HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF NORWEGIAN LIBRARIANSHIP
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE MEDICAL FACULTY OF
THE UNIVERSITY OF OSLO

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ABSTRACT

The thesis provides an historical account of the development of Norwegian book collections and libraries from the earliest beginnings in the 17th century until the Public Libraries Act of 1971. The social and educational context, the growth of the book trade and the power relations expressed in the language conflict provide the background for the main discussion. The public library service and notable figures in its development, with special emphasis on the Deichman Library in Oslo, are outlined and the strong influence of American practices brought back by returning emigrants is emphasized. The development of the first largest academic and public libraries illustrates the importance of individual personalities in the organisation of library practice in a small country. Data selected from archival and printed sources, hitherto only available in Norwegian, are supplemented by a series of interviews conducted with notable librarians from all sectors and from a wide age range. This material is especially valuable in the section that deals with the role of libraries and the activities of librarians during the period of occupation in the Second World War.

The growth of professionalism, both in the establishment of the Norwegian Library Association and in the promotion of education for librarians, which culminated in the establishment of the State Library School in 1940, is covered and library architecture and foreign influences on the building and organisation of libraries are discussed.

The thesis concludes with a case study of the development of the University of Oslo Library, with special reference to the medical collection there.
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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is focused on tracing the historical development of Norwegian librarianship. The intention is to provide access to material presently unavailable in English, to analyse the sources and to identify trends in the development of Norwegian librarianship which originated in poorly resourced and unevenly distributed book collections and went on to become a well organized national system of public and academic libraries. Since there were no sources available in English, it was felt that it was better to get an overview of library developments, to take a broad sweep of the span of history, to identify trends, rather than to provide an in-depth study of one specific library service. The aim of the study is not simply to describe the historical development of early 18th century book collections which led to 20th century state funded public libraries, but to extract relevant information from a wide range of sources and to demonstrate the growth of libraries. The individuals who provided the stimulus and driving force for the origin and development of public libraries from the late 17th century up to the mid 20th century are identified and their careers set in context.

To address the question of "Why Norway?", it can be shown that Norwegian library history is unique in several respects. The special characteristics of Norway include the geographical and climatic conditions of the country, the long subordination to Denmark (1380-1389 and 1450-1814), overseas influences affecting not only library practice but also architectural styles, and the experiences of librarians in the period of Nazi occupation during World War 2.
Norway's unique feature is her geography. The country forms the western part of the Scandinavian peninsula and covers an area of 125,000 square miles, extending through more than 13 degrees of latitude and 26 degrees of longitude, with distances unparalleled in Western Europe. From Lindesnes, the most southern point of Norway, to the North Cape is about 1,200 miles. Not only are the towns and villages separated by vast distances, but the mountainous terrain and climatic conditions make communications extremely difficult. As a result, in the 19th century most of the pioneering activity of the early librarians was confined to specific townships in the south such as Kristiansand (Bishop Hansen's diocese 1798-1804)¹ and Kristiania, which later became known as Oslo.

Particular attention is paid to the first large libraries which were located in Trondheim, Bergen and Oslo.² A constantly recurring theme is Norwegian national identity. In order to understand the relatively slow growth of Norwegian publishing in the European context, one has to consider the subordinate role in which Norway was placed in relation to her more powerful sister nations in Scandinavian history. Norway was in an unequal union with Sweden 1319-1355, with Denmark 1380-1389, with Sweden and Denmark 1389-1450, with Denmark again in 1450-1814 and with Sweden 1814-1905, not achieving complete independence till 1905, although most people regard the 1814 Constitution as the beginning of Norwegian independence. The country lost her independence again during the Second World War. For all these reasons, it seems appropriate from a historical perspective to

¹ The trailblazers of public book collections are identified in Chapter 3.
² Margot Lindsay had a library placement in a Norwegian public library in 1975 and also wrote a dissertation on the historical development of Oslo Public Library for BA (Hons) degree in Librarianship, Polytechnic of North London, 1977.
acknowledge the concern for national autonomy as a central theme since literacy and spreading the word were the best means of reaching the people.

An interesting feature of Norwegian library history is the mixture of influences from Germany, America and England which can be explained by the willingness of librarians from a small isolated country to look abroad for new ideas and new ways of doing things. This flexibility has been noted. Since the 19th century foreign influences affected the University cataloguing and classification systems treated in Chapter 12.5, study tours and overseas library education influenced the emergence of the Norwegian library profession treated in Chapters 4.5 and 7. The professional literature included descriptions of foreign libraries - American, English and German - by librarians such as Hans Tambs Lyche (1859-1898) who tried to open his countrymen's eyes to how far they lagged behind. In enticing sketches Lyche led his readers through beautiful library buildings with large, light rooms, richly furnished with all the world's best literature. During Lyche's editorship of *Kringsjaa* there were longer articles or notes on the question of public libraries. Some of the Norwegian librarians who went abroad in the late 19th century returned in later years and introduced new library practices to their home libraries. The most prominent librarian was Haakon Nyhuus (1866-1913). Even those who remained in America made immense contributions to the library world. One such was J.C.M. Hanson (1864-1943) whose work is discussed in Chapter 4.5.

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3 See Chapter 5.5.

4 *Kringsjaa* was a scholarly journal (1893-1910) with many articles translated from English language periodicals. It discussed topics such as rural libraries, library buildings, mobile libraries and card catalogues. These were articles translated into Norwegian from English (mostly American) or German.
Architectural styles of library buildings may provide some insight into overseas influences. V. Platou (1839-1928)\(^5\) preferred a library building to be prepared and furnished like the modern English and American public library buildings. In 1907 the Chief Librarian and the architect of the University of Oslo Library took a study tour to Europe before presenting plans and drawings for the new building. The style of German academic libraries was reflected in the 1913 University of Oslo Library building.

The first purpose-built branch Public Library in Grunneråkka in the 1930s was modelled on the American style, as were other public library buildings in the following two decades.

Another noteworthy feature of Norwegian library history is the Nazi occupation period. The main centres of communication in the public domain will always be a target for an occupying force. The case of Norway, which was occupied by an invading power, highlights the central significance of public libraries in a free society. The individual ways in which librarians managed both to keep libraries serving their public who had a hunger for the printed word, and to assist the resistance is recounted in Chapter 8.

Tracing the origin of the library profession could commence with the 18th century book collections, especially those provided by Peter Hansen as described in Chapter 3. A more accurate point of focus is found in the work to establish the *Norsk Bibliotek Forening* (NBF)\(^6\) in 1918 and the growth of library education. In a small country individuals predominate so that it is difficult not to focus on specific library pioneers when tracing technical library

\(^{5}\) Chief Librarian Bergen Public Library 1882-1909
\(^{6}\) Norwegian Library Association
progress over time. For example, a group of enthusiastic librarians campaigned for professional education, a movement which is addressed in Chapter 6.

Having looked at the general scene of library development in Norway, the concluding chapters take as a special study the medical collections of the University of Oslo. The close and parallel development of medical education and the book collections that supported it seen in the University Library of the Faculty of Medicine, its catalogues, the bookstock and the classification system, are examined in Chapter 12. The decision to concentrate on the Medical Faculty, rather than other disciplines in the University Library collections, was based on a number of factors. Throughout the 18th century to the opening years of the 19th century most academics in Norway were theologians, then law predominated, with medicine increasing from 1911 onwards. While either theology or law would have been potentially fruitful areas to investigate, medicine was selected because of a lifetime spent working in this area and consequent investigations of the information needs of the medical profession. Towards the end of the 20th century, the largest library collections in the University of Oslo were in the Faculty of Medicine, which also had some of the greatest library treasures.

1. Literature search

Prior to undertaking such a study it was necessary to examine what was already in existence. Apart from a few papers by Norwegian authors published in English and American professional literature immediately after World War II, and a trickle of articles in the 1960s, very little published material is available.

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7 The subjects which were most prominent in 16th and 17th century European universities were theology, logic, philosophy, physics and metaphysics. Centres of excellence of medical education were established in the 17th and 18th century in Leiden, Montpellier, Paris, Dublin,
in English on Norwegian libraries. To a large extent, this study of Norwegian library history is based on Norwegian library periodical literature and books published to celebrate library anniversaries, all written in Norwegian and not available in an English version.

Frequent short visits to Norway were greatly enriched by the inestimable advantages gained in developing a good working relationship with antiquarian booksellers. One shop had a few shelves of pamphlets about various publishing houses which would have been difficult to trace in bibliographical sources, another shop had a good stock of hospital histories and a third had invaluable texts on the historical development of the University of Oslo.

2. Archive sources

Extensive use of archival sources, both in Norway and the United States, has also been made. The records of meetings where the selection of books for purchase for the University Library over the period 1884-1891 was discussed provided a fruitful source. These are held in the Norwegian State Archive in Oslo. Tracing the careers of Norwegian librarians in America was enabled by having access to the archives of Chicago Public Library Special Collections Department. Reports of the meetings of the Board of Directors (1881-1902), Annual Reports (1908-1911) and the house journal Staff News (1911-1945) were all thoroughly investigated. Detailed information on the pioneering librarians, such as Haakon Nyhuus and J.C.M. Hanson, was retrieved from the Newberry Library Chicago, through the Trustee Records 1892-5 and the Administrative Files, 1887-1963.

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Edinburgh and Vienna. By the late 18th century, more students in European universities studied physic (medicine) than literature, philosophy, divinity or law.

The archive material of the smaller hospitals in Oslo helped to formulate the medical focus of the study and to refine it into an even more specific area, that of medical librarianship. The hospital library archives in Oslo Rheumatism Hospital, Sophies Minde Hospital and Ullevål Hospital were examined and proved rich sources of information on the development of medical collections. The University of Oslo librarians allowed full access to correspondence files for the later War period.9

The University Library Annual reports were in a variety of formats. Those from 1811-1812 were recorded in handwritten protocols, those from 1813-1817 were part of a periodical publication, *Budstikken*.10 There were no reports from 1818-23 but they were again reported in the form of written records from 1824-1827. From 1828 onwards library reports were included for each University Department.

3. Printed sources

Statistics of library loans and Norwegian book production were collected from the periodical literature, in particular *For folkeoplysning* (1916-1933) and *Bok og Bibliotek* (1934-). The periodical *Droit d'Auteur* was an invaluable source of data on Norwegian book production in the early 20th century. The annual reports of the University provided important information about library services.

4. Oral sources

Specific themes of Norwegian library history have been investigated through personal discussions with librarians which have been reported in Appendix Figure A1. Examples of how far Norwegian librarians had developed their professional ethics can be seen in the work of Norwegian librarians during the

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9 See Chapter 8 and Appendix Figure A1 for further information about this period.
very demanding period of World War II when Norway was an occupied country. Information from this period was traced through archival, printed and oral sources.

5. Library histories

The most thorough investigation of the history of the first Norwegian public book collections was produced by the librarian, Arne Kildal. Kildal traces the growth of public education from the 18th to the early 20th century. He examines reading habits and the results of early public education activity, identifying the associations which raised money for the book collections and describing the central role of the Church in these activities. His work has yet to be translated into English. The social history of the main Public Library in Oslo provides an important inspiration for my study in revealing reading habits, educational levels and library use from the late 18th till the late 20th century.

Another fruitful source was the work of Ringdal who set his investigation in the context of the emerging capital city during the 19th century. He considered the different types of people who used public book collections. Ringdal's analysis of the Deichman Library catalogue formed the backbone of the presentation of some of the Library's historical phases. As well as explaining the changing library routines, he found that the number, qualifications and abilities of staff varied through time. Another source only available in Norwegian is the history of Bergen Public Library from 1874 to 1974 which provides an insight into the struggles of a library to obtain funds, initially from public subscription and

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10 The Messenger.
13 Rieber-Mohn, H., Rieber-Mohn, C. Alle Bergenseres aandelige løftning: Bergen
later from local municipalities. This gives invaluable information about the first librarians in Bergen, which had the second largest public library in the country in the 1870s, and provides data on early practices before professional developments transformed library work in the following century.

The first European universities, headed by Bologna and Paris, were creations of the 12th century. It was some time before scholastic philosophy was introduced into northern and eastern Europe, i.e. among the Germanic and Slavic peoples. A separate thesis would be needed to trace the journeys of Norwegian students who, over the centuries, travelled abroad for higher education. This study begins with the early 19th century development of academic library provision, initially in the Trondheim Royal Society and later in Oslo. The development of the University Library of Trondheim in the period 1768-1993 is carefully documented in a work edited by Nissen and Aase.14 The historical development of the University of Oslo is depicted by Drolsum.15 The latter provides a rich source of information about the first librarians who were often brilliant scholars in the Royal Norwegian Society of Science and Letters.

6. General monographs

To gain insight into library development, some study of educational development in general is essential, to set the right context. Sources for this include the works of Dokka, Ness and Høigård.16 However, these monographs lack any detailed investigation of literacy, and the periodical literature focuses

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16 Dokka, H.J. *En skole gjennom 250 år*, Oslo: NKS Forlaget, 1988;
on Swedish rather than on Norwegian developments in reading and writing skills. This study attempts to plug the gap and supplements the published report by L. Byberg on the Reading Societies in Kristiansand diocese 1798-1804.\(^{17}\) A notable contribution to the study of Norwegian library education has been made in an unpublished thesis by J. Hjellvik.\(^{18}\) Apart from the 25th anniversary volume of the Norwegian Library Association,\(^{19}\) we have to draw on periodical literature to follow the activity of leading figures and to identify what issues they were involved in.

Harold Tveterås\(^{20}\), Chief Librarian of the University of Oslo Library 1953-1969, documents the history of Norwegian publishing in his two-volume work. There are also several Norwegian texts on the history of the main publishing houses. A festskrift edited by P. Strømholm\(^{21}\) to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the printed book in Norway describes a rich selection of books which have been important for Norwegians in the past and many of which will continue to be important in the future.

For historical and social reasons the importance of the development of medical education is treated as a special case in this investigation.\(^{22}\) The most prolific contributor to the history of Norwegian medicine is Professor Ø. Larsen.

Information about Norwegian doctors has also been traced both through the

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Tveterås, H.L. *Den Norske bokhandels historie*, Oslo: Cappelen, 1950-64. 2 Vols.
Strømholm, P. (ed.) *Bokspor: norske bøker gjennom 350 år*, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1993. It includes descriptions of children's books, books about the Catechism, some political texts and books about significant Norwegians such as Fridtjof Nansen (1861-1930), Henrik Wergeland (1808-45), Ivar Aasen (1813-96) and Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906).
An explanation of this is found below in Chapter 11.
biographical records in the University of Oslo Library and in particular through
the work of Kobro.\textsuperscript{23} Further insights into the development of medical
education were found in selected papers published in \textit{Tidsskrift for Den Norske
Lægeforening} 1884-1917.\textsuperscript{24}

What is missing from all available general textbooks on Norwegian history is
an awareness of how popular health literature can affect demographic change.
The late Chief Librarian of the Medical Faculty of the University of Oslo
carried out some very revealing studies of popular health papers which, she
explains, were important tools in preventive medical education, in a period
when high mortality rates were associated with infectious diseases.\textsuperscript{25}
Although there are many texts on Norway during World War 2, there are no studies on
the activity of librarians in an occupied country.\textsuperscript{26} This meant it was necessary
for my research to include face to face interviews with selected librarians. The
courage of Norwegian librarians who kept their library services going during
the period of Nazi occupation is recognised in the appendix, Figure A1.

7. Methods

A qualitative rather than a quantitative approach has been taken, so that the vast
amount of Norwegian statistical data about library stock and issue figures has
not been heavily used. Using records of book issue statistics would not provide
information about how the libraries were meeting the information needs of
readers, as the data do not include reader profiles and subject interests.

\textsuperscript{23} Kobro, I., Grøn, F. \textit{Norges Læger 1800-1908}, Kristiania: Centraltrykkeriet, 1908; Reichborn-
\textsuperscript{24} Journal for the Norwegian Medical Association (Practical Medicine)
\textsuperscript{25} Hansen, L.K. "Helsetidsskrifter" \textit{Historisk Tidsskrift} 66 (3) 1987, 391-9. See also note at end
of Chapter 11 "Disease patterns in Norway 1830-1950".
\textsuperscript{26} There are no references to "library" in the standard four volume semi-official history \textit{Norge i
krig}; edited by M. Skodvin, Oslo: Aschehoug, 1984-6, nor in \textit{Norsk Krigsleksikon 1940-45};
One cannot consider life in 19th century Norway without acknowledging that a central concern for the survival of the nation was tackling the problem of the common epidemic diseases such as diphtheria, scarlet fever, whooping cough and measles which caused a high rate of infant mortality. During the 19th century leprosy was a serious health problem in Norway and there were devastating smallpox epidemics from the 18th to the mid 19th century. Regardless of whether one attributes the reduction of incidence of major epidemic disease to scientific developments such as vaccination or to popular knowledge of public health, it is essential to investigate the growth of medical education and the parallel library services for this emerging profession. The special case of the growth of medical education and the University of Oslo Library in the Faculty of Medicine also provides one with invaluable data which reveal foreign influences on the classification schemes used throughout the period of the investigation.27

When searching for biographical information about librarians, large gaps were found in the available information. Although Chief Librarians of public libraries were often the subject of controversy in newspapers in the opening years of the 20th century, the level of interest dropped as libraries became part of the normal provision of public services. Library anniversary publications and Hemes' *Norsk Bibliotekar Matrikkel* (1969) were limited in both details and length of time covered. The professional literature was helpful, but tended to focus on librarians who were already in the limelight in other publications. While the *Norsk Biografisk Leksikon*28 provided valuable, if selective,

27 See Chapter 12.
28 *Norwegian Biographical Dictionary*
information, it was important to learn about the experiences and views of less prominent librarians.

The aim was to identify a cross-section of librarians from the library spectrum, including those from public as well as medical, special and university libraries. Fourteen librarians were selected from public, special and university library sectors in order to participate in individual semi-structured recorded interviews which investigated a range of themes from their librarianship careers. The results of these discussions provide a rich source of personal experiences which is presented in Appendix A1.

8. Conclusion

The literature search has shown that there is no comprehensive text which identifies the factors which influenced the growth and development of Norwegian libraries from the 18th to the mid 20th century. While there is an abundance of articles available in the major Norwegian professional journals of the period, there has been, until very recently, a noticeable lack of bibliographical references in this literature. One of the aims of this study is to fill the present gap in Norwegian librarianship.
Chapter 1

Norwegian society 18th - 20th century

1.1 Introduction

Libraries are shaped by the social and economic circumstances in a given time and place, so this study commences by setting the background scene of the society whence the library, the central focus of the study, emerged. It has been stated that libraries all over the world are culturally based: "They depend on society to a greater degree than institutions in other fields of human activity. Therefore the things in librarianship which are compared have a strong cultural dependence and cannot be studied in isolation from their environment".\(^1\)

Another scholar of comparative librarianship, Danton\(^2\) says: "At all points, we are concerned with the influences of the entire relevant social milieu upon the phenomena observed".

An understanding of the demographic and political background of Norway is necessary to appreciate the struggles to build up early public book collections and subsequently to find trained staff for all the libraries, whether the smallest public library or a large collection such as University of Oslo Library.\(^3\) The great waves of Norwegian emigration to America in the late 19th and early 20th centuries provide an explanation for the subsequent library revolution, stimulated by American library developments and practices. The relatively

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1 Simsova, S. "Comparative librarianship as an academic subject", *Journal of Librarianship* 6 (2) 1974, 116.
3 The city was known as Oslo from late Iron Age to 1624, as Christiania from 1624 to 1877, as Kristiania from 1877 to 1924. An explanation for these name changes is needed. After a fire in 1624 which completely destroyed Oslo, Christian IV (1588-1648) ordered the inhabitants to rebuild the city farther west, behind the ramparts of the castle of Akershus, so as to be better protected. To honour the city he gave it the name of Christiania, a name it kept till the year 1924, when the Norwegian parliament decided to restore the old historical name, Oslo.
slow growth of publishing and the book trade in Norway, compared with other European countries, can only be appreciated in the context of the country’s position as an unequal partner in the various Scandinavian unions. An insight into the struggle of the emerging Norwegian nation throws light on the vigorous campaigns to establish a Norwegian University in 1811, and then in 1924 to ensure that all books written by Norwegians in their own language were published in Norway.

1.2 Population in 18th-20th century Norway

There was a demographic revolution in Norway in the first 30 years of the 19th century caused by a steady decline of mortality rates and movements in population both within the country and to America. The kingdom of Denmark-Norway carried out its first census in 1769. Eight censuses which included Norway were taken between 1769 and 1865. Living conditions in urban areas, even in the more advanced and healthier countries, were extremely poor during the late 19th century. Average European life expectancy in 1870 was between 35 and 40 years, virtually unchanged since 1850, although the figures vary from country to country. As in 1850, between 15% and 20% of all European babies born alive in 1870 died before the age of one.

1.2.1 Growth of the population in Norway

Estimates of population for the years 1665 and 1701 suggest that the population of Norway was 444,000 in 1665 and 504,000 in 1701. Drake calculated that the population grew by 0.4% per annum in the years 1554-1701 and 0.6% per annum in 1701-1735. This situation continued over the next eighty years.

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5 The registration of births, deaths and marriages in the 18th century was usually in the hands of the clergy, and calculated by diocese. For population statistics See Appendix Figures B1
Although all of the dioceses' failed to maintain their 1815-35 birth rate during the next three decades, in none did the rate slip back to the pre-1815 level. To explain the sudden increase in the rate of growth of the Norwegian population after 1815, attention should be concentrated on the death rate. From about 1814 the mortality rates generally decline; there are still fluctuations, but they have become less and less extreme. The rate descends to below 15 per 1,000 inhabitants for the first time in 1901; and falls below 10 in 1934. Ramsøy observes that: "The lowest level yet was attained in 1951: 8.4. The rate increases slightly from year to year due to an increasing proportion of older persons in the population". An important reason for the reduction in the death rate among children and young people was related to infectious diseases. 130-140 years ago many children and young people died from infections. While in the course of the period from the 1820s up to the turn of the century there was an extension of life expectancy to 56 years, there was an improvement of 20 years, up to the age of 76, in the period up till 1960.

1.3 A Librarian's explanation of falling death rates

In his study of the decline of mortality in England and Wales in the 19th and 20th century, McKeown concluded that immunisation and treatment contributed little to the reduction of deaths from infectious diseases before 1935, and says that over the whole period since the cause of death was first registered in England and Wales in 1838: "They were much less important than other influences". The former Chief Librarian of the Medical Faculty of the

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Average annual percentage growth in population 1735-1865 and B2 Average annual percentage growth in population 1735-1865, Counties.

Demographic information was based on registers of baptisms.


University of Oslo challenges this claim in her discussion of health journals in the 18th to 19th century. Literature on health information has been available for a long time in Norway because early popular medical and herbal books included advice on hygiene, and it was priests and doctors and other scientific men of the Enlightenment who provided health education with a scientific foundation. With the foundation of the University in 1811, the Medical Faculty produced brief pamphlets on prevention of different sicknesses.

The first medical weekly publication dealing with how to live healthily rather than concentrating solely on disease was *Sundhedstidende* (1778) which was indicative of the flourishing period of preventive medicine which occurred at the end of the 18th century. Health information was not exclusively from doctors. Popular writings such as those by Henrik Wergeland on diet, cleanliness and fresh air were probably standard in library collections. Wergeland’s work laid the basis of the *Selskabet til Folkeopplysningens Fremme* founded in 1850, and interest in health questions greatly increased by the 1880s, as can be seen from the journal *Folkevennen*. However, the greatest growth in publishing was in the number of papers and journals which included articles on health issues produced in the 1880s. Another periodical on health was produced by the chief "Doctor for leprosy" in Trondheim, *Folkets helse, et Tidsskrift for Meningmand på kysten* (1858-1863). Towards the end of the 19th century the biggest fight against tuberculosis and childhood diseases began. This led to a great increase in the number of popular writings on health.

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10 Health Times
11 For information about Henrik Wergeland (1808-45) See Chapter 3.6
12 Society for Promoting Adult Education.
13 The Peoples’ Friend
14 The Peoples’ Health, a periodical for people living in coastal areas
matters. *Sundhedsbladet* was a particularly popular medical and health information journal, established in 1881. From 1889 the journal included articles on personal and public hygiene. School doctors were appointed in 1889. Articles in the 1890s on the importance of cleanliness and not spitting on the floor raised public awareness of health education and were important in the fight against tuberculosis. Improved social conditions also contributed to a rise in standards of health. There were many reasons for the decline in death rates in the 19th century. Sources emphasise multiple factors including better nourishment, preventive medicine, the development of a health system, new lifestyles and the possibility of reduced virulence of bacteria. But it must also be pointed out that orthodox medicine inspired popular medicine (self-help) and that doctors influenced health by preventive education. Lizzie Knarberg Hansen concludes that "These examples of the first health education show that this was an important influence in the struggle against illness and death, and that health education has been an important factor even if it is difficult to isolate, evaluate and quantify".16

1.4 The Scandinavian context

Scandinavia is in an unusual part of Europe. It is a small group of nations, with interdependent histories, many elements of society and background in common, and yet each fiercely proud of its own national identity. In studying human development in Scandinavia one of the most interesting themes is that of the curious blend of co-operation and conflict between one Scandinavian group and another. The term Scandinavia is often extended to include Iceland, which is

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15 The Health Paper
16 Hansen, L.K. "Helsetidsskrifter", *Historisk tidsskrift* 66 (3) 1987, 399.
linguistically related to the others, and less often to Finland, which is not linguistically related.

1.4.1 Characteristics held in common

"Although Scandinavia today comprises five independent sovereign states, these peoples of the North (Norden) are still united by inherited ties of culture, political experience and social sympathy." In spite of differences between the Scandinavian countries there have been many common trends in the social and political evolution of these democracies, tending to develop certain similarities in their social and political outlook. The political life of Finland has been determined by a different historical background.

One of the most obvious things about the Scandinavians is their relatively unmixed racial origin, compared with Great Britain or France. Language was, and still is, another powerful agent bringing the Scandinavian peoples together. Danish, Norwegian and Swedish are close enough to each other for speakers of each language to make themselves understood. Finnish is very different as it is akin to Hungarian: but the course of history was to make Swedish one of Finland's official languages and Finland still has much in common with Norway and Sweden. The social structure of the Nordic nations has evolved from similar feudal and peasant societies. All the Scandinavian countries have faced many common problems during changes from an agricultural to an industrial economy. All enjoy parliamentary government and a similar spectrum of political parties. Each country has an established Lutheran Church

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18 "Admittedly, for some considerable time there have been no further quarrels or territorial intrigues of any consequence to bedevil their relations with each other, and for long the idea of war among themselves would have been so abhorrent to the Scandinavian peoples that they would have had great difficulty in entertaining it; nevertheless, for many centuries they were
which has evolved under the impact of parallel currents of religious and social thought.

1.4.2 The differences between the countries of northern Europe

The four northern countries of Denmark, Finland, Norway and Sweden all have tended to emphasise certain differences in their modes of thought and in their attitude to world problems. The differentiating factors include geographical position, economic structure, historical development and the influences to which they have been subjected by the outside world. Norway will here be treated separately both for clarity’s sake and because, in spite of their ties, the Scandinavian countries are remarkable both for their differences and their similarities.

1.5 Norwegian language conflict, 15th - 20th century

One of the ways that language can be used is as an expression of power relations in society. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth century there was a conscious effort in Norway to plan the development of a new national language. At stake are such questions as the establishment of the norms of good writing and speaking, the adequacy of a language as an expression of the people who use it, and the sharpening of language as a tool for creative and scientific thinking. This was the situation in Norway in relation to her neighbouring national states such as Denmark.

1.5.1 The Danish language in Norway 15th - 19th century

The constitutions of three different political entities, Denmark, Norway and Sweden, led to the development of separate written languages. During the union of Norway with Denmark (1536-1814), Copenhagen became the

administrative, and later also the intellectual, centre of the two countries. Denmark was then a richer country with a population much greater than Norway's. Norway had no unified power to guide the growth of an official language out of her many dialects. By the end of the 15th century Danish had become the official language of Norway. Norwegian grammars at the end of the 17th century set a form of Danish as the model. When publishing escalated in the nineteenth century, books played a big role in introducing Danish grammar rules into Norwegian schools. In this last period most children were in rural areas where on average they only had four weeks of school per year. The great majority of the people spoke the Norse language in the form of numerous dialects. A numerically small but powerful ruling class spoke Danish. In the consciousness of everyone, the situation was quite simple: Danish was "the language", and the dialects were vulgarizations.

1.5.2 Language development after the Norwegian constitution of 1814

Apart from the fact that the official standard language lay beyond the country's borders, the Norwegian situation after 1814 can not be characterised as essentially different from the situation found in many other western countries, including both Sweden and Denmark. During the first decades after Norway's separation from Denmark, Danish influence did not diminish; it increased, curiously enough. The reason is that with the improvement of the schools and the virtual disappearance of illiteracy, the rules contained in the Danish school grammars, which continued to be used for some time, were taught and assimilated. Danish did not, however, become the spoken language of Norway.

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19 The French Revolution, with its ideals of freedom and fraternity, destroyed old privileges and brought new nations into being. Linguistic revolutions burst forth as nations were either liberated or newly created. Each of the following nations had its language problem, which became part of its pressing business after the establishment of political independence: Greece
The differences between the written language and the spoken variety were to a great extent characterised by regional and social variations. The differences were least evident among the higher social groups in the towns, where the written language norm also partly served as the basis for the spoken standard, while they were most apparent in the rural areas where dialects had both a structure and a word order which were essentially different from the written language. Although the written language was essentially Danish in the 1820s, individual authors used a few Norwegian words, particularly when they handled "national themes". From the 1830s onwards many Norwegians felt that the written language was not sufficiently Norwegian.

1.5.3 Communication problems

In 19th century Norway there were several types of oral expression: pure Danish was used by Danish officials and merchants, and on the stage, which was dominated by Danish actors; a form of Danish-influenced Norwegian was used by Norwegian-born pastors, officials and by country schoolmasters when instructing the young. The daily speech of the educated classes varied in style according to the occasion and the speaker's origin. Urban speech was used by artisans and others in cities. The rural dialect was spoken by the farming and fishing population in broad dialectal areas determined by the lines of communication. Between the extremes of stage Danish and the remoter rural dialects there was a gulf which effectively prevented communication.

As long as these variations were in existence within separate environments, people could interact. But misunderstandings and conflict arose when people in the same place were using different language forms. From around 1850 there

(1829), Belgium (1831), Romania (1861), Hungary (1867), Bulgaria (1878) and Albania (1913).
were signs of conflict between the language in books and the speech of the people. The difference between the written standard and the spoken language created difficulties both in oral communication and in understanding language in written texts. These communication barriers were greatest in schools in the rural areas where most rural teachers taught in a language which the pupils did not understand.  

1.5.4 The National Romantic Movement 1840-1860

The National Romantic Movement reached a climax in the 1840s and the early 1850s with the publication of Norwegian folk tales, folk ballads and folk tunes. The special difficulty which confronted Peter Christen Asbjørnsen (1812-1885) and Jørgen Moe (1813-1882) when they came to give written form to these tales was the actual language to be used. To present them in the current Riksmål, which was practically indistinguishable from Danish, would have entailed the loss of their essential character. On the other hand, to render them in dialect form would have made them largely incomprehensible to the majority of educated Norwegians. Without going the whole distance in the direction of the country dialects, these story tellers were able to preserve the essential qualities of the oral narrative, and thus to initiate a manner of writing very close to the style of the sagas. The Norwegian folktales have in the course of time been recognised as among the finest in the world. Their importance to the literary development of the country has been immeasurably great. For the first

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time the Danish written language in Norway was under strong influence from Norwegian everyday speech and folk language.\(^23\)

Henrik Wergeland (1808-1845) has been described as: "the first writer of the new Norway of whom we need take note".\(^24\) He fought vigorously in the 1830s for the use of Norwegian in the theatre. Wergeland believed that "lexical enrichment" would be the main advantage to be derived from the recognition of Norwegian, but he did not exclude the possibility that some of the "grammatical wealth" of the dialects might also be retained. To him the problem was primarily one of expressiveness; he felt the poet's need of a language rich in concrete, vivid terms, with symbolic and emotional force.

The poet Johan Sebastian Welhaven (1807-1873) represented the continuance of the Danish literary tradition in Norway. Some of his poems are purely polemical, especially *Norges Dømring* (1834)\(^25\) where, by calling attention to the provincialism and lack of standards prevailing in Norway at the time, he satirizes what he imagined was the narrow nationalism of Wergeland and his supporters. The collections of poems Welhaven published in the 1850s contain a number of lyrical ballads or romances. With their clearly drawn pictures of the life and ideals of the peasant, as far as they were then known, these short romances have become the most popular of all his poems. It is difficult to overstate his importance in Norwegian literature.

Bjørnstjerne Martinius Bjørnson (1832-1910) had been brought up on the sagas, and he had recognised in the farmers he had known the qualities of his saga heroes: taciturnity, energy and perseverance, but also stubbornness and

\(^{24}\) Bredsdorff, E., Mortensen, B., Popperwell, R. *An introduction to Scandinavian literature from the earliest time to our day*, Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1970, 134.
\(^{25}\) The Dawn of Norway
wildness. There is no question of one-sided white-washing of the peasants in Bjørnson’s novels, the darker sides of peasant life are well represented. In 1857 there appeared the first of his stories of peasant life, Synnøve Solbakken.26 This publication made Bjørnson a figure of note in a country where the artists and not the politicians are the heroes. His contemporaries thought them "raw", containing, as they do, an element of Realism which shocked a generation imbued with a pious reverence for the purity and simplicity of rural life as they found it exemplified, very much to their taste, in the paintings of the national romantic movement. Bjørnson wanted to eliminate all the sickly sentimental aspects of his literary work as the artistic life of the nation had to become more virile. His reputation was strengthened by the publication of the song,

Yes, we love with fond devotion
This our land that looms
Rugged, storm-scarred o'er the ocean,
With her thousand homes27

later to become the accepted national anthem of the country. Bjørnson was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature by the Swedish Academy in 1903.

1.5.5 Linguistic revolution 1847-1907

The Norwegian Constitution was signed on 17th May 1814. Following this momentous event patriotic Norwegians soon began to feel that some attempt should be made to give written form to the rural dialects which, in effect, constituted the speech of the major part of the population. It was thought particularly harmful that country children, in order to become literate, should have to do so via the medium of Danish which was rarely spoken in rural areas. In addition, however, a strong nationalistic and Romantic movement awakened a desire for a language people felt was their own. In response to this desire, the

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26 Sunniva of Sunnyside Farm.
27 Ja, vi elsker dette landet, som det stiger frem, furet, værbitt, over vannet, med de tusen hjem.
linguist Ivar Aasen (1813-1896) began, in the 1840s, the construction of a new national literary language, the Landsmål, based on Norwegian dialects and free of Danish influences. Aasen's task was to show that the Norse dialects were not a chaotic diversity of language varieties which were just as different from each other as from Danish, but that they together constituted a language with a coherent structure.

The final version of Aasen's standard grammar book\(^28\) was published in 1848 and his dictionary\(^29\) appeared in 1873. Both these works provided irrefutable proof that Norse was an independent language, as compared to the Danish and Swedish standard languages, and that the Norse dialects were products of a regular development from Old Norse. The history of the language question in Norway belongs chiefly to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; but in order to put the matter into perspective brief reference must be made to earlier developments. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the language of Norway and of the Norwegian colonies to the West was the Old Norse of the sagas, the Eddaic lays, and the scaldic poems. Most of this literature was written down in Iceland, but the differences between the Old Norse of Norway and Iceland were small.

The first goal of the Landsmål language movement was to reclaim Old Norse, with the qualitative distinctness of an independent language. The second objective was to refine the dialects into a satisfactory medium of expression by encouraging their use by the best authors of the land. The third aim was for the farmers of Norway to share in the creation of a truly national culture in which they were involved. Their point of view was democratic: culture must grow

\(^{28}\) Aasen, I. *Det norske folkesprogs grammatik*, Kristiania, Werner, 1848.

\(^{29}\) Aasen, I. *Ordbok over det norske Folkesprog*, Christiania: Malling Boghandel, 1873.
from within. "Essentially the movement was romantic, postulating an inner
genius, a national soul from which all creative impulses were to come". The
Norwegian language conflict was an expression of a more general struggle over
political, social and economic power in Norwegian society. The two main
forces behind the growth of the New Norwegian movement were the pursuit of
national independence and a national identity, and the pursuit of
democratization. Sommerfelt argues that: "The struggles are much more a
class struggle than a nationalistic struggle, it is largely an expression of the
opposition between town and country civilization".

