Adult Education and the Public Library

C. WALTER STONE

The role of the public library in tomorrow's adult education is not yet determined. Much has been tried in the past. New goals are now being formulated. Existing programs have been inventoried and something is known about them, such as who participates, and why. Virtually nothing objective is known about the effects of library service in adult education, however, and new tools of measurement are being sought. The author believes that two prime keys to the future educational importance of the public library as a social institution will be found in development of its functions in program planning and community research. It is assumed that these will supplement established service to the individual and the library's own programs of discussion and informal study.

It is the purpose of this paper to identify some of the trends in public library thinking which have determined the library's place in adult education, and to weigh their importance. While such education as promoted by libraries has spread widely during recent years, establishing a considerable diversity of projects and programs, ideas representing the most significant trends observable in 1952 are not new. They do, however, give eloquent testimony to a quarter century of work by pioneers. Cultural lag has been all too evident in the struggle to obtain general acceptance among librarians of the library's responsibilities for adult education. Perhaps the most remarkable fact has been that so much good work was actually done for so long by so few with so little support. The modest but encouraging gains of recent years are a tribute to foundation money and to the vision, persistence, and continuing service of a small group of individuals working both in and out of the library profession. One of the most indefatigable and articulate of these pioneers is Miriam D. Tompkins, who set up

The author is Associate Professor of Library Science at the University of Illinois Library School.
in Milwaukee in 1923 the first adult education department so identified in a public library, and who, a quarter of a century later, in 1950, was helping to write the Unesco pamphlet Adult Education Activities for Public Libraries.\(^1\)

Despite the fact that the public library as an institution was consciously established in the United States as an instrument of adult education, the earlier European traditions of custodianship are still honored in practice, although with decreasing reverence. Noting early pleas for development of public library services in New England\(^2\) and the underlying idea of a general community institute, which prompted so many of the earliest Carnegie grants for establishment of public libraries,\(^3\) it is difficult to understand why more attention has not always been given the educational work of librarians. The concept, if not the term "adult education," was enunciated as the prime responsibility of the public library as early as 1850, and was clearly implied by Melvil Dewey in 1876. Justifying librarianship as a profession in the first issue of the American Library Journal, Dewey\(^4\) wrote: "We hold that there is no work reaching farther in its influence and deserving more honor than the work which a competent and earnest librarian can do for his community. The time was when a library was very like a museum, and a librarian was a mouser in musty books, and visitors looked with curious eyes at ancient tomes and manuscripts. The time is when a library is a school, and the librarian is in the highest sense a teacher..."

The educational needs of the urban wage earner and his family were the main spur to development of free public libraries in nineteenth-century America.\(^5\) But as libraries increased in number and reading publics grew, problems of a technical nature began to absorb the time and attention of librarians. What had begun as a relatively informal and personalized service became increasingly mechanical and impersonal.\(^1\) It finally required philanthropy to put librarians back on the track.

In a very real sense, adult education and adult education in the library, as well as initial support of the library movement itself, are products of philanthropy. Without slighting the prior role of chautauquas, lyceums, women's clubs, Americanization programs, and business and labor organizations in crystallizing the adult education movement, it may be that a small grant of two thousand dollars by the Carnegie Corporation in 1924, for publication of William Learned's
memorandum to the president of the Corporation on problems of the public library, marked the real beginning of organized library adult education in this country. One result of Learned's work was that in July of 1924 the American Library Association appointed a Commission on the Library and Adult Education. Funds provided by the Carnegie Corporation in the amount of $24,500 made it possible for the commission to conduct special studies and investigations, hold frequent meetings, publish several bulletins containing some of its preliminary findings, and, in 1926, print an extensive two-year survey of Libraries and Adult Education.

During 1924–25, the Carnegie Corporation also carried through a program of exploratory study to determine whether there was sufficient commonality of interests and activities on which to base the establishment of a national adult education association comparable to that which had flourished in England. After a series of regional meetings endorsing the proposal, delegates assembled in Chicago in 1926 to form the American Association for Adult Education.

In all, the Carnegie Corporation gave some sixty thousand dollars specifically for development of the idea of adult education in libraries in the decade following 1924. Nor is this all, since it does not take into account large grants made to the American Library Association for general purposes, some of which went for the activities under discussion. The dates of other grants given by several foundations could well be cited as charting the subsequent history of the adult education movement in America. Certainly, the advent of the Ford Foundation in 1950, which spent more than three million dollars on adult education in its first six months, has breathed new life into all adult education, including library programs.

