“The Little Strangers at Our Gate”: Toronto Public Library’s Experimentation with the Settlement House Movement, 1910s-1930s

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Running Header: “Little Strangers at Our Gate”

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Abstract: This article is a case study of Toronto Public Library’s (TPL) early collaboration with social workers through its participation in the settlement house movement in the 1910s-1930s. While the image of the public library as a social equalizer is often attributed to its origins in the free libraries movement, and while the first Chairman of its board characterized TPL as a “literary park” for “the rich and poor alike,” historical efforts to extend the public library into social work-like activities remained short-term, ad hoc experiments that failed to generate transformational change. This article presents the challenges faced by a large Canadian urban public library as it attempted to position itself not only as an educational institution but also as a social service. TPL’s activities in settlement neighborhoods reinforced rather than subverted the cultural status quo largely because it had no intentions to make radical program departures.

Keywords: Toronto Public Library, public libraries – Canada, history of libraries, social settlements, settlement house movement

In recent years, public libraries have renewed their interest in embedding social workers on site to help vulnerable community members access information, resulting in numerous case studies touting the potential value of library-based social work. In New Jersey, Long Branch Public Library partnered with Monmouth University's social work program to offer placements for Master's of Social Work (MSW) students at local branches, an arrangement that both benefited students and mitigated the public library's budgetary constraints.¹ Social work programs at the University of Maryland, New York University, and the University of Alaska Anchorage similarly piloted MSW internships at public libraries.² A 2018 case study of four Canadian public library systems (Thunder Bay, Kitchener, Mississauga, and Edmonton) with embedded social workers suggests that library social work "shows promise" in helping a community deal with homelessness, housing instability, and poverty.³ Common assumptions underlying these case studies include the thought that public libraries and social workers form a natural synergy in democratizing society and the conviction that such partnerships are novel and transformational. While popular discourse often presents the public library as the great social equalizer—a description shaped by the library's past as a gathering place for diverse peoples and mythicized by the philanthropic legacy of Andrew Carnegie—the history of these professions collaborating at settlement house libraries in the early twentieth century suggests that much more than simpatico outlooks is required for library-social work partnerships to succeed.

Using Toronto Public Library's (TPL) foray into the settlement house movement in the 1910s-1930s as a case study, this article sheds light on a lesser-known aspect of Canadian urban public library history—namely, the attempts of librarians to adopt social-work-like initiatives in the early twentieth century. In the literature about Toronto's settlement house movement and about library services to immigrants, the contributions of Canadian libraries—and more specifically, the contributions of TPL—to the settlement house movement have tended to be mentioned only in passing. This article contributes to the literature by surfacing TPL's exact role in the movement through a close reading of surviving primary source documents that originated at the library and the settlement houses themselves. The case study approach allows for a valuable, critical examination of the purported successful relationship that a major Canadian public library attempted to cultivate with early social workers. It takes into account both parties' perspectives on the achievements and limitations of their partnership. In the process, the case study reveals TPL's perceptions of its own responsibilities as an educational and social

institution. As John Hallam, the TPL Board's first Chairman, boasted in 1883, public libraries in Canada were meant to help citizens "advance to the front, and keep pace with the world in art, science, and commerce, and augment the sum of human happiness," serving both "the rich and poor alike."⁴ However, as historian-librarian Lorne Bruce has pointed out, rather than righting socioeconomic imbalances, public libraries played a fundamental role in the formation of a white, Protestant, English-speaking Canadian society through the establishment of a more literate, and ergo, more "devout" and moral society.⁵

Toronto's social and cultural scenes have often been influenced by those of major American cities. Scholars Dee Garrison and Cheryl Knott have separately demonstrated how the public library movement reinforced social stratification by class and race across the United States in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century.⁶ The Toronto experience echoes aspects of these findings. Despite general acceptance that public education contributed to social progress, Canada did not become a social welfare state until after the Second World War, and activities around poverty relief and social assistance in the early twentieth century rested almost exclusively on religious and charitable groups. In Toronto, efforts to provide relief were tempered by notions of the "Social Gospel." A 1909 University of Toronto sermon given by Bishop C. P. Anderson of Chicago emphasized the importance of instating "a social gospel, whereby people might be made to understand and acknowledge their social as well as their individual responsibilities" to each other rather than relying on organizations that could not be held accountable for mistakes.⁷ In the absence of a concerted, wide-scale, institutions-based strategy to combat poverty, racism, and xenophobia, individual actors' efforts to push the boundaries of the status quo remained largely experimental. TPL librarians became one such group of actors to trial early social work approaches, with mixed results.

By engaging directly with primary source documents from both TPL and its settlement house partners, this article explores how TPL librarians' involvement in social work-like activities in the early decades of the twentieth century helped to reinforce, rather than subvert, the predominant culture of a white, Protestant, class-conscious patriarchy. This article will show that differing views amongst settlement house workers and TPL librarians, with respect to how library services should be organized at the settlements, were early indications of a relationship that was intended to be short-term and ad-hoc. As TPL's resources stretched across an increasingly extensive array of services, and new opportunities for collaboration arose with other

community partners—namely schools—TPL’s refocus on education and literacy shifted it further and further away from its settlement house explorations.

Methodology

This case study employs a historical approach, being structured around the examination of archival records that document TPL’s involvement in the settlement house movement. As an urban public library system that underwent significant growth throughout the early twentieth century, and whose accomplishments were noted not only within Ontario but also across the broader American Library Association (ALA) community, TPL is a useful subject for studying the early relationship between public libraries and social work in English Canada. The primary sources examined for this study include public documents and internal records generated by Toronto’s three most prominent settlement houses of the twentieth century, along with TPL’s archival records. The historical records of the three settlement houses—Central Neighbourhood House (CNH), St. Christopher House, and University Settlement—are largely held at the City of Toronto Archives, with a small portion of University Settlement records held at the University of Toronto Archives. TPL’s historical records are scattered across several collections. These include: TPL annual reports, digitized by TPL’s Reference Library; assorted documents and clippings from the Baldwin Collection; minutes of Board meetings and Libraries & Finance Committee meetings, housed at the Toronto Reference Library; and staff daybooks, correspondences, and papers from the Boys and Girls House Archives, housed within the Lillian H. Smith Branch’s Osborne Collection. Archival records of Hull House, a former settlement house that now serves as a museum within the University of Illinois at Chicago, were also examined, to provide a comparative context for understanding the phenomenon of settlement house-library collaborations in the late nineteenth to early twentieth century. For a contemporary take on the topics of social assistance, settlements, and the social role of institutions like the public library, historical periodical issues were consulted, including *Bulletin of the American Library Association*, *Ontario Library Review*, *The Toronto Daily Star*, and *The Globe*. Due to a dearth of primary sources to corroborate TPL’s account of its work at Memorial Institute, the latter settlement house has been excluded from this study. However, from the records that are

included, this case study intends to spur more comparative studies of public libraries' experiences with settlement work, particularly in the Canadian context.

Background

The late Victorian image of librarians as a class of refined, genteel elites who contributed to cultural enlightenment, social reform, and moral uplift is well documented in library history literature. Indeed, the term “apostles of culture” was first applied to librarians by Garrison in her exploration of the historical development of librarianship as a professional identity.⁸ While Garrison focused primarily on the American experience, similarities can be found within English Canada. For instance, the philosophical belief that “book selection” (that is, collection development) should form the basis of librarians' social role found its way into the curriculum of Ontario's first formal librarian training program, which was based in Toronto.⁹ Educators there considered the theory and practice of collection development so fundamental that they were applied to all types of libraries, whether academic or public. Collection development also served as the foundation of children's librarianship under the direction of Pittsburgh-trained Canadian librarian, Lillian H. Smith, who led TPL's Boys and Girls Division from 1912 to 1952.¹⁰

The establishment of settlement houses in Toronto—or social settlements, as they were sometimes called—was due in part to the broader story of the social progress movement in Canada, and the rise of settlement houses coincided with a time when librarians were beginning to take an active interest in reaching new audiences and proving to conservative decision-makers in the city the full value of social institutions. To understand why TPL became involved in settlement houses, then, it is useful to first examine what settlement houses were, and second, to look at why early social workers sought out public librarians as potential program partners. Like the free libraries movement, the settlement house movement was a product of the late Victorian preoccupation with social progress and moral improvement. Settlement houses were so named because early social workers established and lived in these homes and created and operated local programs and activities there, targeting residents in need of some form of assistance. Settlement houses were often established in densely populated urban neighborhoods and funded by donors. By living among the working class and the poor, social workers theorized that they could make direct observations on what their neighbors required for social and economic betterment.

Proponents of the movement took a particular interest in cities that experienced rapid industrialization, urbanization, and population growth, as the symptoms of these changes often included a widening gap in wealth, labor unrest, and fears around vice and rising crime.