For generations, the rural teachers had had the hopeless task of teaching the
children in a foreign written language which they partly understood, and which
they could acquire only with tremendous efforts. The opportunity to introduce
a language that was much more familiar to the children was very attractive to
them. From the 1880s the teachers began to see how a linguistic revolution
could support their struggle for political power and social equality: it would
mean that they could use their own language freely without being branded as
inferior.

The Norwegian Parliament resolved in 1878 that instruction in the primary
schools should, as far as possible, be given in the children's own spoken
language. This resolution paved the way for the recognition of Landsmål as an
official written language in 1885. When Johan Sverdrup was appointed Prime
Minister of the first left-wing government in 1884, he quickly went to the
Minister of the Department of Church and Education with a proposal for
reform of the school law. He proposed that there should be books in Landsmål

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in all subjects for all school levels. In this decade the first primary schools adopted Landsmål as their medium of instruction. The Landsmål hymns of Elias Blix were authorized for use in the churches in 1891. In 1892 Parliament resolved that school instruction would be carried out in the Norwegian language.

By the end of the 19th century more and more people were realizing that if the cultivated language of Norway was to be preserved, it would have to shed the straitjacket of Danish spelling. As stated in 1.5.4 above, the writer Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (1832-1910), had celebrated the country folk in his early writings and had agitated throughout his life on behalf of national independence on all fronts. But now he declared that Landsmål was unsuited as a language of culture: it was artificial, regional, and culturally undeveloped, fit only for peasants. These criticisms fuelled the supporters of the Dano-Norwegian usage which was popular in the cities. At a public meeting in Oslo in 1899, a society was formed to defend the language against the attacks of the Landsmål supporters. The keynote speaker was the leading Norwegian linguist, Sophus Bugge (1833-1907), who repeatedly used the term Riksmål and said that "the law that forms the basis of Norway's rights as an independent nation is written in the universally acceptable Norwegian written language: therefore we are fully entitled to call it the Norwegian Riksmål".

In the period 1890 to 1905 school districts in 30 towns introduced Landsmål as the main language in the school. After the dissolution of the union with Sweden in 1905, widespread national enthusiasm assured the language a

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32 Official language of a country.
respected position in society. It was made a compulsory subject for all high school students in 1907.

After a long debate, the terms *Landsmål* became known as *Nynorsk* and *Riksmål* became known as *Bokmål*. Since about 1928 all four terms have commonly been used. 'Book language' was held by supporters to be more highly cultivated than its rival, a true language of civilisation, properly used by educated people; to opponents it was an upper class language, inadequate for expressing the vigour of Norwegian life and nature. "As for 'New Norwegian', it was widely held to be poetic and expressive, but being based on rural dialects which lacked the terms for modern urban life, many held it to be too deliberate and 'artificial' a creation".35

1.5.6 Planning for unity - *Samnorsk* 1950s

The folklorist Moltke Moe (1859-1913) argued passionately for a future synthesis of the two languages, in which the best of both might be preserved for the benefit of the nation. He called it "a language form which some day can unite our country, with room in it for all that is Norwegian, for city as well as countryside. A language that can rightfully be called 'Riksmål' and rightfully 'Landsmål', because it is the language of the nation and the land of Norway".37

He launched the term *Samnorsk* which was to become the controversial catchword of the 1950s.

Before concluding this outline of language conflict and development in Norway, it is necessary to indicate book publishing trends in *Nynorsk* books

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34 New Norwegian
36 In 1938 the Labour government, with support from the Agrarian and Left parties, enacted a major language reform which aimed to bring the two forms together into a common Norwegian formed by the combination of *Bokmål* and *Nynorsk*.
37 Moe, M. *Retskrivning og folkedannelse*, Kristiania: Dybwad, 1900, 42.
from 1868 to 1967.\textsuperscript{38} 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Titles</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1868-77</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>1918-27</td>
<td>92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1878-87</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1928-37</td>
<td>106</td>
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<tr>
<td>1888-97</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>1938-47</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898-07</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>1948-57</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908-17</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>1958-67</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There was a fairly consistent publishing rate from 1868 to 1907. In the 20th century there was a noticeable increase in publishing at the end of both World War I and World War II. The 1920s and 1960s represented peaks in publication. In response to the search of the Norwegian people for an identity of its own in the nineteenth century, two Norwegian written languages were brought into being. In the twentieth century the ultimate goal was to heal cleavages by the use of a single standard language in Norway. In the period following World War II, the hope that \textit{Samnorsk} usage would form a bridge between the two languages was not realized because of its lack of social prestige and linguistic coherence. 

1.6 Emigration from Norway 1866-1910

Norway's migration patterns represent the single most important factor in Norwegian social history in the 19th century and this is especially relevant for the study of library history. According to the most conservative estimate, the number of Norwegians in the United States by 1914 was not less than 1,600,000. The historical development of Norwegian librarianship clearly demonstrates the strong American influences on the growth of the professional approach to Norwegian library practice.\textsuperscript{39} Returning emigrants and the published descriptions of American library practice contributed to a willingness among administrators to change their practices in accordance with the modern methods of library provision found in the United States. Statistical evidence of emigration, the reasons for leaving Norway for America, and the effect of this mass exodus of the population on the Norwegian economy and librarianship in

\textsuperscript{39} See Chapters 4, 7 and 9.
particular will be examined to support this statement. Four tidal waves of Norwegian emigration to America, have been identified by Hodne⁴⁰:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Range</th>
<th>Number of Emigrants</th>
<th>Percentage of Net Population Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1866-1873</td>
<td>111,000 persons</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879-1893</td>
<td>250,000 persons</td>
<td>67%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-1910</td>
<td>200,000 persons</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Prior to 1865 Norway was able to support a rapidly growing population without a fall in living standards. But after this time the task proved too great. A depression following the collapse in 1899 of the building boom in Oslo, and the failure of six Oslo banks at the time, again lured people to the flourishing USA. Between 1910 and 1915 the total number of emigrants per year dropped dramatically from 18,900 to 4,500, but this was partly during a war period, although Norway was a neutral country. This decline may be partially attributed to the beginning of a structural change in the Norwegian economy, associated with the development of hydroelectric power.⁴¹

Between 1891 and 1940 about 25 percent of the emigrants returned to Norway, after having spent only a relatively short period, normally about seven to eight years, in America.⁴²

In order to understand the Norwegian emigration movement it is helpful to consider who migrated and to identify some of the reasons for uprooting themselves from their homes. Up to the 1860s it was common for whole families to emigrate. They were the unskilled in any trade or profession. Later, the majority increasingly were young and unmarried men. By the end of the 19th century an American journey was more common for women on their own

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⁴² Restrictive legislation passed by the American Congress in 1922 and 1924 prevented a
as well. Men who had not found themselves a suitable match in the new country considered the girls in their home district and then wrote a letter to one they saw as a good prospect and told her how incredibly deeply they had been in love with her before they left. The question then was whether she would like to have a ticket in order to go to America in order to discuss the matter further. To take the 'America ticket' in such a situation was just as good as a promise of marriage. The desire to see friends and relatives around one was made concrete in a ticket sent in a letter home, and such a ticket was indeed a stimulus to emigrate which it was difficult to reject. In 1879 and 1880 a third of emigrants travelled from Kristiania on pre-paid tickets and by the mid 1880s the proportion was even higher.

The emigrants were not, as one often imagines, only country people. In the 1880s just as many people who lived in small Norwegian towns emigrated each year. One such emigrant who was to have a great impact on Norwegian librarianship, was Haakon Nyhuus, who left Norway for Chicago, USA in 1890.

It is impossible to know how Norway would have developed economically and socially had there been no mass emigration. Semmingsen states that:

One can suggest conflicting hypotheses: the productive capacity of the emigrants would have speeded up economic growth and made the country richer; or their presence might have been burdensome, keeping wages down and creating a mass proletariat in town and country.

The role of emigration was, above all, that it acted as a safety valve in maintaining a balance between capital formation and population increase at

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43 See Footnote 3 of this chapter which explains the changing names of the capital city.
44 See Appendix Figure B3 Male emigrants by age 1866-1920, Figure B4 Female emigrants by age 1866-1920 and Figure B5 Rural/Urban emigrants 1866-1920.
45 His work is described in Chapter Five.
46 Semmingsen, I. Norway to America: a history of the migration, translated by Einar Haugen, Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1975, 162.
home. Returned emigrants, the so-called 'Americans', benefited the Norwegian economy by bringing with them new skills, higher standards of living, a better sense of the value of cleanliness and hygiene. Lieberman concludes that:

The exact meaning of this population loss for the industrialisation process is difficult to assess. One line of reasoning would maintain that the emigration waves probably took with them some of the most likely entrepreneurial types, thereby slowing industrial growth; while another would claim that the mass exodus actually created such a shortage of labour at home that this served to encourage the process of rationalisation and mechanisation in domestic industry.47

The most important consequence of returning Norwegian emigrants was that they brought back American professional skills such as "library economy", which transformed the public libraries in the opening years of the 20th century.

1.7 An emerging Norwegian nation

It is revealing to select a specific example of Norwegian library development and the Library of the Faculty of Medicine in Oslo provides an excellent example for such a study.48 The historical development of the Library of the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Oslo begins with the rise of patriotic feeling in the 18th and 19th century which motivated people to raise funds to establish the University. In 1772 the Norwegians in Copenhagen organised a literary club Det norske Selskab.49 The political sense, which seemed to have been dormant for centuries, began to awake again and a feeling of independence and a desire for national self-assertion found expression in the Society. By an order of March 1, 1811, the directors of the University of Copenhagen were instructed by King Frederick VI (1808-14), to grant the Norwegian demand for a University. When the University in Christiania50 opened its doors in 1813 the academic and literary partnership with Denmark had to be regarded as terminated.51 In the same year a famine broke out, and the people were obliged to grind birch bark into flour and bake it into bread. The

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48 See Chapter 10 "Historical development of the University of Oslo Library".
49 The Norwegian Society.
50 Christiania was the name of the capital city at this time. See footnote 3 above.
51 The University Library was officially founded in 1811.
depreciation of the Danish paper money swept away the savings of thousands of families and demoralised all commercial relations. Everywhere the greatest discontent prevailed at the Union with Denmark, which had brought the country to such a strait. As Boyesen\textsuperscript{52} says:

To be disposed of, like chattels, by foreign powers, which had no sympathy with Norway's traditions, nor interest in her welfare, was revolting to their self-respect, and amid all the insecurity, which the various moves upon the foreign diplomatic chessboard produced, a stubborn determination to resist to the utmost asserted itself among the thinking classes of the people.

The dominant theme in Norwegian politics up to 1905 when Norway became independent was the growth of nationalist feeling which, along with the relatively egalitarian nature of Norwegian society, rallied the country together and greatly moderated class conflict.\textsuperscript{53} Over this period the Storting\textsuperscript{54} was almost completely controlled by a coalition of farmers and urban radicals and liberals united in the left (Venstre) party by a desire to increase the Storting's power and decrease Norwegian subordination to Sweden. The Norwegians lauded in patriotic songs the freedom and grandeur of their country. It was claimed that the Norwegians would some day awaken and break all chains and fetters in unequal partnerships with other Scandinavian countries. The people knew that Norway had been great in the past, and felt sure that its vigour would return, that it would rise again from dependency to new national greatness. In honour of himself Frederick VI bestowed upon the new institution the gracious name "The Royal Frederick's University". In 1939 the Royal title was removed from the institution which was renamed the "University in Oslo".

\textsuperscript{52} Boyesen, H. \textit{A history of Norway from the earliest times}, London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1900, 515.

\textsuperscript{53} Norway and Denmark were one kingdom from 1380 to 1814 when, in the wake of the Napoleonic wars, Norway was united with Sweden, adopting a modern constitution in the process. In 1905 Norway and Sweden went their separate ways peacefully and Norway has been independent since.

\textsuperscript{54} A main feature of the government which was established by the Eidsvold constitution on 17th May 1814 was the establishment of the Norwegian Parliament or Storting. This consisted of 123 representatives elected by the people for a period of three years. The first regular Storting assembled in July 1815.
1.8 Conclusion

In conclusion it must be stated that similar concerns about Norwegian identity in the late 20th century led to a resurgence of emphasising traditional Norwegian culture. In a consideration of what it means to be Norwegian, Eriksen\textsuperscript{55} says that:

Norway was scarcely affected by the many upheavals and conflicts unfolding on the continent from the Renaissance on, and its development followed, in many respects, its own course. Notably, Norway was never an independent colonial power, nor did it have a widespread feudal system. For centuries, the only sizeable town with strong links to Continental Europe was Bergen in the west. With no powerful city bourgeoisie and no strong landed gentry, burgeoning Norwegian nationalism took on a different character from that of other European countries in the 19th century. It was emphatically rural and egalitarian in its orientation, and it tended to glorify the simple ways of life of the countryside rather than revel in urban grandeur or the military pride of the state.

The rural connection and love of nature are very important aspects of the public self-definition of "what is typically Norwegian". However, the 20th century was the era of mass produced cars, electrical gadgets for the home, the jet and the satellite dish. The world has shrunk and some of its internal boundaries are vanishing. The impact of the current globalisation of culture is visible even in remote parts of Norway, where local shops have American names and everybody wears jeans despite the inhospitable climate. Eriksen\textsuperscript{56} suggests that:

These processes of cultural change cause a great deal of worry. Some Norwegians fear the erosion of their cultural distinctiveness; some lament the appearance of anglicisms in the local dialect; some worry about the standardising and alienating effects of mass culture, American style... Many of the inhabitants of Norway, it has occasionally been suggested, are lacking in self-confidence on behalf of those very aspects of Norwegianness which they relish.

The shrinking of the world entailed by globalisation creates a pressure, as distinctive identities, the old and familiar, are replaced by the new and foreign, and the uniqueness of the nation is threatened. There is an accelerating change of shopping malls replacing the old family-run groceries, television and video replacing the role of family outdoor activity. These new lifestyles can lead to a resurgence of ethnic or national identities which may have lain dormant for a


period, but which now assert themselves with newly found vitality as a form of
defence against perceived cultural change originating from the outside. The
campaign may no longer be about Norway separating from a Nordic Union, but
about protecting Norwegian culture, language and traditions from foreign
contamination. It was against this background of economic struggle and
political subordination that literacy and eventually libraries gained ground in
Norway until they reached the high level of proficiency that they have today.
Chapter 2

The development of the Norwegian book trade, newspapers, literacy, reading habits and the school system 1650-1930

2.1 Introduction

None of the aims of the founders of public book collections\(^1\) could be met until there was a literate population. Graff\(^2\) emphasizes that: "Literacy's importance can not be understood in isolation, or in terms of self-advancement of skills, its significance lies in relation to the transmission of morals, discipline and social values". Norwegians were taught to read in order to encourage compliance with religious principles as well as to advance agricultural development. To understand the barriers to the spread of literacy, it is necessary to remember the need of artificial lighting for reading, before considering reading habits and the establishment of a national educational system.

The first newspapers were published in Germany and France in the early 17th century as this was a more rational way of spreading news than town-criers, bills or personal letters. But in England, *The Times*, founded in 1785, was soon to develop into a paper with a world-wide circulation. In Scandinavia conditions were not so favourable as in England. The dramatic improvements in opportunities for uses of literacy which this chapter identifies include the growth of the press and periodical publishing from 1850 up to the 1890s. The distribution of domestic electricity supplies in this period was a main trigger for reading and ultimately education and library services.

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\(^{1}\) See Chapter 3.2-3.6

In the initial stages of the history of education in Norway, the Church played a central role in educating small numbers of children. The School Ordinance of 1739 marks a turning point in the history of the country's popular education. It revealed the firm intention of the central authorities to introduce a systematic school education throughout the kingdom. Discussion of reading habits in 18th century Norway focuses on different social groups.

2.2 Development of Norwegian publishing and the book trade

1650-1850

Libraries and book collections existed in Norway as early as the 14th century. The first booksellers there were travelling ones who went through markets, towns and country areas in the mid 16th century to trade their wares. In the last years of the 16th century Kristiania became more powerful and European than Bergen and it emerged as the country's cultural and literary centre. This was because those who were educated people in Kristiania had received their education abroad. They also had contact with people overseas and had their work printed in Lübeck and Rostock. Early accounts of Kristiania, in the late 16th and the early 17th century, mention many bookbinders and book travellers.

The honour of establishing the first printing press in Norway goes to the learned priest C.S. Bang who brought the Copenhagen printer Trygve Nielsøn to Kristiania in 1643. The first large bookseller was Hans Hoff who worked in Kristiania from the 1650s until his death in 1686. He ran a bindery, a publishing house and a general bookshop. Another one, Fredrik Jacobsen Bruun, had a

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3 They were known as omreisende bokførere
4 As stated in Chapter 1, the city was known as Christiania from 1624-1877 and as Kristiania from 1877-1924. As this chapter considers events in the publishing world from the mid 18th to the 20th century, the spelling of Kristiania will be used throughout this chapter.
5 Tveterås, H.L. *Den norske bokhandels historie*, 1, Oslo: Cappelen, 1950, 27
Bruun, had a quite extensive business in Kristiania and a bookstall in the market place there in the early 18th century. During the 18th century the travelling Danish book agents gradually became permanent booksellers in most towns of importance. As noted in the previous chapter, the country lacked its own rich language which could have supported the growth of a distinct Norwegian book production, as well as larger book consumers such as a University and University library. The government administration, which was an important user of the printed word for laws, ordinances and other public orders, was in Copenhagen. The network of clerical and secular civil servants was also smaller in Norway than in the main country. To an even greater extent throughout the 18th century the new bourgeoisie became an increasingly important book market in Denmark and Sweden. This development occurred almost a century later in Norway, at the end of the 18th century. Moving into the 19th century, it is important to remember that there was comparatively little urbanisation in Norway until the second half of that century. The few towns there were rarely held five-figure populations. Drake explains that: "Despite rapid growth during the 1840s and 1850s, Oslo, the largest town, had only 57,382 inhabitants in 1865 compared with 11,923 in 1801, whilst Bergen, the second largest, had only 27,703 compared with 16,931 in 1801". In some cases the businesses were passed down through the families.

The fight to create an independent Norwegian spiritual life was paralleled in the Norwegian book trade's struggle to break free from Danish domination. Norwegian publishing activity was severely handicapped by censorship rules in

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6 Peter Nørvig moved his printing works from Copenhagen to Bergen 1721 and two years later he had permission to run a bookshop.
the church ordinance of 1537 which stated that no books in Latin, Danish or German should appear in the high school until they had been translated or had a good recommendation from the Bishop of the appropriate diocese. By the early 17th and throughout the 18th century Bergen was the largest city in the country and the only trading and cultural centre for the whole of the west and northern Norway. The city had an older stronger mercantile and cultural contact with England, Holland and the North German towns than Kristiania. But in dealings with Denmark Bergen was on the periphery in comparison with Kristiania and the other small towns round the Oslo Fjord. Kristiania was a sort of administrative satellite of Copenhagen and exports of iron and timber to Denmark linked the area closer to Denmark than occurred in other areas.

From the mid 17th century the Norwegian book trade entered an age of conflict. In Kristiania, Bergen and Trondheim there were many new booksellers and the Copenhagen sellers were more active in the Norwegian market than before. This produced a situation of very fruitful competition. The Danes were more successful because they had a better developed business technique, better connections and a larger selection of books than the Norwegians. The main separation was not between Dane and Norwegian, but between the resident and the foreigner. The residents were Norwegians, they were distinct from those foreigners who had established themselves in the country. In the long term this came to create a national awareness. Norway entered her life as an independent nation in 1814 with a mere seven printing plants. There were many factors that influenced publishing activities in the early 19th century. Principal among them

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8 Tveterås, H.L. *Den norske bokhandels historie* 1, Oslo: Cappelen, 1950, 12.
were the establishment of the University, the separation from Denmark and the growth of the movement of national identity. The Norwegian book trade around 1830 was stimulated by the founding of new up-to-date firms, with ambitious booksellers, which increased competition and led to modernisation and improved marketing.

2.2.1 Norwegian booksellers and publishers 1815-1897

Throughout the 17th century the market was far too small to make a profit by promoting learned literature and the University had yet to be founded. Some large Danish booksellers with commissions in Norway could, through their connections, obtain most items that were requested. But the majority of readers had to get their own material from abroad and this situation continued for almost two centuries. At the beginning of the 19th century, in its early years, the University was expanding into new subjects, the number of students increased, new schools were established, and all this created more demands on the book trade. The Norwegian population increased after 1814 as demonstrated in the previous chapter.

It was common in the early days for booksellers also to be publishers. They would sell their own publications, as well as any others which they managed to purchase, in their own bookshops. Once the University had been established in 1811, it was the custom for one specific bookseller to be designated the official supplier to the University Library. The University Library's first bookseller from 1811 to 1832 was Morton Hartmann; he was followed in that position by Johan Anthon Fjelsted Dahl who held the contract from 1832 to 1852. By 1834 J.A.F. Dahl was Kristiania's leading bookseller. He was constantly making

\[10\] Morton Hartmann (1785-1855) and Johan Anthon Fjelsted Dahl (1807-77).
catalogues and book lists, and others followed his example, providing credit facilities and sending packages to customers. Another very well-known academic book printer-publisher in the 1830s and 1840s was C.A. Guldberg. There were many firms in Copenhagen which had a flourishing business with Norway providing both Danish and foreign literature. Another leading early 19th century bookseller was Hans Abel Hielm (1792-1869) who established a bookshop in Kristiania in 1815, a print shop in 1817 and a book bindery five years later. Hielm was the first bookseller who travelled from Norway in order to develop direct overseas trading. By the 1840s it was no longer adequate merely to get the best possible selection of books, increasingly the bookshops had to face the problem of getting a specific book.

Throughout the 19th century the largest purchaser of academic literature in Norway was the University Library. In 1870 Jacob Dybwad (1823-1899) became the University Library bookseller and distributor of foreign, essentially German, French and Danish literature. By 1877 he had taken over publication of the Universitets Allmanach which continued for 28 years. On 23rd March 1895 the University Librarian Axel Charlota Drolsum (1846-1927) celebrated his 25th anniversary in office. Jacob Dybwad sent him a letter on the anniversary day congratulating him and thanking him for all the goodwill which had been shown to him in the previous years. He supplied the Library with 220 foreign periodical titles for one year, free of charge.

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12 Tveterås, H.L. Den norske bokhandels historie, 1, Oslo: Cappelen, 1950, 359.
13 University calendar.
Fig. 2.1

Bookshops and printers in Kristiania 1850

1. W.G. Fabritius 1844 - Book printer and bookshop
2. A.T. Nissen - Book printer and bookshop
3. M. Hartmann 1835 - Bookshop
4. Jacob Dybwad - Bookshop
5. Guldberg & Dzwonkowski - Bookshop
6. P.T. Malling - Book printer
7. C. Grøndahl 1811 - Book printer and bookshop
8. J.C. Gundersen 1862 - Book printer
9. H. Lehmann 1811
10. J. Dahl - Bookshop
11. C. Schibsted 1840 - Bookshop
12. Guldberg & Dzwonkowski 1835 - Bookshop

Source: Anderssen, O. Bilder av bokhandelens historie gjennom hundre år, Oslo: Den Norske Bokhandlerforening, 1951, 38.
These titles had been cancelled because of a national political dispute. The University thanked him and informed the King and on 18th September 1897 Jacob Dybwad was made a Knight of St Olav.¹⁴

2.2.2 Book production in Norway 1814-1940

Turning now to statistics of book production in various subject areas, Fet’s¹⁵ analysis of Christian books 1814-1844, provides a useful insight into the specific types of publications within this category for the early period, where sermons were the most significant group. The subjects which had most books published in the period 1814-1847 according to Tveterås¹⁶ were: theology, art, history, law, education, technology and politics. For the same period, Nissen¹⁷ has slightly different figures, indicating that the five most published subjects were: history, law, theology, philology and philosophy.

<table>
<thead>
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Source: Nissen, M. "Statistisk udsigt over den norske litteratur",
Norsk Tidsskrift for Videnskab og Litteratur 3, 1849, 177-207.

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Adapted from Tveterås, H.L. Den norske bokhandels historie 1,
Oslo: Cappelen, 1950, 189, Table 1

¹⁴ Dybwad, V. Bokhandler Jacob Dybwad 1823-99, Oslo: Dybwad, 1942, 180.
¹⁵ Fet, J. Lesande bønder: litterær kultur i norske allmunesamfunn før 1840, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1995. See Appendix Figure B6 Book production 1814-44.
¹⁶ Tveterås, H.L. Den norske bokhandels historie 1, Oslo: Cappelen, 1950, 189, Table 1
¹⁷ Adapted from Nissen, M. "Statistisk udsigt over den norske litteratur", Norsk Tidsskrift for Videnskab og Litteratur 3, 1849, 177-207. See Appendix Figure B8 “Books published in Norway 1814-47.”

52
Moving into the 20th century, where the book production statistics have been recorded in an international context, the subjects which attracted most publication from 1917 to 1920 included literature, history, technology, theology and youth literature. For the period 1930 to 1940, priorities had changed to school books, social science, theology and agriculture.¹⁸

2.2.3 "All Norwegian books published in Norway"

The Dane, Jacob Deichman (1788-1853), took over one of the leading booksellers, Gyldendal's bookshop, in 1809; at the age of 21. Deichman¹⁹ tried to make Norway - and for that matter also Sweden - into a Danish book trade province, through his "Missionary sellers". It was a clear business expansion from Gyldendalske Boghandel and his pupils learnt to get books from abroad. It was practical for them to use the well-developed systems of connections which he had established not only with Germany, but also with France and England. Gyldendal later became the largest and most influential publishing house in Scandinavia.

By 1883 the relationship between authors and publishers was no longer seen as a private concern between individuals, but as a matter closely related to the nation's welfare. As Norway was enjoying strong development, economically and culturally, and national independence was stimulated by the Union struggle, it was natural that many wondered about the phenomenon that Norwegian literature was published outside Norway. In most countries publishing was central to national cultural development, and a growth in publishing was regarded as a valuable national activity. By the beginning of the 20th century,

¹⁸ Droit d'Auteur, 1917-40. See Appendix Figure B9 "Book production in Norway 1917-35."
¹⁹ Jacob Deichman was the first Chairman of Den Danske Boghandlerforening (Danish Book Trade Association) in 1837 and later he was named as an Honorary Member.
Norwegian publishing entered into the long and to some degree bitter struggle for autonomy. This was a struggle against Danish hegemony and the frustration of knowing that Norwegian literature was delivered to Norway in parcels from Copenhagen.\(^{20}\)

In 1904 Gyldendal established its own department in Kristiania and in 1919 Professor Francis Bull (1887-1974)\(^{21}\) became a member of the executive in Copenhagen because, according to Ferguson\(^{22}\), cultural snobbery determined that books published in Norway would not be read by the people who counted. Harald Grieg (1894-1972) joined the leadership of the Norwegian Dept in 1921. These were the two men who in 1922 persuaded the Danes to agree to let the Norwegian Department become an independent Norwegian company, A/S Gyldendalske Bokhandel, Kristiania, with it own directors including five Norwegians and two Danes.\(^{23}\) The Norwegian executive board of A/S Gyldendalske Bokhandel, Kristiania, sent out public invitations to subscribers for the required capital sum for the Danish company which stated that "now Gyldendal must become Norwegian". It was generally regarded as a "national disgrace" that Norway's classical authors' work appeared abroad, i.e. in Denmark, and a worldwide appeal was launched to the public for the necessary last quarter million kroner. Articles were written on authors and their portraits

\(^{20}\) Carlsen, S. *I bokens tjeneste*, Oslo: Norsk Bokhandels-Medhjelper Forening, 1965, 10

\(^{21}\) Professor of history of literature and exponent of the biographical historical method of literary criticism.


\(^{23}\) These two men were also courageously nationalistic during the Nazi occupation of Norway during World War II. Professor Francis Bull (University of Oslo), literary historian and publishing consultant, was half Danish, the Nazis thought he was Jewish. On 26th June 1941, the Administrative Director of the National Theatre, Harald Grieg, and the Chairman, Francis Bull, were arrested and sent to Grini concentration camp in Norway. Despite frail health, Bull survived Grini where he gave lectures and other talks of wide cultural impact which sustained the morale and comradeship in the camp. His popularity among the prisoners led to his celebrity throughout Norwegian society after the war.
were decorated with garlands and flags. In a piece entitled "The last lap" it seemed doubtful if sufficient capital would be obtained before the deadline and a large amount of money was still needed. A further appeal was made to the public: "Are there not sixty-five more good Norwegians?" On the morning of New Year's Eve, however, they still lacked thousands of Norwegian kroner, but triumphantly before midday the capital was fully subscribed. New subscriptions continued to flow in the whole day. Finally, in February 1922 the headline read: "Gyldendal's Norwegian publishing has been separated from the parent company in Copenhagen" and it was declared that the new independent Norwegian company, A/S Gyldendalske Bokhandel, Kristiania, had been established. It was reported that the liberation had been completed and five of the seven directors of the Board were Norwegians. Professor Bull claims that the press campaign was very emotive. He cited the end of subordination, so that Norwegians would no longer need to be afraid of humiliation, and he concluded that among the practical ties which join Norwegian and Danish culture, Gyldendal's publishing house was one of the strongest.

2.3 The emergence of newspapers 1763-1890

As stated in the introduction, the development of the press in Scandinavia provided many opportunities for the spread of literacy in the 19th century. There were Norwegian newspapers before this period, however, and the first of any importance was the *Norske Intelligenz-Sedler* which appeared in Kristiania.

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24 Innspurten
26 "Gyldendals norske forlag løsrives fra moderselskapet i Kjøbenhavn", *Verdens Gang* 11 Feb 1922, 1.
in 1763. In 1805 it began to appear twice weekly, and in 1830 it became a daily. Pamphlets had been used as a means of communication for some time, especially in connection with royal tours and events of war.

The history of newspapers and magazines is closely linked to the history of the postal services because, owing to the nature of the country, the postal services had to be used for the circulation of periodicals and newspapers. The Postmaster in Kristiania earned 250 riksdaler a year from a hand-written Aviscorrespondanse which he was allowed to send free of charge in the mail. Printed newspapers were reserved for specially privileged Danes. It was not until 1805 that permission was granted to send Christiania Intelligentssedler in the mail at a reduced rate. The authorities reserved the right to decide which newspapers could be despatched in this way until well into the nineteenth century.

Prior to the establishment of a regular postal service in Norway in 1647, messages and news were relayed by word of mouth. Radical changes such as the payment of postal workers and road improvements to facilitate mail transport in 1758 could indicate an increasing rate of literacy. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the volume of mail had increased considerably. Mounted postmen had been replaced by stage coaches where roads permitted. With the liberation of Norway from Denmark in 1814 and its subsequent union with Sweden, Kristiania was no longer just a stop on the way to Copenhagen. This was where the Parliament met; this was where the government worked. By this time Norway had twenty-five post offices, six branch offices and ninety-

28 Christiania Intelligentssedler (1807-93) had four pages of moralistic text with advertisements. See Appendix Figure C1 "Major newspapers and magazines 1763-1924."
seven rural sub-offices. In 1837 regular armed mail carriers were employed to transport mail on the main routes. The first railway post office was installed on the Kristiania to Eidsvoll line in 1854 and was later extended to most railway lines. Uniform postal rates were introduced in 1854. The following year saw the issue of the first Norwegian postage stamp. Posting boxes were set up all over the country in 1855. In 1883 Storting funded the postal budget to provide a steamship service from Trondheim to Hammerfest in the summer and from Trondheim to Tromsø in the winter.29

It was not until the 1830s that an improved economy stimulated the work of a free press. The relationship between political growth, the press, the economy and education has been described by Wasberg who says:30

The political feuds of the 1830s and the cultural growth in the 1840s had created a demand for more newspapers and periodicals, and thereby for more and bigger printing houses. The economical expansion, which first made itself felt in the fifties, stimulated the purchasing power and desire for education. Together these two factors were to prepare the way for a broader and richer Norwegian press.

There were seven newspapers before 1800, fifty in the period 1800-1840, ninety in the period 1841-60, but many of these only lasted a short time. Well before 1860 there were newspapers in many rural areas, and the whole of the country was served by the newspaper press in the 1870s.31

In the years after 1814 a number of new papers appeared; for example, in 1819 Norway's first daily newspaper, Morgenbladet,32 started publication. During the period 1831-1857, it became the principal organ of the Liberal opposition and thus prominent in the political and cultural battles of the period. The Royal

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29 This information has been obtained from a visit to the Norwegian Post Museum, Kirkegata 20, N-0153 Oslo in March 2001.
32 The Morning Mail
Danish Household was not impressed by the new Norwegian opposition newspaper and in 1834 a document appeared from Copenhagen categorically declaring that *Morgenbladet* in Kristiania must not be circulated in "His Majesty's kingdom and country". The opposing party, the so-called 'Intelligence Party' of young conservative academics, also had its organ, *Den Constitutionelle*, which appeared between 1835 and 1847. The cultural debates of the 1830s stimulated the emergence of a Norwegian press forum and the number of local newspapers doubled between 1830 and 1847. In the 1850s, with the increasing polarization of the political parties into Right and Left, the dramatic improvement in communications, and improved economic, social and cultural circumstances, the Norwegian press and periodical literature entered a period of continuing expansion and increasing sophistication. During the second half of the century *Morgenbladet*, now the organ of the Right, maintained its position as the leading Norwegian newspaper of the day. *Morgenbladet* was exceptional among daily papers with 2,500 postal subscribers throughout the country. *Aftenbladet* had almost 900. A few children's papers went to over 2,000 postal subscribers. *Norsk Missionstidende* and *Folkevennen* were sent to over 3,000.

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33 Scheibler, H. *Bogtrykkerkunstens og avisernes historie*, Kristiania, 1910, 211.
34 The Constitutional
35 "In 1814 about eight newspapers and periodicals were published in Norway, and seven of these could be counted as newspapers. The number had increased to 59, of which 40 were newspapers." Wasberg, G.C. "The birth of the Norwegian press" *Bibliotek og Forskning Årbok*, 14, 1965, 76.
36 This newspaper began as *Krydseren* in 1849 with Ditmar Meidell, mentioned in Chapter 5.1, as one of the founders and the main editor up till 1879. When it became *Aftenbladet* in 1855 it appeared weekly and was very popular, until it was discontinued in 1881.
37 *Norwegian missionary times*
During the 1860s three other, ultimately highly important, newspapers, were founded: *Aftenposten*, *Verdens Gang*, and *Dagbladet*. *Verdens Gang* had the most spectacular rise in popularity which continued until 1923 when it ceased publication, but it was reinstated in 1945. *Dagbladet* was from the start a supporter of the Left. It was not until the 1930s, when it developed a somewhat sensational reporting style, that its circulation began to grow until it eventually became the second largest newspaper in the country. *Aftenposten* was the first newspaper to combine advertising with news which appealed to the *bourgeois*. Outside Kristiania *Bergens Tidende*, founded in 1868, became one of the best and most influential newspapers in western Norway. The remaining decades of the century saw the founding in the provinces of other newspapers of high quality. With the advent of the press telegram a much greater urgency infused the collecting and publication of news. Gradually the old Gothic type was replaced, bigger and more eye-catching headlines were introduced, and in general style newspapers began to aim at a mass public. From the end of the 1860s a stream of new newspapers appeared and in the period 1870 to 1890 the number almost doubled. In the 1890s three more new newspapers and fifteen new periodicals came into being in the capital, which indicated that a large part of the population had become active readers.

39 *The Evening Post*, 1860
40 *Way of the World* 1868
41 *The Daily Mail*, 1869.
42 *The Bergen Times*
43 The first press telegram service was established in Kristiania in 1867
44 One of the most successful periodicals of the period, *Folkevennen (The People’s Friend)* 1852-1900, is considered in Chapter 3.6.
2.3.1 Expansion of Norwegian periodical literature 1800-1920

Despite the few irregular, short-lived papers which appeared in 17th century Norway, clear differentiation between newspapers and periodicals is evident from the 18th century onwards. In the years up to 1820 there were relatively few attempts to create Norwegian periodicals. There was some growth in the 1820s and it continued for 50 years. But the two largest periodicals in the country were the religious paper *Fattig og Rikk*, \(^{45}\) with a distribution of about 30,000, and the illustrated paper *Almuevennen* \(^{46}\) which from 1849 was produced and edited by teetotaler campaigners, missionaries, businessmen and politicians. This was the first secular publication to be bought by people in the rural areas, and was especially popular from 1860 onwards. By the 1870s *Almuevennen* had a circulation of over 20,000. \(^{47}\) The most popular magazine in the first half of the 19th century was *Skilling Magazin*, \(^{48}\) which was produced in 1835 (till 1891). It was richly illustrated with woodcuts and contained a variety of themes from exotic travel sketches to popular science and fiction. \(^{49}\)

In 1860 the periodical *Nordisk Boghandlertiden* \(^{50}\) for the book trade began publication. Librarianship achieved its first professional periodical in 1907 with *For bok og barneboksamlinger* \(^{51}\) (from 1916 *For folkeoplysning*) \(^{52}\) and journalists got their publication *Journalisten* in 1917.