The importance of Learned's study in 1921–23 cannot be overemphasized. Considered controversial because of the weight given to education, it continues to be regarded as the single most thought-provoking blueprint for future development of the American public library. Many of its challenges are still unmet. Following what seemed to him the logical thread of Andrew Carnegie's dream, Learned set forth a concept of the public library as a "community intelligence center," by which a system of regional cooperation and special emphasis on personalized service would bring into focus the available cultural and informational resources. Films, recordings, museum exhibits, lectures and forums, road maps, and art works would all be
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included, and Learned found it difficult to believe that any town supporting a good high school would not eventually make corresponding provision for its adult population.

Librarians responded to the first challenges of the newly organized adult education movement by setting up reader's advisory bureaus, forerunners of many adult education and community service departments in libraries where departmentalization rather than diffusion of adult education responsibility has since prevailed. Between 1922 and 1926, reader's bureaus and adult education services were instituted in the public libraries of Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Indianapolis, Los Angeles, Milwaukee, and Portland (Oregon). By 1935, there were sixty-three professional reader's advisers at work in forty-four libraries. Their main functions were preparation of reading courses and study outlines for individuals, assistance to teachers and students, and cooperation with discussion groups. Many of them placed heavy reliance upon the Reading with a Purpose series of guides to readable books, when these became available. Commencing in 1925, such guides were issued by the American Library Association, at the rate of one a month, and were continued for approximately ten years. Then, for reasons not clear to the author, since the project sold over 850,000 guides and became self-supporting in five years, the series was dropped.

While Learned's arguments did receive considerable attention and stirred up much interest at the time of publication, librarians built up their initial programs of educational services along the lines of the more conservative recommendations given in 1926 by the Commission on the Library and Adult Education. In summary, the commission was of the opinion that the public library should lay most stress upon service to the individual, and should concentrate its attention upon serving the adult education programs of other groups rather than sponsoring "library's own" programs. These recommendations not only reflected the character of most adult education activity among librarians at the time, but fixed the nature of such work for many years to come.

In 1927, its survey function having been accomplished, the commission was dissolved and a Board on the Library and Adult Education was created by A.L.A. to continue the studies inaugurated by the commission and to provide information and an advisory service for librarians interested in developing their educational work. In addition to continuing bimonthly publication of Adult Education and the
Library, the new Board stressed the need for production of readable books, and urged librarians to work for the broadest possible extension and coordination of educational services for adults. Renamed the Adult Education Board in 1937, it offered continuing inspiration, advice, and leadership under the general guidance of John Chancellor, specialist in adult education for the American Library Association until his resignation in 1941.

One other event of the twenties should be mentioned. During much of its early growth, adult education was plagued by the popular belief that adults could not learn. It was held generally that after one reached legal majority he was virtually uneducable. Certain of the falsity of this premise, leaders in the field of adult education persuaded Edward L. Thorndike, with the aid of a grant from the Carnegie Corporation, to direct a series of experiments to determine the characteristics and potentialities of adult learning. The results of two years of research were published in 1928 under the title, *Adult Learning*14 and scientific evidence was at last offered to show that older men and women could acquire new knowledge and skills if they so desired.

All told, the beginnings of adult education were auspicious and boded well for the future. Many librarians were active participants. Reviewing a ten-year period, in 1935 Morse A. Cartwright, Executive Director of the American Association for Adult Education, wrote that the history of adult education in the library had kept pace precisely with the history of the adult education movement itself. “Evidence abounds that the more forward-looking of the librarians are seeing their opportunity and seizing it. It is not too much to say that the library, with informality as its keynote, is the most potent single force for adult education in America today.”15 However, it should not be thought that this point of view was uncontested or even represented a professional majority. In 1933 the president of the American Library Association wrote: “. . . if we library workers view ourselves and our work in proper perspective, we must realize that we are not educators but rather the caretakers of important instruments of education.”16 To propose carrying library service very far beyond provision of reader’s advisers, maintaining a calendar of adult education opportunities, and supplying books for adult educational uses, was to challenge a conception of the library’s function which is still cherished warmly by many in the profession.17

