Ontario College of Education library from 1935-1964, Dorothy Thompson (1925), felt this particular service demonstrated that librarianship was not a "clerical profession and that advice and information is plainly a duty of the day; that it is not only the librarian's duty to direct a patron to the books asked for, but to suggest, advise and develop an interest in better reading" (p. 9). However, readers' advisory work was an intensive person-to-person interaction that waned during the financial constraints of the Great Depression. It was frequently subsumed by interaction with circulation librarians who composed reading lists and gave book talks to promote good literature for adults.

The most distinctive public library service was the children's department. Children's librarians expanded their service role as their speciality and became more important after WWI (Edwards, 2012). Their belief in the benefits of children's reading gave rise to innovations such as school visits, book talks, puppetry, story telling, and radio and television programmes. There was a sense that parents would trust that "the librarian knows best" (Soward, 1934, p. 507) in her role as intermediary, facilitator, or gatekeeper between children and the world of books. One French-speaking librarian felt they could influence publishers by supplying a "critique constructive" to improve young readers' experiences (Saint-Pierre, 1946, pt. III-9). A historical review of children's reading in Quebec libraries between 1930-1960 revealed even broader societal goals: to instill a love of reading, to control children's reading by countering the deleterious effect of bad literature and mass media that challenged conventional morality, and to establish the public library as a complement to the school system (Savard & Delisle, 1996). After the Canadian Association of Children's Librarians formed in 1939, work with children began to be promoted on a national scale even during wartime (Riley, 1944).

The public service element in private institutions such as university, college, and business libraries was less dramatic and more focused on collections. Toronto business librarians considered the provision of reading material for employees to be one method of extending their usefulness (McKenzie, 1945). The Carnegie Corporation grants to stimulate general undergraduate reading for Canadian university and college libraries in the 1930s successfully garnered more interest in the role of librarians in the promotion and selection of general literature in higher education (Bruce, 2016). Specialization of tasks in librarianship was more apparent in the private sector, the “uncharted sea” of government documents being a specific case that vexed many over the years (Chatwin, 1943, p. 62; Ridington, 1927). With the dramatic growth of technical and business literature in the 1950s, a librarian with extensive experience in Ottawa and Montreal special libraries, Louise Lefebvre (1958),¹² was keen to note that librarians were busy organizing collections, delivering factual information, and surveying literature from a multitude of new publications. Generally in all sectors careers in cataloguing and reference, which were closely aligned with bibliography, assumed significance because new ideas and methods were utilized in “an effort to make the information contained in written records available to all who need it” (Murray, 1956, p. 48).

Library science publications furthered librarians’ ability to offer access to collections and information. Reference works that improved bibliographic control of national publications included the *Canadian Periodical Index*, which initiated publication in 1930, and *Canadiana*, which was a comprehensive national bibliography first published in 1951. Cataloguers, the less visible personnel in library organizations, improved patrons’ access by the use of standard systems of classification, subject headings, and card filing. Their manuals were often American in origin, and they included numerous editions of the Library of Congress Classification and Subject Headings; *The Sears List of Subject Headings* after 1923; and various editions of the Dewey Decimal Classification (DDC). Canadian works, such as Winifred Barnstead’s *Filing Rules for Dictionary Catalogues* (3rd ed., 1950), were less suitable as standardization continued into the 1950s (Linton & MacTaggart, 1958). Adult users and students were mostly unaware of the librarian’s tools or the library’s catalogue, although library instruction in universities and secondary schools informed new students (Baird, 1945; Hamlyn, 1946). Innovative public promotion, like Hamilton’s humorous radio broadcast about using the card catalogue to dispel the notion that it was “something just for the staff to use, which readers should never touch” (Waldon & Greenfield, 1948, p. 168) also raised awareness among potential users.

The ideal of public service was a hortatory call to potential recruits as well as practicing librarians. In 1926, Edgar S. Robinson, Vancouver Public Library’s director 1924-1957, pronounced, “For freedom of activity and opportunity for expression of individuality through service, library work has no equal” (Curry & Garre, 1998, p. 123). Calgary’s chief librarian from 1911 to 1945, Alexander Calhoun, exemplified the service component both in his library and civic participation (Lohnes & Nicholson, 1987). Yet, despite the appeal of service, Canadian librarians were reluctant to codify this essential

¹² Louise Lefebvre (BLS, McGill 1933) was chief librarian at the Pulp and Paper Research Institute of Canada, Montreal, 1942-1971, and president of the Quebec Library Association, 1963-1964.

value on a national basis. In 1957-1958, a CLA committee charged with formulating statements on philosophy, purpose, and ethics for its membership was frustrated by the limited response to its queries for comments and could only produce a provisional report (Hulse, 1995, pp. 45-46; "Librarianship," 1958). A proposed ethical national standard for librarians listed service as its last principle: "The librarian's chief desire is to render a service" (CLA, 1958, p. 26). Other personal values like loyalty, professionalism, responsible conduct received more attention in this CLA statement. After criticism of the report by many association members, the CLA credo was left unfinished and never adopted. But the concept of rendering a service remained a central concern because the service ethic was a fundamental principle of conduct in the library (Gibson, 1964) and became more explicit in statements after 1960.