\(^{45}\) Poor and Rich
\(^{46}\) The common friend
\(^{48}\) Shilling paper
\(^{49}\) The first illustrated periodical in Denmark was *Penning Magazinet*, while in Norway the provision of general reading material was available through the *Arkiv for læsning af blandet indhold* or *Norsk Penning Magazin* a paper for education, information and useful knowledge, which commenced publication in March 1834 and was produced in Kristiania. It appeared monthly with lithographic illustrations and had 32 pages in octavo format; ceased publication in 1842. This latter year was when the *Illustrated London News* commenced publication.
\(^{50}\) Scandinavian book trade times, replaced in 1879 by *Norsk Boghandlertidende*, specifically aimed at the Norwegian book trade.
\(^{51}\) Book and childrens’ book collections
Academic publications were sparse. Mathematics had the fewest in number, natural science began in 1782, with the popular science journal Christiania Maaned Tidende which continued with variant titles up to the mid 20th century. Journals covering geography, typography and tourist associations were introduced in the 18th century. From 1800 right up to 1920, there were only three philosophical titles. Although there were only ten history, local history, and personal history journals in the period before 1870, the subject was often addressed in books and periodicals aimed at all interest groups. Language scholars did not have specialist journals until 1882.

During the period 1800 to 1920, those periodicals which addressed a mixture of subjects had the highest publication rate. In 1835 the publishing firm Guldberg & Dzwonkowski produced a series of new illustrated, weekly family magazines for general education, and sixty years later this type of periodical increased. There were also many membership magazines of sports clubs. Religion was the second largest group including both theological and church periodicals as well as inspirational journals of more general value.

Periodicals aimed at female readers appeared in the 1830s. The teetotal movement was a significant factor, instigating five titles in the 1840s, and the first periodicals for the labour movement began in this same period. Trade and commerce periodicals were prominent in the 1830s, and these subjects were combined in the 1860s. From the 1880s-90s specialist subjects such as tourism and aspects of communication including post service, telegraphy and advertising

52 Popular education, enlightenment
53 Christiania monthly times
received attention in periodical literature. The period 1860-1880 saw the commencement of journals covering leisure subjects such as hunting, shooting and fishing. The number of titles in technology, industry and craft work expanded in the period 1890-1920. In the early 20th century, great emphasis was put on improving agriculture and this included Sivert Aarflot’s periodical publishing for farmers.

2.4 Obstacle to reading - bad light - 19th to mid 20th century

A great barrier against reading was the inadequate lighting conditions in the homes, especially in country areas. There were many places where lighting was in a remarkably primitive state. Lighting devices, up to early in the 19th century, were all more or less the same for the light they could give, were inclined to deteriorate at varying rates and were usually messy and dirty.

In the humblest rooms or households simple tasks could be done by firelight while the family or servants repeated old tales or discussed the events of the day. Early to bed may have been the general rule, but for close work or for the second room of the peasant hovel, if it had one, a rushlight or a tallow candle was used. These may have been home-made. A candle or lamp would not light a whole room effectively but it would light up the work if it was brought close enough. Tallow candles needed frequent attention and could fill the room with unpleasant-smelling smoke, and melt away at an alarming rate. The danger of fire was ever-present in Norwegian towns where houses were mostly

55 Any animal fat, vegetable or fish oil suitably rendered, becomes tallow. The rendering consists of melting down, and straining away the proteinous matter that could go bad. Unfortunately it was not easy to get rid of every last bit of putrescent material, nor always to do the rendering before putrefaction had set in.
56 "Candles could be made on the farm, a slaughtered ox furnished 80 pounds of suet, which in turn would make 300 candles, 4 to the pound. Town and city dwellers had to buy their candles." Thunig, L. *Flickering flames: a history of domestic lighting through the ages*, London: G. Bell & Sons, 1959, 103.
wooden. In the 1820s and 1830s Norwegian school children read their lessons by wood lamps from the oven. When the evening meal was put on the table at home a tallow candle was lit. However, candles improved out of all recognition at this time. A Norwegian illustration entitled "Reading with the moderator lamp" shows the book was not only a means of satisfying the increasing need for reading material regardless of age, but also how lighting eased the work of popular education. Whale oil was the chief fuel for such lamps until about the middle of the 19th century, but this was only used by the richer Norwegian households until it was entirely supplanted by paraffin in 1862. The paraffin lamp was relatively clean, the oil was stable, the smell was slight and not unpleasant; the flame was a good colour and practically smokeless. The demand for candles continued to rise, however, and the price, quality and convenience of candles showed spectacular improvements, particularly over the period between 1820 and 1840.

The 1870s were the pioneer period for electric lighting in Norway. First were the arc lamps which came on the market and competed with the paraffin lamp and gas lighting and with the older forms of lighting. Most cities followed the example of Hammerfest and established municipal electricity works in the early 1890s. By the turn of the twentieth century about one tenth of Norwegian

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57 It was discovered in 1820, that plaiting instead of twisting the cotton wicks resulted in a 'smuflless' candle using the new high-melting-point fatty acids.
60 In 1885, just three years after the first electric street lighting was introduced in the world, the invention was launched in Norway. Norway's first electric works began in Laugstol in Skien. This was the first time that a Norwegian municipal authority constructed an electricity works of some considerable size. Gradually, as large industries expanded, they often supplied electric power to cities and densely populated places in the neighbourhood.
homes had electric lighting, and by 1920 this had risen to a third. The slow
spread of electricity to domestic consumers was either due to lack of interest or
to cost, as well as the sparsely populated areas to be covered. By the period
after World War II, the advantages of electric incandescent lamps were well
known. Electricity was cheap, clean, reliable and did not occupy too much
space. Above all - it was effective and provided comfortable lighting. Having
identified the need for artificial lighting, the reading habits of people in different
social classes will next be discussed.

2.4.1 Reading among different social groups in 18th - late 19th century

Middle class reading habits were nurtured in the 17th century. Secondary or
Latin schools which were strongly influenced by teaching in the Roman
Church's international language were founded in Oslo, Bergen, Trondheim and
Kristiansand. Much time was devoted to devotional exercises and singing, but
mathematics and history were almost wholly neglected. Discipline was very
severe, corporal punishment was often inflicted, and fines were imposed on the
scholars for various offences. The pupils left school prepared by a narrow
classical curriculum for University.

Kildal suggests that it was probably only the middle classes such as civil
servants and merchants who read in the late 18th century. Their reading
consisted of French poetry, philosophy and German and Swedish scientific
works as well as English fiction in French translation. He describes a relatively
affluent farmer in Sørlandet whose book collection from 1724 included a
collection of home sermons, two psalm books, one on evangelism, a history of
Jesus, as well as a book on farming practice. This was regarded as "a good
large book collection at that time". 61 The reading of public officials and middle-
class citizens appears to have been extensive if we judge by the eleven
catalogues of Trondheim collections from the period 1772 to 1804. The eleven
book collections were owned by a bishop, three priests, a state governor, a
councillor, a general auditor, a tax collector, a chief fire officer, a merchant and
one person with an unknown occupation. The owners knew several languages
and most were specially interested in history, philosophy, natural science, public
and constitutional law.

Turning now to literacy in 18th and early 19th century farming families, the
influence of the Church is central. Education and literacy were promoted
initially by priests throughout Europe, but in Norway this was a particular
feature, and it was combined with tuition on farming and the development of
public book collections which were rich in agricultural texts. Bishop Peder
Hansen (1798-1804) claimed that knowledge about nature was specially
important for farmers in order to understand and know God. In considering
how representative Hansen’s views were of clerics at this period (1799)
Professor Byberg of the Avdeling for journalistikk, bibliotek og
informasjonsfag ved Høgskolen i Oslo 62 says that clerics held farmers up as a
model for the city population. The modest lifestyle of farmers, their hard work,
their contentment with their situation were all virtues which were repeated in
sermons. Many priests felt that it was important that farmers should be

61 Kildal, A. Norske folkeboksamlinger: fra leseselskapenes tid til bibliotekreformen av 1902,
Oslo: Aschehoug, 1949, 21-22.
62 The Norwegian Department for Journalism, Librarianship and Information Studies at the
Oslo College of Higher Education. Byberg, L. Biskopen, bøndene og bøkene: leseselskapene i
educated in order to eliminate superstition and to enable them to find simpler and less strenuous ways of managing the soil.

Researchers continue to disagree about the reality of literacy among the country people in the 18th and 19th century. The central question has been whether or not the common labourer could read before the introduction of compulsory education in 1739. It has been argued that the ability of the country people to read before obligatory schooling was very poor and it was the introduction of schools which enabled farmers to learn to read. Other writers show that the country people learnt to read from their own parents, and that the school did not produce any dramatic change. Many farms certainly owned an old Bible or other religious writing. But to own a book did not always mean it was read. The House Bible was more decorative than something one used. There was, according to Fet, a reading public in the early 18th century. He claims that after the great Scandinavian war 1700-20 the need for books greatly increased throughout the whole kingdom. New reading groups were active, firstly through better literacy and secondly because of the Pietist demand for personal enlightenment. Byberg's analysis of the register of baptisms and funerals shows that already in the 1730s between 56% and 68% of the population read from a book in Vågå and in Nannestad and that twenty years later 90% of the adult population were reading in Haram and Sogndal. She concludes that up to 90% of land workers could read in the early 19th century. The priest N. Hertzberg (1759-1841) travelled around the Kinsarvik diocese in 1808 and tested reading among the adults on farms. Of 463 he examined, there were only

25 who read "smoothly", 290 read "simply", and the remaining 148 read so that they could be understood. The schools taught children to read in order to enable them to learn their catechism explanations and Bible history by rote. Their understanding of what they read was of secondary importance. From this it would seem literacy was only used to commit things to memory. Confirmation is the best example of this.

In the Norwegian Pietistic period there was a type of secular literature branded as indecent and sinful. Under Christian VI’s Pietistic regime in the period 1730-40 theatre performances were forbidden in Copenhagen. Booksellers were forbidden to promote and sell stories, fables and other books which were not God’s word. This indirect evidence shows that there must have existed a certain degree of literacy in the general public, but also a certain traffic of booksellers who peddled easily read folk books, ballads and other small printed texts.

There was a literary golden age in the second half of the 19th century. "The four great ones" 19th-century Norwegian literature were Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906), Alexander Kielland (1849-1906), Jonas Lie (1833-1908) and Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (1832-1910). However, their work seldom reached out beyond a narrow cultural elite. New authors of novels, such as Knut Hamsun (1859-1952), only had a few hundred copies of their first books printed and still fewer were bought and read as single items. For shop assistants, school pupils, craft workers and factory girls there was a range of different types of reading

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66 See Section 2.5 below.
material. This was anticipated with excitement and greatly enjoyed. Pamphlets and books in the lighter genre were sold for a few pence from kiosks, tobacco shops, small bookshops or brought round to the houses by door-to-door salesmen. The books were passed from person to person. This popular and critically despised literature was widely distributed. There were instalments of stories and pamphlets with exciting covers and enticing titles on crime and murder. Reports of erotic tales, villainous seducers and noble rescuers were also many and popular. But there were also many harmless romantic stories with themes from daily life near and far and with a happy ending in the form of marriage almost obligatory. This development is confirmed by Fet who says that secular literature set in different parts of social life became part of general literary use in the 1820s and 30s. Cheap literature at this time fulfilled many of the functions which were later taken over by illustrated papers.

2.5 General educational provision begins with Confirmation in 1736

By the mid 18th century Pietism was influencing theological thinking in Norway. Pietists took a keen interest in popular education and provided a new impetus to intellectual development. According to their teachings, if the people were to become truly pious, they would have to read the Scriptures and learn the principal Christian doctrines. In the early 1700s most of the churches in Copenhagen set up Pietistic poor schools and Norwegian town churches soon followed their example. In 1730 the Pietistic Christian VI became King of Denmark-Norway and in 1736 he resolved that everyone who grew up in the kingdom should be confirmed to provide "Christian teaching as a powerful force

among the people". To implement this, the standard method of teaching was through the Catechism.\(^70\) The Psalm Book was basic to the participation of the congregation in the divine service as well as to the daily exercises of domestic devotions.

Erik Pontopiddan's (1698-1764)\(^71\) explanation of Lutheran doctrine, *Sannhet til Gudfryktighet*\(^72\), was made the official textbook of religious instruction in 1738 and remained, in gradually abbreviated versions, the exclusive textbook for common school instruction in the Norwegian parishes long after its use was discontinued in Denmark. The first edition contained 759 questions, answers, and appropriate Biblical citations which interpreted the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the sacraments of Baptism and Communion.

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\(^70\) A catechism is a list of questions and answers about the central tenets of the Christian faith. Some of these questions were brief and featured one-word answers such as "Yes", "No", "God", "Christ"; others were more substantial and called for a fuller knowledge. Right up to the mid-20th century, all the answers to catechism questions were to be learned by heart. Across Europe the Catechism was the key to religious education. This powerful pedagogic tool was ideal for passing on simple knowledge and agreed concepts to a passive audience. Basic religious precepts were set out unambiguously to be learned by the children, explained, if necessary, by the pastor and repeated frequently.

\(^71\) Bishop Pontopiddan believed in popular education in both temporal and spiritual matters. His book *Første forsøg paa Norges naturlige historie*, Kopenhagen: Bey F.C. Mumme, 1753-1754, (translated both into German and English) on the natural history of Norway was based on a wide range of information which he gathered as he travelled about his diocese.

\(^72\) Which translated into English is "Truth towards piety"
Fig. 2.2

Adolph Tidemand, *Catechism*, 1847
Flint reports that: "All children from the age of seven were expected to memorise the text through catechistic exchange with their teachers so as to be able to answer their pastor, dean, or bishop's questions on Confirmation day, normally at the age of fourteen".

According to Johansson the reading tradition of the church meant that: "The message was to arrive at all costs - by heart or by reading, whether with knowledge and understanding or without it, a lot or a little, collectively or individually". The introduction of Confirmation by the law of 1736 was the first sustained effort to promote mass literacy in Norway, since the ability to read was a prerequisite for the administration of the sacrament.

An unconfirmed person was unable to obtain a marriage licence, a smallholding or enlist in the army, in other words, he was excluded from full membership of society. The Lutheran conviction was that every individual had a right and a duty to read the word of God and to participate actively in church services on Sunday where scripture reading, congregational singing, and understanding the sermon all required a familiarity with Christian teachings acquired in childhood. Before young people could be confirmed the priest had to give them three months, teaching in Christian knowledge. Fet claims that there must have been tremendous psychiatric problems among those who had difficulties in learning to read. The regulations surrounding Confirmation gave the priests greater power than they had had previously. Children who were slow to learn could be refused

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Confirmation year after year because they lacked the necessary insight and maturity.

There were occasions when young people took their own lives because up before the priest they did not pass the test. In the early 19th century reading was regarded as magic, which was regularly practised with enthusiasm, even though not a word was read correctly.\(^{76}\) Ringdal\(^{77}\) seems to agree with Kildal\(^{78}\) who found that Bishop Bugge reported from Kristiansund in 1819 that children in two of the schools "could not read silently" and the Parish Priest in Stadsbygd reported on the literacy levels among those being confirmed in 1810. He concluded that out of 71 young people, "not one of the whole group understood the meaning of what they read".

2.5.1 **Ambulatory teachers 1739-1890, *Allmueskole 1739***\(^{79}\)

It was the Priest’s interest in the school - and the economic circumstances - which determined how many weeks’ schooling the children received, and how good the school could become in a rural area. Ambulatory teachers could almost be defined as part-time household servants who used private homes as occasional classrooms for the instruction of a socially mixed group of pupils. The local variations in the standard of travelling teachers was great in different areas. During the period 1740-1890 these teachers constituted an overwhelming majority of the educational labour force. The travelling teacher, who went from farm to farm, had no more to help him than what he could carry


\(^{79}\) Ambulatory teachers were *Omgangskskolelære*, the general school was *Allmueskole*. See also Appendix: Figure C.2 “Important dates in the history of Norwegian education.”
on his back in a sack or box. The few books which an ambulatory teacher
carried from farm to farm included a Bible, a New Testament, a Psalm book, a
book of home sermons, and a book on calculating.\textsuperscript{80} The Allmueskolen in rural
areas had about one reading book for every seventh pupil to borrow.\textsuperscript{81}

In 1739 the Norwegian State undertook to establish an education system from
general taxation to finance the allmueskole. The most important task was to
provide religious education but children should also learn to read and write, and
mathematics if their parents wanted to pay extra for this. In the 1739 decree
which ratified this undertaking that klokker\textsuperscript{82} were required to be teachers in the
new school, with the priest in charge. The permanent teachers were to be
provided with accommodation and land as well as a cash payment, but none of
these was clearly defined. The school should take up a collection on specific
Sundays, at christenings, weddings and funerals. A number of obstacles
prevented the 1739 decree from being put into practice. There was a lack of
school buildings, with long distances between small centres of population where
schools could be located, and a shortage of teachers. Poor economic
conditions, with cold summers and crop failures and consequent hunger and
epidemics in the 1740s, meant that the costs of schools would be too heavy to
bear, since there was no state funding available. Without proper training, the
teachers knew very little themselves.

\textsuperscript{80} Ness, E. \textit{Det var en gang: norske skole gjennom tidene}, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1989,
45.

\textsuperscript{81} Flint, T.T. \textit{Historical role analysis in the study of religious change}, Cambridge: Cambridge

\textsuperscript{82} Literally "bellringer" but it means sexton, parish clerk, beadle (in Scotland).
2.5.2 Teacher Training from 1749, Realskoler 1773-1869

By around 1750 thirty-eight teachers had been trained in the *Seminarium Catecheticum*. There were also small colleges in five other towns where 200 teachers had been trained by the end of the 18th century. Five seminaries were established between 1834 and 1839 under the Education law of 1827. Applicants had to be between 17 and 22 years old and should be able to read a book easily, read handwriting and have a reasonably legible hand. Well-prepared candidates for Confirmation had to be knowledgeable in Bible history and religion. Most of the seminaries were located in small towns which tended, according to de Vroede, to deny the students access to a broad cultural life. Teachers were one of the first groups to become formally organised and from the late 1840s they held teachers' meetings where they considered educational, political and more general questions besides their salaries, and an increasing number of teaching journals was produced. An organised teaching profession was about to be formed. Subsequent reforms of teacher training were in accordance with legislation in 1890, 1902 and 1938, when a 2-4 year course was provided, depending on the educational level of the applicant on entry.

Interest in scientific subjects had increased in the last half of the 18th century, but the Latin schools did not teach mathematics, science or living languages. In a number of North European countries there was a new school type - the so-

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83 These establishments were not always of the same kind and could be described as boarding schools or training colleges, but as they were known as seminaries in Norwegian, consistency demands that this term is used here.


2.5.3 Rise of public interest in education 1837-1848

In the cities of Norway in the 18th and 19th centuries there were many citizens who wanted their children to have a useful education. The Latin School did not provide any perceived useful basic education for the future business community, and what the children could learn, even in a well-ordered general school, was insufficient. With at least 18% of children in towns growing up illiterate in 1837, it was realised that schools had to be organised for all the children. Those who would assert themselves against the learned embetsmenn who dominated the political arena, needed to be educated to communicate on more equal terms with people who had denied them access to democratic local government since 1814. In the 1840s and 1850s there was political and religious unrest in

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86 The Realschule began in 1855 in Germany providing a semi-classical school (teaching Latin without Greek) with a nine years’ course. In 1882 the Realschule received the title of Realgymnasium and students could proceed to the universities, schools of technology and the civil service.

87 The gymnas is the highest school level to prepare for university entrance. German gymnasiums were first organized during the humanistic movement in the early part of the 16th century. The Latin gymnasium at Strasburg became the model which the grammar schools of Protestant Europe strove to imitate. Nearly the whole of the energies of the boys was given to acquiring a mastery of the Latin language after the model of Cicero.

88 Individuals were named by the king to the embetsstand, a hierarchy of civil and religious positions at the national, provincial and local levels.

89 On 17th May 1814 the Norwegian Constitution (Grunnloven) was signed by members of the assembly of 112 representatives, consisting of 37 farmers, 16 businessmen and 59 members of...
Norway. The revolutionary ideas of the Year of Revolutions (1848) and its resultant upheaval were discussed in Norway, especially in a number of places where the Workers' Association was founded with demands of voting rights for all and better general schools. The 1848 Education Act required every town to maintain an *allmueskole*, and to make attendance compulsory from the age of seven to fourteen years. The syllabus, which had in the past contained little beyond reading and Christianity, was broadened. The town had a duty to grant at least one of its teachers a family residence with a piece of land which could take at least two cows and leave space for a garden in order to improve the teacher's circumstances, and perhaps more importantly to bind them more strongly to the local community.

2.5.4 School Reforms - 1860-89

The 1850-60s were a time of change in Norway. Developments towards the end of the century meant that Norway moved from being state-run towards democracy, from having uncultivated land towards the emergence of a well developed and differentiated nutritional environment. It emerged from being a cultural outcast towards a country with its own national art and literature and joined Europe's cultural institutions. The year 1860 was a notable one for schools with legislation stating that a school should be provided wherever a minimum of 30 children could be assembled in country areas, and in districts where this was not possible, instruction should be given in their homes by itinerant teachers. State financial support was now assured. The country

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the official classes. An important feature of Norwegian political life in the decades immediately following 1814 was the emergence of the peasants as a political force. The 1837 Local Government Act, *Formannskapslovene*, gave power to the "best men" in towns with administrative and government rights in their own local community.
people were given power in the skolestyre\textsuperscript{90} and the priest was appointed chairman. Writing and arithmetic were given increased emphasis and school readers which included sections on history, geography and general science were used.\textsuperscript{91}

The law on higher education of 1869 introduced two new words to Norwegian schools: middelskole\textsuperscript{92} and gymnas. The middelskole was a completely new 6-year school taking pupils aged 9 or 10 years from a school in the town or from private preparatory classes. Both girls and boys were prepared for examinations which would be useful for practical work in trade, industry and public positions in the postal system, telegraph and railways. The first middelskole to get state support obtained it in 1873 and by 1880 there were 22 of these, so that gradually every town and rural area in the country had its middelskole. People were beginning to appreciate the value of the newly-established realgymnas\textsuperscript{93} because industrialisation and the need for improved communication created a demand for engineers and architects with natural science and technology becoming increasingly important. The realgymnas had in many ways to fight for their existence. The university had little desire to admit people who had not studied Latin: but the gymnas appeared to contradict all the old traditions in academic life. When Johan Sverdrup (1816-92)\textsuperscript{94} became Prime Minister in 1884 he wrote plans for reforming the schools to the Minister of Church and Education which he later published with clearly-defined aims in a newspaper.\textsuperscript{95}

\textsuperscript{90} School Commission
\textsuperscript{91} Hægård, E., Ruge, H. Den norske skoles historie, Oslo: Cappelen, 1947, 148.
\textsuperscript{92} School to fill the gap between elementary education and final preparation for matriculation at the gymnas, which allowed more scope for non-classical subjects
\textsuperscript{93} Scientific grammar school
\textsuperscript{94} See Chapter 5.4 on another family member who was Chief Librarian of the University of Oslo Library.
\textsuperscript{95} The letter dated 23rd September 1884 was subsequently published in Dagbladet.
Rural and urban schools ought to be treated equally and an effective way to strengthen the national element in the school had to be identified. Children should learn to use their own language, including landsmål\textsuperscript{96}, and a foreign language ought to be taught. A link between the elementary and the higher school was needed, so that the children could proceed through the different levels and reach the University or high schools for specific professions. Sverdrup's "open letter" promoted a debate on schools which continued until the passing of the 1889 law in which most of his points were incorporated, as well as other new developments such as abolishing school fees for pupils of the folkeskole.

2.5.5 20th century educational reforms

During the 19th century, Norway had made significant progress toward the development of a general educational system. A century later, in the 1930s reforms were introduced to "democratise" the system, a seven-year elementary system followed by a three-year middle school that combined two years of study with one year of practical experience, followed by a three-year gymnas for those passing the entrance examination.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that Norwegian publishing and selling of newspapers, periodicals and books do not enjoy the lengthy historical roots claimed by other European publishing houses. It has also dealt with these issues in the social and educational context. That Norway's first printer was established in 1643, one hundred and sixty years after Denmark and Sweden had started printing, shows how subordinate Norway was at that time. Major obstacles to the development

\textsuperscript{96}See Chapter 1.5.5 for a description of the language conflict in Norway at this time.
of the book trade in Norway were Danish censorship and the dominance of monopolistic book dealers from Copenhagen. Norwegian publishing and the book trade emerged from travelling booksellers and bookbinders in the 17th and 18th century, with Danish agents who became established as booksellers in Norwegian towns. The Norwegians were keen to create their own independent state which eventually stimulated Norwegian publishing and bookselling in the 1830s. The major publishers in the 19th century have been noted. With the establishment of Gyldendal’s Norwegian firm, authors were no longer restricted to Danish publishers to get their work produced.

The somewhat more comfortable economy was a factor in contributing to the increase in leisure and the "reading explosion" of the period from 1880 to 1900 as demonstrated in the growth of newspapers and periodicals. Reading aloud in the family circle occurred seldom - the book, like the lamp, stood at the individual’s disposal in free evening hours, limited by economy, availability and the home's concept of decency defined in the choice of reading material.

The struggles for control of education revealed that the Church authorities were the dominant force from the Middle Ages right through to the late 19th century when teachers began to form their own professional identity. The introduction of compulsory Confirmation (1736) was followed by attempts to develop a parish school system based on the law of 1739, but progress was slow. The goals and ideas put forth in the Norwegian Constitution of 1814 inspired, obliged and challenged officials to work for the new democracy. These ideas were to be realised through training and teaching. Concepts such as freedom, equality and personal development, therefore, were an integral part of the development of the educational system. The curriculum became more varied.
and extensive as the school freed itself more and more from its ecclesiastical
duties. P.A. Jensen's (1812-1867) Reader⁹⁷ was decreed by parliament as the
obligatory textbook and it had a modern and "national" stamp, pioneering in
breaking away from the cultural bonds with Denmark which remained strong
long after Norway had entered the new union with Sweden in 1814. The
Reader also served as an introduction to contemporary Norwegian literature,
history and folklore. Although the public school system, according to Hovde,
“left much to be desired, it had largely eliminated illiteracy and now the process
of adult education was enormously accelerated through newspapers, pamphlets
and lectures”.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ Jensen, P.A. Lœsebog for folkeskolen, Kra: Cappelen, 1863. During his time as a teacher he
realised that there was a lack of varied material for younger pupils. The use of folktales in the
reader aroused opposition from contemporary Pietists. The book had broken the principle that
all reading material for literacy training should either be Christian or Biblical text.
⁹⁸ Hovde, B.J. The Scandinavian countries, 1720-1865: the rise of the middle classes, 2, Port
Chapter 3

The library movement 1769-1930s

3.1 Introduction

The first attempts to establish book collections available to the public in Norway were scattered, accidental and quite unplanned, with no links between them. The development towards public libraries took a very circuitous route, with progress followed by decline. This chapter identifies the pioneering work, which took place in the church, the farming community, campaigning organisations and culminated in parliament providing financial support for public libraries. The strides in the development of book collections in later decades, with the subsequent revolution in library techniques which occurred in the 1890s and early part of the twentieth century, conclude the chapter.¹

One of the reasons that public libraries were promoted was to control the reading of the lower orders, which was a way of influencing the uses of literacy. Norwegian public libraries were founded to provide access to material of use for daily life and to strengthen Christianity. Agricultural and Christian works were the most important material to be collected. Besides promoting popular education, libraries gradually acted as an intermediary for art and culture. The library should be a means of improving people, by strengthening their morals and making them good citizens. The lending rules for Deichman Library² in 1846 required that books were to be obtained in general education, history of "the fatherland" and popular texts on handicrafts useful for the country's

¹ See Appendix Figure C3 “Significant changes in Norwegian library practice”.
² See Chapter 5.3 for further information about Deichman Library.
economic and agricultural life. The purchase of fiction was only accepted if the works were classical. As literacy increased throughout the century it became important for the libraries to spread quality literature throughout the population.

3.2 Danish Agricultural Society 1769-1813

With the intellectual renaissance of the 18th century there was also a strong interest in public education, which created a climate that stimulated an impulse to organise public libraries in Norway. Many priests worked enthusiastically for popular education, as this was a way of improving the bad teaching in schools. When people had no means of purchasing books, some other means had to be found for obtaining reading matter. The most important task of the Danish Agricultural Society, which was established in 1769, was to promote agriculture, but it was also involved in working for popular education and lending good literature to the public. From 1785 to 1813 it set up three prizes annually for small lending libraries in Denmark and later included Norway.

3.3 Reading societies 1798-1820

The first Norwegian public book collections were called "reading societies" and were established in the 18th century by priests. Since the study of theology took pride of place, clergymen had come to represent the real backbone of the educational system and they were especially eager promoters of general public education. One of the most energetic and active of them all was the Bishop of Kristiansand, Peter Hansen (1746-1810). He saw it as the duty of priests to give people education, beginning, of course, in childhood. In 1798 Peter

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3 Dansk Landhusholdningsselskab
4 1537-1814 Norway was an unequal partner in a political and economic union with Denmark.
5 Leseselskaber
6 See chapters 2, and 3.
Hansen began his energetic work to provide information by spreading books through reading societies in his bishopric. On Sundays he spent three hours on literacy projects with the brightest children. The aim was to get books to the people, and this could be done through societies for popular education. He constantly corresponded with priests in the diocese about book collections, gave them advice, helped them with book purchases, and kept them focused on the work in this area through his journal, *Archiv for Skolevæsenets og Oplysnings udbredelse i Christiansands Stift*, intended for people who were interested in education. The Parish Reading Societies had from 30 to 50 members, with the farmers in the majority but *embetsmenn* were strongly represented. Members of the Society had to pay on joining and again every third year. The Church Warden, the Minister's assistant or the Priest was responsible for the books. The Bishop on his visits assessed the state of the book collection and examined the accounts and records. Farmers who were not members could borrow for a weekly charge of 2-8 Norwegian shillings according to the size of the book.

In the early years of the 19th century, a slowing down occurred in the work of the Reading Societies, because Hansen was sent to Denmark in 1804. The Danish authorities were decidedly against a Norwegian university and kept the schools in Norway down. An educated Norway would be a danger to the Danish united monarchy. In line with this thinking was the feeling that it was not in Denmark's interest that there should be too much adult education throughout the country.

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8 Archive for the propagation of schooling and education in the Diocese of Christiansand.
9 See Chapter 2.5 Reference 87.
10 Fischer, K. "Biblioteksaken i Norge 1795-1836", *Bok og Bibliotek* 6, 1939, 28.
11 For further information see section 3.9 below.
Although forty-one Reading Societies were flourishing by 1820, they declined because of inadequate bookstock, which was not kept up-to-date.\textsuperscript{12} Hansen's wish for the Reading Societies to be maintained in the future was not carried out as the general poverty, the restless political situation and the war with England gave people other things to think about than books and reading.\textsuperscript{13} Hansen had provided an impetus and under him the Societies flourished, but then gradually fell apart when he moved to Denmark to take charge of his new diocese. Quite a number of societies were gradually dispersed and the books lost and forgotten, and by 1920 hardly any of the libraries founded by him had survived.\textsuperscript{14}

3.4 The First Effective Public Library 1808-1844

The first public lending library to be founded in Norway as a secular initiative was owned by Sivert Aarflot (1759-1817). It has been praised as the first "effective" public library in the country.\textsuperscript{15} In 1793 he had saved enough money to purchase his Egset farm. Aarflot had read in Danish newspapers and magazines that thinking about libraries was a current issue and that lending libraries were emerging in many places in Scandinavia at this time. Aarflot's model farm proved to be the setting for many ventures. Young people were invited there every Sunday and they were taught mathematics, writing, reading, geography, history and astronomy in addition to instruction on how to use books. His farm became the home of his printing press where he published

\textsuperscript{12} Jensen, A.E.A. "Folkebibliotekernes historie", Nordisk håndbok i bibliotekkunnskap, 2; edited by Svend Dahl, Oslo: Cappelen, 1958, 334.
\textsuperscript{13} In 1801 the alliance of neutrality which the Danes and Swedes had had since 1794 was extended to include Russia and Prussia. Britain regarded this as a challenge and demanded that Denmark should withdraw. When she refused to comply, the British sent a fleet to Copenhagen to force a withdrawal. In 1801, the battle of Copenhagen was fought, and was one of the most memorable struggles in the history of Denmark-Norway.
\textsuperscript{14} Ansteinsson, J. "The library history of Norway" Library Journal 45, 1920, 57.
\textsuperscript{15} Kildal, A. "Folkebiblioteker", Nordisk leksikon for bogvæsen, 1; edited by P.Birkeland, Copenhagen: Nytt Nordisk Forlag, 1951, 312.
books on agricultural themes from 1808 onwards. He concentrated especially on agriculture and religion, though there were also some books on history, natural science, maps as well as Icelandic books. But as a farmer he noticed a severe lack of works covering his profession. The library represented Aarflot’s own experiences of life. Aarflot had acquired considerable knowledge on his own initiative - comprehensive knowledge, not only about his farming work, but on exact sciences and practical questions over a vast array of subjects. He provided access to free book loans from his house. On 28th March 1800, Aarflot’s library plan was given royal approval in Copenhagen. The lending library started with eighty-four books; within one year this had grown to one hundred and four and by 1799 there were one hundred and fourteen volumes. In 1812 the bookstock amounted to five hundred volumes and the map collection had reached twenty-five items. From 1817 onwards, book purchases increased the stock until by 1844 there were over a thousand volumes. In 1844 a fire burnt the Egset farm to the ground and the whole book collection was destroyed; this collection was never established again as a public lending library.

3.5 **Selskabet for Norges Vel 1830-1840**

*Selskabet for Norges Vel* was founded in 1810, for the purpose of fostering a national identity through economic and educational progress. When it was reorganised in 1829 it began to promote book collections throughout the

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18 Society for the Good of Norway, was constituted on 18th January 1810 and had by August the same year 1,450 members. It produced the journal *Budstikken* which was an important means of developing thinking about a Norwegian constitution. The Norwegians wanted all the institutions of a self-governing people. The old spelling for “society” was “selskab” and later the spelling was changed to “selskap”.

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country. By 1829 the Society's rules included directions for education and the support of book collections. The involvement of the Society indicated that these efforts to promote public libraries had assumed the character of a national movement. Through such enterprises as book packs, offering encouragement, guidance and support, the Society was able to maintain existing collections and to form new ones. In the first three decades of the 19th century, people had become interested in reading. Not only farmers, but many of the tenants, serving men and young hired men, even some women, participated and the book collections were generally well maintained. In the period 1830-1840, around 125 book collections\(^\text{19}\) were established by the *Selskab for Norges Vel*,\(^\text{20}\) and *Amtlandhusholdningselskapen*.\(^\text{21}\) By 1837 there were 185 libraries for the people.\(^\text{22}\)

### 3.6 Pioneering work to establish public libraries 1808-1866

As early as 1808, Bishop Jacob Neumann (1772-1848) began his work for the foundation of general book collections available to the public in the Bergen area. This library pioneer in his diocese established twenty-two parish societies. As Bishop of Bergen, he was tireless in his efforts to spread knowledge and popular education. Throughout the 1820s he brought gifts of educational texts to the parish libraries and suggested that the voluntary contributions from the Church should be used for this cause. The books were bought on the recommendation of the Bishop and the parish priests were responsible for caring for the library. All parish residents could borrow without having to pay. There

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\(^\text{19}\) The first collections were simply known as *boksamlinger*.

\(^\text{20}\) The Society for the Good of Norway gave books to these other societies.

\(^\text{21}\) County Farming (or Agricultural) Society.

\(^\text{22}\) Towards the end of the 1830s the book collections were focused on the public. They were less often described as book collections and more often referred to as public libraries.
was no particular progress made in the book collections, however, until Henrik Wergeland involved himself in this issue in the 1830s.