More than two hundred articles and several books on libraries and
adult education were published during the thirties, giving general surveys of thinking and action in the field. In 1935, the Macmillan Company issued Cartwright’s *Ten Years of Adult Education*, a report on progress of the movement seen through the eyes of a leading figure in the field. *Adult Education in Action*, a collection of articles which with one exception had previously appeared in the *Journal of Adult Education*, and a *Handbook of Adult Education in the United States*, reviewing a cross section of adult education activity, were both issued by the American Association for Adult Education in 1936. A previous edition of the *Handbook* had appeared in 1934. *The Role of the Library in Adult Education*, papers presented before the Library Institute at the University of Chicago in 1937, together with Lyman Bryson’s *Adult Education* and *Helping Adults to Learn*, the latter a general survey of the public library in action done in the manner of the 1926 report of the Commission on the Library and Adult Education, rounds out the decade.

Outstanding among books produced at the time, ranking second only to Learned’s *The American Public Library and the Diffusion of Knowledge*, was a provocative little report prepared in 1938 by Alvin Johnson entitled *The Public Library—A People’s University*. A distinguished educator and nonlibrarian, Johnson set out at the request of the American Association for Adult Education, aided by another special grant from the Carnegie Corporation, to find indications of how libraries were actually functioning in the adult education movement, how librarians felt about developing work of this kind, and what the future position of the library might be. Basing his report on findings gleaned from direct visits to twenty-three libraries and indirect reports on seven more, Johnson was forced to conclude that while the adult educational activities of public libraries were, in the aggregate, impressive, no single library had yet come anywhere near developing the possibilities within easy reach.

Despite this situation, the logic of the library’s position in the community led Johnson to extend the concept of the public library to embrace the functions and responsibilities of a people’s university. After weighing the likelihood of developing an effective system of adult education through the public schools, colleges, and universities, or through an independent educational system of the various tentative private and cooperative plans then in operation, Johnson concluded that the only reasonable scheme was to develop the public library into
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a permanent center of adult education. While public librarians had often yearned to be ancillary in adult education, Johnson felt there was nothing for them to be ancillary to. His views, like those of Learned, are still subjects of controversy, although the advent of the community college gives them less force in present-day thinking.

The picture of public library service which led Johnson to see it as the nucleus of a popular university is reflected fairly well in a small pamphlet issued by the Adult Education Board in 1940. Through Experiments in Educational Services for Adults, the Board hoped to stimulate interest and encourage the raising of standards. In its thirty-four sections this bibliographical guide covered a wide range of adult educational interests and activities and considered such matters as development of popular libraries, remedial reading clinics, bookmobile service, motion pictures in the library, the library psychologist, exhibit and display work, educational objectives for the adult lending department, and cooperation in adult education among several small neighboring libraries. Taken as a unit, it summarized the advanced thinking of the time and predicted the future course of much library service in adult education.

The first big chapter of adult education ends with World War II. The history of that chapter and of much material which might belong in a preface is outlined in the first major bibliography of the field, The Literature of Adult Education, issued in 1941 by the American Association for Adult Education. Undertaking a comprehensive analysis of germane material, Beals and Brody gave the field a history and some unity. If their approach was conservative regarding the role of the library—the view seemed to be that the library could be most effective in adult education through expansion of its more traditional book service functions through provision of popular libraries—it was still too advanced for general acceptance.

The role of the library in defense and war efforts and in assisting postwar readjustment was important. While not to be discussed here, it signaled a turning point. Understaffed, inadequately supported, desperately short of appropriate materials, public libraries throughout the country did what they could to supply books and pamphlets, give space to meetings, and gather special information. The reason these efforts were significant is not that they marked major departures from the established functions of libraries, but because the library, like all other public and private institutions, was led to focus its attention and
energies in a single major effort. For what may have been the first time in the lives of many librarians, the resources of an entire institution were mobilized locally and on a national scale to meet a variety of different but closely related educational needs.