Librarianship as a Career for Women

Gender was a significant feature in the composition of the library workforce in the period under study, but the specific demographics of sex, age, ethnicity, education, and marital status have not been investigated to date. The Canadian census distinguished librarians as a separate occupation in four consecutive censuses from 1931-1961 before merging them with archival and museum workers in 1971. Despite changing definitions and categories, the national surveys provide useful data on the uniformity of sex and ethnicity between 1931 and 1961 (Appendices 3 and 4). Female predominance was remarkably stable at about 80% over thirty years. The middle-age female cohort (i.e., 35-54 years) in both censuses was largest with 38% in 1931 and 45% in 1961. The majority of women were single: the total was 88% in 1931, but in 1961 it fell to 58% after the discriminatory marriage barrier was removed by many employers in the 1950s.¹³ Following three decades of rising educational standards, 50% of women held a university degree and 14% reported some university standing. The ethnicity of females became slightly more diverse: 92% reported British extraction in 1931; in 1961, 70% reported the British Isles (comparable figures for French ancestry were 6% and 15%). The white Anglo-Saxon ancestry of females was overwhelming but declined somewhat over three decades and was likely a consequence of increased postwar immigration, especially from continental Europe. Homogeneity, not diversity, was a main feature of Canadian librarianship revealed by national censuses between 1931-1961.

Mabel Dunham addressed gender in her 1921 presidential address to OLA delegates by stating the important societal roles women were undertaking. Before WWI it was already evident that females constituted the majority of workers in Canadian libraries (Milner, 1991, pp. 85-90). At a societal level, library work attracted women because it could be viewed as an extension of the traditional private, domestic role or, in other words, a white collar "female profession" akin to teaching, nursing, and social work which also evolved as female dominated vocations before 1940 (Frager & Patrias, 2005, pp. 54-74). While many organizations complied with social norms that deemed women should be regarded as an inexpensive source of labour and relegated to subordinate positions, there were exceptional women who overcame societal restrictions even in the

¹³ The Government of Canada abolished restrictions on married women holding federal civil service jobs in 1955, thus establishing a national guideline for employers.

embryonic years of Canadian librarianship. One such exemplar, Margaret Charlton,¹⁴ librarian of McGill University's Medical Library and the Academy of Medicine Library in Toronto as well as a co-founder of the Medical Library Association in 1898, was highly regarded for her enterprising library work (Groen, 1989). However, a British visitor working at TPL in the late 1920s noted the obvious gendered landscape of Canadian libraries: two males managed a staff of 150 females in Toronto although nearly every small town was run by a woman (Procter, 1931). Bookmen, churchmen, male academics, and literary men with interests in libraries were often selected as chief librarians in larger Canadian libraries into the first half of the twentieth century. Despite its limitations, before 1960 women gravitated to the field of librarianship for many personal reasons: they enjoyed books, reading, and working with people; they were influenced by librarians or motivated by after-school work; they were stirred by an intellectual appeal associated with libraries; they preferred more personal work; and some even felt "at home" in the library (Canada Department of Labour, 1957, pp. 45-46).

Although the pattern of male privilege was a formidable challenge throughout first-wave feminism as it extended into the 1940s, gradual inroads into gender bias were achieved in major libraries. Female librarians exhibited essential characteristics of first-wave feminism, which were the general undertaking to attain equal access to education, better wages, as well as the right to enter and advance in professions. They recast ideas and norms about the accepted role of women in society by employing modest activism. Mabel Dunham (1921) explained that many women felt it was their "duty not to compete with men as rivals but to cooperate with them in their common task of making Canada a better place" (p. 1). Well before 1960, women in all sectors of librarianship proved their worth as managers belying the convention that the highest appointments should be reserved for men. The many talented female administrators who held key positions as chief librarians for extensive terms are

- Estelle M.A. Vaughan, Saint John Free Public Library, 1914-1948;
- Margaret Jean Clay, Victoria Public Library, 1924-1952;
- Lurene (McDonald) Lyle, Hamilton Public Library, 1926-1940;
- Margaret S. Gill, National Research Council Library, 1928-1957;
- Mary Jane Henderson, Sun Life Assurance Co. of Canada (Montreal), 1930-1960;
- Anne I. Hume, Windsor Public Library, 1936-1957;
- Elizabeth Dafoe, University of Manitoba, 1937-1960;
- Freda Farrell Waldon, Hamilton Public Library, 1940-1963;
- Marjorie Sherlock, University of Alberta, 1945-1955;
- Marget Meikleham, McMaster University, 1949-1965;
- Marion Gilroy, Supervisor of Regional Libraries of Saskatchewan, 1946-1963;
- and

¹⁴ Margaret Ridley Charlton (1858-1931) attended the Amherst College, Massachusetts, summer library school and was designated a person of national historic significance by the Canadian government in 2003.