Henrik Wergeland (1808-1845) was a major figure in Norwegian cultural and political life. He was involved in popular education as pamphleteer, newspaper editor, and organiser of rural libraries and schools as well as writing textbooks on history, botany and a junior reading book. He became the leader of the so-called 'Patriots faction', for whom the constitution of 1814 was the cornerstone of the new Norway. The way forward was a complete break with the hegemony of Danish literature and culture. He devoted himself with great fervour to the problems of the day, working for popular education, and personally assisting the poor and needy. He embraced the idea of public libraries with enthusiasm and wrote fervent and inspiring articles in newspapers and periodicals. Selskab for Norges Vel paid for the cost of printing a pamphlet, For almuen, he had written. He took it with him on his travels all over the country appealing to local authorities and farmers for the establishment and use of libraries. Ansteinsson notes that "these libraries were organised largely on the subscription plan, but they had some support from the municipality and the state". While the Society's director was modest in setting new plans, Henrik Wergeland announced his willingness to assist and offered "to be the Society's enterprise agent" and to work "with enthusiastic warmth and restless zeal for general education". He clearly saw that an improved economy and a higher culture must work together. By providing financial support, the Society made

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24 For the common man (1830); the series continued up till 1839.
an important contribution to Henrik Wergeland's comprehensive campaign for library provision, which created renewed interest in establishing Parish Libraries.\textsuperscript{26} With the help of donations received from his father and other benefactors he created a book collection at his home in Eidsvoll at the beginning of 1830, with the intention that it should be a model for similar enterprises in other districts.

The other Scandinavian countries were also establishing reading societies in the early 1830s. As the Norwegians were aware that they were participating in a world-wide movement for a higher culture and greater demand for reading material, attempts were made to establish direct relations between the Swedish Society and the British Society For the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in London. In 1835 the Association for the Dissemination of Useful Popular Reading in Karlstad Diocese was organised, and by 1862 it had been chiefly instrumental in founding one hundred and thirteen parish libraries in Sweden.

Six years after the death of Wergeland in 1845, specific tasks for promoting popular education were entrusted to a new society, \textit{Selskapet til Folkeoplysningens Fremme}\textsuperscript{27}, which was founded in Kristiania\textsuperscript{28} by a number of leading teachers and intellectuals but had representatives in all parts of the country. The Society published high quality books and the journal, \textit{Folkevennen} (1852-1900);\textsuperscript{29} it organised meetings and lectures, both in urban and rural communities. Although there was opposition by the rigid priests to the secular

\textsuperscript{26} It can be difficult to decide which was the more decisive in establishing book collections as the Selskab for Norges Vel and Wergeland’s enthusiastic campaigns were inextricably entwined. Wergeland’s friends and supporters often led the book collections.

\textsuperscript{27} The Society for the Promotion of Popular Education.

\textsuperscript{28} As stated in Chapter 1, the city was known as Christiania from 1624-1877 and as Kristiania from 1877-1924. As this chapter considers events in the library world from the 18th to the early 20th century, the spelling of Kristiania will be used throughout this chapter.

\textsuperscript{29} Peoples’ Friend
character of the Society, great care was taken to observe all the religious conventions.

Ole Vig (1824-1857), who was to become another notable figure in Norwegian librarianship, was one of the pioneers who continued the work of Henrik Wergeland. During his time as editor of Folkevennen (1824-1857) the periodical performed a considerable educational task in the rural areas where it was read aloud and discussed in reading circles founded for the purpose. After Ole Vig’s death in 1857, Eilert Sundt (1817-75) was appointed editor of Folkevennen. Sundt continued to write articles on the significance of book collections, which had been so important to the first editor. It would appear that Sundt had not been stimulated by his school library, for he said in 1840 that the book collection of about 360 volumes, which was sent from the Education Department, consisted mostly of authors in the classical languages and translations thereof. Education, natural science, history and modern languages are represented; but these works are mostly too old and of little use.

Sundt’s interest in the public book collections continued throughout his life as an important element in his many works on social statistics and social anthropology concerning the population of Norway. He covered large areas of the country on foot, doing social research. Eilert Sundt found that the highest number of loans from eighty-two libraries he investigated in the period 1861-1862 were of Folkevennen and Skilling Magazine. In his commentary on the reports Sundt emphasises that the books which were mentioned were not always representative of the borrower’s taste. Often it was only an expression

of what the librarian felt borrowers ought to read. Of special importance for the time was the survey of family book ownership (excluding children's schoolbooks) which Sundt made. He found in all 670 books (including newspapers) divided among two hundred and eighty eight families, and in fifteen families not a single piece of writing was found; in no families were there more than eight. In addition, Sundt emphasised a difference between the classes; the families of civil servants were best served with books and papers, and the provision decreased gradually, class by class. He did not come across a single publication from the Adult Education Society in any of the family homes. The best equipped were families with religious books, which was a situation many people approved of, but with which Sundt did not agree. Sundt noted with satisfaction that many read newspapers, which were a means of some enlightenment. There were no cheap copies of books to provide workers with either technical knowledge or the works of Wergeland and others, which were specially designed for popular use. There are various reasons to suspect that the early book collections contained some medical books. Larsen claims that popular medical literature from Copenhagen spread to Norway and the effects of this were felt for many years in the late 18th and early 19th century.

Although the catalogue of Wergeland's book collection has not been traced, it may have contained medical books since he studied medicine from 1834 to 1836, when he was appointed as research assistant in the University of

32 Sundt, E. Om Piperviken og Ruseløbakken: undersøgelser om Arbeidsklassens Kår og Søder i Christiania, Oslo: Tiden, 1968, 51. Originally published as Om Piperviken og Ruseløbakken: undersøgelser om Arbeidsklassens Kaar og Søder i Christiania, Christiania: Selskabet for Folkeoplysningens Fremme, 1858. Sundt made a distinction between the owning class and the working class. He appealed to the working class in terms of educational self-improvement rather than of class conflict.
33 Larsen, Ø. "Hundre år med sykdomsoppfatningen og dens konsekvenser", Tidsskrift for den
Kristiania Library. Sundt was editor-in-chief of *Folkevennen* from 1857 to 1866, and this journal played an important role in furthering popular education. Kildal claims that there is reason to believe that the high number of book collections established in 1859 was due to Sundt's articles on this subject. The number of libraries recorded as having been established between 1855 and 1861 were as follows:

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<th>Year</th>
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<td>1856</td>
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<td>1861</td>
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### 3.7 Farmer pressure for state funding for libraries 1830s

The farmers who were sent as representatives to Eidsvoll were among the best educated within their class at the time; most had some education outside farming. But the farmers could not deal with the legal work which the official classes had learnt, and they also lacked the ability to express themselves in "bokmål" either orally or in written form. Johnsen, a noted political historian, considers that by 1830 the farmers still did not feel themselves mature enough to take the leading role in the state executive. They preferred to elect members of the official class and proprietors to the national assembly. Larsen speculates

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*Norske Lægeforening*, 101 (1A) 1981, 12.

34 A description of the collection focused on the staff, funding, buildings, the size of the stock and number of loans. M.S. "Henrik Wergelands folkeboksamling: Porsgrunn, 100 år", *Bok og Bibliotek* 13, 1946, 194.


that: "Whether from inertia, lack of leaders, or from a shrewd sense of their own inadequacy and inexperience, they had failed to avail themselves of this opportunity and often elected officials to the Storting\footnote{The national assembly or Parliament is based in the capital, Oslo.} - ministers or judges".

Discussion of the development of Norwegian public libraries usually identifies 1836 as the year when the matter of state support was first raised in Storting. But the demand for state support of public libraries went back to 1818 when a proposal was introduced in Storting stating that every confirmant, farmer and schoolteacher should be provided with books for church singing and the education of young people.\footnote{Hauer, J. "De norsk bondetingmenn og folkebibliotekene", \textit{For Folkeoplysning} 11 (6) 1927, 148.} The Committee on Religion and Clerical Concerns found that the suggestion was too vague and not suitable as the basis of any parliamentary proposal. This ended the first attempt to distribute books throughout the whole country. In 1830, Notto Jørgensen Tvedt, a Minister's Assistant, proposed an annual contribution to establish public book collections in each parish. Tvedt's pioneering work for state funding of public book collections may be seen as the background of the farmers' movement which made impressive gains in the 1833 parliamentary election. The importance which Storting attached to local affairs was shown when in 1833 it approved a bill embodying a new law relating to local government. Attempts made in 1821 and 1830 by the Norwegians to secure local self-government had failed, but as it was the campaign issue in both the 1833 and 1836 elections, when the farmers secured Parliamentary majorities, the bill promoting it was passed and received the King's signature on January 14, 1837. "This great measure, constituting a bulwark of democratic liberty second in importance only to the constitution
itself, had finally become law". The local government law of 1837 stated that expenditure was henceforth to be controlled by local taxpayers through elected parish and town councils. In 1837 Parliament divided the whole country into many kommuner run by locally elected administrators. Fischer reports that after the proposal of a state subsidy to public libraries had been submitted to Storting in 1836, the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs was empowered to fund existing libraries.

It was the farmers who eventually produced a draft of the new law. This provided for the establishment of Formandskaber (local councils) in counties, parishes and towns. These Formandskaber were to be vested with both financial and executive powers. There was scarcely any European state where local self-government was so well organised and so widely available as it became in Norway by the legislation of 1837.

As early as 1830 there had been strong feelings, both among the common people and the professional class, that the rural population must take the place in public life to which it was entitled. For the first time in 1832, there were more farmers than official classes represented in Parliament. By 1833 forty-five of the ninety-six members of Storting were farmers. They could easily obtain the few extra votes necessary to put through any measure they desired. More importantly, the farmers were no longer scattered in small groups, they had become a cohesive section of the national assembly, which considered important democratic issues and provided a strong opposition to the leading bureaucracy.

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46 Municipality or local authority district.
Without the campaigning activity of farmer leaders, the establishment of state support for public libraries would have taken a great deal longer than the century struggle that concluded with the 1935 and 1947 legislation.

Ole Gabrielson Ueland (1790-1870), a leading figure in the 19th century farming community was a pioneer of popular education and library collections. He owned a public book collection and established a Reading Society among the farmers to promote education in basic writing, natural history and other useful knowledge. Ueland became a peripatetic schoolteacher in Lund on a small salary, and he later said he gained most of his knowledge during this period. His reading consisted mainly of religious works, sagas, and law and legal writings, which later proved to be useful to him. Ueland’s name was known throughout the country, and the whole of the Norwegian farming movement looked to him with an almost unlimited trust and respect. He claimed that young men who had not had the opportunity to go to school had educated themselves through reading and had become well-informed, which helps to understand his commitment to state schools, and his concern for the spread of literacy through public book collections. From one parliamentary session to another, Ueland emphasised the importance of the folkeskole and public book collections. The government passed a resolution on 20th February 1839 to give the Church Department power to distribute funds to public book collections.

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48 5-6 specidaler (Spd) for 24-30 weeks school. A serving girl earned 15-20 Spd for the same time.
49 Bergsgård, A. Ole Gabriel Ueland og bondepolitikken, 1, Oslo: Aschheoug, 1932, 12.
50 Ueland represented Stavanger in Storting from 1833 to 1869.
51 State school
In 1851 Søren Pedersen Jaabæk (1814-1894) suggested that there should be grants to establish general libraries in rural areas, market towns or coastal towns and he was also a keen supporter of the proposal that grants should be allocated to the University Library.\textsuperscript{52} The 1836 resolution had recommended a charge to borrow books, but Jaabæk insisted on free lending which was important because, as Kildal\textsuperscript{53} explains, so long as borrowers paid a subscription the local authorities felt that they had no duty to support the book collection economically. However, well into the 20th century book collections were, in many places, dependent on the income they could get from subscriptions or gifts, wills and contributions from saving banks and other institutions.

Although this chapter shows that Norwegian farmer politicians voted for municipal reform which brought self-government to the municipalities, Nyhuus\textsuperscript{54} says that reforms: "Forced the farmer to read in order to enable him to take part in politics. And it was not long before Storting was asked to grant money for the establishment of rural libraries". The suggestion had come from the farmers themselves. Without the pioneering work of John Gundersen Neergaard, Ole Gabrielson Ueland and Søren Pedersen Jaabæk, public library development would have been considerably slower than it was. Despite this promising start, there was no continuing progress in library services. The reasons for this will be discussed in the following section.

3.8 Uneven progress of public book collections 19th century

This chapter has identified Norwegian pioneers whose enthusiastic activity stimulated the creation of new book collections, but it is also necessary to

\textsuperscript{52} Bergsgård, A. \textit{Ole Gabriel Ueland og bondepolitikken}, 1, Oslo: Aschehoug, 1932, 307.
\textsuperscript{53} Kildal, A. "Kontingent av låntagere", \textit{Bok og Bibliotek} 3, 1936, 91.
\textsuperscript{54} Nyhuus, H. "The organization of state supported libraries in Norway", \textit{Library Journal} 29, 1904, 60.
investigate what happened in between these flourishing periods, as they did not form a continuous level of activity from the mid 18th to the mid 20th century.

It has already been stated that the intellectual renaissance of the 18th century brought a strong interest in public education and the desire to organise public libraries in Norway. The clergy of the country were particularly eager promoters of general public education, and one of the most energetic and active of them all was the Bishop of Kristiansand, Peter Hansen. As noted earlier,\(^5\) his recall to Denmark in 1804 to take care of a diocese there caused a moratorium to development. Without the strong leading hand of Bishop Hansen, the early book collections declined. The general poverty, the restless political environment and war focused people's thoughts on other matters than reading.

The economy created a dark chapter in the history of public book collections, which was to continue throughout the 19th century and was a constant hindrance to their full expansion. From 1820-40 the resources of many of the parish societies, which the Selskabet for Norges Vel had started in 1807, declined.

When the income fell it was not possible to purchase new books, the bookstock was not renewed and this led to a decline in interest. The loss of many book collections in later years was due to economic factors. There were many local councils which actually offered something for their library, but on average it can be said that the councils in the 19\(^{th}\) century did not seem to understand the work which was needed to create thriving book collections. Where old, dirty books were on shelves in a narrow, dark attic room with underpaid ill-suited staff, all

\(^5\) See Chapter 3.3 above.
because of the authority's lack of vision, it was not surprising that the book collections did not expand.

One of the principal difficulties of library management, which most councils in country areas had to contend with from the outset, was the long distances to be covered. Even if the book collection was placed in a "central" part of the town, there were hundreds of residents who had a long journey to reach it. There are examples of priests who took the books with them in a vehicle and lent from the Church annex. Sometimes, borrowers swapped books on an informal basis.

The *Selskab for Norges Vel* produced a list of writings regarded as suitable for parish libraries in 1838, but it included out of print and pre-publication titles, and many which were so expensive that they could not be bought.

The loss of interest in public book collections in the 1850s may have been due to the one-sided selection of elevating texts, boring agricultural themes and bad novels. There were many different translations of German literature and nothing to stimulate the desire to read. This continued throughout the century. In the late 1880s the book collections identified how many pigs there were on a particular farm, but they were of no interest to people who were looking for cultural pursuits. The contents of a general book collection were often written in a language which most people did not understand. Especially at the beginning of the century books were academic in language and style, full of allegories and reflections of Greek mythology, which went over the heads of the farmers who wanted to get stories in their own language.

From the middle of the century an improvement in this situation began. Book gifts were often of doubtful worth especially in the towns when people moved away and sent a mass of old, partly unusable books to the public library. But
for many book collections in country areas book gifts played an important role, first and foremost in the early period where they could be the foundation or seed of the county book collection. After Henrik Wergeland’s death in 1845 there was a short period of decline in professional library literature until Ole Vig and Eilert Sundt started writing about the need for public book collections in the 1850-60s. The first state grant for a public book collection was made in 1836 and continued sporadically until 1876 when it ceased, to recommence from 1903 as a direct state grant. Despite the early start in providing state support Fischer\textsuperscript{56} observes that:

\begin{quote}
Notwithstanding this, our libraries continued to lead a somewhat obscure and sorry existence. The ability and desire to read was but little developed in many rural districts, and, owing to prevailing economic conditions, the libraries often encountered difficulty in securing the local grant which was a condition of the state contribution. In the towns where public libraries existed in the last century these institutions did not play a prominent part in the intellectual life of the place.
\end{quote}

While only public book collections existed and ran their activities according to old methods, the aim in the 20\textsuperscript{th} century was to introduce improved organisation, to acquire better looking books and to increase usage. An obstacle to the progress of public book collections in 19\textsuperscript{th} century Norway was that the country lacked schoolbook collections. Young people who had not learnt in their school days how to use book collections did not regard it as natural to go to an adult book collection when they left school. Towards the end of the century, when the school book collections became common, library use was not a factor. It was many years before it was revived.

From the 1840s onwards there was a devastating emigration from the whole country and it was often the most informed and alert who left. In the ten years 1846-56 32,000 people migrated to America and in the ten years 1866-75 the number rose to 122,000. It fluctuated, but the number who emigrated remained high throughout the 19th century and into the early 20th century. Some of the best supporters of adult education work emigrated.

In some other countries the public book collections were better cared for and acquired a more secure position both among authors and in the opinion of the general public. Admittedly Norway was early in starting the establishment of reading societies and in re-organising book collections, but the development of these pioneering projects did not progress at a consistent pace. In England work for "free public libraries" began seriously in the 1830s and 40s, and in 1850 parliament passed a law which enabled councils to demand a penny rate from each pound paid in tax. This law was of great importance and led to book collections being established in both town and country.

3.9 Resistance to establishing public libraries

The historical development of libraries in many countries provides evidence of resistance to funding public libraries because of the risks of provoking the lower orders to rebel against their controlling upper classes. In the United Kingdom there was opposition and parsimony towards funding public libraries because the idea prevailed that it was a dangerous thing to give education to those who were then described as the lower orders of society. Education it was feared would give them ideas above their station, and it was necessary that they should be kept in their place, lest they get to know too much. The fear was expressed that the libraries, "particularly if lectures were to be given in them, would be
converted into schools of agitation and sedition. Similarly in Norway, Bishop Hansen, who laid the foundation of many of the first reading societies, was called back to Denmark in 1804. His popular education work was not well regarded. Arne Kildal claims that it was not in Denmark's interest that there should be too much popular education as "the longing for freedom could be too dangerous". King Frederick VI (1808-1814) told the Norwegian Pastor K.O.Knutzen in 1833 that "the peasant should learn reading, writing, and arithmetic; he should learn his duty toward God, himself, and others, and no more. Otherwise he gets notions into his head". It was a matter of course that books which could be dangerous were not bought. At the end of the 19th century this could affect works such as *Ghosts* by Ibsen and *Working people* by Kielland.

Quality and popular education became central catch phrases in the aims of public libraries, and they remained unchanged right up to library reports produced in 1967. A decline in state funding for libraries in the period 1863 to 1876 was evident in the lack of book selection. Collections at this time were often dominated by agricultural texts, which could not have met the wider interests of the general public.

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Municipally funded libraries 1892-1901

Key: Funded libraries in underlined locations
Kildal contends that: "In spite of the establishment of ever more new public libraries, most of these institutions led a rather poor existence during the last century, insufficiently supported and amateurishly conducted as they were". Many town libraries were established towards the end of the 19th century and reading societies were associated with the new county libraries, but Ansteinsson argues that both rural and town libraries suffered a period of decline. Short periods of enthusiastic interest were followed by dead periods. The book collections which were established when the library movement was in its youth were, as a rule, modest and primitive.

It is doubtful that public libraries could represent a danger to the leading classes. Most of the libraries restrained themselves to follow society's "accepted" values. The interest in popular education in the 1850s came as a counterbalance to the dangerous and stark commotion which was feared from workers' movements. In the Association's journal Folkevennen Ole Vig's opening article says that the reader should be helped to love his/her Fatherland and home and become more satisfied with his/her position.

In 1918 it was pointed out that free access to books was an aim which every society would establish as soon as possible. Books were regarded as providing access to knowledge and education and one of the few most powerful guarantees against stupidity, shallowness and demagogic regimes. People who had access to books would become part of an informed, intelligent democracy.

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63 Vig, O. "Til tidsskriftets læsere" Folkevennen 1, 1852, 1.
Free libraries would provide material from all the greatest thinkers throughout history.64

The library revolution at the turn of the 19th century was an extension of the popular education programme, and great emphasis was put on organising knowledge in a wide spectrum of subjects including practical areas. The Universe of Knowledge which libraries were set to manage was nevertheless not extensive. The libraries’ scope for organising material was limited, not only because of the small size of Norwegian book production, but also because much of the literature was thought not to be relevant. In a parliamentary debate of 1931 it was claimed that society had in the past deliberately invested so little in popular education in order to keep the lower classes down. In many medium-sized towns in 1936 the public library was an important influence on the attitudes of the population and it was felt that democracy could then easily enter into the dangerous task of granting money to strengthen the development of hostile tendencies.65 By the 1930s, public library book selection was influenced by central directives provided by book lists and recommendations. The taxpayers wanted value for their money. Perhaps the concept of popular education in the establishment of the public library came to represent for many, more negative characteristics such as authoritarian attitudes.

3.10 Library loans and competing attractions 1901-1937

The re-organisation of Norwegian public libraries planned by a Library Committee set up by the Ecclesiastical Department in 190166 was the stimulus

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66 The committee included Karl Fischer (1861-1939), J.B. Halvorsen (1845-1900) and H.T. Lyche (1859-98).
for the new library movement, led by a number of city libraries with Deichman (in Oslo) in the lead, and set a pattern which was later followed by libraries throughout the country. This was the dawn of a new period in the history of Norwegian public libraries. Eighteen libraries out of 37 had consistent increases in their loans per inhabitant in the years 1908-1909, although some of these were hardly lending at all. Low issue figures may be attributed to economic factors, badly organised libraries and infectious diseases. In a country where tuberculosis had spread as in Norway it was not surprising that the fear of infected books was well understood but it became so exaggerated that it inhibited book borrowing. In 1910 Brevik Library documented diphtheria as a cause of a fall in loan statistics.

Many councils were insolvent in the 1920s; for example, Kristiansund admitted it could not serve its debts. By 1924 and 1925 Kristiansund council had used one third of its budget on interest and instalments. Ten out of fifty libraries had increasingly higher loans in the period 1923 to 1926. Eight libraries had higher loans per inhabitant than Oslo and Bergen (the two largest libraries) during the period 1923 to 1926.

By 1929, thirty of the seventy-three libraries in cities and coastal towns had their own reading rooms for adults, with nineteen available for children. Nine libraries were in a separate building by this time. During the economic crisis in the period 1930-37, only three libraries had consistently high loan figures but eight libraries had higher loans per inhabitant than Oslo and Bergen (the two largest libraries which had an average of 4.31). Average loans per inhabitant

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67 See Appendix Figure B10 “Number of loans from public libraries 1908-9”
68 See Appendix Figure B11 “Number of loans from public libraries 1924-6”
69 See Appendix Figure B12 “Number of loans from public libraries 1930s”
per library in the period 1930-1937 was 3.24 books per annum. Some libraries were hardly lending at all. In Stavanger in 1933, every fourth person was unemployed and book issues increased throughout the decade. An increase in the use of libraries was a common feature of the economic problems of the 1930s.

The table below shows the gradual increase in public library loans in the first three decades of the 20th century:

**Average loans per inhabitant for selected years**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Loans per Inhabitant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1908-09</td>
<td>1.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1917-19</td>
<td>1.74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924-26</td>
<td>2.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930-37</td>
<td>3.06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.10.1 Radio

The first radio broadcast was in Oslo in 1925, and regular broadcasting began in the same year. In response to a fall in loans from public libraries in the period 1924 to 1927, the editorial of the main library periodical sent a questionnaire to a sample of libraries asking librarians about the effect of broadcasting on library usage. Twenty-one librarians reported that broadcasting had been available for so short a time that they were unable to say anything definite about its effects. Another six did not notice that the radio had any influence other than increased enquiries for radio literature. Eight claimed that broadcasting has resulted in a temporary decline in library activity. The Librarian in Arendal noted that loans fell from 1925 to 1926 and that an even greater decline was due to closure

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70 Kongsvinger, Molde, Skudenshavn. 15 libraries lent fewer than 2 books per annum per inhabitant. 12 libraries lent less than 3 and another 12 less than 4 books. Six libraries lent above average i.e. 4.25, another 6 libraries lent 5.47, Moss lent 6.09, both Gjøvik and Kristiansand lent 7.39 and Hamar 10.24 per inhabitant per library.
71 Norwegian periodical literature.
72 "Radioen og folkebibliotekene", *For Folkeoplyspaning* 12 (3) 1927, 89.
during the foot and mouth disease for two months in this period. Some of the most regular borrowers, who came less often, said that the radio left them less time to read. The 25% fall in loans in early 1927 in Drammen was reversed later in the year as "interest in books had returned". In Oslo, broadcasting was seen as the only factor to explain the decline in issues for 1925. It was felt that broadcasting to some extent replaced books as a means of entertainment. The report from Porsgrund was that the radio had stimulated library visits and issue figures were greater than before with more requests for non-fiction. When the relay station in Rjukan was established, there were fewer library loans than earlier, but this was of a temporary nature. As soon as the first "radio fever" had passed, library activity increased. Many new borrowers joined their local public library at this time, for example in Tønsberg.

3.10.2 Cinema

When paperback editions of books started publication, many people felt that this would damage the appreciation for "real" literature. However, the opposite was the case. People who had never before had any interest in reading found paperback books easy and accessible. They created an interest in learning something new and getting to know literature that is more valuable. The paperback books had greater value than one would have thought beforehand. A librarian wondered if the same reaction would occur with film and books. Although there were many complaints about the bad influence of cinema,

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73 From the mid 1920s, broadcasting was tested in different ways for locally based activities. The Bergen Broadcasting Society started in 1926 as a private initiative in line with societies in Tromsø, Ålesund and Oslo. In the course of the 1930s, broadcasting developed as Norway's first national mass medium. Over half a million radios were sold in the 1930s. Many private broadcasting societies were incorporated into the national broadcasting service in 1933.

74 Sigmund, E. "Cooperative work between the cinema and the library", *For Folkeoplysning* 7 (2) 1922, 49.
particularly on young people, the cinema also had a credit side. School teachers often noticed that after children had been to a cinema they had learnt about subjects which fitted into their schooling, but which the school with limited means had not been able to provide. Therefore, a reasonable approach would ally with the "enemy" and use film as a link to teaching.\footnote{Permanent cinema came to Norway in 1904 and was followed by a mixture of news cuts and melodramas. The Norwegian Film Society started in 1932. Sound film led to increased cinema visits from 1935 onwards. The end of the 1930s has been described as a golden age for Norwegian film. Many new cinema buildings were opened in Oslo in the 1930s. From 1934-9, the number of cinemas increased by 50% and the income was doubled.}

3.11 Library loans - influencing factors, different perspectives

Turning now to issue statistics, it is important to recognise that increased loans are naturally only an indication of library activity. The establishment of a reading room, the acquisition and growing use of reference books, attractions for children are all contributors to the development which are not shown in the lending statistics. However, issue statistics can reflect changes in library management. Increased borrowing rates are seen in those town libraries where reading rooms were provided, following reorganisation and classification with the \textit{Dewey Decimal Classification} and with open access for users. Selected issue statistics for libraries following the introduction of new library procedures are shown below.\footnote{Norwegian periodical literature, \textit{passim}. A zero indicates that the data have not been traced, or in the case of Rjukan, that the Library was not opened until later.}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
\textbf{Library} & \textbf{1917} & \textbf{1918} & \textbf{1919} & \textbf{1923} & \textbf{1924} & \textbf{1925} & \textbf{1926} \\
\hline
Oslo (1785) & 2.29 & 2.51 & 2.21 & 3.05 & 3.4 & 3.45 & 3.53 \\
Bergen (1874) & 2.04 & 2.69 & 3.31 & 3.74 & 3.77 & 3.88 & 3.83 \\
Stavanger (1826) & 1.44 & 1.67 & 1.59 & 1.81 & 1.7 & 1.58 & 1.47 \\
Haugesund (1893) & 1.58 & 2.58 & 2.32 & 4.63 & 4.85 & 4.34 & 3.72 \\
Trondheim (1902) & 2.96 & 3.11 & 2.48 & 2.66 & 2.68 & 2.44 & 2.32 \\
Tønsberg (1909) & 1.54 & 1.53 & 1.05 & 3.37 & 3.38 & 3.49 & 3.51 \\
Hamar (1837) & 4.12 & 4.38 & 3.21 & 4.13 & 4.31 & 3.23 & 6.13 \\
Sarpsborg (1903) & 1.16 & 2.04 & 2.01 & 3.02 & 3.12 & 3.09 & 2.8 \\
Holmestrand (1911) & 1.74 & 2.25 & 2.66 & 0 & 2.77 & 2.39 & 2.6 \\
Kristiansand (1909) & 6.4 & 6.08 & 4.06 & 6.71 & 5.19 & 6.79 & 6.3 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Public library loans per inhabitant per year 1917-19, 1923-6}
\end{table}
Ålesund (1872) 0.72 0.61 1.13 2.15 1.96 1.68 1.73  
Kristiansund (1864) 2 2.53 1.79 2.66 2.08 1.67 1.56  
Larvik (1903) 0.9 0.73 0.76 2.32 2.43 2.96 2.99  
Levanger (1883) 2.45 2.2 2.91 0 5.13 5.08 7.45  
Rjukan (1914) 0 0 0 0 7.37 7.56 6.99  
Fredrikstad (1892) 1.33 1.41 1.1 0.85 0.89 0.8 2.09  

Oslo, Bergen, Stavanger and Haugesund were the first libraries to provide a reading room in 1901. Bergen introduced the Browne issue system at this time; it had open access and the *Dewey Decimal Classification* by 1909 and loans increased from 1917 to 1926. Haugesund Public Library moved into new premises in 1917 and loans steadily increased from 1917 to 1934. Other libraries with increasing loan statistics included Trondheim which introduced the Newark issue system and provided a reading room in 1902 and then began storytelling for children in 1906. Tønsberg provided storytelling in 1906, a reading room in 1909 and moved to new premises in 1924. Loans increased in the 1920s and early 1930s.

Hamar had a new librarian in 1903 whose first reform was the reorganisation of the collections according to the *Dewey Decimal Classification* and the introduction of a card system for loans in 1904; at the same time the library's first classified catalogue was printed. A move to more spacious premises with open shelves was made in 1909 and the library's first reading room was provided in 1910. There was another move to new premises in 1925 and loans had doubled by 1926. This upward trend continued from 1930-36.

Sarpsborg provided a reading room in 1912 and moved into new premises in 1917, loans increased for the period 1918 to 1924. Holmestrand provided a reading room in 1913 and loans increased in the years 1917 to 1919. Kristiansand Library provided a reading room in 1909 and had the highest

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77 See Appendix B12 “Number of loans from public libraries 1930s”
average loans per inhabitant compared with all libraries which issued annual reports in 1917 and so had records (the average is 5.51 compared with 1.71 for the remainder). Ålesund which had space difficulties was, through local generosity, able to move into new premises in May 1918, with the result that loans consistently increased in the years following this up to 1935.

Kristiansund was reorganised in 1911 and moved into new premises in 1919 and loans increased in the period 1919 to 1923. There was a large increase in loans from Larvik during 1919-26 after the library had new premises with a reading room in 1921. In 1925 Levanger introduced open access with a classified arrangement of stock (*Dewey Decimal Classification*) in new premises. In 1926 Levanger had the highest loan statistic of all libraries (7.45 compared with 2.89) and increases continued up to 1936.

Rjukan, which opened in 1914, had new premises in 1924 and loans increased the following year. Fredrikstad was reorganised in 1915 and moved into new premises in 1926 and loans increased from 1930 to 1932. Moss moved into new premises in 1927 and loans also increased from 1930 to 1932. There were also increasing loan rates in Notodden in the early 1930s, after it moved into new premises in 1925. By 1951, 35 town libraries had reading rooms.

Another way of looking at library issue statistics is through the research which documented activity in four categories: town libraries, rural libraries, Deichman Library in Oslo and Bergen Public Library. In the years 1919-37 the highest numbers of loans were issued by town and city libraries. There was a steady increase in loans from town libraries from 1919 to 1927, the increase then continued from 1931 and gradually fell back in 1935 to 1937. The issue statistics in Deichman Public Library in Oslo followed the increasing trends of
other town libraries in 1919 to 1924, but did not increase again until 1927 and again in 1932. Bergen Public library loans slowly increased from 1922 to 1929, with a slight decline from 1936 to 1937.\(^7\)

### 3.12 The work of rural libraries

In 1913 the collections in country areas varied from 100 to 1,000 vols. The books were usually kept in a little cupboard in the school house or in the town’s "community house". The opening hours were normally every Sunday, before and after church. Because many of the public book collections were very decrepit, most of the books were old, grubby and worn. There was a lack of new books. A simple record was kept of the book’s number, the borrower’s name and the lending date. The *Dewey Decimal Classification* was only exceptionally introduced. The catalogues were in the form of a handwritten list, organised by the book’s number. A strong plea to build libraries like churches throughout the country was made in 1918. Opening reading rooms in rural areas would pay for itself in the increased intelligence and working power among the people. It was argued that the librarian should feel like a cultural priest, a pioneer in the spiritual life - not just as a bookkeeper and guard - a calling.\(^7\)

Notwithstanding the lack of resources, loans from rural libraries increased from 1919 to 1924 and then a decline began in 1925. There was no pattern of increasing loans until 1936. In the late 1930s there were still too many librarians who worked in isolation. Throughout this period, there was a great lack of funding needed to provide for full-time librarians.\(^8\) Consequently,

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\(^7\) See Appendix B19 which shows the rural and town library issue statistics from 1919-57.

\(^7\) Tveit, H. “Folkeboksamlinger paa landsbygd: eit samfundsspursmaal”, *For Folkoplysning* 3, 1918, 15.

\(^8\) See Chapter 7 for discussion of library legislation.
individual collections in rural areas only survived with difficulty. They were all dependent on private interest and the library was rarely a permanent communal service similar to other institutions. It was pointed out in 1938 that small individual book collections could only be of limited effectiveness.\textsuperscript{81}

Despite limited resources in libraries Hjartøy was able to claim in 1936\textsuperscript{82} that public book collections had a very great influence on attitudes and culture generally, especially in the smaller towns and rural areas where public book collections were often the only place where people could have access to newspapers and lectures on interesting subjects. There were many in the rural areas who had no radio or the possibility of seeing a film.

### 3.13 Conclusion

The public library service in Norway originated from the campaigning activities of people representing the church and farmers' political organisations, as well as societies which were established for educational and cultural activities. The reason for the failure of the Reading Societies to thrive, in the long term, was that they represented a threat to the Danish authorities, who did not want the Norwegian population to become autonomous and threaten Danish domination. The Napoleonic Wars caused restlessness and economic problems throughout Europe including Scandinavia, so that basic human needs became the main concern. None of Bishop Hansen's successors had the same level of enthusiasm for the Reading Societies as he had demonstrated.

A public library system could not develop without local democracy and state funding. Generally speaking, the main aim of farmer politicians was to change

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\textsuperscript{81} Kobro, N. “Nye strømninger i bibliotekarbeidet på landsbygden” \textit{Norsk Bibliotekforening: jubileumsskrift 1913-1938}, Oslo: Stenersen, 1938, 63.

\textsuperscript{82} Hjartøy, H. \textit{Vår bibliotekpolitikk}, Oslo: Det Norske Arbeiderpartis Forlag, 1936, 7.
the nature of political power. In the Storting election of 1832 farmers had a majority for the first time. The introduction of local self-government became a fundamental issue. Although, as already stated, the first state grant to a library was made in 1836, the libraries continued to lead a somewhat obscure and sorry existence. The late 19th century was a dead period in the history of Norwegian public libraries. A major obstacle to progress was the geophysical nature of the country with rugged, barely populated, difficult terrain. There were great economic difficulties for most book collections so that subscriptions were required from the borrowers, which kept many people away. Most towns could not get access to satisfactory premises.

The bookstock was small, on average under 100 titles, and was characterised by its period, consisting essentially of religious and farming books and little to stimulate the desire to read. The systems which were used for arranging the books, cataloguing and lending, were completely unsatisfactory, a situation which led to chaos, and could not stimulate public interest. Particularly in the first decade of the nineteenth century, the lack of book selection was an obstacle to the development and popularity of the book collections.

The attitude was that the books should be "useful" either for spiritual growth and the life hereafter or for this world. Consequently, the book collections were filled partly with religious writings and partly with "practical" agricultural works. The early organisers such as Wergeland and E.Sundt were primarily concerned to establish book collections and less to maintain them systematically. Both rural and town libraries were characterised by a period of decline, then short enthusiastic interest followed by dead periods. The roots of the Norwegian public library system may lie in the pioneering efforts of clergy in the
18th century and farmers in the 19th. The Deichman Library was the first European library to introduce the Dewey Decimal Classification system in 1898. The English open access system was followed in Deichman in the following year. Although the Browne Issue System was used in 1899, Deichman and other Norwegian public libraries later adopted the American Newark system in 1908. But the development of the library profession and the provision of professionally run library services had to wait until the beginning of the 20th century when Norwegian librarians returned from studying or working in America and introduced American methods into daily practice in public libraries. Changes in library practice in Deichman were later followed by similar developments in other Norwegian public libraries, suggesting that these were regarded as improvements.