This was reader's advisory service with a vengeance. Librarians not already aware of it became cognizant overnight of the fact that they were an integral part of the local as well as national community, and had pressing obligations to fulfill. Sober papers presented at the Library Institute held at the University of Chicago in 1943, under the general heading of The Library in the Community, do not emphasize the war effort as such, but they do highlight the need for librarians to understand the community in which they live if they are to serve it adequately in a time of crisis, or indeed at any time. This plea for understanding one's community and gearing library service to meet community needs has several important and far-reaching implications. It requires that the library build its collection more in terms of local interests and problems than in relation to the broad range of recorded knowledge. It suggests that information and ideas may be more important than the form in which they are recorded, and that the public library must provide accordingly. Finally, it implies that the local public library will eventually be evaluated according to its direct educational contributions to a living community through intellectual leadership, and not in terms of success in mere preservation or routine service functions.

Also during the war, a distinguished American writer, James Truslow Adams, having been asked to take another look at the progress of adult education and offer opinions as to what might constitute the best and most promising course for adult educators to take in postwar years, added another strong voice outside the library profession to the small chorus within: "I do not know any educational service which could reach and help the general public, as individuals or as groups, more directly and effectively than the public libraries." But progress is slow. In 1946, most libraries reported plans for an increase in educational activities, but indicated that these were hampered by lack of space and personnel. If the will was really there, it was weak, except in large libraries.

The last five years of adult education in this country have been marked by much running in many directions. Most stimulating and encouraging has been the pioneering of the Louisville Public Library
in establishing a bold program of A-V service with films, radio pro-
grams, and television, and what amounts to a "library of the people's
university," in direct cooperation with the extension division of the
University of Louisville. The same can be said of the mounting demand
for specialists for group service in libraries, despite the difficulty of
locating qualified workers. General interest among adult educators in
problems of both young and older adults, community organization,
public affairs, and social issues has seen corresponding activity within
the library. For documentation of these activities and professional
thinking about their suitability, one may find useful the 1948 edition
of the Handbook of Adult Education in the United States, the Unesco
manuals, Adult Education Activities for Public Libraries and Librar-
ies in Adult and Fundamental Education, and the professional jour-
nals. Also, Eberhart has studied adult education as it developed
through five chronological stages within the library profession from
1926 to 1951. Dillon, in 1949, reported a general survey of the work
done by public libraries of the United States in adult education; and
there are numerous other sources of information. A recent negative
statement on the role of public libraries in adult education, and one
which is, in the author's opinion, a serious misevaluation of the facts,
appears in Shera's article, "On the Value of Library History."

The most comprehensive study of the public library in recent years
was the Public Library Inquiry, another contribution to the profession
made possible by the Carnegie Corporation. Testifying on the state of
public librarianship in the United States, Robert D. Leigh in his
summary volume on the Inquiry, notes that in 1948 only six per cent
of the nation's public libraries had annual budgets of $25,000 or more.
In general, most of the libraries undertaking any very extensive pro-
gress of adult education enjoyed funds of $100,000 per year and up.
Speaking realistically, most public libraries had neither budget, trained
personnel, nor inclination to do much more than buy and hold col-
lections of popular current fiction. In the few libraries that did carry on
significant work, such activities were usually justified simply as a means
of encouraging greater use of public library materials rather than for
solution of educational problems. In no place studied in the Inquiry
sample was the public library clearly recognized as the official library
unit for the school, university, or community adult education pro-
gram. Only in the general sense that it provided the essential library
service for a host of informal adult education activities could the
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public library be considered even remotely related to what has been “somewhat romantically” called the “people’s university.”

Observing the behavior of the general American public as respects communications, and discerning a natural clientele for public libraries, Leigh concluded that the role of the public library is to serve those of the adult population, perhaps ten per cent, whose interests, will, and ability may lead them to seek personal enrichment and enlightenment. He stated: “The enlargement of this natural public library audience may well be the library’s concern in co-operation with other agencies of education. But if our analysis is correct, the process of enlargement is slow, requiring intensive efforts and not producing numerically spectacular results. Meantime, adequate services to the existing and potential group of natural library users have a social value much greater than the gross numbers involved.” 40 Apparently the public library is not, and in the near future is not likely to become, either a community center for reliable and useful information or a popular university. Not only does the library lack the necessary incentive and resources, but it would never occur to most Americans to use their local public library as a source of practical information and education.

Lack of sound research; stress on promotion and expansion of the library’s own services, programs, and projects rather than thoughtful formulation, cooperation, and integration of efforts for the solution of community problems; departmentalization rather than diffusion of responsibility within the library; continuing insistence upon the importance of the individual without reference to the associations which establish that importance; complete neglect of many significant areas; emphasis on techniques rather than problems; failure to train a corps of professional workers able to do the jobs necessary—these are some of the negative factors which have characterized the public library’s role in adult education during the last twenty-five years.