- Hélène Grenier, Director of School Libraries Montreal Catholic School Commission, 1952-1961.

Because their library training only afforded introductions to departmental organization, legislation, finance, or purchasing, these pioneering women learned about leadership, management, and community relations directly on the job.

These leaders, and many others in smaller settings where women predominated as managers, successfully demonstrated their knowledge of public administration basics, communication protocols, and controlling techniques. Estelle Vaughan managed the Saint John Free Library on a meagre budget for decades.¹⁵ She was known in 1941 to be “an able woman who has done much good work and is still doing all she can in the face of great difficulties” (Buxton & Acland, 1998, p. 61). One skilled director during the Great Depression, Lurene McDonald Lyle,¹⁶ was a progressive, married librarian who managed successfully before her career was cut short by chronic ill health (Greenfield, 1989, pp. 68-79). Some, such as Mary Jane Henderson (1947),¹⁷ were absorbed in staff training; later, she earned the accolades of their peers. Others, like Marjorie Sherlock (1953),¹⁸ emphasized organizational skills in the development of library services to support university teaching and research. Helen Gordon Stewart’s (1934) experience in regional services set a standard for subsequent regional coordinators in Canada, such as Marion Gilroy (1968),¹⁹ who worked in Saskatchewan and assisted the federal government in the Northwest Territories. Ann Hume was a “dynamic lady” who realized “books as necessities for everybody” (Deacon, 1955, p. 10) and promoted community relationships.²⁰ Marget Meikleham, who earned her AMLS at the University of Michigan in 1940, was chair of the local organizing committee for the 1946 inaugural meeting of the CLA held at McMaster University, and was connected with many campus activities during her long association with McMaster.

Notwithstanding recognition of women’s competence within the library community, gendered perceptions of library work were commonplace. There was a persistent belief that certain aspects of library work required stereotypical feminine abilities, e.g., children’s libraries (Peele, 1913), or that administration required male acumen and vigour. When asked about TPL’s “one-sex arrangement” for its staff of 96 female assistants and two male managers, George Locke said he had only received “four

¹⁵ Estelle M.A. Vaughan attended the Ontario Library Training School in 1916 and was president of the Maritime Library Institute, 1935-1937.

¹⁶ Lurene McDonald earned her BA (1908) at the University of Toronto and diploma at the New York Public Library School in 1918. She was president of the OLA for two terms, 1933-1935.

¹⁷ Mary J. Henderson graduated from Queen’s University with a BA, acquired her BLS at the Pratt Institute School of Library Science and was inducted into the Special Libraries Association Hall of Fame in 1964.

¹⁸ Marjorie Sherlock graduated from Alberta (BA) and Oxford (MA) and acquired her BLS at the University of Toronto in 1940.

¹⁹ Marion Elizabeth Gilroy received her BA in 1928 (Acadia), her MA in 1933 (Toronto) and BS in LS in 1939 (Columbia). She was president of the Maritime Library Association, 1941-1942, and president of the CLA, 1951-1952.

²⁰ Ann Hume (BA, Queen’s University 1914) attended the Ontario Library School in 1919 and was president of OLA (1940-1941) and of CLA (1954-1955).

complaints in eight years” (“A busy man and his job,” 1916, Nov. 25, p. 15). Vocational books and women’s newspaper columns often depicted the attractions of library work for women through a gendered lens. Alice Vincent Massey (1920) held that library work was not too strenuous for young women to undertake. Marjory MacMurchy (1919) stated, “Almost any girl who loves books and reading may be attracted to library work. She should test herself first to see if she has other necessary qualities before she makes up her mind to train as a librarian” (p. 71). MacMurchy’s chapter on feminine talents included attention to detail, patience, education, a businesslike approach to work, enthusiasm, and initiative. Columnists repeated these formulaic assessments for decades: “Her job is one that requires not only education, but good health, good temper, excellent judgement, and an enthusiasm and interest which is constant and self-renewing” (“Vocations for women—Librarian,” 1937, April 3, p. 11). Public discourse did not apply these typecast library traits and abilities to men.