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83 The technical changes which were made in Deichman library practice in the early twentieth century are described in Chapter 5.3.
Chapter 4 First American influences on Norwegian library development 1880-1890s

4.1 Introduction
An important factor in the development of Norwegian librarianship was the 19th century emigration to America, followed some years later by the return of the emigrants bringing with them skills and professionalism which they then introduced into their native country. This was referred to in Chapter One. This chapter traces the careers of the most prominent Norwegians who formed part of that emigrant community and achieved notable success in their library careers. When they returned home to Norway they brought their newly-learnt techniques with them and transformed Norwegian library practice in the first decade of the 20th century. The career of the pioneering librarian Haakon Nyhuus is described by tracing his work in Chicago, USA, which laid the foundations of the reforms he later introduced to Norway. Haakon Nyhuus’s reorganisation of Deichman Library in Oslo had repercussions throughout the country. One public library after the other followed the example which was set by this enthusiastic reformer, and new modern systems and methods were introduced at a constantly increasing rate. The 1880s and 1890s were a period of rapid development in American librarianship. Melvil Dewey (1851-1931)
was the father of American librarianship who had influence both in America and in many countries abroad, and Norway in particular. He was also a founding member of the American Library Association, again in 1876.

4.2 The Newberry Public Library, Chicago 1890s
As some of the most significant Norwegian librarians had their formative professional experiences in the Newberry Library in Chicago, it is helpful to refer to this collection. Haakon Nyhuus (1866-1913) arrived in Chicago in Autumn 1890 and had a variety of jobs. On 12th May 1891 he was offered the

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1 Born Melville Louis Kossuth Dewey, he dropped his middle names and changed the spelling of his first name.
post of cataloguing assistant in the Newberry Library where the Chief Librarian was the distinguished librarian and bibliographer, W.F. Poole (1821-1894). The aims of the Newberry Library were outlined by Poole in 1892, to further his objective to ensure that the Library should become a very large collection of books. He felt that the subject areas covered should be very broad and comprehensive, covering all areas not supplied in other libraries in Chicago or its surrounding areas. Poole explained in his report that:

The Library is to be constituted and administered mainly for earnest and advanced students, or in other words, to be a scholars' library, rather than only for the use of the masses, whose reading, with some exceptions, is light, and mainly for the purpose of entertainment. The readers of popular literature are now well provided for in Chicago Public Library. Many of the staff were expected to become the dispensers of specialised services to students and research workers. The Newberry's relation to a public library should be, in Poole's phrase: "that of a university to a grammar school". Except for those in routine jobs, its employees should have qualifications "to suit its exalted position". The very qualifications which the Newberry sought in its staff members could lead to problems at times. Especially in the early years before the subject departments were ready for full operation, it was difficult to give adequate scope and recognition to the capacities of some of the staff. The desk attendants wrote subject cards in their spare time. Clarke, Head Cataloger of the Newberry Library, explained the necessity for recruiting highly educated staff:

But as a poor cataloger takes more of the time of the director of the work than his work is worth, I earnestly request that no catalogers be engaged who do not possess the equivalent of a

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2 William Frederick Poole played a role of extraordinary accomplishment and influence during his forty-seven years as a librarian. Kessler identifies Poole's associations: "Most librarians remember [him] as a 19th century pioneer of the periodical index. Others may recall Poole as a genius at organising libraries and librarians, a spokesman for the ladies in the profession, an expert on library architecture, an inventor of the dictionary catalog principle, or as an associate editor of the Library Journal." Kessler S.H. "William Frederick Poole, librarian-historian", Wilson Library Bulletin 28, 1954, 788.

3 Newberry Library Archive, Poole to Committee on Books, October 31, 1892, Box 16.


6 United States spelling is used when referring to the Newberry "Cataloging" Department and in discussion of American library systems.
college education with a working acquaintance with at least Latin, German and French, some light knowledge of cataloging, and that a copyist shall possess a high school education.

The staff organisation chart shows that "only a few had, as their main concern, service to the public".

4.3 Cataloguing and classification in the Newberry Library 1890s

The Cataloging Department in the Newberry Library in 1892 included eight cataloguers and a "curator" who filed all cards in the catalogues. The Head Cataloger, Edith Clarke, reported that the "fullness and care" with which they treated the entries made this work the main catalogue of the Library, with all other operations revolving around it, employing the highest number of qualified staff in the Library. Every book belonging to the Library was rightly expected to be found in this catalogue.

She explained that the Library could take two or three very promising applicants to train on the understanding that "they were to receive nothing till their work was of value to the Library". Clarke's aim at this time was that there should be an official catalogue, which was started in 1887, as well as a public card catalogue which began in 1891. The card catalogue should be accessible to general readers in the main Reading Room. She also wanted each room to have a small hand catalogue of the books contained in that room. According to Trustee Records in 1895, a range of classification schemes was used to create one system. The Poole list of 21 subjects was adopted and applied at the Newberry Library in 1890 and continued to be used until 1895. The subjects were not arranged in any logical sequence of relationships, nor were any detailed subdivisions provided. Poole claimed that his broad ordering of subject headings was "simple and practicable". He had no use for elaborate schemes such as those devised by Dewey, Cutter and others.

7 Newberry Library Archive, Nelson, C.A. Correspondence to the Committee on Administration, August 12, 1892.
9 Newberry Library Archive, Trustee Records 1, Jan 7th 1895, 298.
Figure 4.1

Staff organisation Newberry Library - August 1892

Source: Newberry Library Archive Nelson, C.A. Correspondence to the Committee on Administration, August 1892.
Figure 4.2

Haakon Nyhuus (1866-1913) in his study

Haakon Nyhuus (1866-1913)

Figure 4.3

A bust of Haakon Nyhuus (1866-1913)

Source: Kildal, A. Haakon Nyhuus 1866-1966: minneskrift utgitt til hundreårsdagen for hans fødsel, Oslo: Deichmanske Bibliotek, 1966, 1
He preferred his own, for "anybody who will see it in use can understand it, which is more than can be said of more complex systems". The subject list was, in actuality, much more complicated than Poole's outline would indicate, and much more complex than the first edition of the *Dewey Decimal Classification* (1876), which only had a total of 12 pages plus the index. Poole's Dictionary Catalog had no cross references and the perfector of the dictionary catalogue was eventually held to be C.A. Cutter. Cutter produced the standard code of rules for the compilation of dictionary catalogues.\(^{11}\)

Proof of how highly Poole valued Nyhuus is found in the documents which supported applications for a rise in salary for the Cataloger. Nyhuus, who had left the University of Kristiania in 1891,\(^{12}\) was employed for six months at $24 per month. In October of the same year his pay was raised to $30 per month. Poole explained that the staff commenced their employment on very small salaries but since they had "by their industry, education and experience made their services more valuable" they were entitled to more pay. Reporting on cataloguing he said "very satisfactory progress has been made in the Cataloging Department, and more than 35,000 cards have been made and arranged in the permanent catalog".

He claimed that although his current staff were doing good work, there were still not enough staff to complete the work "in the most expeditious and economic form". Poole continued with the following argument that Nyhuus had been in the Library for eighteen months without any previous library experience and he recommended that Nyhuus's salary be increased to $75 a month. He went on to say that Nyhuus

has become one of the best catalogers and bibliographers on the staff. As to incunabula and early printed books, he has no superior, if an equal, in the range of my acquaintance; and hence

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\(^{12}\) It has been said that Nyhuus went to America without any special education. Arnesen, A. "For femtår siden" *Bok og Bibliotek* 30, 1963, 308. His early student days are often described with reference to his involvement in the Bohemian circle, but without explaining what he studied.
the early books and those most difficult to catalog are assigned to him. His talent and enthusiasm for bibliography are remarkable and he promises to be very useful to the library. Nyhuus was fortunate to have daily contact with other members of the Newberry staff who later achieved notable reputations in the profession. Firstly, his fellow countryman J.C.M. Hanson (1864-1943), an expert in cataloguing, became well-known in the American library world. Then Charles Martel (1860-1945), a highly regarded French-Swiss, taught him many of the finer points both in classification and cataloguing. The head of the Cataloging Department was Edith Emily Clarke who had attended Albany Library School in 1889. She was "well known to earlier generations of librarians as a lecturer on cataloging and other library subjects" in various libraries and universities. Charles Evans (1850-1935), a founding member of the American Library Association, re-classified (according to Cutter's Expansive Classification) the Newberry Library in the years 1892 to 1895. He had Nyhuus as a student in the early years. Nyhuus worked in the Medical Reading Room in the afternoons and learnt much about reference work there from one of the reference librarians, Dr George E. Wire.

4.4 Norwegian librarians in America 1890s

After two years at the Newberry Library, in 1893, Nyhuus, on the recommendation of Poole, was appointed Head of the Cataloging Department in Chicago Public Library, on a higher salary than he had received in the Newberry. In his new position in Chicago Public Library he had to supervise the new card catalogue which was to be installed in the library's impressive new building. He remained there until 1897, when he returned to Norway.

13 Newberry Library Archive, Trustee Reports and Documents 01/01/21. Report of Librarian to Committee on Administration, Oct 14, 1892, 43.
14 Chief of Cataloging, Library of Congress (1897-1910), Associate Director of the University of Chicago Libraries (1910-27), Professor of Bibliography, Cataloging and Classification at the Graduate Library School, University of Chicago (1928-34).
15 Chief classifier of the Library of Congress (1897-1912), Chief of its Cataloging Division (1912-1930) and consultant in cataloguing, classification and bibliography 1930-45.
In 1890 J.C.M. Hanson (1864-1943) began his professional career at the Newberry Library in Chicago under William Frederick Poole. For three years Hanson received sound technical training in dictionary cataloguing according to Cutter's Rules and learned from experience the shortcomings of Poole's classification system. In 1897 Hanson was appointed chief of the Catalog Division of the Library of Congress and his arrival marked the beginning of the bibliographical reorganisation of this famous American library. The essay on Hanson in the *Encyclopedia of Library and Information Science* explains that:

In adopting the dictionary form of the public card catalog, Hanson made important modifications of the dictionary principle. He was convinced that a strict adherence to the dictionary principle, with its dispersal of the material under minute subjects, would be wholly undesirable in a catalog of the size anticipated for the Library of Congress. In his opinion the user's interest would be served best by bringing together related topics insofar as it could be done without reverting to the alphabetico-classed principle. The subject headings adopted for the new catalog were therefore a blend of the two divergent principles: the dictionary and the alphabetico-classed.

For seventeen years he served as Associate Director of the University of Chicago Libraries where he again undertook the reorganisation of a bibliographically chaotic library into a cohesive whole. Hanson has been described as "one of the fathers of the Anglo-American cataloguing rules of 1908 which the Norwegian cataloguing rules were also built on". In 1928 Hanson led the team of American cataloguing experts sent to assist in the reorganisation of the catalogue of the Vatican Library. Even after his retirement in 1934, he continued to work for international co-operation in cataloguing as the only route for the future and it was in this period that he compiled his monumental work, *A comparative study of cataloging rules based on the Anglo-American Code of 1908; with comments on the rules and on the prospects for a further extension of international agreement and co-operation*, Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1939. Hanson’s concern for international co-operation in cataloguing was extended to include a belief in

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18 See Appendix Figure D1 Poole Shelving Scheme
international co-operation as the basis of world peace. He became a Commander of *Sankt Olavs Orden* in 1928.

4.5 **Cataloguing in Chicago Public Library 1892-1898**

In May 1892 the Committee on Administration in Chicago Public Library drew attention to the need to prepare a public card catalogue. At that time there were more than 300,000 cards which had to be duplicated for the Library's move into a new building. As none of the experienced library staff with the necessary training could be spared from their current duties, the Committee decided to secure the services of an additional cataloguer to carry out its plans and it recommended that Haakon Nyhuus be employed for this purpose at a salary of $1,200 pa. The Committee concluded that: "any extra help which may be required in copying cards, in order that the work may be advanced more rapidly, can be secured from among the present library employees". The Chicago Public Library Book of Applications reported his appointment to evening service. In 1893 Haakon Nyhuus was the only person recommended for a salary increase in May 1894. But the reports about him were not always praiseworthy; we find in May 1895 that he was suspended for "gross breach of discipline" on May 27th. But it was resolved at the same Committee meeting that his suspension, with loss of pay, should stand until 3rd June when he was reinstated with the understanding that "the recurrence of the offense shall be cause for peremptory discharge". In May 1896, Nyhuus was allocated a grant of $125 to visit eastern American libraries in order to examine their card

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21 Chicago Public Library, Board of Directors, Regular Meeting, Committee on Administration, Jan 28th, 1893,136-7.
22 Chicago Public Library, Board of Directors, Regular Meeting, Committee on Administration, 28th Jan, 1893,136-7
23 Chicago Public Library, Board of Directors, Regular Meeting, Book of Applications, 2, 1893. This employment may have been part-time in Chicago Public Library.
24 Chicago Public Library, Report on Employees of the Library to Committee on Administration, 16th Jan, 1893.
25 Chicago Public Library, Board of Directors, Regular Meeting 28th May 1895, 374. As the rules of conduct were particularly strict in public libraries at this time, it would appear that Nyhuus's misdemeanour was not serious and no further reports were traced about the event in the library correspondence. [Personal communication with Mr J.P. Chalmers, Curator, Special Collection Department, Chicago Public Library].
catalogues and collect data to help him to prepare the "public card catalog" of the Chicago Public Library. A year later the Committee received Nyhuus's resignation which was accepted in March to take effect in April 1897. Apparently he had heard a rumour that there was going to be a vacancy in the Deichman Library back home in Oslo. Danton says that: "with the death of Lyche who might have been given the assignment of carrying out the plan... re-organising the Deichman Library was placed in the hands of Nyhuus, who was appointed director on 1st September 1898".

4.6 Conclusion

In order to explain why Norwegian public library practice has incorporated many procedures from American librarianship, it was necessary to study the archives of the Chicago and Newberry Public Libraries for the late 19th century. From these records it is evident that with the support of the distinguished librarian, W.F. Poole, Nyhuus developed his cataloguing skills to a remarkably high level. Although another Norwegian, J.C.M. Hanson, remained in America, and later became chief compiler of the Anglo-American cataloguing code in 1908, his work in Chicago Public Library was also identified because of his relationship with Nyhuus. The description of the Newberry Library in the period under review suggests that Nyhuus may have learnt about the consequent boredom engendered in highly educated people doing routine work in a scholarly library, where the service philosophy was not a main focus. But it was in the Cataloging Department that the highest standards were set. The Poole subject system was fortunately not transferred to Norway. Although it seemed simple to Poole, it was very inflexible and could not accommodate new subjects into its original structure. It was Poole's high

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28 Chicago Public Library, Board of Directors, Regular Meeting, 23rd May 1896, 276.
27 Chicago Public Library, Board of Directors, Regular Meeting, 27th March, 1897, 219, 224.
20 Hanson played a central role in defining the form and content of the Library of Congress printed catalogue cards in the early 20th century and for their acceptance by the majority of American libraries and many others all over the world.
30 See Figure D1 below.
opinion of the cataloguing skills of Nyhuus which earned him promotion to
Chicago Public Library, where the Norwegian remained for four years before
returning to Norway. Nyhuus demonstrated "one of the most clearly
documented instances of direct cultural borrowing on record, he carried with
him from Chicago detailed library practices instituted by Poole". The long-
term influences of the USA on Norwegian libraries will be shown in Chapters
5.3.1 and 6.2.5.

Williamson, W.L. "Poole, William Frederick", Encyclopaedia of library and information
Chapter 5  Development of the first four largest Norwegian libraries:

In a small country individual personalities predominate.

5.1  Introduction

The University Library in Trondheim,¹ as it has been known since 1927, is the
country's oldest scholarly library, so it seems appropriate to open a discussion of
the development of librarianship as a profession here. The Library's history is
inextricably linked to the establishment of Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers
Selskap² and to Bishop Gunnerus (1718-1773), that Society's founder. Like
many European academies, the Society in Trondheim was established as an
academy for education, research and professional authorship, and the members
came from all corners of the country and from abroad. Between 1767 and 1777
there were seven librarians and deputy librarians at the Society, all of whom
were theologians. The income they lived on was as bishop, priest or teacher
with library activity as unpaid extra work³. In the Society's statutes of 1767 it
was explicitly stated that the Society would have a library and librarian. His
duties included keeping a register of the Society's manuscripts, natural science
collections, drawings, printed books and providing orderly descriptions of the
museum, which could in due course be printed. The Library was open from two
to four on Wednesdays and Saturdays. The Librarian was responsible for

¹ Universitetsbiblioteket i Trondheim
² The Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters established 1760. Originally known as Det Thronhnienske Selskab, from 1767 established as a Royal Academy.
material lent from the library and this was to be closely supervised by the Vice President. Books could not be lent to people outside the city. In a small country individual initiative is very visible and more necessary to bring about change than in a country where greater collective forces can introduce new ways of working. Even though the first librarians did not have any library training, the position could often be thought of as a safe haven for the scholarly man, who could easily talk with other men of letters whom he supplied with material for research. Many of them became successful in the professional field. After a review of the first holders of the Librarian position in the late 18th century Trondheim Royal Society Library, the Chief Librarians of the two largest and earliest public libraries are next identified. This is followed by a survey of the leaders of the University of Kristiania Library in the 19th century and mid 20th century.

5.2 The Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters® (1768)

In 1768 Peter Daniel Baade (1737-1823) was the first person to be selected as the Society’s Librarian. He drew up the petition for the royal title of the Society, helped to reorganise the Society and drafted the first version of the new statutes. Lorents Wittrup (1742-1811) was the resident chaplain in Vår Frue Church in Trondheim in 1772 and was selected in the same year as secretary of the Society and the following year was appointed to take care of the Library. When Wittrup was in charge of the books he brought them to his house on Frue Gate. Wittrup witnessed the Library’s growth in 1782 when Gerhard Schøning’s twelve thousand volume collection of history and dissertations was received by

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4 Landmark, J.D "Om grundlæggelsen av videnskabsselskabets bibliotek i Trondhjem 1766-1780", Festkrift til Hjalmar Pettersen; edited by F. Bull, W.P. Sommerfeldt, Oslo: Stenske Forlag, 1926, 12.
5 Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskabs Bibliotek
the Society’s Library according to his will. In 1786 the collections were moved to the Cathedral School’s new building in Munte Street. Christian Ernst Heltzen (1745-1825), appointed librarian in 1797, was the first of the Society’s librarians with a non-theological education, since he was a geologist. It was under Heltzen that the two offices of Secretary and Librarian became separated. Heltzen worked constantly to improve working conditions as he felt that the Librarian ought to spend more time in the Library, and that he must also be paid. When he resigned in 1818 because of illness, the collections had been properly arranged and catalogued.

A salary was paid for the first time to the Librarian of the Society in 1818, forty years later the situation was not so favourable. In 1856 Hans Henrik Müller (1817-1858) wrote to the Director asking for better working conditions and a higher salary because a librarian’s work requires friendliness, courtesy and stamina. He supported his claim by saying that in winter he worked with ice cold books and he ought to have additional pay for the risk. Müller also suggested that the Reading Rooms should be open from 11-1 in the morning and from 3-5 in the afternoon so long as daylight permitted it. When Müller was appointed Librarian in 1857, the position was no longer linked to the conservation role. In Müller’s time a local history collection was established and ever since then the Library has played a central role for local history research.

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8 In August 1997 the Library published a bibliography of local literature about Trondheim; most of the references were in the University of Trondheim Library.
Another member of the Society, Svent Thostrup Wessel Mosling (1818-1897), was interested in natural sciences and conducted research in the natural history collections and the machine models which were housed alongside. He reported that there were many interesting objects, but some of them were damaged because of neglect. In 1869 Mosling, who was then Librarian, wrote to the directors and pointed out that the statutes' decisions on the Librarian's duties were no longer relevant and that the collection of antiquities ought to be taken over by a subject specialist, but this did not actually happen until 1874. Mosling's desire to concentrate on the Library was due to the acquisition of Lysholm Knudtzon's book collection which had to be catalogued.

In 1869 the books were shelved in a specially furnished Reading Room. When Christian Brinch Koren (1863-1938) became Librarian at this time, the Library was open two hours daily four days in the week. Towards the end of the 19th century, the Library purchased Thorvald Boeck's private collection of about 31,000 volumes.

In 1900 Theodor Petersen (1875-1952) was appointed Teacher at Trondheim Secondary School and at the same time Librarian of the Society. He remarked in the annual report for 1910 that lending activity was only moderate because staff difficulties meant that they could not cope with more work. However, he regretted that lending statistics did not reflect the Library's excellent collections. He said that the Library had a cataloguing system which lagged behind the

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9 Broder Lysholm Knudtzon (1788-1864), a son of a merchant and mayor in Trondheim, had travelled in Europe and associated with writers and artists. When Knudtzon died his book collection, shelves and sculptures by Bertel Thorvaldsen were bequeathed to the Society. The collection contains many first editions of French, English, German and Italian classics as well as travel accounts. It also contains the first known Norwegian medical journal, Eyr.
times. In 1915 he was appointed to the level of Administrator of the Society's collection of antiquities and he resigned from his position as Librarian. In 1932 he was awarded the Gunnerus Medal by the Society.

On Petersen's resignation in 1915 Johan Daniel Landmark (1876-1938) was appointed as Librarian of the Society Library. His main concern was the cramped building that was a fire risk. Landmark's publications included works on philosophy, histories of the Society and commentaries on the manuscripts in the Society's Library.

The Chief of Deichman Public Library in Oslo, the largest public library in the country in 1938, said that Dr. Landmark clearly understood the cultural mission of the Library in Trondheim as well as being very aware of the obligations which the inheritance from Schøning, Gunnerus and Suhm placed on their successors in the Museum and Library. Sigmund Skard (1903-1995) took office as Landmark's successor in January 1938. By 1940 he had put improvements to the catalogue as a top priority in the budget.

John Ansteinsson (1893-1961) began his library career in Deichman Library in Oslo in 1912 and worked there until he became Chief Librarian of the Patent Executive Library in Oslo in 1917. From 1918 to 1920 he was a Fellow of the American Scandinavian Foundation in USA and graduated from State University New York Library School (SUNY) in 1919.

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11 See Chapter 9, Figure 9.5 "Interior" Interior of Royal Society Library, 1933.


13 His activities during World War II are described in Chapter 8.
Fig. 5.1
Broder Lysholm Knudtzon Collection

Photographs of the Knudtzon collection were generously provided by Inger Johanne G. Røkke, the Gunnerus Library, University Library of Trondheim
Fig. 5.2

Broder Lysholm Knudtzon Collection

Photographs of the Knudtzon collection were generously provided by Inger Johanne G. Røkke, the Gunnerus Library, University Library of Trondheim
He took up his new position as Chief of the Norwegian Technical High School Library in 1920. In 1928 he was called to Rome to take part in re-cataloguing the Vatican Library in which he participated until 1930.\footnote{\textit{John Ansteinsson 1893-1961} \textit{Bok og Bibliotek}, 28, 1961, 329.}

He was appointed as Associate Librarian at Michigan University during 1931 and 1932. Three years later Ansteinsson had returned to Norway and in appreciation for his work with Norwegian technical terminology,\footnote{\textit{Engelsk-norsk teknisk ordbok}, Trondheim: Brun, 1948.} he received the King’s Gold Medal, and was made a member of the Norwegian Engineering Association. He introduced the Universal Decimal Classification (UDC) to the Library, and by 1941, the large medical collection was classified and catalogued. Subsequently Norwegian topography and history were classified.

5.3 The foundation of Deichman Library (1785)

The Deichman Library originated from the largest bequeathed collection of books specifically donated for free public access. The library which grew out of this bequest has always been a central focus in discussions of librarianship issues in Norway.

Carl Deichman was probably born in 1705 in Viborg in Jylland, but spent his childhood in Kristiania. His father, Bartholomeus Deichman, was one of the most powerful men in the early 1700s. He was Bishop of Kristiania and owned what was at that time the country’s largest book collection. This was sold in Copenhagen after the bishop died, but it did not go to Carl - the child who was most inclined to books - but he managed to acquire some books from his father’s collection.\footnote{See also "Carl Deichman og det Deichmanske Biblioteks grunnleggelse", \textit{Deichmanbladet} 4 (1) 1935, 1-11.}
Figure 5.3

Carl Deichman (1705-80)

Source: Ringdal, N.J. By, bok og borger, Deichmanske Biblioteket gjennom 200 år, Oslo: Aschehoug, 1985, 16.
He and his brother William moved to Porsgrunn and in this area he was involved in business, together with his wealthy brother-in-law Herman Løvenskiold.

Over the years the brothers owned a variety of iron works, as well as many vessels, sawmills and some cultivated land. Carl's main interests were geology, mineralogy and history in all its aspects. But he participated in the contemporary comprehensive scientific issues of the day and bought and read books on wide-ranging subjects. His library constituted one of the more interesting book and archive resources then in existence in Norway, even though it was neither the largest nor the most valuable. His collection was unusual in that it contained a range of subjects, rather than being devoted to one specific specialism. He secured a late 13th century MS Bible, the so-called Aslak Bolte Bible, as well as diplomas and hand-written legal documents. Deichman collected printed Norwegian literature very systematically and secured for himself rare items from Iceland. He selected works in a range of languages. Under a quarter of his books were written in Danish but there was also a considerable number in German, while a third were in Latin. He bequeathed his collection to the city together with funds to maintain it. He insisted that a man knowledgeable about books, strongly motivated towards public life, should be the superintendent of the library and that, in addition, a Librarian with responsibility for lending and cataloguing should be appointed.

He died in 1780.17

17 The year before Carl Deichman died in 1780, he said that he wanted to donate his books to Christiania city (the city name was changed to Kristiania from 1877-1924) so that most of the citizens could make use of it. Carl Deichman saw himself as a pioneer with his bequest of 6,000 volumes as the foundation for a public library in Christiania. The collection opened in 1785 and was followed by other bequests in the years which followed.
The Deichman Library, Christiania's first public cultural institution, was eventually opened with great festivity on 12th January 1785. For a little town with pretensions to become a main capital of the province this was a big event with clear symbolic meaning. It had taken a long time to get the Theatre, University and the Library established in the city. The long-awaited Library was now a reality. Many high ranking persons and civil servants were at the opening.¹⁸

In the following century there was a gradual increase in the number of publications. This publishing activity gained impetus by the middle of the century and had a major effect on the Deichman Library. By 1895 it was the largest public library in the country. The library did not have its own premises then, nor did it have any branches, and no one cared about the interests and needs of children and young people. There were no open shelves; the books were press marked, with no consideration of the author or topic, and in a fixed location. The books lent out were recorded by writing down the book number, the name of the borrower, and the date in a ledger.

The first Librarian of Deichman Library in 1785, Jacob Rosted (1750-1833), was also school librarian and a teacher in the country's largest Cathedral School. Later, the two libraries shared the school building, with separate lending policies, each having its own budget. The Librarian's salary was provided by pensions from the School's owners. Deichman Library was not well used in the early 19th century partly due to Rosted's frailty and his involvement with the Cathedral School.

Figure 5.4

Deichman Library locations 1785-79

1. Overhoffrettens Building 1785-1803
2. Cathedral School 1803-23
3. Cathedral School 1823-40
4. Citizen School 1845-59
5. Garrison Hospital 1859-60
6. Hoppes Bookshop 1860-71
7. Owres Trade Building 1861-79

Source: Ringdal, N.J. By, bok og borger, Deichmanske Biblioteket gjennom 200 år, Oslo: Aschehoug, 1985, 60.
It was unfortunate for the development of Deichman Library in Kristiania that it started its life linked together with the Cathedral School, because school affairs predominated. The growth of the Library was completely dependent on the interest of the School's leaders. The first four years were a struggle.

From 1785 to 1803 the Library had its own premises (Overhoffrettens building). It moved to the Cathedral School in 1803 and remained there until 1840. The Library started with 6,000 volumes in 1786, and by the 1830s it had grown to 12,000 volumes. In the early 1840s it declined in the years 1840 to 1845 the stock was stored in packing cases. Eventually in 1844 an annual allowance was made for premises by an auction fund and the Librarian's salary was raised slightly. In 1846 the municipal corporation established lending rules for the library. Lending began in 1846. The link with the Cathedral School was maintained and one of the teachers, Gerhard Magnus (1802-76), was appointed as Librarian in 1847. Gerhard Magnus's revised catalogue appeared in 1850. In contrast to the 1790 catalogue, most of the books had been purchased from Norwegian book dealers and were printed in Norway.

After a big fire in the city in 1858 the Library was constantly on the move. The opening hours had for a long time been limited to two hours daily for five days per week (during winter) and three days in summer, with longer closed periods during holidays; the total annual number of working days in 1897 was 170.19 The book budget had for many years been minimal and the bookstock of modern literature was very poor. There were simple but inadequate lending methods. Generally, the librarian shouted out the author and title of a returned

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19 Aalheim, T. "Haakon Nyhuus og reorganiseringen i 1898", *Deichmanbladet* 17 (8) 1948, 105.
book and if anyone wanted it the necessary lending process could be carried out.

In 1833 Søren Bruun Bugge (1798-1886) was selected as Headmaster of Kristiania Cathedral School and part-time Chief Librarian in Deichman Library. Kristiania city council underwent important changes during this period. The old administration had been in the hands of mayors or town councillors selected by the King. The Library belonged to the city, while the School found itself in a middle position between state and private institution. It was in 1844 that the question of the Library costs was decided by the city authority paying the annual rent for the building in 22, Kongens Gate and a modest salary for the Librarian. A link with the Cathedral School was still maintained. For the first time in the Library’s history separate alphabetical lists of the borrowers were made. Daæ uses a condescending tone in his writing about the Library. He says that it was mostly used by school pupils and craftsmen who lacked the education needed to use the University Library or because they were too poor to use the subscription libraries. Such borrowers included some shabby and greasy individuals, with whom an educated person would rather not associate. A more sympathetic description of Magnus was given by A.B. Nilsen, a businessman and politician, who explained that the last time he was in Deichman he had received instructions from his mother to express her appreciation for all the happiness which they had experienced from the books. He bowed to old Magnus and thanked him. He was obviously surprised, as he remained standing and looked at me. Nilsen says he will never

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forget the old, wrinkled face with the red-rimmed eyes, worn from years of working with schools and books.

Most people apart from the pupils of the Cathedral School did not know that the Library existed. The collection was in a room which was full when there were three people in it. The Library was open on two weekdays and the borrowers could borrow one book at a time; manuscripts and theses were not to be lent out. Bernt Moe (1814-1850), Norway’s first academic genealogist, recommended that the Library should be separated from its "unnatural connection with the Cathedral School, if it was to become a living institution again". He said that it ought actively to work towards becoming a public library for the ordinary citizen, for craft workers and artists.23

Yngvar Nielsen (1843-1916), best known as a historian and geographer,24 worked as an assistant in the National Archive Centre from 1869 to 1878 as well as working as a librarian in Deichman Library. He may be the one who introduced individual book borrowing records on separate slips, rather than in a ledger. In 1850 he produced a supplement to the catalogue. He arranged for the non-book antiquities to be deposited in the University ethnographic collections. In 1877 he renewed the bookstock by purchasing new novels and reference books on technology and building. In 1878 Nielsen left Deichman in order to take up the leadership of the University Ethnographic Museum, and in 1890 he was appointed Professor of Geography and Ethnography.

There was no open access to the collection until 1899. Ditmar Meidell (1826-

1900), who was appointed in 1884, stood at the counter, like his predecessors

24 Yngvar Nielsen left Kristiania Cathedral School in 1860 and took the Philology embetseksamen in 1865 and the following year he became a teacher.
thirty years earlier, and called out the titles of the books which were available
for loan.25

An analysis by students of the Norwegian Library School in the mid 1980s of
loans from Deichman Library a century earlier, calculated that about 40 books
were issued once per week. These 40 represented 10% of total loans in 1886.
Realising the need for a catalogue, Meidell produced a catalogue of additions to
the library for the period 1851-1886.26

5.3.1 Deichman Library reforms 1898-1910

Nyhuus returned to Norway from his work in Chicago Public Library27 and was
selected out of seventeen applicants as head of the Deichman Library in
September 1898. In the course of a remarkably short time Nyhuus, with the
help of inexperienced staff whom he taught, turned an old library into a modern
public library appropriate for a large city's needs. From 1898 onwards the
Library awoke from its long sleep. During Nyhuus's time in America he had
been strongly influenced by the library's "mission". He felt that the library
should not be a book museum, but a distribution centre which spread books to
all layers of the population. His leadership in the task was also driven by the
American expression "the greatest possible number of books for the greatest
number of people at the cheapest price".28 He organised a series of lending
centres as a means of reaching the peripheral parts of the city. They were
usually placed in businesses and run in connection with the business, with the

25 "Utånet i slutten av 1880 årene", Deichmanbladet 14 (2) 1945, 18-19. See also Chapter 2
Footnote 35.
26 Ringdal, N. By, bok og borger: Deichmanske Bibliotek gjennom 200 år, Oslo: Aschehoug,
1985, 92 & 95.
27 See Chapter 4 which describes Haakon Nyhuus's (1866-1913) work in Chicago.
28 Kildal, A. Haakon Nyhuus 1866-1966: minneskrift utgitt til hundredårsdagen for hans
benefits of increased customer support and local prestige through the link with the library. Nyhuus maintained that the libraries of organisations and the subscription libraries would not, in the long term, have the economic means to compete with the services and good book selection which would be provided by the public library. Deichman Library subsequently bought up some of the largest and best private libraries, so that the public library service held a monopoly position.

Nyhuus was initially sceptical of the American practice and was afraid of theft of the books. After a study tour to England in 1899, where he saw the open access system in practice, he introduced it despite his misgivings, and was later to become very satisfied. First, in 1899, he chose the American revision of the English Browne issue system, but some years later in 1908 he moved over to the American Newark system. In 1905 he introduced the dictionary catalogue, based on the American model and he purchased the equipment (card catalogue, drawers, cards) from the Library Bureau in the United States. Nyhuus published over twenty printed catalogues in book form, for natural science and industry, history and Nordic fiction.

Despite some reservations about the Dewey Decimal Classification, evident in a critical talk which Nyhuus gave at a library meeting in St Louis in 1904, he decided to use it in his library. He complained that until there was a new edition he would have to use "the old carriage with its 10 wheels, some of which are a

29 The reasons for this change in practice have not been described in the literature currently investigated.
30 Kildal, A. Haakon Nyhuus 1866-1966: minneskrift utgitt til hundreårssdagen for hans fødsel, Oslo: Deichmanske Bibliotek, 1966, 14. Nyhuus was using the 6th edition of 1898; there was not another edition until the seventh in 1911. This was the longest gap between editions ever to have occurred in the history of the Dewey Decimal Classification system, which had new editions in 1913, 1915, 1919, 1922, 1927, 1932, 1942, 1952 and 1958 and subsequently at approximately seven yearly intervals.
little loose and shaky from wear and tear". As far back as 1899 Nyhuus had proposed to the Executive Committee that a separate circulation department should be opened for children and young people, and a separate Reading Room for children was added about ten years later. Nyhuus tried the best he could to train the employees in modern library science methods, but this took time and required patience. He often regretted that there was no Norwegian library school in existence.

He started discussions with publishers on discounts for libraries and initiated a programme for binding the stock. In the course of his first few years at the Library in the capital he used his position to set up state-supported public book collections throughout the whole country. There were many obstacles to progress including poor economic conditions, shortage of new book stocks, old-fashioned technical systems, cramped premises and uneducated leadership. Librarians all over Scandinavia sought for many years to learn about the new ideas and working methods of Deichman Library. In 1905 Nyhuus took over the editorship of the *Norsk Konversationsleksikon* (*Illustrated Norwegian Encyclopaedia*). In Autumn 1912 he contracted a blood disease and remained ill for over a year until his death. He was succeeded by Arne Arnesen.  

Arne Arnesen (1880-1943) started working in Deichman Library in 1901, four years later he was appointed Deputy Chief Librarian and Head of the Cataloguing Department.