However, in the face of what by any quantitative measure would surely be judged almost complete failure, the potential importance of the public library’s role in adult education has nevertheless increased. On the positive side, there has been a marked change in gross library coverage and improvement of collections. Fewer librarians cling to print as representing their only responsibility. Trends in the general field of adult education have seen a corresponding rise of activity in public library services for young and older adults, discussion of public affairs, community organization, and program planning. The pleas of
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Tompkins,41 Edge,42 and others for librarians trained to do the job of adult education have finally resulted in some revision in library school curricula, even if not enough and not exactly as planned. Students are now graduating from library schools who understand the job of adult education, and know something of where and how to begin. First through “Great Books,” and thanks more recently to the beneficence of the Ford Foundation, librarians over the country have taken notice of the values of group discussion, notably as conducted by the American Heritage project under the supervision of the American Library Association. Admittedly, 117 American Heritage groups composed of only 2,500 people discussing books and films is not mass education. But the results, in 1951, were sufficiently impressive to command more Ford money for continuation of the project in 1952, and it is still the most extensive public library experiment in progress. Finally, the stimulating experimental and coordinating roles of state and county library service have taken hold in recent years as shown in the Watertown Regional Service Library in New York State,43 and may eventually lead to a cultural revolution in rural and small-town America.

Some public libraries have become conscious of the need to organize and focus their resources for educational work in particular areas. On a broad scale the elaborate Atomic Energy Institute, sponsored for several days by the Enoch Pratt Free Library in 1947,44 and the program to publicize the United Nations in Indianapolis,1 are cases in point. There has also been slow but steady improvement in provision of services to business and labor groups. Libraries in Washington, D.C., Baltimore, New York, and Detroit have organized classes and conducted reading clinics to help adults overcome inefficient reading habits.1 During the last ten years more than one hundred public libraries have established film collections, and are now reaching what they believe to be new and broader audiences with educational materials and programs previously unavailable.

Many librarians have become broadcasters, while some are contemplating the prospect of television and a few are doing something about it. In 1950 more than thirteen public libraries were regularly producing TV programs.45 More conventionally, questions on home, family, marriage, nutrition, and housing have been the subject of countless book talks, lists, lectures, study sessions, forums, and classes under the direction of public libraries. Perhaps most significant of all postwar activities, the library has come to be regarded as a center
for training leadership and for the planning of programs for community groups. In some places, notably Detroit and Cleveland, annual meetings have been held to familiarize group chairmen with library resources. Some aids for planning programs have been published. In the author's opinion community study and the shaping of programs, that is, determining the areas in which educational work is necessary and suggesting means of accomplishment, are the two main keys to the future importance of the public library.

Sifting the data in reports from the field to determine the actual content of today’s adult education, Paul Durrie, president of the Adult Education Association of the U.S.A. in 1952–53, sees a continuing concern for meeting the immediate and personal needs developed by the individual as he functions as a worker, a homemaker, a creative individual, and as a citizen:

We see a slow moving from the easy areas where we teach the “how” to the more difficult ones where we are trying to help individuals understand the “whys,” from dealing with things to dealing with people and ideas. We are saying, “To earn a better living is not enough; we must learn to live better, more fully, and more intelligently. Adult education must help make this a more effective democracy, must contribute to the maintenance and strengthening of our way of life.”

There also seems to be a growing belief that methods of instruction and administration, if they are to be increasingly effective, must recognize the individual’s network of relationships and interests, that they must involve the individual on an emotional as well as an intellectual basis in the identification of his problems and in planning and carrying on his continuing learning experiences. These need to be active and vital, not passive and academic.