Public stereotypes and deference to men rankled many women. Margaret Ray (1930), who became the associate librarian at Victoria University (Toronto) in 1935 and later its head librarian from 1952-1963, complained that women were forced to overcome major obstacles—male prejudice, “lack of pull,” and barriers to education (p. 137). Her observation about advancement in larger institutions was still true, twenty years later, according to Samuel Rothstein (1949), who later became director (1961-1971) and Professor of the University of British Columbia School of Librarianship, 1961-1986:

Library work is done by women, but it is run by men. Though there may well be some doubts as to the justice of the situation, it is an undeniable fact that there exists in the library world a strong prejudice in favour of men, especially when the question of appointment to administrative and supervisory positions arises. (p. 7)

Typical media depictions of librarians conveyed a negative public image that conceivably pigeonholed women. Elizabeth Dafoe (1948), head of the University of Manitoba’s libraries from 1937-1960, recounted the ubiquitous frumpy female librarian sitting near a “silence” sign and actresses appearing in the cinema: “She is short-sighted and uses horn-rimmed glasses to correct her myopia. Her skirt may sag a little or she may be very severely tailored” (p. 20). However, Dafoe was sure that librarians could rise above tired clichés and unwarranted criticism. As more management positions were created in the postwar era, commendable personal characteristics, such as initiative, imagination, and dedication were woven into the mix “to be effective in a modern library” (St. John, 1960, June 28, p. 7). Throughout the 1950s, efforts to dispel the derogatory image of the “well-meaning, and usually underpaid lady librarian of old” by conveying a meaningful social role gained traction (“Women working: Librarian fills community need,” 1958, Nov. 27, p. 16).

Despite efforts by women and men to seek improvement in library working conditions (CLA, 1957), there seemed no escape from inequitable remuneration. A federal government study using 1931 census data concluded that the emancipation of women in the national labour force was very partial. Young women aged 19-22 in all occupations could earn nearly as much money as men, but after they married or grew older, their remuneration fell behind (Canada Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1933, p. 9).

More than three decades later the systemic national gender pay gap was revealed in more detail. Sylvia Ostry (1968) found that women earned on average 54% of what men earned in 1961 and suggested 15-22% of the differential was due to gender discrimination (pp. 39-45). In these general conditions, a small, emergent profession such as librarianship was at risk: *Chatelaine* magazine presented library work as an attractive profession open to women “whose first consideration is not remuneration” (Althouse, 1931, p. 40). An April 1940 *Toronto Daily Star* editorial, “Librarians’ salaries,” drew attention to lower wages TPL librarians received compared to city high school teachers and nurses, and an April 1954 *Toronto Globe and Mail* editorial, “Librarians are underpaid,” specially singled out librarians as underpaid professionals. A survey of Toronto library school graduates concluded that “wherever women predominate, pay is low” (Bassam, 1958, p. 232). It seemed, too, that some librarians were not prepared to challenge societal norms or demand better working conditions. Some were ready to say, “Well, there’s nothing I can do about it. ... I just do my job, that’s all” (Status Seeker, 1961, p. 12) or to concede that women themselves “don’t want the responsibility” entailed by higher paying positions in which men “are likely to take the lead” (“It’s busy season for trained librarians,” 1961, March 2, p. 16). Likely, the hierarchical organization of libraries, especially larger ones that stood as exemplars, played a part in contributing to acquiescence in the workplace and reducing career expectations.

It is difficult to assess the extent to which the female concentration of librarians within Canadian libraries contributed to issues such as the marginalization of librarianship, sex-differentiated pay, or professional standing. Certainly, societal norms shaped librarianship. Harris (1992) argued that due to librarianship’s female-intensity its intermediary service role centering on the client’s need rather than the expertise of the librarian was not fully appreciated. This was a case of systemic gender bias that devalued the service typified by “women’s work.” The main thrust of Harris’ argument is reinforced by multiple attempts to counter negative stereotypes and to overcome inequitable working conditions. However, the client centrality of Harris’ argument overlooks the emphasis librarians placed on academic qualifications and their broader communal interactions—library programs, group instruction, student clubs, cooperative work with organizations, story hours, work in settlement houses, and extension services. It is conceivable that academically qualified librarians did not seek to create a client dependency but rather to promote client self-sufficiency and appreciation of the library’s potential through assistance. Moreover, a case can be made that the small number of librarians also hampered efforts to attain enhanced status as a profession: graduate numbers were perennially low between 1931-65 and did not rise appreciably until after 1960 (Figure 3). The total number of reported librarians was less than 3,500 in the 1961 census (Appendix 3). Consequently, collective action by librarians was constrained and, as the editor of *Saturday Night* (Farquharson, 1952) observed, librarianship could be considered a “forgotten profession.” Indeed, in the late 1950s there was a chronic shortage of librarians despite the fact that between 1951-1961 the rate of growth for librarians, especially men, was well above the average for Canada’s professional group as a whole (Ostry, 1967, pp. 20, 58-59). There was concern about the qualifications of foreign librarians, particularly British candidates filling employment positions in Canada (Ower, 1958). This shortage persisted into the 1960s despite the

creation of five new Canadian library schools which continued to attract many more women than men.

Figure 3. Graduates in library science programs, 1931-1965. Retrieved from Survey of Libraries, Part III: Library Education, 1960-1965 by Dominion Bureau of Statistics (Ottawa, 1966). This reproduction is a copy of an official work that is published by the Government of Canada. The reproduction has not been produced in affiliation with, or with the endorsement of the Government of Canada.