In the absence of a coordinated social welfare program, settlement houses provided an alternative to the short-term relief measures offered by charities and workhouses. Moreover, organizers of settlement houses endeavored to keep their purpose distinct from those of Christian missions, trying not to offend the scruples of progressive evangelists who believed that enacting social reform to improve lives was an inherently Christian act.¹¹ Indeed, as Cathy James has argued, the social settlements could be seen as “deliberate extensions” of the domestic sphere in that they privileged the betterment of home life and middle-class family values through educational, social, and public health offerings.¹² Settlement house workers also promoted the message that neighbors should help each other. The movement’s proponents extolled an ethos of cooperation through their curation and delivery of educational and recreational programs, counting on a largely voluntary workforce of university students, and by tapping into the expertise of doctors and nurses for family health knowledge.¹³ Of course, reform-minded progressives were not a cohesive group. There were reformers who saw limited value in establishing settlements; J. S. Woodsworth, for instance, felt that issues like poverty and slums could only be solved through broad, sustained reforms rather than local measures that amounted to temporary respite.¹⁴ Moreover, as Ramsay Cook has pointed out, reformers were divided on the extent to which individualism (rather than socialism) and Christian morality (rather than secular ethics) should figure into efforts to remedy social wrongs; this was a fundamental conflict of the social gospel.¹⁵

Although the Canadian settlement house movement began later than its American and British counterparts, and although earlier attempts to establish settlements at the turn of the twentieth century were short-lived, three settlement houses were created from 1910 to 1912 in the city of Toronto. The settlements were the University Settlement, CNH, and St. Christopher House. Citing London’s Toynbee Hall as an inspiration, settlement house workers rejected the culture of “philanthropic condescension” that dominated charity work; instead, they proudly explained, by living among the poor and newly settled migrants, they could form their own observations about the neighborhood’s needs and build direct friendships with the individuals they assisted.¹⁶ John Joseph Kelso, founder of the Toronto Humane Society and the Children’s

Aid Society, and William Lyon Mackenzie King, future Prime Minister of Canada, were among a spectrum of politically and philosophically diverse, reform-minded figures who found themselves drawn to the grassroots approach of social settlements.¹⁷ As a young man, and before he entered the federal civil service, King was a fan of Jane Addams and her work co-founding one of Chicago's settlement houses, Hull House, where he lived briefly while studying political economy at the University of Chicago.¹⁸

Indeed, many of the reformers, enthralled by the concept of settlement houses, looked to Hull House for ideas on implementing a similar resource at home. Addams called the settlement "an experimental effort to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems which are engendered by the modern conditions of life in a great city."¹⁹ As a sociologist and pacifist, Addams was vocal in expressing her view that democracy required a foundation of religious, cultural, and racial tolerance. She attempted to bridge cultural and class divisions by mingling with neighbors, teaching skills to facilitate social mobility, encouraging neighbors to share aspects of their ethnic culture, and helping immigrants adjust to American life.²⁰ A frequent public speaker, she visited Toronto numerous times to talk about her work: at the Pan-American Congress of Education and Religion in 1895, at the Conference of Charities and Correction in 1897, and again in 1909 to address the meeting of the International Council of Women. The latter appearance reportedly attracted "the largest audience to date" for the conference.²¹ It is worth noting that aside from hosting papers on women's civic participation, the International Council of Women meeting also featured talks about literature and the arts—topics that would almost certainly have interested librarians as "apostles of culture."

Addams's popularity may have helped to propel Hull House as a model for integrating literary activities into settlement houses, but social workers and librarians in Toronto had other examples to consult as well. In American cities, settlement houses had long become the site of literary clubs, debate clubs, and performance groups—social opportunities that were designed to help the working class improve their literacy skills, and for non-native English-speakers to practice and improve their language abilities.²² Some settlement houses employed university-educated women specifically to run reading rooms. At a time when women had few options to join a profession, these women justified their participation in settlement work as a natural extension of maternal duties.²³ The establishment of reading rooms and library-like services such

as book circulation and storytelling programs in settlement houses served as a de facto testing ground for extending branch libraries into poor neighborhoods.

The demand for these literacy programs and reading materials was driven first and foremost by neighborhood needs rather than the desires of taxpayers. At Hull House, for example, settlement house workers ran book clubs and offered space for a Chicago Public Library (CPL) children's reading room. It was immediately popular. In her memoirs, Addams recounts: "The little lending library . . . involved not only obtaining and administering the books, but receiving in the House hordes of children, whose comings and goings it was far from easy to keep upon the agreeable footing of hosts and guests."²⁴ CPL soon outgrew this space and as a result, left to establish a separate, full-fledged branch library.²⁵ Several clubs nonetheless retained their own libraries, as an internal study showed that the majority of the older children, many of them first- or second-generation immigrants, continued to rely on their school and on Hull House for books.²⁶ Meanwhile, the Men's Club library served dual roles as a reading room for immigrants and a day shelter for the unemployed, who filled it at all times of the day.²⁷ From the 1920s to 1944, CPL reopened a station at Hull House, and hosted story hours there.²⁸

TPL's Silence on Charity and Relief

Echoing the Chicago experience, TPL librarians used settlement houses as an opportunity to expand their sphere of influence and to demonstrate the important role that the public library could play in both education and the new field of social work. However, TPL occupied a complicated position. It was true that TPL's mandate was to educate any adults willing to improve themselves through literacy, regardless of class and social standing. Nonetheless, as a public institution funded through taxation, TPL was also compelled to demonstrate that it contributed to civic order. This was because throughout the late 1890s, Toronto city council continually reduced the public library budget, against the protests of the library board. It was amid this landscape that TPL remained largely silent on issues around charity and relief. Despite TPL's awareness of major socioeconomic concerns affecting the city evidenced in its implicit reference to cycles of unemployment, no mention of the 1897 Conference of Charities and Correction, a large-scale international congress on social welfare and reform held in Toronto, can be found in TPL's surviving documents.²⁹ The conference's advocacy for the development and

incorporation of more educational programming a component of relief work would have complemented TPL's mandate as an educational and cultural institution. Yet, nearly another two decades would pass before TPL would begin to refer to itself regularly as the "People's University."³⁰ Similarly, during the First World War, nationalism and support of the war effort were mentioned throughout TPL's annual reports, yet the institution remained silent on the post-war economic fall-out that included labor unrest, such as the Winnipeg General Strike and smaller scale strikes in Toronto in 1919.³¹ This silence seemed to be at odds with TPL's origins in the Mechanics Institute and the latter's focus on supporting skilled trade workers.

Moreover, the same sense of Protestant do-goodism that influenced much of the city's political establishment, and that appeared to guide individuals of a particular class and cultural background, permeated TPL at various levels. As Chairman of the TPL Board, T.W. Banton, a labor columnist with *The Toronto Star* and supporter of international unionism, wrote in the 1914 library annual report: "In the days gone by saloons were plentiful on the landscape and libraries were scarce. The day is coming when libraries will be plentiful and saloons will be scarce."³² In her paper on TPL's services for immigrants during George Locke's tenure as chief librarian (1908-1937), TPL historian Barbara Myrvold highlights the privileged personal background shared not only by the managers who influenced library service policies, but also the frontline librarians who served the social settlements. Both Locke and Smith were descendants of Methodist ministers; likewise, Gladys Burns, a children's librarian posted with the library at CNH, was the daughter of a Methodist minister who was well connected with the social clubs of the new Toronto elite class.³³ Hope Ellsworth, another frontline librarian at the settlement libraries, was the niece of Sir Joseph Flavelle, a wealthy Methodist merchant and philanthropist who supported the Canada Temperance Act and served executive and board roles in the banking and insurance industries.³⁴ Ruth Soward, the third frontline librarian profiled in Myrvold's paper, was the daughter of an Ontario College of Education professor and the wife of the solicitor for the Toronto Diocese of the Anglican Church of Canada; Soward was, in her own right, an active member on the Canadian Council of Churches.³⁵ Locke himself held prestigious posts as president of both the Arts & Letters Club and Canadian Club, and was distinguished for having held teaching posts at the University of Chicago and Harvard prior to becoming the Chief Librarian of TPL.³⁶ These librarians were educated, socially well connected, and—at least on the surface—shared little in common with the population served by the social settlements.

In Toronto, the years leading up to the First World War were especially harsh for immigrants who lacked social supports or financial safety nets. As historian J. M. S. Careless notes, the city saw its population triple between 1871 to 1895 because of a combination of factors: “natural increase,” the annexation of suburban communities, and new residents arriving from rural areas and abroad.³⁷ Although many migrants were simply passing through Toronto on their way to American cities, by the early 1890s, about a third of the residents of Toronto could be considered immigrants. While most newcomers to Toronto were working-class immigrants from the British Isles, those of continental European, Jewish, Russian, or Asian descent mostly settled in the centrally located neighborhood of St. John’s Ward (“The Ward”), where housing costs were low. The conspicuousness of their customs and language, gathered in a densely populated neighborhood, tapped into the xenophobia of the Anglo-centric majority, who considered certain cultural communities “unassimilable.”³⁸ In 1897, King wrote about The Ward for the conservative *Daily Mail and Empire*, warning that “If the population of Toronto is to continue strong and healthy, congestion in crowded centres must be rigorously prevented; otherwise the children of coming years will wear the marks of physical and moral decay, which are already only too apparent in many of the artisan classes in American cities.”³⁹ In contrast, a 1908 article in another conservative paper, *The Globe*, profiled Finnish settlers in Toronto; its author heralded the success of Finnish settlers’ assimilation: “There is probably not a Finn in the district known as ‘The Ward,’ that ancient battleground appealing little to the taste of these quiet, self-respecting people.”⁴⁰

By 1911, developments in The Ward were causing concern from another perspective—that of public health. Medical Health Officer Dr. Charles J. Hastings noted that overcrowding in The Ward, along with precarious labor, poor transit service to outlying areas, and a housing crisis, was leading to the rise of slum neighborhoods, setting the scene for a future public health crisis.⁴¹ This was compounded by the widespread anti-Semitism and xenophobia that Jewish, Eastern European, Chinese, and Black tenants experienced in their daily lives.⁴² Hastings wrote that “measures must be taken to prevent these new citizens from being exploited by persons who do not even provide proper sanitary housing for them.”⁴³ He urged the city to create and enforce housing bylaws, to establish “suburban garden cities” sustained by affordable rapid transportation, and to undertake proper city planning.⁴⁴ Despite Hastings’ calls to action, the city’s response wavered between ineffectiveness and punishment. Backers of the “city beautiful”

movement called for slums to be razed, believing that the removal of a visual blight would lead to moral improvement.⁴⁵ In reality, demolition rarely restored residential zones.⁴⁶ Others wanted little to do with homelessness and poverty, seeing the issues not as systemic problems for the city to solve but as individual offenses to be discouraged and disciplined. In November 1912, the Civic Legislation Committee chaired by Alderman John Wanless resolved to ask Council for powers to license lodging houses, limit the number of inmates per lodging, and send “tramps and vagrants up for indeterminate sentence instead of winter’s board and lodging.”⁴⁷ Wanless, in his concurrent role as Chair of the Charities Commission, accused social agencies of duplicating services and wasting resources; he included CNH as a particular target of his remarks.⁴⁸