... reporters agree that a good community adult education program must involve many agencies and institutions and the use of many media. No one can function with a maximum of effectiveness alone. They stress the need for communication and joint projects which utilize the diversified resources, insights and skills of many.46

Durrie has cited the major trends in adult education today. The role of the library and that of other educational agencies and institutions is to secure maximum participation in a program of education which will achieve the objectives implied. The main key is to relate the educational program to action. Toward that end “one principle ... stands out as fundamental—build the experience of community with people. Within this framework they can discover first hand that others have
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the same problems they have, that their common problems can be solved by cooperative action, that when they come to know people in the sharing of experience the basis for prejudice disappears and that there are values, not apparent on the surface of the everyday world, by which people can, and do, live." 47

In regard to research and evaluation, the needs are great but little has been done. For a suggestive list of research problems the reader is referred to the section “Library in Adult Education” in a report entitled Needed Research in Adult Education, 48 prepared by the Joint Committee of the American Educational Research Association and the Department of Adult Education of the National Education Association, dated June 1949. Also, “Evaluating the Library’s Programme” 49 is an excellent working paper prepared by Cyril O. Houle for the Malmö Seminar held in the summer of 1950 at Malmö, Sweden. Several bibliographic aids appear in a major review of research literature in adult education, published as the June 1950 issue of Review of Educational Research. 50

Supported by a $25,000 grant from the Ford Foundation, the Adult Education Board of the American Library Association is taking another look at the library and adult education. The emphasis this time is on public library service to groups, which in itself is an evidence of a changing philosophy. The survey is elaborate, and will gather information from all public libraries serving communities with a population of more than 2,500. In addition to several questionnaires, the project calls for an unspecified number of field visits and the use of other follow-up devices. The survey will not be able to appraise the worth of the efforts discovered, except in very general terms, but it will undoubtedly give information by which better to predict the near future. The values of the survey as an educational and promotional device in its own right are not inconsiderable.

For too many years the adult education movement in the United States marched under two main flags, that of the American Association for Adult Education and that of the Department of Adult Education of the National Education Association, originally established in 1921 as the Department of Immigrant Education. It is to be hoped that with the merger of these two organizations, accomplished in May 1951 by establishing the Adult Education Association of the United States of America, which is now backed heavily, although indirectly, with Ford money, hostilities have ended between those most interested in
public school adult education and those outside the school. Certainly the tasks are sufficiently large and there is need for all.

The fear still does exist among some librarians, however, that public school interests, having more generous tax support, will tend to crowd other agencies out of the field. It is indeed to be hoped that the “clock hour” measurement principles common to many public school programs will never be applied to informal library programs. Another issue which divided adult educators for many years was the study of group processes. With initial sponsorship by the Department of Adult Education, but with the bitter opposition of many within the American Association for Adult Education, the dynamics of group behavior were examined intensively in an effort to determine prerequisites for successful education and the practice of democracy. The faddist characteristics of this effort have now largely disappeared, and its positive contributions are being felt in many areas, e.g., conference planning and administration, group discussion and study, and leadership in educational activities. The most notable undertaking of its kind is the National Training Laboratory for the Study of Group Dynamics, held annually at Bethel, Maine, for the last several years.51 One interesting application of knowledge of the principles of group behavior appears in a recent article entitled “Library Promotion and Service as Problems of Group Dynamics.” 52

To summarize the growth of adult education during the last two decades, in 1934 it was estimated that more than twenty-two million persons in the United States were engaged actively in some form of adult education. Of these approximately one million were being served by libraries.17 In 1948, perhaps thirty million people in the United States over twenty-one years of age were interested or participating in adult studies of a more or less organized nature.53 Interpolating figures from the Public Library Inquiry,54 perhaps five to nine million adults are now active users of the public library.

Accepted functions of public libraries in today’s adult education are at least these: (1) furthering of self-education, (2) providing materials and information service for the informal educational enterprises of the community, and (3) acting as exhibit centers of community development. Disputed, but fairly well established in larger libraries, are the following: (4) program planning for community groups; and (5) sponsorship of book-based discussions, special classes, film forums, concerts, and lectures. Attacked from within and outside the profession
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are suggestions that the public library should also (6) assume leadership in the establishment and maintenance of a diversified program of informal adult education in the community, and (7) mobilize its resources for the identification and realization of desirable avenues for social change. All of these responsibilities are now being met in some degree by one or more libraries. Assuming that the public library is not already obsolescent, it seems that the trend will be in the direction of (6) and (7). If the tasks are unwanted, they are thrust upon librarians by the temper of the age and the traditional position of the public library.

References

15. Cartwright, op. cit., p. 149.
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25. Ibid., pp. v-vi.


28. Ibid., p. 359.


49. Houle, *op. cit.*, chap. 7.