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32 See Chapter 8.9 for consideration of Arnesen's activities during World War II.
Figure 5.5

The first Deichman Library Branch
Åkebergveien 1910

Source: Ringdal, N.J. *By, bok og borger, Deichmanske Biblioteket gjennom 200 år*, Oslo: Aschehoug, 1985, 121. Photograph by kind permission of Deichman Library.
By early 1914 he became Chief Librarian. Arnesen arrived in the library in its pioneering period when Haakon Nyhuus was reorganising activities with techniques brought back from the United States.

Arnesen was greatly involved in the development of Norwegian public libraries and participated in most annual Norwegian library meetings. In addition to the Library's notices and booklists (1916-1917), he edited a popular scientific series *Hjemmets Universitet* (1915-1924). He was an active participant in the Norwegian Library Association as Chairman from 1917 to 1918 and as a committee member for many years. He was very interested in adult education and was a long-standing executive member of *Kristiania Folkeakademi* (Christiania Public Academy). He had a deeply held belief in the book as a cultural medium. He was also interested in it as an art form and as a means of literary and scientific value. From his earliest years, Arnesen was occupied with bibliography and cataloguing work. He had, among other tasks, responsibility for cataloguing the library's historical collection (1904) and creating indexes of periodical articles on topography and biography (1908-1911). Arnesen's influence on the development of Scandinavian librarianship is considerable. His library textbooks, professional articles and the success of the library building in Hammersborg in 1933 made him a leading Norwegian public librarian. It has been suggested that the interests and knowledge of his successor, Trygve Aalheim (1868-1960),

33 After Arnesen's death in 1943, Aalheim took over the running of the Library in the difficult occupation years and remained in post until 1946. For further information about the war years see Chapter Eight.
for the years 1819 to 1887 and edited a major encyclopaedia\textsuperscript{34} from 1920 to 1925. Aalheim also indexed the newspapers \textit{Morgenbladet} for the period 1819 to 1868 and \textit{Verdens Gang} 1868 to 1887.

5.4 The University of Kristiania Library 1811 to 1953

When the University Library was established in Oslo in 1811, the country had no other libraries than the Royal Norwegian Society’s Library in Trondheim, some miscellaneous book collections in the country's four Cathedral Schools and, of course, Carl Deichman's donation to Oslo. The first university librarians included professors and a constitutional reformer.\textsuperscript{35} With the Royal Resolution of 1811 to establish a university in Norway, Georg Sverdrup (1770-1850) was the first Norwegian Professor to be appointed Chief Librarian. Munthe\textsuperscript{36} claims that appointing George Sverdrup as Chief Librarian was very fortunate for the Library because as a well-known scholar his name and reputation brought respect to it. Besides lecturing on Greek and Latin language and literature, he also taught privately and he remained Chief of the University Library until 1845. Sverdrup transferred the foundation collection of the Library from Copenhagen and selected new acquisitions, but he was not involved in daily duties. Many supplementary texts were bought for the collection. Some progress was made in planning acquisitions, developing an author catalogue and providing a lending service. Sverdrup was deeply involved in political events in Norway and worked keenly in Parliament to get resources for the University. In 1824 he tried to expand the University budget so that the Library could get more funds.

\textsuperscript{34} The encyclopaedia was \textit{Aschehougs konversasjonsleksikon}.

\textsuperscript{35} Georg Sverdrup made his name in Norwegian history because he presided over the Constituent Assembly on 17 May 1814 (since then, the Norwegian Constitution Day), when it voted for the Constitution and elected Prince Christian Frederik as the new King of Norway.

but the purchase of astronomical instruments and an annual sum for study tours for professors and students of Natural Science and Humanities research were then considered more important.

Wilhelm Keyser (1800-1887), Chief Librarian 1846-1863, came to the Library when he was only twenty years old and remained there for forty-three years. Keyser was a librarian of the old school, educated in cataloguing, classification, binding and other activities behind the public areas. The first book loan from the University Library was recorded in 1814. After more than 30 years in cramped and inappropriate premises, the Library eventually moved in 1851 into a new purpose-built building. The Library building had a capacity for two hundred and fifty thousand volumes built around an open space of the city's new main street. In the period 1820-63 the bookstock doubled, and there were about 154,000 volumes when he retired in 1863.

An accessions list and the classified catalogue were developed by Paul Botten Hansen (1824-1869) who also managed to get approval for a third research assistant to help with the cataloguing. From 1857 onwards he contributed many entries to the retrospective national bibliography, *Norsk Bogfortegnelse 1848-65* which was published in 1867-70. Amundsen (1924-1925) claims that: "It is as Norway's first critic and book reviewer, editor of *Andhrinmer* and above all as a book collector that he is remembered". To give some support to his four children, the city of Bergen bought Botten Hansen’s fine book collection for 3,000 kroner and established it as a free public library.

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37 See Chapter 9, Figure 9.1 "Square" University of Oslo Buildings 1851
39 See below 5.5.
Ludvig Ludvigsen Daae (1834-1910) was best known as Professor of History. He was the author of a number of popular articles and a tireless debater and he was Chief of the University Library from 1869 to 1876. His successor Axel Charløt Drolsum (1846-1927) worked from 1867 to 1871 in the National Archive, and he was appointed as research assistant in the University Library from 1870, and then became Chief Librarian in 1876. In the autumn of 1913 the Library moved into the new building. When he retired in 1922, he could look back on a consistent period of growth, the book collection had increased from 200,000 volumes to 750,000 volumes. In the period 1870 to 1880, the working hours of staff were expanded with compensation in salary, and the number of positions increased from four to forty.

He was followed by Wilhelm Støren Munthe (1883-1965) who was Chairman of the Norwegian State Libraries Association from 1920 to 1925. He was President of IFLA for the period 1947 to 1951 which has been described as "the highest international honour in the Library World". He retired after 50 years continuous service in 1953. Possibly the highest tribute of all which was paid to William Munthe was the Festschrift on his 50th birthday where professional colleagues and friends contributed chapters on library problems of the period.

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40 See Chapter 9, Figure 9.2 "Drammensvn" University Library, Drammensvn 1913
42 Munthe began his traineeship at the University Library in 1903, became an Assistant in 1909 and Research Assistant in 1910, in 1920 he ran the Department of Manuscripts and in 1922, at the age of 39, he became Chief Librarian. He was on the executive committee of the Scholarly Civil Service National Association from 1918-25.
43 International Federation of Library Associations and Institutions.
45 Overbiblioteker William Munthe på femtiårsdagen: fra fagfeller og venner, 20 Oktober 1933, Oslo: Grøndahl, 1933; The work of other important librarians in the University of Oslo,
He was succeeded by Harald L.Tveterås (1904-1991), a Library Assistant in the University Library in 1929, University Librarian from 1936 who at the end of the 1940s had leave of absence for 18 months as Chief Librarian of Unesco Library, Paris. He was appointed to the Deputy position in the University in 1942 and was Chief Librarian 1953 to 1969. As the new Chief Librarian he had to deal with the expanded building, staff and services. He was an active member of the Norwegian Library Association for many years and from 1945 was involved in running the Library School. Tveterås developed a whole series of union catalogues of the periodical collections in the 1950s.

5.5 Bergen Public Library 1873-1954

It has been claimed that "The real development and progress of Norwegian public libraries began in the 1890s, with Bergen Public Library leading the way among public libraries before 1898". At the end of the 19th century, the second large public library to be established in Norway was in Bergen. A book collection for people in the parish of Maria Church had been opened in the 1760s and by 1775 Det Bergenske Læse-Selskab was established with a collection of 12,000 volumes. In October 1871 Bergen Council bought a suitable building and at the end of 1872 accepted the acquisition of Botten-Hansen's book collection of 12,000 volumes on the understanding that Bergen Council would pay for the Library's maintenance, use and development. The first Chief Librarian in Bergen Public Library was Karl Linne Sommerfelt (1834-

J.B. Halvorsen (1845-1900), H. Pettersen (1856-1928) and J.A.J. Kjær (1853-1941), is described in Chapter 11.

46 See Chapter 8.9 for information about the war period.


48 Bergen Reading Society

49 This collection had originally been bought by Det Bergenske Læse-Selskab and the size quoted varies from 10-14,000 volumes.
1908) who held the position for nine years, 1873 to 1882. The Library was only, open for two hours a day, and Sommerfelt reported to the Bergen magistrate and the executive committee on 7th May 1874 that there was an average of between 50 and 60 borrowers daily and on some days this had increased to 100. As a result of this the librarian spent all his time attending to the public. All other important library duties had to be set aside, to be completed after office-hours. The activities which Sommerfelt mentions include the following: checking the condition of each book, recalling books from borrowers, receiving and checking books from the bookshop, controlling the book-binding accounts and adding new books to the collection. He expanded the Library collections, so that the premises became very inadequate for the range of public library services. In 1879, after five and a half years, the book collection had increased from 14,000 to 25,000 volumes and the Library was finally able to move into three large rooms of the city's new butcher's attic. To begin with, these premises were satisfactory, but it was not long before there was a shortage of space.

In 1882 Valborg Platou (1839-1928) was selected as Librarian in preference to thirteen male applicants. She was very knowledgeable in languages, literature, music and art. Realising that the Library needed a large fire-proof building, she launched a fund-raising campaign by contributing a large amount of her personal income and then she worked tirelessly to raise a building fund. Despite all her efforts to get resources for a new building, her last annual report in 1909 still had to admit that the butcher's attic, where the Library had been

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installed for 30 years, was not ideal for the Library's large book collection. At the end of 1909 Valborg Platou resigned after 25 years service.

A Bergen journalist described her as conscientious, knowledgeable and a shining example to the younger generation. She stood no nonsense, and where she found something that implied a criticism of a borrower, she was not afraid to say so. But when people used the Library for information or to study, she was exceptionally helpful and accommodating.\footnote{Kildal, A. "Platou, Valborg Elise, 1839-1928", \textit{Norsk Biografisk Leksikon} 11, Oslo: Aschehoug, 1949, 127-8.} Arne Kildal\footnote{Rieber-Mohn, H. Rieber-Mohn, C.K. \textit{Alle Bergenseres aandelige laftning: Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek gjennom 100 år 1874-1974}, Bergen: Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, 1974, 45-6.} said that, although Platou resisted the modern, technical methods which began to be introduced in a number of countries at the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century, she recognised the demands made both by the authorities and by the public for quicker service, clearer classification of the book stock and better cataloguing equipment. Shortly after the turn of the century she introduced a modern lending system on cards, and later a partial decimal classification system. As she was conservative by nature, she did not support the "open shelves" system in the Lending Department, but she had to conform to the authority's pressure to introduce these reforms in the last year she was in post. Her successor, Arne Kildal (1885-1972),\footnote{See also Introductory Chapter section "Library Histories"} completed his degree in Library Science at State University New York in 1907 and followed this by study tours in the United States, England and the Scandinavian countries. He held assistant librarianship positions in Yale University from 1907 to 1908 and the Library of Congress in Washington from 1908 to 1910.
Figure 5.6

Valborg Platou (1839-1928)

Figure 5.7

Bergen Public Library Reading Room
In the former butcher’s shop

Towards the end of 1909 Kildal heard that Valborg Platou was going to retire from her position in Bergen. He was asked if he would be interested in taking over the position. Although he knew that the change from Washington's elaborate environment to Bergen's primitive Library premises in the butcher's attic would be difficult to manage, he accepted the position when he was just 24 years old.54

When Kildal was introduced to Bergen Public Library by the Chairman of the Library Commission, he was not attracted by any library premises which he saw because they were all completely unsuitable for library use. In the storeroom, shelves were right up to the ceiling, and heavy double-sided ladders were pushed along the floor in order to reach the books. The organisation of the book stock was old-fashioned, and it was extremely difficult to find specific books. Kildal was full of ideas and he succeeded in realising a large number of them during his time in the Library from 1910 to 1920. Old, dirty and out-of-date books were thrown out and the whole collection was reorganised using the Dewey Decimal Classification scheme. He had his own column, "The Library corner", in one of the city's newspapers. As well as being a regular book and theatre reviewer he gave lectures about publishers and was constantly active in promoting the Library. Kildal felt that books should be brought to the people, so he established lending centres in local shops. His first annual report from Bergen Public Library was praised by an anonymous correspondent in the Library Journal, who stated that:

It is interesting as an indication of the new progressive spirit in this field... The present size of the Library is 90,000 volumes, the increase for 1910 being nearly 1,600. Some 9,000 volumes have been placed on open shelves, the great bulk of them being accessioned, cataloged and

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55J.D. "Work of the public library in Bergen, Norway", Library Journal 36, 1911, 188. It is of interest that the main American library journal was looking at Norway.
classified according to the Dewey system. This work has been accomplished with a force of eight persons, including the librarian, in addition to the daily routine.

The new library building was finished in 1917, funded by public donations and municipal funds. It was one of the most modern public library buildings in Scandinavia and included a reading room, open access shelves, a music department and meeting rooms.

5.5.1 Music Department

Edvard Grieg (1843-1907)\textsuperscript{56} earned not only an honoured place in the history of nineteenth-century European music but also rendered enormous service to the music of his own country in his exploitation of Norwegian folk melodies. Grieg's international breakthrough dates from a series of concerts he gave in London in 1888, by which time he had published most of the music which has made his name famous all over the world. Edvard bequeathed his collection of books, music and letters to Bergen Public Library with the proviso that they be kept as a separate collection and made available to the public.

In 1913 Bergen Public Library received a music donation of 25,000 volumes of different music scores from a local cantor. Although Grieg died in 1907, his wife remained in the family home and the Grieg collection was not transferred until 1920.\textsuperscript{57} On the 50\textsuperscript{th} anniversary of the Library in 1924, the country's first independent music library was opened. The Grieg collection is varied in content, including 110 manuscripts of different compositions and Grieg's own score-library of 2,726 volumes. The music library as a whole, including the

\textsuperscript{56} On his father's side we can follow Edvard Grieg's Scottish ancestors back to his great grandfather, John Greig, who was married to Anne Milne. John's son Alexander moved from Aberdeen to Bergen about 1700. In 1779 Alexander received his Norwegian citizenship, and at that time he changed the spelling of his name from "Greig" to "Grieg". Alexander's son and his grandson married into Norwegian families.

Grieg collection, has over 30,000 scores, over 1000 long-playing records, and many tape recordings. The collection contains 340 Grieg letters, and 5,000 letters which Grieg received from famous and unknown men and women, including correspondence from Brahms, Tchaikovsky, Delius, and other great names in the world of music, as well as diaries, concert programmes, photos, press cuttings, articles and account books. The library added material liberally, particularly sound recordings. Bergen Public Library Music Department quickly became one of the most significant music library departments in all of Scandinavia, and the largest public music library in Norway. The Grieg collection became an important source for musicians and music scholars both nationally and internationally.

5.5.2 Work with children and young people

As early as 1898 Norwegian publishers had donated 360 volumes of literature for children to the Library. From 1909, literature for children was sent to the different public elementary schools in Bergen. However, it was soon obvious that more and better extension work for children was necessary. Hanna Wiig (1885-1959), Leader of the Childrens' Department in Bergen 1917-50, invited children and young adults to enjoy popular lectures, story and film hours at weekly intervals. The Library also sponsored certain boys' clubs, in which boys discussed the books they had read. Each Christmas, plays were performed with topics from fairy tales using children as actors. One of the many reasons

for the extended library work in the children’s section was a private grant for
children’s use, which in turn enabled Hanna Wiig to carry out many of her own
ideas. In 1920 she introduced library training as obligatory for senior pupils in
the school system in Bergen. Hanna Wiig retired in 1950 after 33 years of
service to children and young adults. She was a pioneer of library services for
children and young adults, not only in Bergen, as her work was recognised
throughout the country.\footnote{Rieber-Mohn, H., Rieber-Mohn, C.K. \textit{Alle Bergenser\'es aandelige løftning: Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek gjennom 100 år 1874-1974}, Bergen: Bergen Offentlige Bibliotek, 1974, 68.}

In a feature article "Our libraries" in \textit{Morgenbladet} 15th August 1947, Arne
Kildal\footnote{Consultation with Norwegian librarians has produced a consensus that "Smith" is not an
uncommon name in Norway; it may be a derivative of the German Schmidt or have been
brought to Norway by British immigrants.} drew a picture of his idea of 'the ideal librarian' who should not restrict
himself to lending out his many types of stock. He should be involved in
organised activities, giving talks and lectures, using his personality to stimulate
and inspire the lending movement for people in all levels of society. In addition
to his ten year period as Chief of Bergen Public Library he was involved in
Norwegian-American relations work from 1920 to 1955. On 1st May 1920 he
took leave from his position in order to become Press Attaché in Washington.
He never returned as Chief Librarian and the following year his resignation was
sent in. Kildal contributed many important books and papers to Norwegian
librarianship and he was awarded the Royal Order of Saint Olaf in 1954.

He was succeeded by Victor Smith\footnote{She also wrote poetry and drama for children, translated children’s books and wrote book
reviews.} (1887-1936) in 1922. Although born in
Oslo, Smith had studied at Albany Library School in 1909 and had his practical
training in Oslo and Wisconsin, USA, before running branches in Deichman
Library. During his fourteen years as Chief Librarian of Bergen Public Library, he was described as an exceedingly clever and enthusiastic leader of the large library. The obituary in Bok og Bibliotek\textsuperscript{64} described Smith as lively, vigilant, with many interests and full of new ideas for Norwegian public libraries. Smith's successor at Bergen Public Library, in 1937, was Sigurd Gundersen (1886-1962). He began his library career in 1902, at the age of 16, in Deichman Library where he was trained by Haakon Nyhuus. In 1908 he was Librarian of Østre Branch Library and in 1914 of Grønland branch. By 1921 he was Deputy Librarian of Bergen Public Library. As Bergen became the Central Library for Hordaland, Sogn and Fjordene Counties in 1937 this was a challenge for the new Director of the Library. For most of his 52 year library career, Gundersen was linked to Bergen Public Library where he was Deputy Librarian 1921-1925 and Chief Librarian 1937-1954. He had to deal with the Germans during the Second World War. He was also very active in the Norwegian Library Association.\textsuperscript{65}

5.6 Norwegian Public Library extension activities 1908-59

The high levels of service of Norwegian public libraries which have been attained in the more recent past are due to the foundations laid by the early librarians. Their work can be categorised under various themes which are explored in the remainder of this chapter, especially library promotion, book selection, mobile library services. In 1910 Arnesen\textsuperscript{66} complained that in too many places the library remained forgotten in a corner outside the life of the city, and the librarian waited quietly for someone to enter the Library. He felt

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{64} "Chefbibliotekar Victor Smith", \textit{Bok og Bibliotek} 3, 1936, 300-1.
\bibitem{66} Arnesen, A. "Konkurrende bibliotekstyper" \textit{For Folke og Barneboksamlinger} 4, 1910, 129.
\end{thebibliography}
that the Library should be regarded as a necessity, just as important as the school, and that it was the Librarian's duty to use all his energy and imagination to attract people there. Kildal\textsuperscript{67} felt that the best means of raising interest in book collections was through campaigning by a clear advertising sign on the library building, posters in conspicuous places, articles in the local press, as well as talks and presentations in local organisations\textsuperscript{68} He concluded that "the Librarian ought to be something of a businessman who effectively promotes his goods". He acknowledged the debt owed to the press by librarians for the many ways in which it had supported the promotion of libraries and spoken out for library interests.\textsuperscript{69}

The public had also been attracted to use libraries by the provision of branches, lending centres and mobile book collections, and the library service additionally worked closely with schools. Another means of attracting the public into libraries was through special collections. By the mid 1950s many more of the bigger libraries had begun to lend music as well as pictures, records and educational films.

An important form of library extension activity was bringing services to people living in remote areas. Mobile libraries began to serve the rural areas in 1908, initially with a car which had shelves fitted, holding about 200 books.\textsuperscript{70}

\begin{itemize}
\item Kildal, A. Biblioteklære først undervisningsbrevet, Oslo: Norsk Korrespondenseskole, 1943, 2-12.
\item See also Lindsay, M. "Catching the eye: library signs in Oslo", Library Association Record 82 (7) 1980, 319.
\item Kildal, A. "Bedre biblioteker", Bok og Bibliotek 22, 1955, 195.
\item "The first recorded instance of people borrowing books from a vehicle [in England] was a 'perambulating library for the working classes' established in Warrington by the Mechanics Institute in 1859 using a horse drawn van". Moseley, M. J., Packman J. Mobile services in rural areas, Norwich: School of Environmental Sciences, University of East Anglia, 1983, 131.
\end{itemize}
Figure 5.8

The book car in Kristiansand 1939

Book mobiles became very popular, but it was necessary to emphasise that they were not in competition with local public book collections in rural areas: they were a supplement to lending centres and it was felt that they ought to be financed by the State and not by the local authority. In certain parts of the country book boats were more suitable than cars or vans.

The first bookboat which became part of a public library service was provided by Trøndelag Central Library, thanks to support from a Norwegian cinema and the State Library Office in 1955. Thirty-six cases each containing thirty books were sent to sparsely populated areas and met by a contact person selected by the local authority. He was responsible for lending and took care of the case until the next exchange three months later.\

The Bergen book boat had its maiden voyage in 1959 and was an immediate success; a second larger boat to house 2,000 to 3,000 volumes and with a crew of three and a Librarian soon followed. With more mobiles and bookboats Norway's library service was able to triumph over the adverse factors which Norwegian geography presented.

5.7 Post-war library development

After the war ended, the competition for selecting the new Chief Librarian at Deichman Library focused on three contenders. Among them was Henrik Hjartøy (1892-1971) who had taught in the first courses held in Deichman Library and had administrative experience in the Norwegian Library Association. Hjartøy was the best known of the applicants and was appointed in 1946 and he remained in office until 1962. When Hans Fløgstad (1919-)

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71 M. S. "Bokbåtene i virksomhet", *Bok og Bibliotek* 22, 1955, 103-4; Øisang, O. "Bokbåtene på Vestlandet", *Bok og Bibliotek* 26 (6) 1959, 326.

72 See also Lindsay, M. "Mobile libraries - forward or back? *New Library World* 79 (939) 1978, 167-8.
became Chief Librarian in 1962, much of the resident population in central Oslo had moved out to the suburbs, so the challenge was to provide branch libraries in these areas. Five branches opened in the 1960s and six in the 1970s.\(^3\)

When Andersen became Chief Librarian of the Trondheim Society's Library in October 1946, he stopped the classifying by UDC and commenced work on a new classification scheme influenced by the Library of Congress system. This led to difficulties in co-operative work between the large research libraries in Trondheim. Andersen's cataloguing was continued by Gerhard Munthe (1919-98) throughout the 1960s until he was appointed as University Librarian in Oslo.

Anders Andreassen (1909-73) succeeded Gundersen as Chief Librarian of Bergen Public Library in 1954.\(^4\) The new Director took up the problem of a building expansion as well as working on plans for a boat service. In the short time he was Chief of the Library he was a great stimulus and inspiration to the staff as he enjoyed library work, which he never regarded as a 9-5 job. He was well-known as a librarian and wherever he worked he made the library a central area of service for the public.\(^5\)

\(^3\) The main reading room was renovated in 1968. The main library extension was opened in 1972 with space for the book bus, the housebound library service and the school and children's departments.

\(^4\) Anders Andreassen was born in Glemmen in 1909. After Artium in 1929 he studied philology and later passed the embedseksamen in the 1930s, he was Secretary of Studentenes Sentralkontor (Central Office for Students) where he re-organised the Library and then became Secretary of the Norwegian Library Association for a few years. His library education began in Fredrikstad Public Library, where he was a trainee, followed by a junior position in the University Library. He then returned to Fredrikstad Public Library as an Assistant Librarian. In 1936 he was appointed Chief Librarian of Rjukan Public Library. During the War he was arrested by the Germans, but later escaped to Sweden where he purchased literature for Norwegians in transfer camps. In 1948 he had a Unesco grant to study librarianship in America and he also visited Danish libraries.

\(^5\) "Ny sjefbibliotekar i Bergen", Bok og Bibliotek 21, 1954, 188.
Johannes Bygstad (1920-1963), was appointed Chief of Bergen Public Library in 1956. He established branches in Søndre and Landås Square as well as the book boat service, which began in 1959. His library experience had been gained mainly in the University Library, a period working in a public library in Paris, as well as study periods investigating public libraries in the USA. In 1959 he opened Landås Branch Library which soon became very popular. He established the book boat service and expanded the Technical Library into a new building in 1962. When Bygstad suddenly died in 1963, First Librarian Hjørdis Rieber-Mohn (1904-85) acted as Chief Librarian until she was appointed to the position a year later⁷⁶.

5.8 Conclusion

The dedication to *Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab Bibliotek* was seen in the first librarians, J.E. Gunnerus and Lorents Wittrup, who housed the collections in their homes. Every time the size of the Library increased after a bequest or large purchases of books, the work became more demanding, with a stock of about 600 volumes in 1770 rising to 15,000 in 1783. This situation created a vital need for work on both accessioning books and cataloguing. In the 1840s the Librarian helped to make the Library more usable for readers by providing an author and subject catalogue. But the borrowers continued to be at the mercy of the librarian, for the catalogue was still very deficient and there

⁷⁶ After completing her studies at Columbia University Library School in 1928, Hjørdis Rieber-Mohn was appointed as a cataloger in Yale University Library until she began her career in Bergen Public Library as an Assistant 1923-25, followed by appointments as First Librarian, then Acting Chief Librarian. Her first priority was the renovation of the main building, which began in 1969 and was completed by November 1971. The Library then had modern premises with light, airy and spacious facilities. After the re-building was complete Jan Storum was appointed Chief Librarian in 1971.
was limited access to the stock. It was assumed that librarians knew their collections intimately and were generally knowledgeable.

The first librarians combined their library work with that of being secretary of the Royal Norwegian Society and looking after the natural history collections. This continued up to 1859. In the last two decades of the 19th century, there was a high turnover of staff in Deichman Library. A number of highly qualified and energetic people took turns in supervising the Library. But none of them saw the Library as a full-time project for a longer period of working, and none of them could therefore throw themselves into the Library's activities with full fervour.

According to Munthe, the University of Oslo Library was the first to appoint full-time staff. Chief Librarian A.C. Drolsum regarded library work as full-time in the 1880s. In the early 1890s full-time librarians were appointed in Bergen Museum Library and the Royal Norwegian Society. And even if an assistant was found - and he remained there permanently - the Library was continually regarded as a one-man institution. Some anecdotal information illustrating the severe side of the first Norwegian female Chief Librarian is described elsewhere. Arne Kildal introduced many modern methods that he had learnt in American libraries into Bergen. The first university librarians included professors and a constitutional reformer.

F.W. Keyser began as a twenty-year old student, remained in the Library for 43 years and brought the Library into its first purpose-built building. He also donated a large collection of his own to the University. It was very fortunate

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78 See Lindsay, M. "Norwegian Chief Librarian", Assistant Librarian 90 (2) 1997, 28-30.
79 See section 5.4 and footnote 35.
for the long-term future of the Library that all these men had very similar aims. These included increasing the size of the library’s collections of books and periodicals, expanding the opening hours and numbers of staff as well as cataloguing the collections and equipping purpose-built buildings with reading rooms and storage space. More detailed information about the librarians involved in library work at this period is found in the Appendix, Figures A1 and A2.

The shortage of staff in scholarly libraries and the difficulties this created for research workers were reported at the annual meeting of Norwegian librarians, held in 1954. At the library of the Scientific Academy of Trondheim, for example, nearly 12,000 volumes remained uncatalogued for three years, and similar conditions prevailed in other libraries.

Despite the generally increasing size of the bookstock in the University of Oslo Library in the post-war years up to 1957 there was no significant increase in the staffing establishment. The figure below showing staffing levels at both the University of Oslo and Bergen demonstrates how static staffing levels were in the early post-war years.

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80 See Lindsay, M. "The first Norwegian librarians: did the same type of people become academic or public librarians?" *Focus* 27 (3) 1996, 159-168.
82 See Appendix Figure B14 "Number of students in Norwegian Universities 1896-1919"
83 *Statistisk Årbok*, Oslo: Aschehoug, 1949-56.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Oslo Librarians</th>
<th>Oslo Technicians</th>
<th>Bergen Librarians</th>
<th>Bergen Technicians</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>1955</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2</td>
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<td>1956</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The employment situation in Norwegian public libraries in general was particularly problematic by 1958, when 31 out of 199 librarian positions were vacant. This situation had not improved by the end of the decade. An important explanation for the difficulty in filling library vacancies was that it was essentially a female profession and the salary was so low that after ten years' service most assistant librarians were paid less than a teacher’s starting salary. In 18 of the 37 cities with professionally trained staff chief librarians were paid less than teachers.

Book loan statistics in the two largest public libraries, Bergen and Oslo, for the period 1899-1961, show that they were consistently highest in Oslo, with peaks in the 1930s, 1952 and again in 1961. As stated in Chapter 3.10, average loans per inhabitant for all public libraries slowly increased from 1.37 in 1908-9 to 3.06 in 1908-9 and again to 3.85 in the 1950s.

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84 Neither Bergen Museum Library (1825) nor the University of Bergen Library (1949) was among the first major libraries established in Norway and so have not been discussed in this investigation. By 1933, however, the libraries of the University of Oslo, the Royal Norwegian Academy in Trondheim and Bergen Museum were the largest academic libraries supported by professional librarians.
Despite the gradual increase in loans throughout the country in the first half of the twentieth century, there were surprising statistics for Oslo and Bergen Public libraries in the 1950s and 1961. Both Oslo and Bergen libraries had lower loans per inhabitant for the years 1950, 1954-8 and 1961 than most of the libraries servicing small populations. Where the average loans per inhabitant for the 1950s was 3.85, Oslo had 3.17 and Bergen only 2.37.

**Average book loans from public libraries - Oslo and Bergen**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All libraries</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.18</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>3.77</td>
<td>4.19</td>
<td>4.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oslo</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>2.26</td>
<td>2.38</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>2.35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bergen</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>2.98</td>
<td>3.09</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>3.13</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Bok og Bibliotek* 1950, 1954-58. In 1961 the average loans per inhabitant for all public libraries was 4.12, whereas Bergen had 3.28 and Oslo 2.54 loans per inhabitant. It is significant that the two largest cities in Norway may have offered more distractions which resulted in less interest in reading.

Looking at the statistics of loans from book cars recorded in seven library services, some libraries expanded this service in the period 1949-57 (Fredrikstad and Arendal), others had increased borrowing for the period from 1949 right through to 1958 (Kristiansand, Tønsberg and Sogne & Fjordane), and two libraries had declining issue rates from 1949 to 1958 (Hamar and Trondheim).

The mobile library services provided by adapted cars and vans were very well used in the first two decades after World War II. The book issue statistics from the seven libraries with “car libraries” attest the importance of this service.

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85 See Appendix B18 Library loans per inhabitant 1950s.
Loans from Book Mobiles 1949-58

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1949-50</th>
<th>1955-6</th>
<th>1956-7</th>
<th>1957-8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fredrikstad</td>
<td>36542</td>
<td>53764</td>
<td>56095</td>
<td>47755</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hamar</td>
<td>10397</td>
<td>16544</td>
<td>19017</td>
<td>19468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tønsberg</td>
<td>14691</td>
<td>43606</td>
<td>41562</td>
<td>41299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arendal</td>
<td>3636</td>
<td>31328</td>
<td>37680</td>
<td>33046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kristiansand</td>
<td>14371</td>
<td>11582</td>
<td>12313</td>
<td>12384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trondheim</td>
<td>32640</td>
<td>14644</td>
<td>3787</td>
<td>12624</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>116122</td>
<td>190362</td>
<td>203541</td>
<td>191378</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Bok og Bibliotek* 1949-58.

The foundation was laid for long-term improvements in Norwegian librarianship with the establishment and growth of the *Den Norske Bibliotek Forening* (NBF) and library legislation which are described in the next chapter.
Chapter 6

The birth of a profession - The history of the Norwegian Library Association

6.1 Introduction

This discussion of the historical development of the Norwegian Library Association (NBF) traces its main achievements during the period 1912 to 1957. The American Library Association in Philadelphia and the Gesellschaft für Verbreitung von Volksbildung in Germany were both set up in 1876. The aim of the American Association was: "For the purpose of promoting the library interests of the country and of increasing reciprocity of intelligence and good-will among librarians and all interested in library economy and bibliographical studies." The Library Association in Britain was founded in 1877:

Its main object shall be to unite all persons engaged or interested in library work, for the purpose of promoting the best possible administration of existing libraries and the formation of new ones where desirable. It shall also aim for the encouragement of bibliographical research.

In Norway, it was Haakon Nyhuus who had the idea for such an association, but it was Arne Kildal (1885-1972) who took up the cause in practice at the Fifth Norwegian Meeting of Librarians in Tønsberg in 1912. The aims in establishing a Norwegian Library Association were to promote library interest in

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1 Den Norske Bibliotek Forening
2 Association for the dissemination of popular education.
3 Kildal, A. Bibliotek og folkeopplysning, Oslo: Aschehoug, 1950, 19.
6 For further information about Haakon Nyhuus (1866-1913) See Chapter 4.
the country and to develop professionally run libraries with improved library techniques. These tasks could be supported by annual and local library meetings as well as through the publication of a library journal. Kildal recommended the collection of funds to support library work and for education and travel grants for librarians. It was at the Sixth Annual Meeting of a group of librarians, who met regularly before they formed themselves into a formal library association on 25th October 1913, that the NBF was established. The professional structure of a national system of libraries was formed through the activities of the NBF. The aspects of this which are considered here include cataloguing rules and catalogues, initial movements in library cooperation, library legislation and services to specific user groups, such as sailors and medical staff in hospitals.

The second part of this chapter discusses Norwegian library education, recognising the 19th century activities of Norwegian librarians making overseas study tours, and continues by showing that American library schools trained Norwegian students from the late 19th to the mid 20th centuries. The main themes addressed in this section are Short courses, Library Training in University and Public Libraries and an explanation of the protracted birth pangs of the State Library School (SBS). The chapter concludes by outlining the development of Norwegian library education in the post-war period.

6.2 The history of the Den Norske Bibliotek Forening (NBF)

By the middle of the 20th century about fifty people had served on the Executive Committee of the NBF and a list of the changing Executive would fill many pages. A few of the most notable Chairmen will be identified here. At this point it is necessary to recognise the work of a librarian who started some

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8 Statens Bibliotekskole (SBS).
of the important professional work in librarianship even before the NBF was formed. Karl Fischer was involved in reforms of the national library system in 1901. From 1905 to 1921 he was the Kirkedepartementets Bibliotekkonsulent. From 1908 onwards he organised annual meetings of Norwegian librarians, tirelessly working on speeches and writing to establish public book collections in all the country's counties. He held several discussions with prominent librarians, most notably Haakon Nyhuus, about the formation of an association to cater for all types of libraries. They both felt that there would be difficulties in getting the academic libraries into a common association with the public libraries because some staff were opposed to this approach. The result was that the NBF initially was only concerned with public library questions, a similar situation to Library Associations such as the three mentioned at the beginning of the chapter in their early years, though from 1918 they began to acquire members from other types of library. It is interesting to note that when the NBF was re-structured in 1973 the following sections were incorporated: specialised, research, public and school librarians. Jens Jenssen was Chairman of the NBF from 1924 to 1929.

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9 Karl Fischer (1861-1939), son of a magistrate, was born in Kristiania in 1861. After completing his studies at Drammen School he took a philology degree in 1887. At an early stage of his career he was attached to the University Library where he worked until 1910 when he was appointed Chief Librarian of the Parliamentary Library. He was active in many fields, writing articles on foreign affairs in leading newspapers, teaching at schools in the capital and attempting to promote, by lectures and articles, the interests of the adult education movement in Norway.

10 Library Consultant for the Ministry of Church and Education.


Chairmen of the Norwegian Library Association: 1

Karl Fischer and J.M. Stenersen

Figure 6.2

Chairmen of the Norwegian Library Association: 2

Haakon Nyhuus, Arne Kildal, Arne Arnesen and Victor Smith

Figure 6.3

Chairmen of the Norwegian Library Association: 3

John Ansteinsson, Jens Jenssen, Henrik Hjartøy and Einar Li

Under his stable leadership Hamar Public Library became one of the best working public libraries in the country.  

Arne Kildal was on the Executive Committee of the NBF for 14 years in total, until he became Library Consultant for the Ministry of Church and Education in 1933. At the outset, the Chairman did most of the administration for the Association but after the annual meeting in Molde in 1934 a Secretary and Treasurer were appointed with a permanent salary. For some years the NBF rented out a room providing visitors to Oslo with accommodation.  

On many occasions extra pressures were applied to increase the number of members, with varying results. In 1915 a big drive led to one hundred and fifty new members, but two years later half of them had their membership discontinued because of unpaid subscriptions. In 1933 seventy-two new members joined at the Annual Conference, but after a few years their membership lapsed. An analysis of the membership lists over the years shows that the Association has had a quite constant membership averaging about one hundred and twenty. The majority of members who supported the Association were individuals, but there were a few institutional members.  