Even though TPL largely stood outside of these discussions, reformers, inspired by movements in London and Chicago, proposed social settlements as a solution to temptation and vice. They found an intellectual outlet for the skills and knowledge they had acquired through higher education—particularly the women, who had few career opportunities outside of marriage. Playing to the sensibilities of the political establishment, settlement house workers told the press that they aimed to teach newcomers English and the “Canadian ways and habits of living.”⁴⁹ While the use of institutions to enforce specific citizenship values can retrospectively be seen as a form of settler colonialism, at the time, reformers genuinely believed that they were improving democracy by helping their neighbors.⁵⁰ Embedded in public assurances that immigrants would learn and adopt Canadian customs was the issue of race. Elisabeth Lasch-Quinn and Charles Hounmenou have suggested that in the United States, the settlement house movement tended to focus on integrating white European immigrants and overlooked immigrants of color.⁵¹ Mary Jo Deegan argues that in the case of Hull House, Addams’s work on expanding the boundaries of political participation for African Americans actually required Addams to “cross the color line” on a regular basis.⁵² In contrast, the experience of Blacks in Toronto’s social settlements is not well documented. Archival records suggest that support networks for Blacks in Toronto tended to center around the YWCA and church life rather than settlement houses, and CNH case notes contained only the occasional reference to Black neighbors.⁵³

Nonetheless, the establishment of University Settlement in 1910, CNH in 1911, and St. Christopher House in 1912 launched an era of reform in Toronto that broke from tradition. These settlement houses required staff and volunteers to become fully immersed within vulnerable

communities. They targeted neighborhoods in underserved downtown districts that lacked cultural and recreational spaces for the poor, including a clear shortage of conveniently located public libraries. In the decade that the settlement houses were launched, TPL's College Street branch remained the nearest downtown branch to offer children's services—but overcrowding at this branch was a frequent complaint. What librarians failed to acknowledge—or perhaps, observe—was that among many families in the surrounding neighborhoods, considerations as basic as the lack of money to buy new shoes for walking long distances underscored the significance of geography as a service barrier for the poor and working class.⁵⁴ The scarcity of local libraries for children may have also influenced settlement house workers to fill the void.

{Figure 1 About Here}

TPL Experiences at Each Settlement House

Recognizing the need for more library services, particularly for children, was an admirable beginning for reformers, but sustaining services proved to be the true challenge. This next section will examine the successes and failures that social workers and public librarians experienced in their implementation of literary and library programs at Toronto settlement houses.

University Settlement Library

University Settlement was the first settlement house to connect with TPL. Influenced by Addams's views on diversity, tolerance, and democracy, University Settlement was established within a heavily industrialized neighborhood (467 Adelaide Street West, near Peter Street) in which seventy percent of the population was considered “foreign.”⁵⁵ University of Toronto President Robert Falconer, a Presbyterian minister and scholar, saw this settlement as a real-life laboratory for his students.⁵⁶ Staff were engaged to run programs such as baby clinics, a mothers' club, a milk depot, a fresh-air station, English classes, and camps. Through the social activities, family values and gender roles were reinforced in subtle ways. Youth programs were designed with the assumption that men and women ultimately carried out different responsibilities in

society. The sewing club consisted only of girls, while the civics club, with its mock elections, debate opportunities, and model parliament, had an all-boys membership. The work of the settlement also began to take on an increasingly gendered appearance. By the 1920s, social work students from the University, many of them women, were completing field placements there.⁵⁷

At first, University Settlement's in-house library was managed by its own staff. But in 1914, University Settlement became the first settlement house to receive donations of withdrawn books from TPL. This relationship was an outgrowth of TPL's desire to demonstrate that public library access fit within the larger nation-building exercise. Locke, chief librarian of TPL from 1908 to 1937, spoke often of libraries helping residents develop "a greater Canadian national spirit."⁵⁸ At the time, being listed in the City Directory—or having a guarantor who was listed—was a requirement for receiving a public library card. The Social Service Council of Ontario asked settlement house staff to find people willing to become guarantors, calling the proliferation of library card distribution "a good piece of Canadianization work to encourage our foreign born residents."⁵⁹ By 1922, University Settlement was hosting an official TPL children's branch. Staff remarked that for the first time, local children possessed a library card.⁶⁰ TPL remained there until 1957, when the settlement house closed for reconstruction. When University Settlement reopened, TPL did not return.

CNH Library

When Victoria College students Arthur Burnett and George Bryce, in collaboration with Kelso, founded CNH, they envisioned it as "a democratic meeting-place" within The Ward, where people of all races and religions could meet and learn from each other.⁶¹ CNH commissioned a *Toronto Daily Star* piece that introduced the public to the settlement house ethos.⁶² Unlike the other settlement houses discussed here, CNH did not push a Canadianization agenda, stating instead that, "Jew, Italian, Pole, Greek, Chinese, Russian and British, all are welcome" as "new citizens" of the country.⁶³ The immediate recognition of newcomers as "citizens" made CNH progressive for the era. CNH further distinguished itself by remaining secular, resisting the urge to evangelize even though around eighty percent of The Ward's population was Jewish.⁶⁴ The CNH board hired as its first head worker Elizabeth Neufeld, a social worker whose Russian American Jewish heritage and fluency in Yiddish, Russian, Polish,

German, and English enabled her to communicate with residents of The Ward in a culturally sensitive manner. The board also decided against observing Christian or Jewish holidays.⁶⁵ This separation of social aid from religious impulses was radical for a city that still relied on a Morality Department within its police force to impose Protestant middle-class values.⁶⁶

The inaugural staff of CNH organized an in-house library within the first year of operations. Reporting to the board in February 1912, Neufeld stated that the library work was met with “a great deal of interest among the children.”⁶⁷ She expressed hope that adults would use the library too.⁶⁸ The start date of the TPL-CN H partnership is, however, disputable, for although TPL retrospectively dated its involvement to 1918, it was not until December 1919, after CNH had relocated to Elm Street, that settlement house staff converted a basement room into TPL space.⁶⁹ Neufeld’s successor, Helen Austin, reported in her 1919-1920 annual report that CNH now had a TPL librarian managing book circulation and story hours.⁷⁰

While the CNH library was popular with children, it fell short of TPL librarians’ expectations. Much like the experience at Hull House, within a few short years of its opening, the CNH library could no longer accommodate all those who wanted to attend story hours or borrow books.⁷¹ In response, TPL transferred this branch to the evangelical Scott Institute. Nonetheless, Austin continued to champion the CNH library as a neighborhood priority, noting that some children were simply too young to walk to TPL branches on their own. Social work students supervised the CNH library, taking over story hours and stocking the shelves with donations.⁷² In 1926, TPL left Scott Institute due to a “change in administration,” and returned to CNH.⁷³ By all appearances, Scott Institute, a zealous Christian mission, did not align with TPL’s outward agnosticism. Locke himself was adamant that TPL must remain secular: at the 1917 Ontario Library Association (OLA) conference, Locke rejected the notion that church presence bestowed legitimacy on public institutions, stating that “There is no connection between the church or the school or any other institution and the public library. The adult borrowers may be church-members but not necessarily so . . . The public library is not concerned with these things.”⁷⁴ CNH welcomed TPL’s return with “great joy.”⁷⁵

However, when CNH moved again in 1929, TPL left for good. One CNH staff member, Marjorie Twitchell, tried to keep the CNH library running. Recognizing that it was, for many members, the only library within walking distance, she noted that children borrowed books for themselves as well as for their parents.⁷⁶ She asked for donations of light reading materials and

children's books, and she added further that the women who frequented CNH appreciated "the opportunity to borrow fiction suited to their tastes."⁷⁷ Her recognition that these women should be free to choose books based on personal reading preferences revealed a longstanding paradox that persists in modern day collection development: should limited budgets be spent on what library users want or on what is best for them, and by what measure can librarians determine users' need? As TPL began to expand its network of school libraries, Twitchell eventually admitted that CNH could not support local reading interests on its own.⁷⁸ And in 1942, CNH attempted to recruit volunteers from the University of Toronto Library.⁷⁹ Unfortunately, this effort appears to have failed: by 1945, CNH staff decided that since they could no longer maintain the library, they would instead bring children to TPL's Boys and Girls House for Saturday Story Hours.⁸⁰ It was a concession necessitated by the lack of resources and capacity to replicate librarians' work.