Discussion: Mid-Century Modern Canadian Librarianship

Preceding sections have examined three issues associated with the formation of Canadian librarianship between 1920-1960. Although the interrelationships between librarians working in various institutions or geographic settings and the emerging field of library science were complex and variable, librarianship essentially sought to connect books and people. The discipline of library science provided librarians with a core expertise combined with techniques to manage libraries and assist users that was more aligned with humanistic values. Librarians were inclined to interpret “scientific” in the sense of employing orderly practices and managing efficiency in the cause of public service. General laws or principles, such as S.R. Ranganathan’s *The Five Laws of Library Science* published in 1931, were not invoked. A nebulous “philosophy of librarianship” often sufficed in place of formal statements about principles. Many librarians were satisfied to consider librarianship as a cultural undertaking with its service goal of matching “the right book for the right reader,” a popular slogan which still

resonates in the 2000s (Johnson, 2007). Edmond Desrochers²¹ (1962) was an important exponent of the humanistic approach:

The scholarship of a professional librarian contains scientific elements, technological elements and humanistic elements. A philosophy of librarianship would put the emphasis on the humanistic elements, and must include the organical integration of these three elements, but this integration is not possible if the humanistic elements are not there. (p. 5)

Coming as it did at the outset of the 1960s, Desrochers' position minimized the impact of the social sciences in library science and reflected past tendencies about the significance of philosophy rather than a future course that would be charted by systems thinking and automation.

Even by the 1930s it was evident that planning, surveys, and projects, such as the Carnegie financed regional demonstrations in British Columbia and Prince Edward Island, were primarily administrative and relied on social research techniques. Administrators, such as Nora Bateson (1936 & 1938) who served as the director of libraries for Nova Scotia from 1938-1945, realized that social science methodologies were necessary to comprehend the effectiveness of library service. But the infusion of systematic methods at library schools was gradual, in part because pragmatists, such as Angus Mowat (1940),²² cautioned students to steer a middle road:

The librarian and staff must be thoroughly familiar with the community they are serving, and to this end a survey, not too intensive, of the town or city will always be helpful. I say 'not too intensive,' advisedly. You can go at it too hard. You can embroil yourself in graphs and jagged things that look like fever-charts and a lot of mumbo[-]jumbo which will only tend to obscure the issue. (p. 10)

On balance, librarianship exhibited a combination of cultural stewardship of printed resources and social service allied with managerial efficiency to serve a variety of clienteles. When the state of local Canadian libraries was considered by the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences, it recognized that "librarians must know their books and how to care for them; they must also know their community and how to serve it" (Canada, 1951, p. 108). Later, Douglas Lochhead (1959) delivered a similar message to Atlantic librarians: "We are publishers in the broadest sense and we should know something of the ways books are born by authors and raised by commercial publishers, and how best they can be ushered into the big, broad reading world" (p. 77).

Gendered public perceptions about female intensity tended to obscure the progress libraries and librarians were making after 1945. While the popular impression of the "old

²¹ Edmond E. Desrochers, S.J., was head librarian of the Maison Bellarmin, Montreal, and president of L'Association canadienne des bibliothécaires de langue française in 1953-1954 and the CLA in 1963-1964.

²² Angus Mowat was Inspector and Director of Ontario Public Libraries 1937-1960 and lecturer at the Toronto Library School.

lady librarian” shushing library patrons lingered as a social attitude, the evolution towards more positive representations of libraries and female librarians commenced after WWII. The war years helped fortify the idea that women could perform equally as well as men in trying circumstances. Accounts of library work by Elizabeth Loosley (1945) depicting challenges at an air force station and by Monica Hodges (1946) describing the difficulties of supplying naval libraries disproved the notion that women could not cope with demanding situations. When older attitudes about librarianship began to fade, new views surfaced on university campuses where library schools were situated: younger, more approachable careerists (“Librarians are changing image,” 1968, Oct. 1) were supplanting the shy, retiring, and spinster librarian (“Spinster librarians on the way out,” 1961, Sept. 22). Other constraints, such as the conception of the library staff as a “respectable refuge for weakened minds” (Lomer, 1949, p. 3), gave way to the idea that librarianship was a career for alert, intelligent, and active professionals of advanced university standing. Canadian documentary films, particularly the National Film Board’s *Library on Wheels* in 1945 and Crawley Film’s *The Librarian* in 1957, which depicted travelling bookmobile services and the unfolding career of a young man, were helpful for public viewings and vocational purposes. Yet, gendered problems, including the pay gap and the “glass ceiling,” remained muted until second-wave feminism surfaced in earnest after the federal government’s Royal Commission on the Status of Women issued its report in December 1970.