6.2.1 Library Associations in Scandinavia, 1917 - 1958  

Contacts were established with the Associations in other Scandinavian countries in 1917 and these were maintained and developed in subsequent years. Scandinavian library meetings were held throughout the 1920s and 30s. In

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13 See Appendix Figure B11. "Number of loans from public libraries Libraries 1924-26." Average library loans from all public libraries per inhabitant 1924 (2.81), Hamar (4.31), 1925 (2.78), Hamar (3.23), 1926 (2.89), Hamar (6.13). Kildal, A. "Jens Jenssen", Bok og Bibliotek 8, 1941, 206-7.  

14 See Chapter 5.5 for information about Kildal's library career.  

15 Hindsgavl (Denmark) 1926, Stockholm 1926, Oslo 1933 and Helsinki in 1939; Håndbok over Norske biblioteker, 2nd edition, Oslo: Norske Bibliotekforening 1951, 9-12. The NBF was a member of the World Association for Public Information from 1931.
1933 the NBF organised three Scandinavian library meetings when the first meeting took place in Oslo, Norway. Within Scandinavia, Sweden was the first to produce a scholarly journal of bibliography and librarianship, Nordisk tidsskrift for bok och bibliotekväsen (1914-), with a joint Scandinavian editorial board. This practice, which has been followed ever since, brought contributions from all the Nordic countries. The Nordiske Folkebibliotekarers Råd\footnote{Scandinavian Council of Public Librarians.} was established in 1961. In 1962 it began to publish the quarterly journal for public libraries, Reol. In 1968 this journal became the English language Scandinavian Public Library Quarterly.\footnote{Ellsworth, B.C. "Emerging patterns in Norwegian librarianship", Library Quarterly 38 (2) 1968, 182.}

6.3 Forming a library system 1903-55

The state collections for adults lent out books to small public collections for study circles, organisations and youth institutions. The first "book box" was sent out in 1908, and from 1909 such collections were supported with annual state grants to purchase books for mobile services and deposit collections.\footnote{More information about mobile services is found in Chapter 5.6.}

Cataloguing rules - The establishment of Norwegian cataloguing rules was one of the largest and most important technical tasks which the NBF carried out. The Cataloguing Committee was established in 1918 and included the following Deichman Librarians: Dagne Graarud, Hedvig Schaaning, Karen Seip as well as Astrid Graarud who was the Secretary of the Ecclesiastical Department.\footnote{She worked in the Department's Library Office from its establishment in 1902 onwards. She was a Library Consultant, 1932 to 1933.} The University Chief Cataloguer, Hanna Lund, joined the committee in 1921. The cataloguing rules were completed by 1923 and were published as

\footnote{Ellsworth, B.C. "Emerging patterns in Norwegian librarianship", Library Quarterly 38 (2) 1968, 182.}
Katalogiseringsregler for norske biblioteker in the same year. They were revised in 1937.

Subject headings - With regard to subject headings we find that the first Norwegian list by Victor Smith was published in 1913. In 1927 the Committee began work on subject headings for the library catalogues, but did not really progress until 1930 when lottery money was obtained and this covered the cost of the time-consuming task. By 1938 the stencilled production by Hans G. Dahl, Subject word-list for public libraries, was distributed by NBF.

Printed catalogues - Nyhuus reported at the American Library Association Congress in St. Louis in the same year that fifteen catalogues, listing from 200 to 3,000 books, had been printed.

Recommended books - A catalogue of books for public libraries edited by Nyhuus had been published by the Department of Church and Education in 1903. In 1938 the Church Department's Library Office sent the catalogue of books suitable for public library book collections free of charge to all state-funded public library collections.

Collection development - In 1933 the Church Department established a journal committee following discussions with the NBF with the aim of cooperating with the large libraries on subscriptions for foreign journals.

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24 Nyhuus, H. "The organization of state supported libraries in Norway", Library Journal 29, 1904, 60.
25 Katalog over bøger skikket for folkebogsamlinger
Figure 6.4

Ship Libraries

Because of Norway's complicated geographical structure and low density population, with many relatively small library units, libraries lacked the necessary resources to purchase adequate stocks of books and other materials.

**Library supply** - In 1934 a company called *Biblioteksentralen* was formed with shares owned by the central government, the local municipalities and the NBF.

It served as library bindery, supply agency and bibliographical publishing office which classified and catalogued Norwegian imprints, published catalogue cards, evaluated library materials and issued book lists and other library publications.

**Ships' libraries** - The Norwegian work for ships' libraries created considerable interest within the Association. There was an article in the main Norwegian librarianship periodical in 1920 on the provision of library services to American servicemen during and after World War One. This may have inspired the Norwegians to develop their ship library services. Despite war losses of Norwegian ships, Carl Fischer, Arne Arnesen and Professor Lyder Brun prepared over 30 book boxes with about 1,200 books ready for lending by May 1918. There were around 180 Norwegian vessels with their own ship libraries containing about 300 volumes each in 1936. On coastal routes it was possible to work cooperatively with the public library in the towns where the ships docked. At this time, progress with ships' libraries moved towards "permanent" libraries for all ships undertaking long voyages. The total number of books in these permanent libraries amounted to around 65,000, divided

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27 Library Supply Agency.
29 "Statens vandrebiblioteker for sjømenn", *For Folkeopplysning* 4, 1919, 66.
among 275 tank and cargo ships. The usage was very high, with an average of 1,000 volumes per ship every year. A Norwegian captain reported from Melbourne that reading was the favourite leisure pursuit of the sailors.

Every Monday and Wednesday they stood in queues outside the library to borrow from the collection of about 500 books. Two years later this activity received a higher profile in the Norwegian Parliament where three seamen's organisations raised the demand for state support for ships' libraries. In the ship libraries of the merchant marine (paid for jointly by owner and state) the average number of books read by each new member per year sometimes exceeded fifty.

Hospital libraries - The NBF called a meeting on hospital libraries in June 1931 and a committee was established to work on this. The Committee's Chairman was the Director of the National Hospital, Dr K. Wefring. Reference to hospital libraries in Denmark, and a catalogue of the patients' libraries in hospitals in Stavanger as well as libraries starting in Faret and Telemark hospitals, was made in the principal library periodical *Bok og Bibliotek* in 1950. It was reported that Kristiansund Hospital had a well equipped library in the same year. The official statistical records of public services in Norway indicated a gradual increase in the size of hospital library collections during the 1950s, with a major increase in 1958.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total Hospital stock in Vols.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>32761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>17439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>37764</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>41649</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>37472</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1957</td>
<td>40000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958</td>
<td>189752</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

31 Editorial, *Bok og Bibliotek* 3, 1936, 159.
33 "Meddelelser", *Bok og Bibliotek* 17, 1950, 419-420.
34 "Nytt fra bibliotekene", *Bok og Bibliotek* 17, 1950, 74-5.
35 *Statistisk Årbok*, Oslo: Aschehoug, 1952-60.
Public interest in hospital libraries was evident in daily newspaper articles in the 1930s. The NBF established a committee to work on this issue so that by the end of the decade many hospitals throughout the country were provided with book collections, the older stock had been renewed and interest in the matter was steadily increasing. The new realisation of the importance of libraries which arose during World War II may have played a part in promoting hospital library services as an important field of post-War activity. With the post-War recovery and expansion of public libraries there may have been a realisation that hospital patients were as much entitled to library service as any other tax payer.

6.4 Professional publications 1907-33

The Library Consultant, Karl Fischer, initiated the library periodical *For Folke og Barneboksamlinger* in 1907, six years before the Association was established. The journal began with four issues *per annum*, but was expanded to five in 1916, when the title was changed to *For Folkeopplysning*, at the same time as it became an organ for adult education. In 1932-33 it was reduced to four issues again because of the problems with the economy and a drop in readership.

In 1915 the NBF started a series of small publications or staff training manuals and by 1933 there were in all eleven titles which met the great need for professional textbooks in library work. The titles encompassed cataloguing,

37 See chapter 8.9 for public library use during World War II. Whether reading was regarded as an important means of recreation in psychiatric hospitals in the 1950s remains to be investigated.
classification, library administration, cataloguing rules and reference books for public libraries. The NBF did not confine itself to library literature, but looked at the broader work in libraries. The lack of popular academic literature prompted the NBF also to produce original or translated academic books at reasonable prices. In 1915 the series *Hjemmets Universitet* was started by the publishers Aschehoug, and the University Jubilee fund provided financial contributions for each volume up till 1924. Within a few years this stimulus led to the publication of many excellent popular academic and reference works in the home book market, which eventually made NBF's contribution less essential.

### 6.5 Campaigns in Newspapers 1915-63

Providing information on the aims of libraries and their projects has always had a central place in the NBF programme. The need to arouse interest in libraries among grant-awarding authorities drove much of the publicity work. The press was undoubtedly an effective means of propaganda. One of the most essential tasks was to awaken general understanding of the importance of libraries and of their contribution towards adult education. But this work could not be done by one man and therefore everyone who was interested in libraries was asked to commit themselves to this activity. Related topics were discussed regularly in

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39 The Home University

40 Jenssen, J. "Vår forening", *For Folkeopplysning* 9 (3-4) 1924, 53-4.
newspapers, many articles were written by librarians. In Bergen\textsuperscript{41} for example, there was a column every Sunday for small news items about the library and librarianship in general. Library activity featured in articles on topics such as new lending centres, visiting reading rooms and work in other libraries both at home and abroad. These popular accounts aroused interest in library questions and especially in the local library. The small constant weekly saturation made the public aware of the presence of a library in the city which the public could find useful. The press was also used to draw attention to new books which had reached the library as a way of attracting new library users. In a discussion of the inter-relationship between the press and the library, Christensen\textsuperscript{42} felt that the content of the modern newspaper - like the modern library - was, practically speaking, unlimited; what counted for both was that the right information could be provided at the right time. Complementing the promotion of libraries in the press, the Association recognised the reality of the need for state support in financial terms, as the effectiveness of a library was directly related to the size of the grant allocated to it.\textsuperscript{43}

6.6 Norwegians reporting on library practice overseas 1911-20

A talk given at a library meeting in Trondheim Public Library in 1911 explained how better use could be made of Norwegian public book collections. It was suggested that the Californian system of district (county) and central libraries which support libraries serving areas of low population could be very useful in Norway. It was pointed out that the Californian situation reflected one similar

\textsuperscript{41} Kildal, A. "For femti år siden: agitation for biblioteket", \textit{Bok og Bibliotek} 30, 1963, 86. \textit{See also} Chapter 5.5


to the widely dispersed Norwegian population with poor communications. The speaker did, however, conclude that, because a system worked in one place, it ought not to be accepted wholeheartedly in another, but generally observing what occurs in other places can be useful.\(^4\)

The Danish journal, *Bogsamlingsbladet*, included in 1918 a report on the energetic work in Denmark on book collections.\(^5\) In 1919 Arne Arnesen gave a talk on his observations of American libraries. He was very impressed by the enthusiastic response he met among librarians despite their modest salaries. He observed that economic extravagance was seen in the furnishing and location of library buildings. After spending a few days in New York his impression was that the beautiful Public Library\(^6\) on Fifth Avenue suggested that the city was more than a restless business area.\(^7\)

In 1920 a Norwegian library periodical carried an influential article pleading the cause of the rural library and using for comparison data from the United Kingdom Library Association annual meeting in the previous year. It was felt that these views were also heard many times in Scandinavian countries and that Sweden had done most in this respect. It was necessary to develop recreational as well as educational facilities in Norway. There were many initiatives and organisations whose work was based on these aims, but they did not work together. It was argued that Norwegian organisations including outdoor activity groups and the Norwegian Library Association, should come together in one educational and recreational association. With help from the press and bookshops this could provide a richer life for country people and reduce the

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\(^4\) Andresen, C. "Bibliotekforhold i California", *For Folkeoplysning* 4, 1919, 145.

\(^5\) "Fra utlandets tidsskrifter", *For Folkeoplysning* 3, 1918, 87.

\(^6\) Despite the title of New York Public Library it is a private subscription library.

\(^7\) Arnesen, A. "Inntrykk fra amerikanske biblioteker", *For Folkeoplysning* 4, 1919, 87-8.
move from rural to city areas.\textsuperscript{48} It was suggested that a number of articles in the American periodical, \textit{Library Journal} 1920\textsuperscript{49}, could bring new useful thinking to Norway or address issues which also concerned Norwegian librarians. These subjects included women in the library profession, library education, salary and pensions, library promotion to businessmen, library buildings,\textsuperscript{50} children's and school libraries as well as special libraries.

While references to German library practice were not very frequent in early 20th century Norwegian periodicals, by 1920 there were reports of German public libraries and reading rooms. Reference was made to issues which examined the role of dramatic literature in libraries, book acquisitions and charging for borrowing new books.\textsuperscript{51}

\textbf{6.7 Library legislation 1935-72}

The last section of this chapter focuses on library legislation in the early 20th century. The NBF was very active in promoting legislation such as the adoption of the law on public and school book collections. Discussion of such a law began in 1923 but it was not until the NBF Chairman, Henrik Hjartøy\textsuperscript{52}, and interested politicians in Parliament strongly promoted it that it reached the statute book in 1935. The principal provisions of the 1935 Act were to increase the amounts of state aid and to require the establishment of a library in all schools with more than twelve pupils. This led to rapid development within the field of school libraries.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{48} A.C.M, "Fra utlandets tidsskrifter", \textit{For Folketrysning} 5, 1920, 152.
\textsuperscript{49} A.C.M, "Fra utlandets tidsskrifter", \textit{For Folketrysning} 5, 1920, 178-9.
\textsuperscript{50} See also Chapter 9.7.
\textsuperscript{51} A.C.M. "Fra utlandets tidsskrifter", \textit{For Folketrysning} 5, 1920, 105.
\textsuperscript{52} See Chapters 5 and 8 for information about Hjartøy's library work.
\textsuperscript{53} The number of school libraries increased from 982 in 1930 to 4,785 in 1949, and the number of volumes rose from 223,000 in 1930 to 712,00 in 1949, with a total issue of 720,000 in 1930 which rose to 1,500,000 by 1949. Kildal, A. "Library legislation in Norway", \textit{Libri} 1, 1950-1, 261.
The German occupation of the country in 1940 put a temporary stop to the work of the legislators. Not until late in the autumn of 1947 could Parliament deal with the new bill concerning Public and School Libraries, and this bill received the Royal Assent on 12th December 1947 and came into operation on 1st July 1949. It was definitely of major significance that the 1949 Public and School Library Act laid down the principle of obligatory public libraries in all municipalities in the country, as well as the provision of school libraries for the pupils of every primary school in the country. The Act stated that all public libraries in Norway should now receive State aid, whereas formerly only book collections in the rural districts and in towns of less than 4,000 inhabitants had received it.

The 1947 Act was thoroughly revised by the 1955 Amendment which raised the maximum of the subsidies and further specified the obligations concerning operations, staff size and training. In 1965 the Kirke og Folkeopplysnings Departement set up a committee to consider the question of a new Norwegian Public Libraries Act. There had long been widespread dissatisfaction in library circles with the economic provisions of the current law. Although the committee's proposals for a new Act were presented in early 1967 the Ministry's Bill did not reach Parliament before 1971.

The effects of the 1971 Act on public and regional libraries were measured through questionnaires, statistics and three regional hearings. The results showed that the administrative changes caused great uncertainty about where responsibility lay. The library was not held in high status in local administration and librarians lacked a common concept of what constituted a good library

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54 Ministry of Church and Education
service. Uneven standards hit services to children and co-operation with adult education was less than had been hoped for. Many library leaders wanted their own library committee. Lack of professional training was found to be the most important cause of incompetent library organisation. The Act, introduced in 1972, did, however, result in many improvements in libraries and usage. Minimum levels of library expenditure per head of population were stipulated. But pressure of salary expenditure affected the larger municipalities and planned heavy investment in media was cancelled.

6.8 Conclusion

The questions which have concerned the NBF include a union catalogue of foreign periodicals in Norwegian libraries, begun in 1933, the 1935 Law (revised 1947) on public and school book collections and the establishment of Statens Bibliotekskole in 1940. The NBF took the initiative in drafting the joint rules on cataloguing, the publication of textbooks and other works for use in libraries, the establishment of central libraries, the organised handling of periodicals and getting state money allocated for travel grants. The Association promoted the setting up of Statens bibliotektilsyn which was established in 1949 in the Church and Education Department. By 1951 the work of Statens bibliotektilsyn assisted a range of topics including control of grants,

56 Granheim, E. "Has the new Norwegian Act concerning public and school libraries counteracted the economic crisis?", Scandinavian Public Library Quarterly 9 (2) 1976, 54.
57 The amendment established the mandatory provision of a public library in each municipality, to be financed locally. It also included the principle of compensation to authors for library circulation of their works. Special subsidies were to be provided for central libraries, mobile libraries, book boats and hospital libraries.
58 Norwegian State Library School, currently named Statens Bibliotek og Informasjons Høgskolen.
59 The Norwegian State Library Inspectorate
classification and cataloguing Norwegian literature. It also distributed annual
catalogues and literature lists and helped to establish new libraries and
reorganise older ones. The Department organised purchases for large libraries,
inspections and promoted library issues.

It was during a period of growth in Norwegian library development that the
NBF was established. Professional development of public library services began
with the big town libraries and then later spread to the smaller towns and rural
areas. When the first decade of the 20th century had passed, there was a
national advisory body and technical systems in common. The librarians and
committee members of book collections met annually for library meetings. The
high rate of change in methods of library practice and the need for more
permanent collaboration led to the formation of the NBF. The Association
enabled librarians to establish their common professional interests, their need to
cooperate with each other, and drew the attention of the public to the
importance of library matters.

Attention has been drawn to the willingness of Norwegian librarians to look
beyond their own country for examples of good library practice in the first two
decades of the twentieth century, but even in this early period this was not
entirely a one-sided affair; for example, J. Ansteinsson's original examination

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61 Bok og Bibliotek
62 In 1982 Welhaven wondered if Statens bibliotektilsyn had the powers to assert its
professional authority. Statens bibliotektilsyn was a special directorate for public and school
libraries; and carried out inspection of these libraries on behalf of the Church and Education
Department. She felt that changes in local administration in the 1970s had not been
beneficial for the library service. Demands on librarians were also increasing. The library
profession looked to the Inspectorate for support and regarded it as a government guarantee of
the upholding of government regulations in relation to other authorities. But she felt that the
profession felt increasingly let down by the Inspectorate and doubted its ability to assert its
authority towards politicians. The justification for its existence was therefore questioned and
the demand for a thorough investigation of the library system grew. Welhaven, K.B. "Har
Statens bibliotektilsyn myndighet til å hevde sin faglige autoritet?", Bok og Bibliotek 49 (2)
1982, 105.
project from the library school in Albany on Norwegian library history was published in *Library Journal*.  
During the 1940-45 war the Association found ways to evade tyranny from the occupying force and the Norwegian Nazis, and activities were resumed in 1945 when the country was free again. The 1949 Library Act mentioned above in 6.7 ensured that every Norwegian would have free reading and library reference materials and provided for royalties to authors whose works were widely used in the library system. It was felt that "a well-educated and enlightened common man is the most effective safeguard against any enemy of cherished democratic ideals."

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63 Ansteinsson, J. "The library history of Norway", *Library Journal* 45, 1920, 57-62. See also Conclusions
64 See Chapter 8 which focuses on the war period.
Chapter 7

History of Norwegian Library Education

- Norwegian visits and study overseas

7.1 Introduction

Throughout the 19th century the Royal Library and Copenhagen University Library were the natural study centres for many Norwegian students and researchers. It was not, of course, especially characteristic of library school students that they had to go abroad for their education. Norwegian students in every discipline had to do this for several hundred of years. They went initially to Denmark, but also to Sweden, England and Germany. Library school students, however, went to Germany. This was the European country which in the earlier part of the 19th century had the best developed, regulated teaching within this subject area. The German influence was equally strong and very dominating within university circles and within the scientific and cultural milieu in all the Scandinavian countries right up till the inter-war years. Norway was backward until the beginning of the 20th century. Therefore young men travelled usually to Germany to study to become engineers, vets or dentists, and some of them returned some years later to practise in Norway.

In 1887 Melvil Dewey (1851-1931) established Columbia (then College), which was the world's second formally organized school of librarianship. In April 1899 the School of Library Economy was moved to New York State Library at Albany, New York. By the turn of the century there were four library schools in the USA, and by 1940 there were ten times as many. Through the years many Norwegian library students were absorbed by

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1 The country did not get a university before 1811, Agricultural studies at a higher educational level started in 1879, Norway's Technical High School began teaching in 1910, the Dental High School was gradually built up from 1909 to 1928, and the Commercial High School did not commence until 1936.

American libraries. Danton\(^3\) has identified various reports in library literature which have shown that a very large proportion, 40% or more, of all foreign students who attended American library schools in the period 1890-1940 were Norwegians. These figures have also been confirmed by Ackerknecht\(^4\), Bok og Bibliotek\(^5\) and Fischer\(^6\) who says that "nearly half of all foreign students of American library schools came from Norway." This was particularly marked in the period before Norway had its own library school.\(^7\) W. Munthe,\(^8\) writing just before the outbreak of World War II, found that about one hundred and fifty of his countrymen had attended American library schools. The Board of Education for Librarianship of the American Library Association\(^9\) shows that of a total of one hundred and fifty-four students from foreign countries, enrolled in fourteen American library schools between 1887 and 1926, sixty-five students or 31% came from Norway. By 1925 sixty-seven non-American students had graduated from New York State Library School, Albany. Of these thirty-eight were Norwegians, whilst from Denmark and Sweden, which also had no permanent library school, the numbers were five and one respectively. Some of the American-educated librarians introduced the new methods of library practice when they returned to Norway.\(^10\)

\(^5\) "Meddelelser", *Bok og Bibliotek* 4, 1937, 51-52.
\(^7\) The establishment of the Norwegian Library school is described below in paragraph 7.4.
\(^10\) One example is Martha Emily Larsen (later Mrs Jahn) who became the Chief Librarian of the newly founded Trondheim Public Library in 1902. There she introduced a number of American ideas and practices. By the end of his first year at Bergen in 1910, A. Kildal, another American trained librarian, had re-catalogued and classified about one tenth of his total collection. He then appointed four other graduates to his staff. See Chapters 6 and 9 for further information about Arne Kildal.
Figure 7.1 Abroad  Norwegians travelling to the United Kingdom and the United States for Library Education and Training 1913-53"31

Norwegian librarians in USA  1913-48

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Institution</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nyhuus, Haakon</td>
<td>1893-7</td>
<td>Chicago Public Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kildal, Arne</td>
<td>1907</td>
<td>New York State University Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Smith, Victor</td>
<td>1909</td>
<td>New York State Library School in Albany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birthe, Maja</td>
<td>1913</td>
<td>New York State University Library School</td>
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<td>Schaaning, Maja</td>
<td>1913</td>
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<tr>
<td>Rasmussen, Gunvor</td>
<td>1917</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ansteinsson, John</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>New York State University Library School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rolfesen, Ellen</td>
<td>1919</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foss, Birgit</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>New York State Library School in Albany</td>
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<tr>
<td>Kobro, Ingrid</td>
<td>1920</td>
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<td>Petersen, Tordis</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vindenaes, Johanne</td>
<td>1920</td>
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<td>Deinboll, Rikka</td>
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<td>Carnegie Library School Pittsburg</td>
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<td>Cleveland</td>
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<td>Ingemann, Ingeborg</td>
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<td>Rieber-Mohn, Hjordis</td>
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<td>Tenfjord, Jo</td>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Adelphi College</td>
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<tr>
<td>Johnson, Reidun</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Library School University of Chicago School</td>
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Norwegian librarians in UK  1932-53

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<th>Time</th>
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<tr>
<td>Hjartøy, Henrik</td>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Grant to study English library conditions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Halvorsen, Ida</td>
<td>1931-32</td>
<td>University College London</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hanssen, Hjordis</td>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Croydon Public Library</td>
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<tr>
<td>Skancke, Molly</td>
<td>1932-33</td>
<td>University College London</td>
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<tr>
<td>Johansen, Reidun</td>
<td>1933</td>
<td>University College London</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matheson, Johanne</td>
<td>1933</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Haliet, Kari</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>University College London</td>
</tr>
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</table>

31 This list is not exhaustive, as the archives from the American library schools have not been accessed.
The smaller towns did not, generally, have American-trained librarians, because they could not pay the salaries which such persons commanded and, in any event, there were insufficient people who had been so trained.

Speaking at the American Library Association Conference in St Louis in 1904, Nyhuus\(^{12}\) claimed that "the library organisation of Norway owes very much to American experts and to American library progress in general." In 1937 the NBF sent greetings to New York State Library School in Albany on its 50th anniversary. The President, John Ansteinsson, wrote:

Norsk bibliotekforening to Columbia University School of Library Service. In grateful remembrance of inspiring teaching and kind hospitality a great number of Norwegian librarians, former students of Albany and Columbia, join the felicitations.\(^{13}\)

From the 1920s and 1930s onwards the American influence was more evident in academic libraries as well as on the public library movement. An increasing stream of Norwegian students and younger Norwegian library staff went in the inter-war period, and still more in the post-war period, to the USA.

In the early 1930s the current trend was for students supported by the Carnegie Corporation to attend European library schools (especially The University of London School of Librarianship, as it was then known) rather than American ones - partly for economic reasons and also because the need for technical training abroad was less than before.\(^{14}\) Alf Melhus from Deichman Library also received a grant to study school and children’s libraries in Sweden, Denmark and Germany.\(^{15}\) In 1934 Arne Arnesen\(^{16}\) reported on his visit to Danzig where he visited public libraries. He described new common cataloguing rules.

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\(^{13}\) Ansteinsson, J. "Hilsen til bibliotekskolen i New York", *Bok og Bibliotek* 4, 1937, 198.


\(^{15}\) A. C. M. "Fra utlandets tidsskrifter", *For Folkeoplysning* 5, 1920, 178-9.

\(^{16}\) Arnesen, A. "En tysklandsreise", *Bok og Bibliotek* 1, 1934, 267.
recently revised for all German libraries. He was very impressed with the
*Reichsjugendbücherei* which was to be the world's largest collection of books
for children and young people, with about 12,000 volumes, including beautiful
copies of fairy tales and alphabet books.

In the annual meetings of NBF there were talks on English librarianship and
the role of libraries in preserving culture7. In 1920 H. J. Hjartøy was funded
by the Norwegian government to study English library conditions. Lippestad8,
who visited London and Sheffield in 1939, paid particular attention to issue
systems and she felt that there were many places where library matters held a
prominent place in English social life.

One article recalling observations culled from foreign periodicals mentioned
the Newark book-charging system, English county libraries, American branch
libraries, book selection policy for schools and mobile library services.9

7.2 Short courses 1901-39

A "library adviser" was appointed by the government in Norway in 1901, and in
1917 library inspectors were introduced. The duty of the inspectors was to help
functioning librarians in small public libraries to adopt modern library methods.

The first major library inspection was carried out from 1910 to 1912. The
Department of Church and Education, local librarians and library inspectors all
provided short courses lasting from a few days to three weeks aimed at those
who were in charge of small public libraries, to enable them to learn about
current library practice. These courses began in 1911 and public grants to fund
them became available in 1912. The NBF organised a correspondence course
in library techniques in 1930-33.

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17 "Det 15de Norsk bibliotekmøte", *For Folkeopplysning* 8 (4) 1922, 107.
18 Lippestad, H. "Inntrykk fra engelske folkebiblioteker", *Bok og Bibliotek* 6, 1939, 255.
### Attendance at short courses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Location</th>
<th>Participants</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1911</td>
<td>1 week</td>
<td>Bergen</td>
<td>Librarians</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>1 week</td>
<td>Trondheim</td>
<td>Librarians</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>1 week</td>
<td>Forde</td>
<td>Librarians</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>1 week</td>
<td>Eidsvold</td>
<td>Librarians</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1919</td>
<td>2 weeks</td>
<td>Trondheim</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>A. Arnesen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>3 weeks</td>
<td>Trondheim</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>V. Smith</td>
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<tr>
<td>1932</td>
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<td>Oslo</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>A. Graarud</td>
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<tr>
<td>1932</td>
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<td>M. Westbøe</td>
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<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>3 weeks</td>
<td>Oslo</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>A. Arnesen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>3 weeks</td>
<td>Trondheim</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>A. Hartmann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>4 days</td>
<td>Stavanger</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>M. Westbøe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>3 days</td>
<td>Drammen</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>M. Schaaning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>4 days</td>
<td>Tønsberg</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Buene-Andersen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>1 day</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>3 days</td>
<td>Bergen</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>Bergen Staff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>3 weeks</td>
<td>Kristiansand</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>A. Graarud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>4 days</td>
<td>Tømsk</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Library Inspector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>4 days</td>
<td>Haugesund</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>M. Westbøe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>2 days</td>
<td>Kviteasid</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>A. Graarud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>3 weeks</td>
<td>Trondheim</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>A. Hartmann</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>4 days</td>
<td>Vos</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>S. Gunderssen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>4 days</td>
<td>Agricultural College</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>T. Skard</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Name and Position

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Library</th>
<th>Chairman</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anderson, T.M.</td>
<td>Librarian</td>
<td>Bærum Public Library</td>
<td>1948-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ansteinnson, J.</td>
<td>Chief</td>
<td>Scholarly Society Library</td>
<td>1922-23, 1935-7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arnesen, A.</td>
<td>Chief</td>
<td>Deichman Public Library</td>
<td>1917-19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deinboll, R.B.</td>
<td>Dept. Head</td>
<td>Deichman Public Library</td>
<td>1945-47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foss, B.</td>
<td>Librarian</td>
<td>Deichman Public Library</td>
<td>1947-56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hjartøy, H.J.</td>
<td>Chief</td>
<td>Rjukan Public Library</td>
<td>1933-35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jønassen, J.</td>
<td>Librarian</td>
<td>Hamar Public Library</td>
<td>1923-29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kildal, A.</td>
<td>Chief</td>
<td>Bergen Public Library</td>
<td>1913-16,1917-19, 1929-33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li, E.</td>
<td>Chief</td>
<td>Aker Public Library</td>
<td>1937-45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyhuus, H.</td>
<td>Librarian</td>
<td>Deichman Public Library</td>
<td>Oct-Dec 1913</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith, V.*</td>
<td>Dept. Lib.</td>
<td>Deichman Public Library</td>
<td>1920-21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Teaching on short courses

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Library 1923-38</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Arnesen, A.</td>
<td>Chief</td>
<td>Deichman Public Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buene-Andersen</td>
<td>Librarian</td>
<td>Tønsberg Public Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Graarud, A.</td>
<td>Secretary</td>
<td>Deichman Public Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gundersson, S.</td>
<td>Librarian</td>
<td>Voss High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hartmann, A.</td>
<td>Chief</td>
<td>Trondheim Public Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kobro, N.</td>
<td>Chief</td>
<td>Aker Public Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schaanning, M.</td>
<td>Librarian</td>
<td>Drammen Public Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skard, T.</td>
<td>Chief</td>
<td>Agricultural College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Westbøe, M.</td>
<td>Librarian</td>
<td>Haugesund Public Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wexelsen, A.</td>
<td>Librarian</td>
<td>University Library</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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Figure 7.3 Chairmen of the Norwegian Library Association

Committee to establish the Library School

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Library 1935-9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ansteinnson, J.</td>
<td>Dept. Head</td>
<td>Technical High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arnesen, A.</td>
<td>Dept. Head</td>
<td>State Department of Church &amp; Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deinboll, R.B.</td>
<td>Dept. Head</td>
<td>Deichman Public Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hjartsy, H.J.</td>
<td>Chief</td>
<td>Deichman Public Library (1946-71)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kildal, A.</td>
<td>Consultant</td>
<td>State Department of Church &amp; Education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Munthe, W.</td>
<td>Chief</td>
<td>University of Oslo Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schaaning, M.</td>
<td>Chief</td>
<td>Drammen Public Library</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NOTES
"Chief, Bergen Public Library 1922-35
The term "Chief" is used for all sizes of libraries

Source: Norwegian library literature.

The education of the staff of smaller book collections was provided by short courses which varied in length from three days to three weeks on average. The local library associations provided short courses for country librarians, but in 1958 there were still complaints that organised training of those who choose library work as a profession was still neglected in Norway.20

Figure 7.2 (above) shows that most of the teaching on short courses was done by public librarians and less often by librarians from special and university libraries. It can be seen that some of the same names which appear in short course provision also occur among those who undertook pupil training in libraries, were active in the Norwegian Library Association and participated in the debate about the need for a national school of librarianship. The Public Library in Oslo, the Deichman Library, which took a pioneering role in introducing modern library techniques in the early part of the century was still very much admired by librarians in 1933. When Arne Arnesen, Chief

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Librarian of Deichman Library, showed trainees the new building most of them felt that it was like a fairy tale.  

In 1932 the content of short courses included book selection, library history, children's librarianship and mobile book collections. Workshops were held on cataloguing, use of card catalogues, book repairs, loans, library policy and library promotion. By 1934 book selection, reference work and work with children in libraries were included in short courses. There were exhibitions in Trondheim Public Library, in Norway's Technical High School Library, in the Trondheim Society's Library and the National Archive. Twelve enthusiastic participants attended a short course in Vestfold in June of the same year. The aim for Norwegian librarianship in this period was to widen the opportunity for professional training with longer and more frequent courses in library management.

From 1930 to 1933 the Norwegian Library Association arranged correspondence courses in library practice, covering cataloguing and classification, bibliography and book selection. These courses were geared to the needs of public and school libraries only. Although initially popular, the correspondence courses were later discontinued due to a lack of interest. In 1938 and 1939 a few new subjects entered the short-course programme: bibliography, book history, social relations and work with other institutions.

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21 Graarud, A, "Bibliotekkurset i Oslo 1933", For Folkeopplysning 18 (3) 1933, 111. See Chapter 5.3 for information about Deichman Library.
22 This was the only year the subject was offered in a short course.
23 "Meddelelser", Bok og Bibliotek 1, 1934, 238.
24 "Meddelelser", Bok og Bibliotek 1, 1934, 364-5.
26 Schaanning, M. "Personalspørsmålet i bybibliotekene", Bok og Bibliotek 2, 1935, 211. However, correspondence courses were used again in 1983 to cover the first year Library School curriculum for Library Assistants. Alnæs, T. "Fjernundervisningen ved SBH: hva skjer?" Bok og Bibliotek 51, 1984, 307.
This was also the period when there were concerns about training for work on ship, hospital, music and mobile libraries.

**Average attendance at short courses from 1923 to 1938**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. Participants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1933</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1938</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1934</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1937</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.3 **Library training in University and Public Libraries 1900-31**

Before 1900 the Library of the University of Oslo had several full-time employees, but most staff worked part-time. In 1915 Landmark (1876-1938) was appointed to a full-time position in the Royal Norwegian Society in Trondheim. In the beginning the work was simple and emphasised specific subject knowledge. In 1919 the University of Oslo Library established a special internal education programme. The Library accepted university students who worked for three and a half hours per day for a year, while they received basic theoretical and practical instruction in librarianship. Only students who had completed part of their university degree were appointed as pupils, and they were paid a small salary. After 1931 an alternative model was used: pupils worked for half a year in the various departments while still receiving both practical and theoretical education and following courses in cataloguing and classification.

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27 These figures were taken from *For Folkeopplysning* and *Bok og Bibliotek* from 1923-1938.

28 For further information about John Daniel Landmark (1876-1938) see Chapter 5. Although no formal training course has been traced in the early years of the Royal Norwegian Society’s Library, Landmark’s publications indicate a concern for improving library practice, especially Landmark, J.D. *Bibliotekarer og assistenter ved det Kgl Norske Videnskabers Selskabersbibliotek* (sic) *i Trondheim 1766-1858*, Trondheim: Universitetsbiblioteket i Trondheim, 1932.

29 “Diskusjon”, *For Folkeopplysning* 12, 1927, 136.
The large public libraries arranged short courses for their own staff, but they learned the basics of librarianship through actual work in libraries. In Oslo two to three voluntary pupils were accepted annually. Deichman Library started a seven-month training programme in 1919 with lectures and practical exercises, essentially to train people who would later work in the Library. Fifteen women completed this course for library pupils. They had received teaching in cataloguing, bibliography, classification, reference work, lending, lending centres, library work with children, travelling collections and cooperation with schools, youth literature, library administration, storytelling, acquisitions, history of the book, Norwegian book collection history, printing, graphic reproduction, library organisation in the USA and the periodical press in Norway. This came to 212 hours plus three hours daily service in each of the Library's departments. Visits to other libraries were also included. One librarian reported that, although he had provided practical library service training in Kristiansand, he found that it was impossible to provide any theoretical teaching over a wide area. Many students used the trainee system in order to gain practical experience because they planned to go abroad for their formal education in librarianship.