St. Christopher House Library

The Presbyterian Church, which had played a prominent part in the Social Gospel, established St. Christopher House in 1912 in order to influence the direction of the settlement house movement. St. Christopher House (67 Bellevue Place, now Wales Ave) was located in a multi-ethnic working class neighborhood that reported a high number of "juvenile delinquents."⁸¹ The university-educated staff at the settlement wanted to take a "social science" approach to programming decisions, but this occasionally brought them at odds with the Church.⁸² Thus, while they established clubs and programs similar to those found at other settlements, they also compromised by holding Bible classes and Sunday School meetings. On the surface, the settlement strived to appeal to neighbors of all religious backgrounds, seeking to establish secular spaces within the house. Sir James Wood, a local philanthropist, played a key role in establishing its library. He financed the building and library renovations, which St. Christopher House staff welcomed, shortly after the settlement's initial request for TPL assistance had been turned down by Locke in 1919. Consequently, settlement house staff decided to manage their own library and to send a staff member to the Toronto library training course at the University of Toronto.⁸³

Smith seized upon the opportunity. Graduating from Victoria College just a year before her fellow alumna founded CNH, she was likely already aware of the work of settlement houses. As head of children's services at TPL, she was looking for ways to advance children's librarianship as a profession and saw St. Christopher House library as a chance to do so. She appealed to Locke's sense of social responsibility by stressing the urgent need to expand children's library services beyond the existing branches. From reviewing TPL's surviving documents, there is a sense that Smith may have lobbied Locke to change his mind. In 1920, Smith stated: "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."⁸⁴

A Boys and Girls Work Congress, hosted by TPL that year, strengthened Smith's argument. The purpose of the conference was to establish "cordial relations" and "a spirit of willing co-operation" among agencies that supported children, and it might have even been the first time that TPL led a cooperative social initiative—at least, on paper.⁸⁵ Most likely as a result of Smith's intervention, TPL reversed its earlier decision and now agreed to help St. Christopher House. In October 1920, head worker Ethel Dodds reported that TPL had submitted a plan for a St. Christopher House branch library.⁸⁶ An official letter from Smith soon followed, in which she proposed assigning a part-time librarian, story hours, and a book collection to be shared with University Settlement and CNH.⁸⁷

{Figure 2 About Here}

While settlement house staff readily agreed to Smith's proposal, implementation was slow and punctuated by moments of frustration. In February 1921, the St. Christopher House Board of Directors noted that, "The City Library had agreed to take over our library by Christmas but as yet nothing has been done."⁸⁸ Two months later, Dodds remarked that the library had seen such high attendance and circulation that one worker spent all their time supervising the library, but no mention was made of TPL staff.⁸⁹ In October, TPL finally took over, but still, no new books came.⁹⁰ By the end of the year, Marion Yeigh, reported that some magazines and books had at last arrived; however, the library had already begun to run out of

space and was “not able to do the best work it was capable of.” Members of the St. Christopher House Board pleaded with Wood to finance additional renovations.⁹¹ No explanation was ever provided in writing by TPL, nor did library annual reports suggest that this partnership was a priority to TPL.

These delays were not the only source of tension. TPL and St. Christopher House differed over mandate and audience. Yeigh noted in February 1922 that TPL had shifted the library’s focus to children alone—a comment that revealed St. Christopher House library’s original intent of serving all age groups.⁹² St. Christopher House staff also struggled to convince neighbors that the settlement existed for people of all faiths. For instance, the staff, striving to copy the popularity of TPL’s storytelling program, led playground Bible story hours in 1921, calling the initiative “conspicuous in its success.” During these story hours, however, St. Christopher House staff closed the playground for half an hour in order to share stories from the New Testament to an audience that was three-quarters Jewish.⁹³ These playground story hours continued through until 1922. Meanwhile—and very possibly related to the playground story hours—settlement staff grappled with a growing rift between Jewish and Christian children in their clubs, seemingly unable to explain or resolve the conflict.⁹⁴

{Figure 3 About Here}

In contrast, TPL librarians used story hours to highlight folk tales and fairy tales from different cultures. Decades later, Smith summed up why diversity in books and storytelling mattered: “Reading which does not stir their imaginations, which does not stretch their minds, not only wastes their time but will not hold children permanently.”⁹⁵ She favored originality, style, and expression in stories over those that were pedantic or moralistic.⁹⁶ Nonetheless, by today’s standards, some of these stories would draw controversy. Table 1 lists selected stories that librarians told at the Dovercourt branch in January to February 1919. As story selections were overseen and approved by Smith throughout her tenure at TPL, this list of stories would have been typical of the story hours conducted at other branches, including the program at settlement house libraries.⁹⁷

{Table 1 About Here}

Unconscious biases limited the diversity and inclusivity of story hours and book selection. One College Street branch librarian reported that “A Jewish lad was much absorbed in a picture book of the child Jesus. Gradually the truth shall make us free.”⁹⁸ In another instance, Wood asked Susie Robinson, the TPL librarian who selected books for St. Christopher House, to review a copy of *The Children’s Bible* and *The Little Children’s Bible* for potential addition, describing these merely as the story of “the life of Christ from birth to early manhood,” followed by “the stories that Jesus’ mother probably told him . . . It did not strike me that anything in these books would upset Hebrew faith.”⁹⁹

When TPL ended its relationship with St. Christopher House in 1959, the decision was couched in terms of minimizing resource duplication. Though little was said regarding the closure of the branch, it was clear that TPL had shifted its extension efforts towards working with schools. The TPL board also indicated that it needed to more systematically gather current information on how adult, non-native English speakers could best be served by the public library and commissioned Andrew Kapos to run a landmark “Study of Reading in Toronto.”¹⁰⁰ Through a series of events triggered by a fire at its Queen and Lisgar branch, TPL amalgamated several existing outposts (Queen and Lisgar children’s library, St. Christopher House branch, and Niagara Street and St. Mary’s school libraries) under a new branch operated in cooperation with the Board of Education; this became the Manning Boys and Girls Branch.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, TPL reported about its struggles over the cost of financing salaries and building a new Reference Library extension and of the services it was providing to other library boards within the larger Metropolitan Toronto area, as well as on the difficulty it faced in obtaining the full provincial grant to which TPL was entitled.¹⁰² In the end, regardless of the positive contributions that TPL may have brought to St. Christopher House, financial exigency and administrative priorities may have served as the catalysts for ending the relationship with TPL’s last settlement house library.

{Figure 4 About Here}

Settlement Libraries as a Laboratory for TPL

Gaps persist in TPL records for its settlement house libraries. Aside from calling into question the reliability of TPL's narrative around this work, the incompleteness of their records—including a six-year gap between initial implementation and the first public report on its settlement libraries—indicates two things. First, those who approved the decision to proceed with the settlement house library partnerships flew below the radar of the library board, suggesting that settlement houses were as much a laboratory for TPL as they were for other partners of social settlements, such as the University of Toronto. Second, when surreptitiousness was no longer possible, individual librarians began spinning the narrative around the partnerships as a successful experiment, to be used as justification for advancing their ambitions for library expansion.

Apart from passing references to settlements, much of TPL's account of its settlement work is contained within selected annual reports. A report prepared by Smith in 1932 for the 1931 TPL annual report was a word-for-word copy of a presentation that Locke delivered to the TPL board at its February 9, 1932, meeting—a presentation that was ordered by board members.¹⁰³ Smith and/or Locke cast in a positive light TPL's participation in this outpost work, mentioning neither the funds budgeted for the settlement houses' collections nor the cost of sending staff out to other sites. As TPL's official accounts of settlement house libraries were often constructed around librarians' anecdotes—which were chronologically removed from the actual events—factual discrepancies exist between the librarians' retrospective accounts versus settlement workers' notes and reports. For instance, despite beginning its first settlement house library sometime between 1918 and 1920, TPL did not report on this work until its 1926 annual report. That same year, at the ALA annual meeting, Eleanor E. Ledbetter, the indefatigable Chair of the ALA Committee on Work with the Foreign Born, urged library schools to incorporate “special training in work with the foreign born.”¹⁰⁴ The next major reports of TPL's settlement work came out in its annual reports for 1931 and 1933. What seems clear from the gaps and discrepancies is that TPL did not set out a deliberate strategy to partner with settlement houses but, rather, seized upon the spirit of cooperation when it became an opportunity to fulfill individual ambitions or advance the institutional narrative. Delaying the promotion of settlement house libraries while continuing to observe the rules for registering library card holders is consistent with TPL's original mandate to serve citizens but not necessarily all residents—a distinction that should not be overlooked.

For most settlement houses, the spirit of experimentation and the experience with outreach were essential; the public library, as an institution, was no stranger to these conditions. Some Ontario towns and villages, such as Fort William, Otterville, and Collingwood, established traveling libraries to bring book services to rural villages.¹⁰⁵ Ledbetter, herself a librarian at the Cleveland Public Library in Ohio, set an example for other urban library systems across the ALA community in promoting her public library to immigrants as a community center for clubs, public meetings, and classes, even going so far as to advertise foreign language collections in immigrants' vernaculars wherever such groups were certain to congregate.¹⁰⁶ At TPL, the spirit of experimentation that its second chief librarian, Locke, encouraged appeared to be as well known as Locke himself. Locke held several esteemed positions that included presidencies of the Ontario Library Association, the Ontario Historical Society, and the American Library Association, and he also received general accolades from the broader Canadian library community for permitting his staff to "infuse their own thought and individuality" into their service offerings.¹⁰⁷ That social workers consistently approached TPL staff to form settlement house collaborations rather than volunteers or even librarians-in-training at the University spoke not only to social workers' recognition of librarianship as a profession but of TPL's potential to be an innovative partner, whose prestige under Locke could lend credibility to settlement houses.

Social workers at the settlements may have also felt a common sympathy in their professional struggles. Like social workers, librarians relied on "getting into contact with the people themselves" rather than statistics alone when planning.¹⁰⁸ Both professions were dominated by women facing similar hurdles around recognition and workplace equity.¹⁰⁹ Women in both professions defended their participation in the workforce as exercising qualities traditionally considered feminine, including childcare, attention to detail, and affinity for domestic order; arguably, these were the same the qualifications that library administrators perceived to be requirements of their staff.¹¹⁰ The perception that settlements were women's work was widespread and pervasive. In his address to the American Library Association (ALA) Annual Conference in 1927, Banton, as chair of the TPL board, spoke of "settlement libraries" being of particular interest to "most of the ladies here."¹¹¹ Certainly, "here" women had the potential to make decisions and implement new ideas that impacted the well-being of others beyond their personal circles.