In the period under study, Canadian librarians pursued an informal, flexible professionalization in three main ways: the elaboration of educational standards and personal qualities for librarianship; the development of standardized workplace methods; and the recognition of commonalities via exchanges through associations. Margaret Ray (1930) felt that personal feminine attributes such as sympathy, intuition, patience in research, thoroughness in detail, and a tendency to stress the human side of library work were important in librarianship. Margaret Gill (1945) suggested that the professional person was known for integrity, high standards, and pride in work, but he or she would not necessarily be a member of a formal body. These were laudable qualities, but as the term “professional librarian” came into more frequent usage after 1945, there was more interest in academic attainment and social responsibility. Librarians were keen to make known their potential to improve the common good through education and training. A Toronto librarian, Jean Ross MacMillan (1944), asserted:

The technique of the librarian has as its objective the personal development of the reader. Knowing what book to suggest and why, knowing the life and taste and needs of the reader and the community and what book will serve is as much the profession as the most intelligent prescription or finest surgery (p. 282).

After the formation of the CLA (1947), which sought to “to promote high standards of librarianship and the welfare of librarians” (p. 3), its members were less enamoured with mandatory self-regulation, examinations, certification, or unionizing. The membership in the CLA was inclined to focus on national standards for public libraries (CLA, 1955) rather than participate in formation of local “blue-collar” unions. A Windsor librarian, Elizabeth Magee (1955), recognized there “is a vast difference between a professional

interest in improving the quality of recruitment and standard of service by obtaining fair wages, and the trade union interest in getting as much as the traffic will bear” (p. 72). The initial optimism that provincial certification based on education would provide evidence to the public of specialized knowledge and skills (Althouse, 1943) had faded in Ontario by 1960 as dissatisfaction set in over the process. In this year, a small group of librarians (less than 300) began the hopeful (but eventually unsuccessful) development of provincial self-regulation as a professional body (Linnell, 2006). More importantly, the idea of professionalism without formal regulation had also crystalized by 1960. John P. Wilkinson (1955) identified this strain of professionalism that centered on self-improvement and performance: the combination of advanced abstract knowledge and a service orientation was inherent in this school of thought but did not warrant the establishment of enforceable membership, codes, or regulatory bodies.

The modern idea of Canadian librarianship was formed incrementally and loosely structured in the first part of the twentieth century. Agreement on standards considered desirable or firm convictions about the certainty of principles was difficult to achieve collectively because librarians were employed in a variety of institutional roles with diverse clientele and administrative structures that made overarching consensus problematic. The formation of associations introduced the new factor of the preference to organize by type of library activity or subject interest that mirrored employment conditions. By WWII, special librarians had established a chapter in Montreal (1932) and in Toronto (1940), and children’s librarians had launched their own national association in 1939. This tendency quickened after 1960: the Canadian School Library Association formed in 1961 and was followed in 1963 by the Canadian Association of Law Libraries and Canadian Association of College and University Libraries. Regional loyalties remained strong well into the post-1945 period. The nation was characterized as an “unknown country” (Hutchison, 1942) separated by regional identities of the Maritimes, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairies, and British Columbia and divided by “two solitudes” of French and British ancestry with different religious and linguistic backgrounds (MacLennan, 1945). In Quebec, courses at the École de bibliothécaires taught the necessity to protect Catholic faith and morals through the prohibition of certain publications (Desrochers, 1959; Little, 2015), a position at odds with colleagues outside Quebec who sought a middle road (Kennedy, 1930; Porter, 1948). Edmond Desrochers (1964) stated the main aspect of the divide: “We have seen that the Canadian Library Association is bilingual and dedicated to biculturalism. But that does not mean that it is the Library Association of French Canada and that it can be” (p. 14). Lack of consensus about the authority of formal bodies blunted national efforts as did the reality of American influence in Canada. Canadian librarians did not create their own recognized professional statements partly because they could observe the ALA’s *Code of Ethics* adopted in 1938 and its *Freedom to Read* statement issued in 1953. Further, they could adopt standardized practices that had been tested south of the border, e.g., the CLA’s approval of the ALA’s *General Interlibrary Loan Code*, 1952.

Evolving library viewpoints on professional responsibility, standards, computerization, departmentalization, and a new discipline called library and information science hastened change after 1960. While the symbolic “storehouse of knowledge” library concept did not vanish, librarians refocused this role on the delivery of information and

community programming. Mary E. P. Henderson (1968),²³ was ready to pronounce the knell for the long-used slogan “we lived with so long: ‘If you like books and you like people’” (p. 194). The theme for the 1961 Montreal conference, “La profession de bibliothécaire,” introduced more secularized viewpoints in Quebec, which garnered support (Association canadienne des bibliothécaires de langue française, 1962). As advances in technology, information retrieval, and library automation developed, it became possible to envisage that the intermediary service role of the librarian would alter. Ritvars Bregzis (1966) correctly predicted that future clients would become more self-sufficient and need not travel to the library to obtain the information they required. Ever increasing library departmentalization introduced new concepts, such as “technical services,” the coordination of acquisitions, cataloguing, and processing resources (Bassam, 1964). Children’s librarianship, too, like society, was in transition: Alice Kane (1965), an accomplished storyteller-librarian at TPL, noted that the story hour, which was a mainstay for decades both in the library and on radio programmes, attracted fewer older boys and girls because they were maturing at an earlier age.