Recognition of Poverty and Immigration

Until TPL joined the settlement house movement, the library's involvement with social agencies had been limited to donating withdrawn volumes to book deposits. During the tenure of James Bain, the first chief librarian, attempts at broadening TPL's user base focused on institutional development via collection building, staff hiring, and new branch expansions in response to taxpayers' demands. Under Locke's leadership, TPL librarians increasingly came to recognize the symptoms of urban poverty, whether it was in The Ward, Riverdale, or other pockets of the city. One College Street branch librarian noted that "several young vagabonds found their way into the library. Most of the children are from the poorer homes judging from the outward signs, namely, uncombed hair, dirty face and hands—on the whole they have an uncared for appearance."¹¹² Nonetheless, when confronted by the classism of more affluent library users, the librarians defended the presence of the poor.¹¹³

These "young vagabonds," some of whom were from non-English speaking families, forced librarians to turn their attention to newcomers. While TPL collected some non-English language works in its early years, it did not initially do so with the purpose of reaching out to immigrants. In fact, an examination of the titles listed in TPL's bibliography of "foreign" language holdings printed in 1912 reveal that TPL's non-English collection consisted primarily of French or German texts, with some Italian, Yiddish, and Hebrew texts. Books in these languages were predominantly grammar books, dictionaries, language learners, and conversation books catered to English readers, making them less desirable as leisure reading materials for non-native English speakers.¹¹⁴ Although Winifred Barnstead, head of TPL's cataloguing department, did much to advance the description and accessibility of these language resources, circulation statistics remained low; Myrvold notes that some cultural groups, such as the Finnish and Jewish communities, simply bypassed TPL by establishing and operating their own libraries.¹¹⁵

TPL's initial restraint towards immigrants could have been due to either a cultural oversight or the recognition that operating within Toronto's conservative municipal landscape required political astuteness. In TPL's first decades, the library board continually defended tax-supported libraries as a tool for improving citizens' intellectual and moral life. Bain, a private book collector by trade, devoted much of his attention to developing the institution itself by

prioritizing collection development, staffing, library construction, and appeals for municipal funding.¹¹⁶ A close reading of TPL's annual reports during the Bain years suggest that administrators prioritized safeguarding the materiality of the public library over programming-related initiatives. The TPL board promoted the value of librarian-selected books in response to those who claimed that public libraries were providing "frivolous fiction" to the masses.¹¹⁷ City council's reluctance to approve TPL's full funding persisted throughout the 1890s, coming to a crisis in 1900 when the TPL board sued the city and won.¹¹⁸ The public demand for more libraries became a recurring topic in subsequent annual reports.

The First World War also directed librarians' energies away from social work-inspired endeavors. TPL's contribution to the war effort was to send books to Canadian troops at Stanley Barracks.¹¹⁹ This nationalistic fervor also trickled down to children's services. Around this time, TPL launched "The Historical Story Hour," reporting that "These hours are eagerly looked for, and as a result we expect to develop Canadian nationality by giving a background of Canadian history to these thousands of children, who when they grow up will be intelligent citizens and well-informed Canadians."¹²⁰ For Locke, national pride, social responsibility, and community spirit were necessary factors for municipal growth and prosperity.¹²¹ TPL's Historical Story Hour was one such vehicle for patriotism: it allowed librarians to perpetuate the myth of Canada as an unclaimed land that was discovered and colonized by European settlers, beginning with Jacques Cartier and ending in Confederation.¹²² Just as importantly, the Historical Story Hour promoted children's services, strengthening Smith's vision and her life's work: the professionalization of children's librarianship. It was also around this time that the provincial Inspector of Public Libraries began to urge libraries to forgo new extension work (a term that corresponds today to outreach services)—at least, not until their finances were in order.¹²³ Yet, TPL had no need to retrench its Historical Story Hour since it was a nationalistic program that was seen to support the war effort on the home front, while using existing resources.

TPL's narrative of its settlement work was colored by a similar nationalism. TPL meant "to develop the highest class of library service and to place the advantages of the Library within reach of every citizen."¹²⁴ Nevertheless, library staff made distinctions between *citizens* and "the little strangers at our gate"—even during the interwar period.¹²⁵ As innocuous as these comments were meant to be, one could easily infer their meaning. Foreignness was a disadvantage to overcome; the means to do so was by visiting cultural refugees overseen by the public library.

Soward, one of the librarians assigned to the settlement houses, remarked upon the “little foreign faces” that were lit up by the thrill of an engaging story, adding 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.”¹²⁶ Smith suggested that only with a dedicated children’s library could TPL properly act upon its “responsibility of training [children] 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.”¹²⁷ Storytelling promoted patrons’ cultural assimilation, as well as advanced the institution’s larger agenda. By 1926, TPL would use the success of their settlement house “outposts” to garner public support. As Smith reported, “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.”¹²⁸ The efforts of Smith and her staff won the approbation of the conservative newspaper *The Globe*, which—harkening back to sentiments of the city beautiful movement—wrote, “The books and pictures found at the library satisfy the great hunger for beautiful things which some of these little strangers possess and of which there is such a dearth in their poor and crowded homes.”¹²⁹

Librarians as Quasi-Social Workers

Children’s well-being was a common concern in the years following the First World War. In 1920, social reformer Constance Hamilton became Toronto’s first alderwoman, having won on her platform for affordable housing, improvements to child detention centers, and reforms to juvenile courts.¹³⁰ Her time on council coincided with TPL’s expansion of children’s librarianship. Two years after formalizing a relationship with St. Christopher House, Smith successfully lobbied for a standalone children’s library, which opened in 1922 as the Boys and Girls House at St. George Street, north of the College Street branch. Even so, front-line library staff were not always equipped to deal with social problems. At Earls court branch, in the working-class neighborhood nicknamed “Little Britain” northwest of downtown, one librarian had difficulties dealing with rowdy youths; she established order only by obtaining their names and threatening to send them to juvenile court.¹³¹ By 1926, the Boys and Girls House was regularly overcrowded, like many of the other children’s library rooms across the city. To mitigate this, TPL began a cooperative school library with the Board of Education, and finally

acknowledged in writing that TPL was also involved in settlement work.¹³² Burns, stationed at CNH, noted that settlement house libraries gave children the “magic playground” that they lacked in real life.¹³³ This remark amounted to recognition that play and imagination were as vital to children’s development as literacy and education.

Locke had argued that municipal prosperity required social responsibility and community spirit. Repositioning TPL after the First World War as a social agency assisting vulnerable communities, particularly their children, advanced Locke’s plan for library system growth. While settlement house work involved a discreet set of activities, it was always subsumed under the “outpost” work of the Boys and Girls Division.¹³⁴ By 1927, Locke was acknowledging a shift in TPL’s purpose, from the “People’s University” to something more: “The old traditions die hard, and it is difficult for our modern and popular social movements to grasp the idea that a library when living up to its privileges is really the centre of the social movements of any community.”¹³⁵ It was clear to Locke that the strategy for strengthening the public library’s impact on city life required demonstrable participation in activities that engaged all walks of life.

As lofty as this statement was, though, Locke’s suggestion that TPL was an agent for social change remained but a hazy ideal, limited in action and confined to the comfort of what the public library had been doing for years. In the 1931 TPL annual report, Edith M. Davidson, the first female chair of the TPL Board, revived Locke’s idea of the library holding the potential for transformative power, but she proposed little in the way of innovation or risk-taking. Instead, she reported that “If it is not going to be possible for us to build more branches . . . then I should like to see the outpost libraries . . . further developed. I have visited the ‘outpost’ libraries in schools and Settlement houses, and I feel they are doing a great piece of work for those children who need it most.”¹³⁶ Despite the momentary success of these outposts, their existence remained dictated not by local needs but by administrative and financial decisions. The economic circumstances of the Great Depression compelled Locke to speak as a pragmatist at the ALA Annual Conference in 1933: “What we do know is that, as workers in one field of social welfare, we are confronted with the fact that the source from which we obtain the money that enables us to carry on our work is drying up . . . . What is needed is not recrimination, but constructive ideas, and, as in all businesses, we seek where we can to cut down expenses.”¹³⁷ As much as settlement house workers had wanted the libraries at CNH, University Settlement, and St. Christopher House to succeed, the gradual languishing of settlement libraries provide the

strongest evidence that the ethos of early social work were misaligned with the public library's human resources, financial capacity, and long-term institutional mission.

Conclusion

While many library programs and outreach initiatives in major Canadian urban centers today attest to the pride libraries take in their civic contributions, there is danger in presuming that this has always been the case. Such a false assumption perpetuates the myth that these programs and initiatives are part of a natural progression rather than acknowledging how they were part of a colonial past in which libraries reinforced a largely homogenous norm. Public libraries that continue to thrive and uphold values of inclusion and fairness today do so because of a complex constellation of ambitions and institutional readiness to change. In the case of TPL, its burgeoning future in equity and social justice work did not begin with its establishment in 1883, nor with its few pragmatic librarians who saw the opportunity to use social values as arguments for institutional and professional expansion. TPL experimented with settlement house libraries, but its efforts at these outposts were temporary and were never intended to be a radical departure from what TPL's librarians were already doing. Instead, TPL's stance on settlement houses remained one of reasserting and honoring the status quo. Strikingly silent from the historical accounts of this period are the voices of the intended beneficiaries of TPL's settlement house activities. Although TPL's participation in the settlement house movement was novel for the city, providing its librarians with opportunities to make contact with new audiences and to collaborate with a new profession, years would pass before a concerted, ethical approach to support marginalized populations would materialize. Harry C. Campbell, chief librarian of TPL from 1956 to 1978, has been credited with bringing an international perspective. Campbell ushered in changes to TPL's collecting responsibilities and reference library and, following the release of the 1960 Kapos study, encouraged the growth of TPL's non-English literature holdings.¹³⁸ Similarly, social action programs, like those launched at TPL's Parkdale and Parliament Street branches in 1970, could only have been possible with administrative and library board support in the face of an undeniably diversifying population and with changing local and national sentiments around economic diversity, migration, and settlement.

Notes

An early version of this research was presented at the 2018 Canadian Historical Association Annual Meeting. The author would like to thank Barbara Myrvold, Kate MacDonald, Nalini Singh, Siobhan Stevenson, and the reviewers and editors for their feedback at various stages of writing and revising this paper.

¹ Ralph Cuseglio, “MSW Interns in the Public Library: A Case Study in Community Partnership,” *Social Work Education*, July 20, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.1080/02615479.2020.1791066>.

² Amanda Aykanian et al., “Library-Based Field Placements: Meeting the Diverse Needs of Patrons, Including Those Experiencing Homelessness,” *Journal of Social Work Education* 56, suppl. 1 (June 12, 2020): S72–80, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10437797.2020.1723757>.

³ Elizabeth Schweizer, “Social Workers within Canadian Public Libraries: A Multicase Study” (Masters Thesis, University of Calgary, 2018), <https://prism.ucalgary.ca/handle/1880/106632>.

⁴ John Hallam, “Transcription of the Address of John Hallam, Chairman of the Toronto Public Library Board of Management, February 28, 1883,” 1883, 13, <http://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/content/ve/bain/minutes.pdf>.

⁵ Lorne D. Bruce, *Free Libraries for All: The Public Library Movement in Ontario, 1850-1930* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1994).

⁶ Cheryl Knott, *Not Free for All: Public Libraries in the Age of Jim Crow* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2015); Dee Garrison, *Apostles of Culture: The Public Librarian and American Society, 1876-1920* (New York: Free Press, 1979).

⁷ “A Social Gospel Needed,” *The Globe*, November 22, 1909, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail (1844-1936).

⁸ Garrison, *Apostles of Culture*.

⁹ Bertha Bassam, *The Faculty of Library Science University of Toronto and Its Predecessors, 1911-1972* (Toronto: Faculty of Library Science, University of Toronto, 1978), 9.

¹⁰ Bassam, 14.

¹¹ Nancy Christie and Michael Gauvreau, *A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900-1940* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 23.

¹² Cathy Leigh James, "Gender, Class and Ethnicity in the Organization of Neighbourhood and Nation, the Role of Toronto's Settlement Houses in the Formation of the Canadian State, 1902 to 1914" (PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 1997), 13, <https://tspace.library.utoronto.ca/handle/1807/13148>.

¹³ Cathy James, "Reforming Reform: Toronto's Settlement House Movement, 1900-20," *Canadian Historical Review* 82, no. 1 (March 2001): 59, <https://doi.org/10.3138/CHR.82.1.55>.

¹⁴ Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada*, 2nd edition (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 216.

¹⁵ Cook, *Regenerators*.

¹⁶ F.G. Peabody, "Social Settlements," Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth National Conference of Charities and Correction [1897] (Boston: Geo. H. Ellis 1898), 329, as cited in James, "Reforming Reform," 55.

¹⁷ Allan Irving, Harriet Parsons, and Donald F. Bellamy, *Neighbours: Three Social Settlements in Downtown Toronto* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars Press, 1995), 18-19.

¹⁸ Cook, *Regenerators*, 203. Despite his early admiration for Addams, King did not share Addams's views on secularism and racial equality, and he remains a problematic figure of the social gospel movement. As Deputy Minister of Labour under the Laurier government, King supported immigration restrictions against Asians, stating that "Canada should remain a white man's country" for "political and national grounds." Christopher G. Anderson, *Canadian Liberalism and the Politics of Border Control, 1867-1967* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2013), 81-82.

¹⁹ Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House, with Autobiographical Notes*, ed. Victoria Bissell Brown (Boston, MA: Bedford/St. Martin's Press, 1999), 95.

²⁰ Rima Lunin Schultz, "Introduction," in *Hull House Maps and Papers: A Presentation of Nationalities and Wages in a Congested District of Chicago, Together with Comments and Essays on Problems Growing Out of the Social Conditions*, by Residents of Hull-House (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 3. Hull House programs included classes, clubs, baby

clinics, kindergarten, and a labor museum. Their publication *Hull-House Maps and Papers* (1895) was the first systematic, non-academic, sociological field study to examine work conditions and call for labor reforms.

²¹ Cook, *Regenerators*, 203; “Women Told Not to Kiss,” *The Toronto Daily Star*, June 25, 1909, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Toronto Daily Star (1900-1971).

²² Laura R. Fisher, *Reading for Reform: The Social Work of Literature in the Progressive Era* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2019), 40.

²³ Garrison, *Apostles of Culture*, 206–25.

²⁴ Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, 223.

²⁵ “Hull-House Bulletin, January 1896” (Chicago, 1896), MSHHC_NO, Series X, Box 43, Hull-House collection, Special Collections and University Archives, University of Illinois at Chicago (hereafter cited as Hull-House Collection, UIC); Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull-House*, 223.

²⁶ “Hull House Yearbook 1910” (Chicago, 1910), MSHHC_NO, Series X, Box 44, Hull-House Collection, UIC, 53. Eighty percent of the children, many of them of Italian, Russian, German, or Irish descent, in the fourth highest grades of the local schools were found to rely on Hull House or their school library for reading material.

²⁷ “Hull House Yearbook 1921” (Chicago, 1921), MSHHC_NO, Series X, Box 44, Hull-House Collection, UIC, 11.

²⁸ “Hull House Yearbook 1927/28” (Chicago, 1928), MSHHC_NO, Series X, Box 44, Hull-House Collection, UIC, 7; “Annual Report 1947” (Chicago, 1947), MSHHC_NO, Series X, Box 45, Hull-House Collection, UIC, 19; Cora Stewart and Linda Eastman, “Libraries in Relation to Settlement Work,” *Library Journal* 31 (1906): 82–85, 231, <https://archive.org/details/libraryjournal31ameruoft/page/230/mode/2up?q=%22Libraries+in+relation+to+settlement+work%22>. Cora Stewart of Boston Public Library and Linda Eastman of Cleveland Public Library wrote of similar experiences at their respective settlement libraries of focusing on children rather than adults.

²⁹ Toronto Public Library Board, *Toronto Public Library Annual Report, 1896* (Toronto, 1897), 6, <http://static.torontopubliclibrary.ca/da/pdfs/tpl-a-0013.pdf>; James, “Reforming

Reform,” 55. Until this conference, private charities, missions, and the workhouse near the slums of St. John’s Ward tended to focus on short-term relief.

³⁰ Toronto Public Library Board, *Toronto Public Library Annual Report, 1914* (Toronto, 1915), 5, <http://static.torontopubliclibrary.ca/da/pdfs/tpl-a-0031.pdf>.

³¹ Jamie Bradburn, “‘Don’t Worry and Don’t Work’: When Toronto Workers Went on Strike in 1919,” TVO.org, accessed June 10, 2019, <http://www.tvo.org/article/dont-worry-and-dont-work-when-toronto-workers-went-on-strike-in-1919>; Nelson Wiseman, “Five Immigrant Waves: Their Ideological Orientations and Partisan Reverberations,” *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 39, no. 1–2 (December 8, 2008): 5–30, <https://doi.org/10.1353/ces.0.0000>. Wiseman contends that Anglo-Canadians who opposed the Winnipeg General Strike tended to interpret the event as a conflict between British subjects and subversive Europeans.

³² Toronto Public Library Board, *Toronto Public Library Annual Report, 1914*, 6; Paul Craven, *“An Impartial Umpire”: Industrial Relations and the Canadian State 1900-1911* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980), 148.

³³ Barbara Myrvold, “Toronto Public Library’s Services for Immigrants During the Administration of Chief Librarian George H. Locke, 1908-1937” (Toronto Public Library, December 15, 2015), 9, <http://www.torontopubliclibrary.ca/content/about-the-library/pdfs/library-service-for-immigrants.pdf>.

³⁴ Myrvold, 11; Michael Bliss, “Flavelle, Sir Joseph Wesley,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, accessed January 29, 2021, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/flavelle_joseph_wesley_16E.html.

³⁵ Myrvold, “Toronto Public Library’s Services for Immigrants, 1908-1937,” 11.

³⁶ “Editorial Notes and Comment: George Herbert Locke,” *Ontario Library Review* 1, no. 2 (September 1916): 32.

³⁷ J. M. S. Careless, *Toronto to 1918: An Illustrated History* (Toronto, Ont.: James Lorimer & Company; National Museum of Man; National Museums of Canada, 1984), 120.

³⁸ Careless, 157.

³⁹ William Lyon Mackenzie King, “Crowded Housing, Its Evil Effects,” *Daily Mail and Empire*, September 18, 1897,

<https://news.google.com/newspapers?id=QkM1AAAAIIBAJ&sjid=tygDAAAAIIBAJ&pg=5919%2C1384075>.

⁴⁰ H. Yorke, "The Finnish Settlement Prospers in Toronto," *The Globe*, April 25, 1908, 1316285465, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail (1844-1936).

⁴¹ James, "Reforming Reform," 57.

⁴² "Order-in-Council PC 1911-1324," Canadian Museum of Immigration at Pier 21, 2017, <https://pier21.ca/research/immigration-history/order-in-council-pc-1911-1324>; Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, "Origin, Birthplace, Nationality, and Language of the Canadian People: A Census Study Based on the Census of 1921 and Supplementary Data" (Ottawa: Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1929), 16, 28–31; "Bring First Class British Settlers," *The Toronto Daily Star*, November 14, 1910. According to the 1911 Census, most English-speakers identified themselves as (white) British subjects. In fact, Sir Wilfrid Laurier's cabinet tried to ban Black immigrants from entering Canada in 1911. By 1921, 55% of the population considered themselves British, 28% French, and 14–16% "other European." The remaining 1–3% identified as "Asiatics," "Indian," or "Negro." Despite the low percentage of other Europeans and non-Europeans, fear lingered that Canada was "being crowded out by foreigners." A supplement of the 1921 Census even claimed a correlation between a person's country of birth, illiteracy, and crime.