From the First World War until the 1960s, career librarians benefited from the evolution of higher educational qualifications, improved workplace methods, and the formation of associations. The aims of improved regional and national service for an expanded reading public, developing bibliographic methods, and connecting people with books were constant goals in the small, female-intensive Canadian “library community”. Librarians positioned themselves as educated, reliable, and unselfish professionals who fulfilled their users’ information needs. They projected a personal and discretionary concept about self-managed careers that suited a variety of employment settings where local staff associations could represent their interests. Still, after forty years, it was the future, not the past foundation, that had taken shape and engaged the attention of educators and practitioners. A growing number of library science educators began introducing new subject matter into curricula related to research methods, documentation, abstracting, literature searching, and machine methods of information retrieval. The discipline of information science, which was undergoing its own transformation, required librarians to consider more specialized training. It was clear there was less reliance on library tradition, especially relationships with print resources. The characteristics of media that impacted society, famously condensed to “the medium is the message” by Marshall McLuhan, presented challenges to the book-centred knowledge conception of librarianship conveyed to users. Emancipation in the struggle against gender inequality was underway in terms of salaries, but significant progress would have to await a sharper focus on disparities by the “four-fifths minority” in the 1970s (Smart, 1975). Challenges such as equal pay, maternity leave, and daycare would constitute some difficulties to be addressed with more vigour after 1960 by second-wave feminism. The construction of Canadian librarianship continued on a personalized professional basis with the value of service at the forefront together with newer principles, such as intellectual freedom and literacy. The range of issues became

²³ Mary Elizabeth Park Henderson directed the School of Library Science at the University of Alberta from 1971-1976. She earned her MA at the University of British Columbia (1943) and her BLS at the University of Toronto (1944). She was President of CLA in 1974-1975.

broader and less concerned with the edifying world of print. The beginning of the merger of librarianship and the information professional was underway.

APPENDIX 1: CANADIAN CARNEGIE LIBRARY GRANTS-IN-AID, 1931-1942			
Librarian	Grant(s)	Research Topic, Report or Thesis	University
Helen B. Armstrong	1932-34	<i>Bibliography of source materials in epic and romance</i>	London
Jack Ernest Brown	1939-40	<i>Extension of school and public library service in the Province of Alberta</i>	Chicago
Mary Duncan Carter	1931-33	<i>Reading interests</i>	Chicago
Marion Elizabeth Gilroy	1938-39	<i>Program of adult education for Halifax County Libraries</i>	Columbia
J. W. Gordon Gourlay	1941-42	<i>The role of Canadian public libraries in adult education</i>	Michigan
Peter F. Grossman	1937-38	<i>County library systems in California</i>	California
Dorothy Isabel Hamilton	1941-42	<i>The libraries of the universities of Alberta, British Columbia, Manitoba and Saskatchewan</i>	Michigan
Robert Morris Hamilton	1936-37	<i>Check list of provincial publications of Quebec and Ontario</i>	Columbia
Isabel Grace McTavish	1937-38	<i>The relation of the public library to other social agencies in work with young people</i>	Chicago
Jessie Fleming Montgomery	1932-33	<i>County libraries in England and Scotland</i>	London
Robert Russel Munn	1931-32	<i>A study of the physical area that a library may serve to advantage</i>	Columbia
Florence Beatrice Murray	1933-34	<i>Canadian government document catalogs and checklists</i>	Michigan
Margaret Louise Riley	1941-42	<i>Mutual relationships between public libraries and school libraries in providing library service to boys and girls in Canadian cities</i>	Columbia
Marjorie Bruce Sing	1935-36	<i>The function of the public library in the art education of the community</i>	Yale
Jean Eileen Stewart	1938-39	<i>The public library in Canada in relation to government</i>	Chicago
Jean Thomson	1934-35	<i>Dramatic work with children in libraries</i>	London
Marie Tremaine	1929-37	<i>Canadian publications in the 18th century</i>	London
Frances W. Trotter	1934-35	<i>Dramatic work with children in England and on the continent</i>	London
Freda F. Waldon	1931-32	<i>Bibliography of Canadiana published in Great Britain to 1763</i>	London