⁴³ Charles J. Hastings, "Report of the Medical Health Officer Dealing with the Recent Investigation of Slum Conditions in Toronto, Embodying Recommendations for the Amelioration of the Same" (Toronto: Department of Health, July 5, 1911), 7, <http://static.torontopubliclibrary.ca/da/pdfs/37131110346483d.pdf>.

⁴⁴ Hastings, 32.

⁴⁵ P. G. Mackintosh, "'The Development of Higher Urban Life' and the Geographic Imagination: Beauty, Art, and Moral Environmentalism in Toronto, 1900–1920," *Journal of Historical Geography* 31, no. 4 (October 2005): 696, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhg.2004.08.002>.

⁴⁶ Stephen A. Speisman, "St. John's Shtetl: The Ward in 1911," in *Gathering Place: Peoples and Neighbourhoods in Toronto, 1834-1945*, ed. Robert F. Harney, Studies in Ethnic

and Immigration History (Toronto: Multicultural History Society of Ontario, 1985), 111, <https://cdm22007.contentdm.oclc.org/digital/collection/p22007coll8/id/546618>.

⁴⁷ “One Hundred Men and Women in 10-Roomed Tenement,” *The Toronto Daily Star*, November 14, 1912, 9, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Toronto Daily Star (1900-1971).

⁴⁸ “Eighteen Bodies Are Doing Neighborhood Work in Ward,” *The Toronto Daily Star*, November 5, 1912, 15, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Toronto Daily Star (1900-1971).

⁴⁹ “Will Rent Houses for Ward Teaching,” *The Toronto Daily Star*, November 14, 1912, 9, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Toronto Daily Star (1900-1971).

⁵⁰ The term “settler colonialism” is used here in the vein of nina de jesus’s critique of institutional oppression. nina de jesus, “Locating the Library in Institutional Oppression,” *In the Library with the Lead Pipe*, September 24, 2014, <http://www.inthelibrarywiththeleadpipe.org/2014/locating-the-library-in-institutional-oppression/>.

⁵¹ Elisabeth Lasch-Quinn, *Black Neighbors: Race and the Limits of Reform in the American Settlement House Movement, 1890-1945* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), 11; Charles Hounmenou, “Black Settlement Houses and Oppositional Consciousness,” *Journal of Black Studies* 43, no. 6 (2012): 646–66, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0021934712441203>.

⁵² Mary Jo Deegan, “Jane Addams on Citizenship in a Democracy,” *Journal of Classical Sociology* 10, no. 3 (August 1, 2010): 223, <https://doi.org/10.1177/1468795X10371714>.

⁵³ City of Toronto Archives, “Black History in Toronto,” City of Toronto, accessed April 9, 2021, <https://www.toronto.ca/city-government/accountability-operations-customer-service/access-city-information-or-records/city-of-toronto-archives/using-the-archives/research-by-topic/black-history-in-toronto/>.

⁵⁴ “St. Christopher House Head Worker’s Reports, 1923-1924” (Toronto, n.d.), para. January 8th to February 12th, 1924, Fonds 1484, Series 1673, File 2, City of Toronto Archives.

⁵⁵ “Some Facts About the University Settlement” (Brochure, n.d.), B78-1395, University of Toronto Archives. University Settlement stated that it drew “no distinction as to creed, race, [or] color.”

⁵⁶ “Some Facts About the University Settlement.”

⁵⁷ “President’s Report for the Year Ending 30th June, 1923” (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1923), 60, University of Toronto Archives.

⁵⁸ “Library Notes and News,” *Ontario Library Review* 2, no. 1 (August 1917): 6, <https://archive.org/details/ontariolibraryre00ontauoft/page/n211/mode/2up>.

⁵⁹ Toronto Public Library Board, *Toronto Public Library Annual Report, 1912* (Toronto, 1913), 18, <http://static.torontopubliclibrary.ca/da/pdfs/tpl-a-0029.pdf>; Gilbert Agar, “Letter from Gilbert Agar to Miss Marjory W. Gregg” (Toronto, May 14, 1920), Baldwin Collection, Box S54, TPL Archives.

⁶⁰ University Settlement, “Annual Report” (Toronto: University Settlement, 1922), 7.

⁶¹ Arthur H. Burnett and John Joseph Kelso, “Minutes of the Organizing Committee and Board of Directors, Letter Dated 11th April, 1911” (Toronto, 1911), Fonds 1005, Series 2, File 1, City of Toronto Archives.

⁶² For an example, see “Know Thy City,” *The Toronto Daily Star*, October 28, 1911.

⁶³ CNH stated that “To show these new citizens the best meaning of Canadian nationality, to help them to preserve the best in the heritage they bring with them from the Mother Country, to teach all that is possible to live and work in harmony together in spite of the difference of race, creed or language, this is the task of the settlement and this end we seek to achieve through the means of recreation, instruction and neighborly service.” Helen Austin, “Annual Report of Central Neighbourhood House, October 1919-October 1920” (Toronto, 1920), Fonds 1005, Series 1, File 1, City of Toronto Archives.

⁶⁴ Irving, Bellamy, and Parsons, *Neighbours*, 107.

⁶⁵ Elizabeth Neufeld, “Headworker’s Report for Minutes of the November 1911 Meeting” (Toronto, 1911), Fonds 1005, Series 2, File 1, City of Toronto Archives.

⁶⁶ Greg Marquis, “The Police as a Social Service in Early Twentieth-Century Toronto,” *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 25, no. 5 (November 1992): 335–58, <https://hssh.journals.yorku.ca/index.php/hssh/article/view/16474/15333>.

⁶⁷ Central Neighbourhood House, “Minutes of the Organization Committee and Board of Directors, April 1911-Sept 1913” (Toronto, n.d.), Fonds 1005, Series 2, File 1, City of Toronto Archives.

⁶⁸ Central Neighbourhood House, “Yearbook 1912” (Toronto, 1912), City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1005, Series 8, File 1.

⁶⁹ Toronto Public Library Board, *Toronto Public Library Annual Report, 1926* (Toronto, 1927), <http://static.torontopubliclibrary.ca/da/pdfs/tpl-a-0043.pdf>.

⁷⁰ Austin, “Annual Report of Central Neighbourhood House, October 1919-October 1920.”

⁷¹ Helen Austin, Evelyn Beahan, and Carol Stanton, “Central Neighborhood House Annual Report” (Toronto, 1923), Fonds 1005, Series 1, File 1, City of Toronto Archives.

⁷² Helen Austin, M.C. Twitchell, and Carol Stanton, “Central Neighborhood House Annual Report” (Toronto, 1924), Fonds 1005, Series 1, File 1, City of Toronto Archives.

⁷³ Toronto Public Library Board, *Toronto Public Library Annual Report, 1926*, 41.

⁷⁴ George H. Locke, “The Privileges and Obligations of Our Public Libraries in These Days of Unrest: Presidential Address at the Ontario Library Association Conference, 1917,” *Ontario Library Review* 1, no. 4 (May 1917): 98.

⁷⁵ M.C. Twitchell, “Central Neighborhood House Annual Report” (Toronto, 1926), Fonds 1005, Series 1, File 6, City of Toronto Archives.

⁷⁶ Central Neighbourhood House, “Central Neighborhood House Annual Report” (Toronto, 1932), 2, Fonds 1005, Series 1, File 10, City of Toronto Archives.

⁷⁷ Central Neighbourhood House, “Central Neighbourhood Year Book 1930” (Toronto, 1930), 13, Fonds 1005, Series 8, File 4, City of Toronto Archives.

⁷⁸ Central Neighbourhood House, “Central Neighborhood House Annual Report” (Toronto, 1936), Fonds 1005, Series 1, File 14, City of Toronto Archives.

⁷⁹ Central Neighbourhood House, “Central Neighborhood House Annual Report” (Toronto, 1942), Fonds 1005, Series 1, File 20, City of Toronto Archives.

⁸⁰ Central Neighbourhood House, “Central Neighborhood House Annual Report” (Toronto, 1945), Fonds 1005, Series 1, File 23, City of Toronto Archives.

⁸¹ Patricia J. O'Connor, "The Story of St. Christopher House, 1912-1986" (Toronto: Toronto Association of Neighbourhood Services, 1986), 9.

⁸² O'Connor, 15, 21.

⁸³ St. Christopher House, "Minutes of Meeting of the Board of Management" (n.d.), Fonds 1484, Series 1670, File 8, City of Toronto Archives.

⁸⁴ Toronto Public Library Board, *Toronto Public Library Annual Report, 1920* (Toronto, 1921), 18, <http://static.torontopubliclibrary.ca/da/pdfs/tpl-a-0037.pdf>.

⁸⁵ Toronto Public Library Board, 18.

⁸⁶ "St. Christopher House Board of Management Minutes, 1918-1926" (Toronto, n.d.), Fonds 1484, Series 1670, File 8, Folio 8, City of Toronto Archives.

⁸⁷ Lillian H. Smith, "Letter from Lillian H. Smith to Ethel Dodds" (Toronto, November 9, 1920), Fonds 1484, Series 1679, File 4, City of Toronto Archives.

⁸⁸ "St. Christopher House Board of Management Minutes, 1918-1926."

⁸⁹ "St. Christopher House Head Worker's Reports, 1921-1922" (Toronto, n.d.), Fonds 1484, Series 1673, File 1, City of Toronto Archives.

⁹⁰ "St. Christopher House Head Worker's Reports, 1921-1922."

⁹¹ "St. Christopher House Board of Management Minutes, 1918-1926."

⁹² "St. Christopher House Head Worker's Reports, 1921-1922."

⁹³ "St. Christopher House Head Worker's Reports, 1921-1922."

⁹⁴ "St. Christopher House Head Worker's Reports, 1921-1922," sec. May 30, 1922.

⁹⁵ Lillian H. Smith, *The Unreluctant Years: A Critical Approach to Children's Literature* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1953), 14.

⁹⁶ Leslie Anne McGrath, "The Osborne Collection of Early Children's Books: Toronto Public Library's Research Collection of Juvenile Material," *Papers: Explorations into Children's Literature* 22, no. 1 (2012): 5-6.

⁹⁷ "Dovercourt Children's Department Daybook 1918-1925" (n.d.), Boys and Girls House Archives, Box 001635-04, TPL Osborne Collection, accessed August 21, 2017. It is worth remarking that penciled into the margins of the January-February 1919 story list were the words,

“St. Christopher House,” even though St. Christopher House and TPL did not solidify their relationship until 1920.

⁹⁸ “College St. Daybook 1911-1914” (Toronto, n.d.), sec. February 24, 1913, Boys and Girls House Archives, Series 2, Box 40, Item 4, TPL Osborne Collection.

⁹⁹ “Correspondence Between Sir James Woods and Susie Robinson” (n.d.), Boys and Girls House Archives, Series 2, Box 34, File 10, TPL Osborne Collection.

¹⁰⁰ Toronto Public Library Board, *Reading in Toronto: Toronto Public Library Annual Report, 1959* (Toronto, 1960), 5, <http://static.torontopubliclibrary.ca/da/pdfs/tpl-a-0076.pdf>. This study was eventually published in 1960, under the title “Toronto Speaks: A Survey of the Educational Adjustment and Leisure Time Activities of Adult Residents in the West and Central Areas of the City of Toronto.”

¹⁰¹ Toronto Public Library Board, 4.

¹⁰² Toronto Public Library Board, *Reading in Toronto 1959*.

¹⁰³ Toronto Public Library Board, “Toronto Public Library Board Minutes, Volume 6, 1931-1938” (n.d.), sec. February 9, 1932, Reference Library, Baillie Room, TPL Archives, accessed August 2, 2018.

¹⁰⁴ “Papers and Proceedings of the Forty-Eighth Annual Meeting of the American Library Association (October, 1926), Committee Reports, 1925-26,” *Bulletin of the American Library Association* 20, no. 10 (1926): 400; Charles R. Acland and William J. Buxton, “A Neglected Milestone: Charles F. McCombs’ Report on Canadian Libraries, 1941,” in *Readings in Canadian Library History* 2, ed. Peter F. McNally (Ottawa: Canadian Library Association, 1996), 265–74. Recommendations from the ALA would have had meaning for TPL, given that Canada did not establish its own national library association until 1946.

¹⁰⁵ “First Half of the Institute Meetings,” *Ontario Library Review* 1, no. 2 (September 1916): 38–40; “Library Notes and News,” *Ontario Library Review* 1, no. 2 (September 1916): 41–42, <https://archive.org/details/ontariolibraryre00ontauoft/page/n211/mode/2up>; “Library Notes and News,” *Ontario Library Review* 1, no. 4 (May 1917): 101–6, <https://archive.org/details/ontariolibraryre00ontauoft/page/n211/mode/2up>; “Library Notes and News,” August 1917.

¹⁰⁶ Plummer Alston Jones, Jr., “Chapter 6. The Librarian as Social Worker: Eleanor (Edwards) Ledbetter, 1870-1954,” in *Libraries, Immigrants, and the American Experience* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1999), 133–34, 146–47.

¹⁰⁷ “Editorial Notes and Comment: George Herbert Locke,” 32.

¹⁰⁸ “Editorial Notes and Comment: George Herbert Locke,” 32.

¹⁰⁹ Margaret Penman, *A Century of Service: Toronto Public Library 1883-1983* (Toronto: Toronto Public Library, 1983), 38, <http://static.torontopubliclibrary.ca/da/pdfs/153476.pdf>. Until the 1950s, the work culture at the TPL, as with other workplaces, remained bleak for married women: they expected a salary decrease upon marriage, and in at least one case, a librarian felt compelled to hide her pregnancy in order to prolong employment. Across the whole library profession, male librarians secured higher salaries and the top administrative positions.

¹¹⁰ Garrison, *Apostles of Culture*, 236–37.

¹¹¹ T. W. Banton, “Welcome on Behalf of the Public Library Board and the City of Toronto,” *Bulletin of the American Library Association* 21, no. 10 (1927): 271–72, <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25686735>.

¹¹² “College St. Daybook 1911-1914,” sec. November 23, 1912.

¹¹³ “College St. Daybook 1911-1914,” sec. November 19, 1913. One librarian noted that “One lady [...] wanted to know what class of children came to the story hour. If they were just the children off the street, she did not care to have her little girl come. I explained that all classes came, and it was the story or stories they were interested in and not each other.”

¹¹⁴ “Books in Languages Other than English” (Toronto, 1912), Reference Library, Baillie Room, Box 001629-015, TPL Archives.

¹¹⁵ Myrvold, “Toronto Public Library’s Services for Immigrants, 1908-1937,” 7.

¹¹⁶ Barbara Myrvold, “The First Hundred Years: Toronto Public Library 1883-1983,” in *Readings in Canadian Library History*, ed. Peter F. McNally (Ottawa: Canadian Library Association, 1986), 67; Penman, *A Century of Service*, 9. It is worth noting that despite Bain’s background as a bookseller, he had no formal education or training in library science prior to his appointment with the TPL.

¹¹⁷ Myrvold, “The First Hundred Years,” 65.

¹¹⁸ Myrvold, 67; Toronto Public Library Board, *Toronto Public Library Annual Report, 1900* (Toronto, 1901), 6, <http://static.torontopubliclibrary.ca/da/pdfs/tpl-a-0017.pdf>.

¹¹⁹ Toronto Public Library Board, *Toronto Public Library Annual Report, 1914*, 9.

¹²⁰ Toronto Public Library Board, 9.

¹²¹ Locke, “The Privileges and Obligations of Our Public Libraries in These Days of Unrest: Presidential Address at the Ontario Library Association Conference, 1917,” 97.

¹²² “The Second Four Institutes of 1917,” *Ontario Library Review* 2, no. 2 (November 1917): 60; George Locke, *When Canada Was New France* (Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, c1919), <http://archive.org/details/whencanadawasnew00lock>. Locke’s work was a product of its times: it acknowledged first contact with Indigenous people but perpetuated colonial stereotypes that disregarded the diversity among Indigenous populations. .

¹²³ Bruce, *Free Libraries for All*, 208.

¹²⁴ Toronto Public Library Board, *Toronto Public Library Annual Report, 1918* (Toronto, 1919), 5, <http://static.torontopubliclibrary.ca/da/pdfs/tpl-a-0035.pdf>.

¹²⁵ Toronto Public Library Board, *Toronto Public Library Annual Report, 1920*, 18.

¹²⁶ Toronto Public Library Board, *Toronto Public Library Annual Report, 1933* (Toronto, 1934), 31, <http://static.torontopubliclibrary.ca/da/pdfs/tpl-a-0050.pdf>.

¹²⁷ Toronto Public Library Board, *Toronto Public Library Annual Report, 1920*, 18.

¹²⁸ Toronto Public Library Board, *Toronto Public Library Annual Report, 1926*, 42.

¹²⁹ “Little Foreigners Are Eager Patrons of Public Libraries: Fourteen Branches and Settlement Arrangements Provide Good Reading Good Taste Cultivated,” *The Globe*, March 30, 1928, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Globe and Mail (1844-1936).

¹³⁰ “A Better Home Life, Mrs. Hamilton Urges,” *The Toronto Daily Star*, January 2, 1920, ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Toronto Daily Star (1900-1971).

¹³¹ “Earls court Daybook 1918-1919” (n.d.), Boys and Girls House Archives, Series 2, Box 41, Item 2, TPL Osborne Collection.

¹³² Toronto Public Library Board, *Toronto Public Library Annual Report, 1926*, 41.

¹³³ Toronto Public Library Board, 42.

¹³⁴ Leslie Anne McGrath, “Service to Children in the Toronto Public Library: A Case Study, 1912-1949” (Doctoral dissertation, Toronto, University of Toronto, 2005), 202–3.

¹³⁵ Toronto Public Library Board, *Toronto Public Library Annual Report, 1927* (Toronto, 1928), 8, <http://static.torontopubliclibrary.ca/da/pdfs/tpl-a-0044.pdf>.

¹³⁶ Toronto Public Library Board, *Toronto Public Library Annual Report, 1931* (Toronto, 1932), 10, <http://static.torontopubliclibrary.ca/da/pdfs/tpl-a-0048.pdf>.

¹³⁷ George Locke, “Importance of Maintaining Our Social Institutions,” *Bulletin of the American Library Association* 27, no. 4 (April 1933): 177.

¹³⁸ Penman, *A Century of Service*, 66.

Figure and table captions

Figure 1. Map of selected settlement house locations vis-à-vis TPL locations by 1920. Courtesy of Sean Marshall.

Figure 2. Letter from Lillian H. Smith to Ethel Dodds, November 9, 1920. Courtesy of City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1484, Series 1679, File 4.

Figure 3. St. Christopher House Library (circa 1919-1923). Courtesy of City of Toronto Archives, Fonds 1484, Series 331, File 13.

Table 1. Stories told at Dovercourt, January-February 1919.

Figure 4. Map of TPL locations, TPL school libraries, and St. Christopher House, 1957. Courtesy of Sean Marshall.