APPENDIX 2: CANADIAN MASTER'S AT AMERICAN LIBRARY SCHOOLS, 1937-1960

Librarian	Topic, Report, Thesis	University	Year
Mary E. Silverthorn	<i>The Public Library Registration Card as a Source of Reader Information</i>	Illinois	1937
Bertha Bassam	<i>The Teaching of Subject Cross References</i>	Columbia	1942
Olga B. Bishop	<i>Thomas Chandler Haliburton: A Bibliography</i>	Michigan	1952
Robert Blackburn	<i>Branch Library Size and Geographic Range of Service</i>	Columbia	1948
Edmond E. Desrochers	<i>Report of a Library Survey of the Library of the Editorial Staff of the Periodical 'America'</i>	Columbia	1951
Shirley E. Ellison	<i>Library Service to Children in the Rural Areas of British Columbia</i>	Washington	1952
Maira L. English	<i>A Study of Library Service to Sparsely Populated Areas with Special Reference to Northern British Columbia</i>	Washington	1953
Jean I. Gorwill	<i>A History of London (Ontario) Public Library</i>	North Carolina	1958
François-Xavier Grondin	<i>Research Materials in Canadian Constitutional History and Political Science at the University of Michigan</i>	Michigan	1948
Ronald Hagler	<i>Author headings for Canadian Government Publications: Analysis and Preliminary List</i>	Michigan	1959
Ester G. Harrop	<i>Some Early Canadian Libraries</i>	Western Reserve	1950
Elizabeth S. Mitchell	<i>A Report of a Survey of Library Service to Boys and Girls in the Schools of the City of Sudbury and the Township of McKim, Ontario, Canada</i>	Columbia	1952
Marget H.C. Meikleham	<i>Ontario Government Departments: An Outline History of a Selected Group of Publishing Bodies</i>	Michigan	1940
Jean Miyazawa	<i>A Study of the Extension Services of the British Columbia Public Library Commission</i>	Washington	1956
Auguste-M. Morisset	<i>Differences in Entry in the Catalogues of the Library of Congress, British Museum, Bibliothèque Nationale, Deutscher Gesamtkatalog</i>	Columbia	1948
Catherine Pearce	<i>The Development of Special Libraries in Montreal and Toronto</i>	Illinois	1947
Patrick R. Penland	<i>Accrediting Library Schools: A Study of the Background and Problems</i>	Michigan	1955
Donald Redmond	<i>Some College Libraries of Canada's Maritime Provinces</i>	Illinois	1950
Winifred H. Snider	<i>Extramural Library Service in Libraries and Extension Departments of Canadian Universities</i>	Western Reserve	1948

APPENDIX 3: REPORTED LIBRARIANS BY AGE, MARTIAL STATUS, SCHOOLING, AND SEX FOR CANADA, 1931 AND 1961					
Census 1931			Census 1961		
Category	Male	Female	Category	Male	Female
Age 20-34	37	378	Age 15-34	206	980
Age 35-54	82 (40%)	309 (38%)	Age 35-54	322 (51%)	1268 (45%)
Age 55 and over	84	119	Age 55 and over	102	561
			<i>Average Age</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>42</i>
Single	53 (26%)	709 (88%)	Single	240 (38%)	1624 (58%)
Married	139 (69%)	30 (4%)	Married	382 (61%)	950 (34%)
Widowed or Divorced	11	67	Widowed	8	191
			Divorced	0	44
			Highest Elementary	18	55
			Highest Secondary	163 (26%)	957 (34%)
			Some University	80	380
			University Degree	369 (61%)	1417 (50%)
Totals each category	203 (20%)	806 (80%)		630 (18%)	2809 (82%)
Sources: <i>Census of Canada 1931</i> , vol. 7, table 53; <i>Census of Canada 1961</i> , vol. 3, pt. 1, table 17. Reproduced and distributed on an "as is" basis with the permission of Statistics Canada.					

APPENDIX 4: REPORTED LIBRARIANS BY SEX AND ETHNICITY FOR CANADA, 1931 AND 1961					
Census 1931			Census 1961		
Racial Origin*	Male	Female	Ethnicity*	Male	Female
British	130 (64%)	738 (92%)	British Isles	319 (53%)	1912 (70%)
French	66 (33%)	47 (6%)	French	175 (29%)	419 (15%)
German and Austrian	2	6	German	15	121
Other Central European	0	0	Hungarian	19	31
Italian	0	0	Italian	7	12
Hebrew	3	4	Jewish	2	31
Dutch	1	7	Netherlands	9	30
Eastern European	0	0	Polish	8	33
			Russian	4	17
Scandinavian	0	2	Scandinavian	10	28
Japanese	0	0	Other European	22	79
Chinese	0	0	Asiatic	11	14
Native Indian	0	1	Native Indian	0	1
Totals	202 (20%)	805 (80%)		601 (18%)	2728 (82%)
*Racial origin and ethnicity were traced through the father in both censuses. Quebec reported 191 male and 518 female librarians in 1961.					
Sources: <i>Census of Canada 1931</i> , vol. 7, table 49; <i>Census of Canada 1961</i> , vol. 3, pt. 1, table 21. Reproduced and distributed on an "as is" basis with the permission of Statistics Canada.					

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