There were no standards for training and conditions varied from one library to another. This lack of consistency in the 1920s meant that there were no common tests, entry requirements, or clear educational objectives. The education offered was informal, it varied in both content and format, and students had to rely heavily on independent theoretical studies.

31 "Vidergående elevkurs ved Deichmanske", For Folkeoplysning 5, 1920, 45; "Videregående elevkursus", For Folkeoplysning 4, 1919, 118-9.
32 Kildal, A. "Fremtidssopgaver for norsk bibliotekvesen" For Folkeoplysning 3, 1918, 209.
33 "Videregående elevkurs ved Deichmanske", For Folkeoplysning 5, 1920, 45; Gundersen, S. "Fredrikstad Folkebibliotek: elevkurset 1929-30", For Folkeoplysning 15, 1930, 110.
While it was acknowledged that the assistance received from practical library placements at Kristiansand Public Library each year provided a great deal of help, the staff were relieved when the placements were completed. Occasionally they had two pupils at the same time, but they preferred to have only one. Reference was made to the personality of librarians in understanding some of the strains generated by demands of serving the public and organising the library as well as having trainees. The trainees were keen to learn library housekeeping tasks, but it took them longer to become skilled in working directly the public. Library development depended to a great extent on the personality of the assistants.

In 1931 Helga Schaaning, who was later involved in planning library education when Norway eventually set up a Library School, declared that libraries had to agree to work together. All students would have to take a common examination arranged annually or bi-annually by the Library Association with the Library Office named as examiner. Without such an examination no pupils could get assistant posts. The Library Office was to develop a register of all pupils who passed the examination, which would then qualify them for the first positions in a public library. In the early 1930s a committee was formed to establish a common plan and educational standards for pupils in large public libraries and in 1932 the Norwegian Library Association recommended common rules for trainee education. A six-month minimum duration for traineeships was proposed, with emphasis on practical work and some theoretical and independent studies.

By 1938 the committee, which was established by the Church and Education Department, presented its plan for a Norwegian Library School that would provide teaching in basic library techniques in academic, specialist and large public libraries. Their recommendations included commencing training of students at 20 years of age.

34 "Elever i Bibliotekene", For Folkeopplysning 12 (3) 1927, 96.
35 Schaaning, H. "Bibliotekelever", For Folkeopplysning 16 (3-4) 1931, 88.
36 Arnesen, A. Schaaning, M. Gundersen, S. "Elevundervisningen ved våre folkebiblioteker", Bok og Bibliotek 1, 1934, 350-351.
and not over 25 who, having passed *Examen artium* and with the ability to type, should have six months full-time practical working experience. The teaching was to be mainly practical in different parts of the library: in the lending, reading rooms and youth departments and cataloguing. For theoretical education pupils were recommended to read Ansteinsson’s *Library Organisation*7 and Arnesen’s *Classification*8. They should learn to write author, title and subject cards10 in accordance with the cataloguing rules for Norwegian libraries, *Katalogiseringsregler for norske biblioteker* (1924).11

7.4 Promoting and establishing the Statens Bibliotekskole Skole” (SBS) 1907-58

Norway was late in the field in establishing a proper library school. Formal courses in librarianship were started at the University of Göttingen as early as 1886. The School of Library Economy in Columbia College was opened in 1887, the Danish State Library School in 1918 and the London School of Librarianship in the University of London in 1919. The Swedish Library School began in 1926 and Stockholm State Library had its own school from 194812, later than the Norwegian Library School. Haakon Nyhuus (Chief of Deichman Library) acknowledged that, although book collections grew in towns and rural areas, it could be very different, if librarians commenced work in their chosen occupation equipped with more than an interest in books and reading.” Nyhuus raised the question of a Norwegian Library School in the first number of *For Folke og Bokesamling* in 1907, indeed as a future hope - "A flag at high mast.” At the first Annual Meeting of Norwegian Librarians which

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9 Arnesen, A. Schaaning, M. Gundersen, S. “Elevundervisningen ved våre folke biblioteker”, *Bok og Bibliotek* 1, 1934, 350.
11 State Library School
12 Skancke, M. "Utdannelsen for folkebibliotekarer", *Bok og Bibliotek* 17, 1950, 309.
13 Kildal, A. "Statens bibliotekskole", *Bok og Bibliotek* 7, 1940, 46.
was held in Kristiania in 1908 he felt that there was no other way of achieving the aim of solving library problems than through the provision of a library school.\textsuperscript{44} Many senior librarians expressed dissatisfaction about foreign study as they did not see why they had go to foreign countries, sometimes quite far away, in order to get professional education. Valborg Platou (Chief of Bergen Public Library 1881-1909) noted in a discussion about library trainees in 1927 the great lack of a Norwegian library school, although she did acknowledge the advantage that study abroad meant the students had to learn a foreign language quite exhaustively. Arne Arnesen, (Chief of Deichman Library 1914-43) also had some strong views about Norwegians having to travel abroad for professional education. In 1933 he asserted that a few hundred Norwegian students had gone to foreign library schools in order to qualify for jobs in Norwegian libraries, but that much of what they needed at home was not taught abroad, and much of what they learnt there was irrelevant in Norway. Maja Schaaning\textsuperscript{45} wrote about the need to broaden the social class spectrum of library staff because library work tended to be confined to the upper classes. She proposed that access to library positions should be available to clever, interested, young people irrespective of social position. Promotions to leading positions should be based on experience, seniority and ability as well as theoretical education.

In 1938 Natvig Pedersson\textsuperscript{46} said that a Library School in Norway should provide those who wanted to be librarians with a chance to acquire the necessary education in Norway instead of having to travel abroad to Denmark, England or to America. Such a school would have great economic advantages and enable those who could not consider library education to do so, as they would not have to live abroad. An important motivating factor in providing

\textsuperscript{44} Kildal, A. "Statens bibliotekskole", \textit{Bok og Bibliotek} 7, 1940, 55.
\textsuperscript{45} Schaaning, M. "Personalspørsmålet i bybibliotekene", \textit{Bok og Bibliotek} 2, 1935, 221.
\textsuperscript{46} Pedersson, N. "En norsk bibliotekskole", \textit{Bok og Bibliotek} 5, 1938, 203.
public library education was that library services had very variable standards of service. A report from an inspection visit in Buskerud deplored the primitive conditions encountered in libraries, where the words "deplorable" and "hopeless" were used to describe some of the 27 book collections visited. The library inspectors felt that looking at the book collections was like wandering from one storeroom to another. A short course on library practice held in Oslo in July-August 1936 was so over-subscribed that only a third of applicants were able to participate. An editorial in *Bok og Bibliotek* predicted that there would be an increasing need for professional library education. Norwegian librarianship needed to expand opportunities for education, with more frequent and longer courses in library management. Again in 1938 the main library journal stated that one of the most necessary professional education reforms needed was the establishment of a Norwegian Library school and a rational system of library teaching. It was claimed that there was a lack of adequate expert leadership and that librarianship needed a permanent central point for education and training.

The plan to regulate short course training in public libraries never became a reality, and practical training continued as before, with varied internal education at individual libraries, without reaching a common educational standard. Several authors agree that this was one of the reasons for the pressure which was put on the Norwegian government to establish a national library school.

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47 An episode was recounted from 1923 where a library was visited and the books were arranged chronologically. The inspector worked with the librarian to re-shelve them according to *Dewey Decimal Classification* and the librarian seemed to understand and agree to this. But shortly after the inspector left, a local reader reported that the books were put back in chronological order. Westbøe, M. "Bibliotekutdannelse og inspeksjon på landsbygden", *Bok og Bibliotek* 1, 1934, 260.

48 Editorial, *Bok og Bibliotek* 3, 1936, 221.


50 Arnesen, A. Schaaning, M. Gundersen, S. "Elevundervisningen ved våre folkebiblioteker", *Bok og Bibliotek* 1, 1934, 350-1; Arnesen, A. "Norske bibliotekskole", *For Folkeopplysning* 18 (2) 1933, 52.
In 1936 the NBF sent a request to the Department of Church and Education to establish a committee to work out a plan for library teaching which first met in 1937. The School was finally opened for twenty students in Oslo on 15th January 1940, during a dramatic period of European history. The first students, consisting of twenty-two women and one man, came from all over the country. They all had Artium and at least nine months service at an approved Library. Because of the spread of the War to Norway, when most of the students left Oslo and government funds were cut off, the Library School was forced to close early in April, without final examinations, but certificates of attendance were issued. A supplementary course of one hundred and ten hours was provided from 4th November to 7th December, 1940. Twenty-three of the original twenty-six students were able to resume their training and complete the examination in cataloguing, classification, bibliography and reference work. A one-year course was urged for the future. There was a reluctance to accept change which, according to Kildal, showed how long it could take to get an idea to reach maturity in Norway. These embarrassing facts were vividly referred to by John Ansteinsson who felt that library education was one of the most prolonged and perhaps the most deplorable chapters in Norwegian library history. Despite the numerous initiatives in providing library education over many years, the goal of a reliable professional education in Norway seemed to be a distant one.

There are several possible explanations of why it took thirty-three years from the first discussion of a National Library School in 1907 to the official opening in 1940. The University Library had a well-organised internal training programme for undergraduates which might have reduced the feeling of

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51 Not surprisingly as the debates continued about library education we find many references to the subject in the professional literature, particularly in Bok og Bibliotek in the 1930s.
54 Kildal, A. "Statens bibliotekskole", Bok og Bibliotek 7, 1940, 46.
urgency for a State Library School during the 1920s and 1930s. A University Librarian emphasized the importance of the library's own training programme where the students or 'candidates' as they were called completed a three year rotation including six months service in each department. There was very limited publishing about Norwegian librarianship before World War II. Set against this background there is nothing remarkable in the country having had no formal education for librarians. But there was some resentment by male assistants of women who tried to get a post by undercutting their male competitors. The women returning from American library schools were said to have been "educated in luxury" and it was regretted that library recruitment was from "upper class refined homes".

This period has been admirably dealt with by Hjellvik in her Master's thesis. She provides the first comprehensive English language text of the history of Norwegian library education. The main limitations of Hjellvik's thesis are that it relies heavily on Norwegian library literature to describe changes in library education without examining the effects of these changes on libraries and in-house training programmes. As Hjellvik cited the SBS archives she can claim to have used primary source material which enabled her to compile eighteen detailed lists of the curriculum from 1940-1981, though there is little evidence of further original work. In her discussion of the 1958 curriculum Hjellvik explains that a correspondence course of 17 lessons was implemented at this time. Having completed these lessons before entering the School, students could then enrol directly in the second year of study, providing they had the general entrance requirements. She does not explain what proportion of the total student population followed the correspondence course route or whether it

56 Thue, G. "Elevutdannelsen ved Forskningsbibliotekene", *Bok og Bibliotek* 17, 1950, 320.
was preferred by any particular students aiming to work in different library sectors or how this affected teaching practices in SBS. The School offered more opportunities for students to specialise in different aspects of librarianship, such as public, special or university librarianship, in later years.

7.5 Conclusion

At the end of the 19th and in the early 20th century Norwegians turned to America for training, until the first Norwegian State Library school was, after a long struggle, opened in 1940. Norwegian library education began with the library inspectors who were the first to demand higher standards of library practice than had ever been expected before 1917. The Department of Church and Education joined inspectors and local library associations in providing short courses to train library staff from 1911 onwards. The short courses and the correspondence courses in the 1930s laid the foundations for later professional library education. In-service training was provided in major university and public libraries in the early decades of the 20th century. In 1932 the NBF worked out common rules for trainee training, and by 1938 the Department of Church and Education had plans for a Norwegian library school. The Chief Librarians of Deichman Library held top positions in the School from 1940 onwards. Right from the start in 1940 the State Library School was under the control of the Department of Church and Education. It stayed like that for forty years when the name was changed to State Library High School and the School became part of the regional High School executive for Oslo and Akershus.

60 Bendik Rugaas, who was Rector 1974-80, later became a prominent Minister in the Norwegian Parliament. At the 50th anniversary in 1990, the name was changed to State Library and Information High School. In 1994 the Faculty of Journalism, Library and Information Science in the College of Oslo moved into a large campus, which was a converted brewery in the centre of Oslo.

61 Statens bibliotekhøgskole
Chapter 8 Turning points

World War II, library legislation and post-war library development

8.1 Introduction

It is impossible to ignore the impact which the Nazi Occupation of Norway during World War II had on the whole of the Norwegian book world. The real ordeal began with the military defeat and the German occupation and the Wehrmacht and the Gestapo brought their ideology experts and firing squads into the tiniest hamlet. Their aim was not only to turn Norway into a permanent fortress and an economic colony of Germany; they were to incorporate it into a new intellectual order, to break its traditions and conquer its soul along with its body. Newspapers and theatre, church, school and literature were gradually brought under pressure to serve the grand idea of German propaganda. H. Koht and the librarian S. Skard, writing in exile in America, explained that:

In a new and unexpected way the nation has realised the truth of Bjørnson’s words, when he donated most of the books he owned to a public library in the countryside: they are going to be no dead treasure, but "a strong weapon in the hand of the people against intellectual oppression." The Germans had hoped to support their propaganda by a new Norwegian literature in the Nazi spirit. Instead of assisting the Nazis, the men of letters, writers, and scholars unflinchingly dedicated their power to emphasizing the real traditions and turning them into the fight.

This chapter will look at the activities of principal librarians who resisted the Nazi Occupation through their involvement in the illegal press, allowing their libraries to be used for Home Front communication or circumventing book confiscation. We can begin to understand how they were able to commit themselves to extremely dangerous "patriotic" activity from the Carl von

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1 Bjørnson (1832-1910), poet, dramatist and novelist. A national hero of 19th century Norway and a powerful advocate of intellectual and political freedom. He received the 1903 Nobel Prize in literature. See Chapter 1.5.4.

question which became a public debate about the Nazi regime in Germany before the War. This debate may have helped to prepare attitudes towards potential risks of Nazi tyranny before Norway was dragged into the War. The denial of the freedom of the press through manipulation of the mass media highlighted the interrelationship of libraries in the wider book world. It would be inconsistent to consider the historical development of any aspect of Norwegian libraries without paying attention to some of the consequences of working in an occupied country for librarians, authors, booksellers, journalists and publishers. The chapter begins by explaining the political background against which the libraries and the book trade were placed, and concludes by identifying the principal protagonists.

8.2 Authors polarised - The Carl von Ossietzky question

Carl von Ossietzky was a German veteran of the First World War who later in life became a passionate pacifist. He was a journalist on the magazine Weltbuhne from 1924, and its sole editor from 1927. Ossietzky kept a close eye on the reviving militarism in Germany in the 1920s, and in 1929 was sentenced to 18 months in jail, under the treason laws, for broadcasting details of the secret rearment of the Air Force. Brinson and Malet relate:

A week before the elections were due in February 1933, the Reichstag building was set on fire, providing the Nazis with their excuse to arrest 4,000 Communists, Social Democrats and other supporters of the Weimar Republic, including Ossietzky. He was imprisoned initially in Spandau Prison, and on 6th April 1933 was taken from there to Sonnenburg concentration camp, a former prison that the Gestapo had taken over for the internment of political prisoners.

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3 See also Lindsay, M. "Librarianship in an occupied country 1940-45", Library History 11, 1995, 49-62.
Ossietzky had become a catalyst for political and ideological disagreement, not least among Norwegian authors. The Authors' Association\(^5\) was required by one of its members to call a meeting on the matter on 7th February 1936, which was possibly the most politically significant meeting in the Association's 100 year history. The Association in general refrained from concrete expressions of opinion and Ringdal\(^6\) claims that not even the Annual Report for 1939 reflects disquiet about the outbreak of war and the re-armament in Germany and other mid-European countries. But institutional neutrality did not always mean that individuals could conceal their political attitudes. While the Authors' Association tried to maintain a neutral political position, perhaps some individuals performed more political acts than they realised. A vigorous campaign was mounted on behalf of Ossietzky, which contrasted markedly with Hamsun's\(^7\) contribution to the debate in the press throughout November 1935. Hamsun suggested that if Ossietzky did not like what was happening in Germany, then he had, for some time before his arrest, been quite free to leave the country. The concluding lines of his article show clearly that the moral courage of a man like Ossietzky was a complete mystery to him: "Would this German rather that his land remained crushed and humiliated in the community of nations, thanks to the tender mercies of the French and the English?"\(^8\) This excited an enormous reaction in Norway, principally among Hamsun's fellow writers, and particularly in Dagblader; on 11th November 1935, from the poet and playwright Nordahl Grieg\(^9\) who mocked Hamsun in a short article. He

\(^5\) Den norske Forfatterforening.
\(^7\) Knut Hamsun (1859-1952). Winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1920.
\(^8\) Ferguson, R. *Enigma, the life of Knut Hamsun*, London: Hutchinson, 1987, 335.
\(^9\) Nordahl Grieg (1902-43) a lyric poet who was often politically 'engaged'.

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characterised the attack as a cowardly tirade against someone who was in no position to answer back or to defend himself. The most dramatic response came on 14th December 1935, when thirty-three of Hamsun's colleagues signed a protest letter in *Tidens Tegn*. The poet Arnulf Øverland presented a proposal to the Norwegian Student Society which requested Hamsun to give up his attempt at political authorship. The request received the support of more than 300 students and ran as follows: "Honour the young, Mr Hamsun, let them get world peace and not be gassed to death. Let us remember you as the man who wrote *Hunger* and *Pan* and *Growth of the soil* and not as the one who attacked defenceless men and friends of the world."*® On 23rd November 1936 it was finally announced that the Nobel peace prize for 1935 had been awarded retrospectively to Carl von Ossietzky. The New Germany's official answer was to state that the prize was a national affront and that henceforth permission was not to be granted to any German citizen to receive any of the Nobel prizes.

Brinson and Malet*®* found that:

Despite the fact that the Gestapo let it be known to the international press that Ossietzky was a free man who could travel where he wished, health permitting, Gestapo documents of the time in fact categorically rule out the possibility of issuing him with a passport, on the grounds that once abroad he would do damage to the image and reputation of National Socialist Germany.

The struggle nevertheless led to many previously active members of the Authors Association ceasing to take part in meetings. Everyone who had exposed themselves in the Ossietzky question was marked.

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*® Arnulf Øverland (1889-1968); 50,000 copies of his war poems were sold. Ringdal, N.J. *Ordener pris: den norske Forfatterforening 1893-1993*, Oslo: Aschehoug, 1993, 160.

Norwegians were surprised and unprepared when Nazi Germany, with its superior military might, attacked Norway on 9th April 1940. There had always been strong cultural ties between Norway and Germany. It will be shown in chapter 13.5 that chief librarians of the University of Oslo took study tours to German university libraries in the late 19th century and then, on returning home to Norway, adopted the classification scheme of O.Hartwig (1830-1903). The German influence on Norwegian academic libraries is described in chapter 10.7 and influences on library architecture in Chapter 9.7. A retired public librarian reported that before the War there were many more people who studied librarianship in Germany than in England or America. The general public and their political leaders had believed that Norway would be able to stay out of World War II, just as the country had maintained its neutrality in the First World War. They believed that Norway was strategically on the periphery, protected by British naval power, and thought that Norwegian neutrality was also in the interests of the warring nations on both sides. Norwegian neutrality proved to be of little consequence, German troops occupied the country and German civil servants began to set their mark on Norwegian institutional activity. A. Øverland's (1889-1968) poems were circulated secretly, passing from hand to hand. He wrote:

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\begin{align*}
\text{We were not armed for strife:} & \quad \text{We never thought to slay and burn} \\
\text{In peace with every neighbour} & \quad \text{Could long serve any nation's turn.} \\
\text{We trusted, joy of labour,} & \quad \text{The triumph we foresaw} \\
\text{Respect for human life.} & \quad \text{Was that of right and law.}
\end{align*}
\]

\[12\] "In theology and ecclesiasticism the bonds between Norway and Luther's homeland have been strong. In 1930 more than 95% of the Norwegian people belonged to the State Church which is Evangelical Lutheran", Høy, B., Ager, T.M. The fight of the Norwegian Church against Nazism, New York: Macmillan, 1943, 1.

\[13\] Øverland was arrested and imprisoned firstly in Grini and then Sachsenhausen.

Changes which served *Nasjonal Samling* (NS) ideology began to mark developments. As in all other occupied countries, the Nazi power profited from the support of local sympathisers. During a visit to Hitler in Berlin in the winter of 1939-40, the leader of the NS Party, Vidkun Quisling (1887-1945), had pointed out how valuable it would be for Germany to occupy Norway. Immediately after the invasion, on the morning of 9th April 1940, he proclaimed himself the new head of the government and ordered the Norwegian armed forces to stop battling against the Germans.

But Quisling’s intervention backfired and stimulated the resistance. Resistance can be defined as a type of political organisation that unfolds in the face of an established regime which illegalises and persecutes that opposition. The most common word for organised resistance in Norway during the War is translated as “illegal”\(^\text{15}\). But such resistance is certainly not considered illegitimate or criminal by the resisters. Resistance is political, as its main objectives are the destruction of the regime it resists and the setting up of some other political order, in the case of Norway during World War II the traditional pre-War order. It is this political essence which distinguishes resistance from ordinary criminal activity that has some personal or social gain as its main objective\(^\text{17}\). 25th Sept.

\(^{15}\) *Nasjonal Samling* or National Unity Party was established and led by Quisling on 17th May 1933-8th May 1945. At the time of the German occupation there were only a few hundred members, but the party grew until in November 1943 it had 43,400 members. Membership was from all classes, but middle classes were over-represented. One in three members was female. Over 30% of members were under 35 years of age. The Norwegian government in exile (1940-45) made it illegal to be a member of NS. After the liberation, members were prosecuted and mostly fined.

\(^{16}\) *Illegal*. This word was first used by the Nazis, later annexed by the Home Front as a patriotic word.

\(^{17}\) However, these distinctions are not always clearcut as the case of “protection money” in Northern Ireland shows.
1940, the day that Terboven\textsuperscript{18} installed the Norwegian Nazis in a position of power, constituted a watershed. The Germans no longer recognised any political representatives of the Norwegian population other than those who belonged to the Norwegian Nasjonal Samling party, all political activity outside this party and all opposition to it being forbidden.

8.4 The pressure on the press

Already on 9th April 1940 when Hitler's Third Reich attacked Norway, it was clear that the occupiers would prevent freedom of speech. The Norwegian newspapers had to write according to the demands of the occupying power; any form of criticism of Hitler's Germany and the behaviour of the Nazis in Norway was strictly forbidden. Strong press censorship was introduced. Efforts to Nazify the Norwegian Journalists' Association failed. The Reichskommissariat press division appointed at least one representative to work in the office of each newspaper. They also took over complete control of Norsk Telegrambyrå agency, the most important central agency for press news from abroad. The Norwegian journalists continually sabotaged the "new order", by using coded messages in texts and not following the instructions of the Germans precisely. Virtually all the papers in Norway took the opportunity of printing on their front page a circular the Nazis had not intended for publication. It set out in detail what they could and could not publish. In this way, by perfectly legal means, the editors informed their readers of the degree to which their press was being controlled.

\textsuperscript{18} Josef Terboven (1898-1945) was the Reichskommissar sent by Hitler on April 19th 1940 to replace V. Quisling as the chief German administrator in Norway.
On 20th October 1940 Quisling's main publication, *Fritt Folk*, admitted that contrary to his expectations there was no support for the new order within the press. The paper claimed that the press ought to take a more lively part in everything which was then occurring. According to the journalist, Johansen, the *Nasjonal Samling* stated that the press men must understand the new situation and introduce a positive attitude towards NS and the work of the party. Newspapers could no longer take the position of passive loyalty, which the majority of Norwegian newspapers had adopted. If journalists did not become members of the National Unity Party, they were replaced by someone who was in sympathy with Nazi demands.

Writing in 1942, Kenney claimed that "many well-known newspapers, especially labour papers, have been suppressed or taken over by the Nazis; in the latter case they are boycotted by the public. Very few journalists have consented to work for the Nazis, and lack of competent journalists has held up the Nazification of the press."

8.5 The illegal press

When broadcasting came under the leadership of NS, many of the Norwegian patriots circulated leaflets of patriotic poetry, some of which were produced on cyclostyled pages. At least one book was also circulated. The task was to spread news of Nazi tyranny. From the first weeks after the Occupation, the BBC in London began to broadcast to Norway, which was a great stimulus for the Norwegian people. The first illegal newspapers began to appear in autumn 1940. After radios had been confiscated in late summer 1941, the number of

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19 "Free people" was in existence from 1936 to 1945.
illegal newspapers increased. Their new role was to publicise reports from London broadcasts which were given names such as: London-Nytt, London Radio, Radio News, Halv åtte. The topography of the country meant they could only produce papers in local editions, so they continued duplicating their papers throughout the Occupation. In all, there were up to 300 illegal newspapers which were generally produced on various types of duplicator, while a few of them were actually printed. It took between 12,000 and 20,000 men and women to produce and distribute the newspapers. Initially these were posted, but later they were distributed by courier and from hand to hand. In 1942 the German occupying powers made it an offence punishable by death to distribute illegal newspapers. Between three to four thousand people were arrested for having distributed and produced them. Many were sent to German concentration camps, while at least two hundred and twelve people lost their lives because of illegal press work, of whom sixty-two were executed and ninety-one lost their lives in German prison or camps. This led to the cessation of some newspapers and the less frequent appearance of others. While libraries were unable to collect illegal newspapers (openly) during the Occupation period, on 8th May 1945, a collection of documents and pictures connected with the War was established in the University of Oslo Library. This includes all NS publications, posters, German notices for soldiers and illegal newspapers. There are press cuttings from Norwegian and American newspapers as well as documents from the Government Office in London at this time. The collection also includes books on the War published after 1945. A database of

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22 London News
23 7.30 the time of London broadcasts.
computerised records of 261 Nazi posters, also available in hard copy and book form, will be particularly useful for future historians.25

8.6 The book trade

Already by 1940 it began to be apparent that authors were withholding their work because, as Kildal records, "authors had one task, a mission, they were supposed to adhere to the truth and keep up the morale of the people."26 After Gyldendal's director27 had been imprisoned in June 1941, a "commissioner" was appointed and the authors stopped submitting their work. A year later, Aschehoug28 got its "consultant", a German officer whose task was to ensure that the instructions of censorship were followed. Directors from publishing houses who were imprisoned included Damm29 and Cappelen30. While two hundred and five books were published in 1939, the total fell to one hundred and thirty nine the next year as authors were no longer submitting work. In 1941 the number of new books rose to two hundred and eight as a result of NS book production. In the following two years there were one hundred and seventy and one hundred and fifty-eight books respectively. In 1944 it fell still lower. But it was not only the publishers who were under pressure, it was also the bookshops. The Quisling army attacked Jewish shops in 1940, smashed windows or painted them over with anti-Semitic slogans. In April 1941 the

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25 Jensen, T.B., Dahl, H.F. *Parti og plakat NS 1933-1945*, Oslo: Det Norske Samlaget, 1988. While NS was in power several acts were passed to help spread the party propaganda. One of these was the "poster law" obliging any public office or means of transport to put up NS posters. Thus the NS posters had an enormous circulation and were found in every railway station, public office, shop, etc. all over Norway.


30 Henrik Cappelen (1903-83). Imprisoned in Grini 1944-5.
stock from all Jewish shops was confiscated and, by autumn, Jews were arrested and their properties were confiscated. Some booksellers came into conflict with the authorities, and fifteen of them were also arrested. Several authors were arrested. At least sixteen spent periods of imprisonment in Norway and Germany during the War. Jo Tenford, a public librarian, translator and author, talked about her experiences during the War and explained why she had risked her life in resistance activity:

A stimulus for the Norwegian Resistance was the milk strike in September 1941 when two men were shot. This execution of two innocent people who were not at all involved in resistance work was intended to frighten people, but it made them turn strongly against the occupying powers. For many young people that was a turning point. People could not live in a society where such a thing happened. There was a death sentence for everything. There was no future in this. Suddenly a peaceful law-abiding country such as Norway became a place where people were murdered by the authorities. The prospect of such a life was so dreadful that you didn't think about the consequences of resistance.

The importance of this event was also acknowledged by Gordon who recalls:

"Not until the first shots rang out against civilians sentenced to death did the Norwegian Resistance really wake up. To kill, to execute deliberately, was considered fiendish. The Germans themselves created the resistance movement in Norway." Tenford explained that she was imprisoned in the Norwegian concentration camp in Grini because she had secretly hidden Norwegians who

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32 Interviewee Number Six as described in Appendix A1.
33 On 8th September a strike broke out in Oslo as a spontaneous reaction to the decree forbidding workers to buy milk at their place of work. From 30,000-40,000 took part. The Trade Union leaders succeeded in getting the strikers back to work but the Nazi authorities took this opportunity to strike a crushing blow at the restive union movement. On 10th September they proclaimed a "state of emergency" in greater Oslo and the chief of the SS and police was given unlimited power. About 1,000 people were arrested and the most popular leader, Viggo Hansteen, and a shop steward, Rolf Wiskstrom, were condemned to death and shot. As they went to their death singing the National Anthem, they became a symbol of "good", i.e loyal, patriotic Norwegians. Three other men were imprisoned for life and 23 others were sentenced to imprisonment for periods from 10-20 years.
34 Gordon, G.S. The Norwegian resistance during the German occupation 1940-1945, Ph.D., University of Pittsburgh, 1978, 7.
35 The largest camp in Norway, taken into use for 700 Norwegian prisoners on 24th April 1940. From 14th June 1941 it was used as a police detention camp. 19,788 prisoners were
were involved in the illegal press. She remarked: "I was the right age. Many people did this. You could trust most people around you." She defined her activity as a "a mere trifle". Identifying the importance of women in civilian resistance, Gordon\(^{16}\) acknowledges "their hospitality in offering safe houses for fugitives, always dangerous, was in constant demand as they created a relaxed atmosphere, they provided another 'safety valve' for fugitives." On the other hand, some over-energetic Nazis became personally involved in the refusal of certain booksellers to display NS books prominently in their windows. They went into the bookshops and created havoc.

In some areas of the Norwegian countryside, zealous supporters of Quisling were keen to control events so that a bookshop owner could be recorded as an "enemy of the state" or "resister of the common interest" or some similar accusation. If a bookseller had a personal enemy among the leaders of the new order, it could become very uncomfortable for him. A few days after the Germans arrived, the shop window-panes of a bookseller in a southern town were smashed because Rauschning's *What Hitler has said*\(^{17}\) had been sold.

A scholarly librarian from Trondheim, Sigmund Skard (1903-95), escaped from Trondheim to Sweden on 9th April 1940 and campaigned against the invaders. In the autumn of the same year he took his family to the USA and worked on the staff of the Library of Congress, compiling bibliographies of Scandinavian literature, until 1943. He was leader of the Norwegian Department in the Office registered from 1941-45. Most were Norwegian political prisoners. Some remained there for long periods, others were sent to other camps both in Norway and abroad.


\(^{17}\) Rauschning, H. *Hitler har sagt det*, Oslo: Aschehoug, 1940, was an anti-Nazi compilation of Hitler's speeches. Lange, H.M., Johnson, P. *60 År for norsk bokhandel*, Stavanger: Norsk Provins-Bokhandler-Forening, 1948, 218.
of War Information in Washington, D.C until the end of the War. Throughout the War years he travelled around America lecturing and publishing texts about Norway.

Norwegian dissatisfaction with being an unequal partner in various Scandinavian Unions has been recognised throughout this investigation; however, the Danes had great admiration for the Norwegians and their immediate and uncompromising hostility towards the Nazis. Interest proved so widespread that the Danes were able to publish some works in the original Norwegian, helped by the fact that Norwegian and Danish are sufficiently similar for each to be more or less understood by the others.

8.7 "Protection of Norwegian literature"

In order to appreciate the context of book censorship in occupied Norway, we have to refer back to events in Berlin in May 1933, when twenty thousand books were burnt. The event has been clearly described by Lorant:

That is the outcome of the campaign against "the un-German spirit." Bands, torchbearers, bonfires, the burning of books - that is how the fight against culture is being conducted. Time leaps back. Germany is in the Middle Ages.

During this holocaust of books, nine proclamations were made. Three examples are:

Against class warfare and materialism, and in the name of national solidarity and high principles, I consign to the flames the works of Marx and Kautsky.
Against decadence and moral degeneracy, and in the name of decency in public and private life, I consign to the flames the works of Heinrich Mann, Ernst Glaeser, and Erich Kästner.
Against impudence and arrogance, and in the name of reverence and respect for the immortal spirit of the German people, I also consign to the flames the works of Tucholzy and Ossietzky.

38 See the introduction, chapters 1.5, 2.2.3 and 9.2.
The administration of the confiscation of literature began on 4th October 1940 with a letter from the German police authorities to the Norwegian Police Department. It stated that all books hostile to Germany in shops and public libraries, which were on an accompanying list or had been published within enemy boundaries after 1st July 1939, had to be removed by 25th October. On 28th October 1941 publishers, booksellers and libraries received a visit from the police with a list of forbidden books by eighty authors. A telegram sent to them all from Stapo⁴⁰ stated that books which were anti-German would be confiscated from publishers, booksellers, kiosks and libraries without delay. Future lists would be at the nearest department of the German security police. Books had to be packed and marked "confiscated literature" and sent to the Book Centre, Oslo. Later, the police checked that this had been completed.⁴¹

The Publishers' Association and the Booksellers' Association protested that the confiscation was in conflict with the Constitution in respect of the freedom to publish, and that book banning conflicted with the Hague Convention.⁴² The two associations tried unsuccessfully to claim compensation on the grounds that they expected the police to support Norwegian business activity by protection as a right in Norwegian law and international regulations. Lists of banned books and authors were drawn up. The first list in October 1940 consisted of

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⁴⁰ The 'state' police', or Stapo as they were called in Norway, was the German authorities' auxiliary police force established in the summer of 1941. They worked independently with censorship, investigations of the illegal press, clearing up acts of sabotage and investigations of political demonstrations. In many ways, the Stapo perceived their relationship with the German security police, Gestapo, as one of rivalry.


⁴² Article 100 of the Norwegian Constitution says: "There shall be liberty of the press. No person must be punished for any writing, whatever its contents may be, which he has caused to be printed or published, unless he wilfully and manifestly has either himself shown or incited others to disobedience to the laws, content of religion or morality or the constitutional powers, or resistance to their orders, or has advanced false and defamatory accusations against any other person."
80 names, and was composed partly of authors whose complete works were to be confiscated. There was a large number of works by Jewish authors as well as many political books on the list. Socialist and antifascist literature was regarded as harmful and had to be removed but, in addition, certain historical works, especially books which dealt with the Soviet Union, represented propaganda and were not to be read. All books or other writings which were regarded as harmful to the national and social progress of the Norwegian people were impounded without compensation. The aim was to standardise literature - like other aspects of cultural life. By the autumn of 1940 the local NS groups went around the public libraries to confiscate "dangerous" books, but this was stopped by the Kirkedepartements bibliotekkontor\textsuperscript{43} which under its old leadership tried to prevent libraries from being infiltrated by NS members. The administration of public book collections was moved to the Cultural Department, and the public library section became the Literatur og Bibliotekkontoret\textsuperscript{44} and was given the task of confiscation and control of book distribution. Arne Kildal (1885-1972) resigned his post in the Department of Church and Education in October 1941\textsuperscript{45} and spent the rest of the Occupation working secretly in the underground movement and studying literary events. Many of his staff also resigned or disappeared.

\textsuperscript{43} The Library Office in the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs and Public Instruction.
\textsuperscript{44} Literature and Library Office.
\textsuperscript{45} The early part of Kildal's career up till his resignation in 1920 after ten years as Chief Librarian of Bergen Public Library has been addressed in Chapter 6.4. From 1920-25 he was Press Attache in the Foreign Office in Washington DC, and after this he was appointed General Secretary of the Nordmanns Forbundet (Norwegian Association) and then in 1927 he worked as a publishing consultant. In 1933 he was appointed Library Consultant to the Department of Church and Education in Oslo and by 1937 he was Head of the Library Section there.
In summer 1941 yet another long printed list of banned books arrived in libraries and bookshops from the *Kultur og Folkeopplysnings Departement*. The majority of books consisted of political literature, mainly Communist writings. Generally speaking, the public no longer had the possibility of reading what they wanted. It very often happened that a publisher or bookshop was suddenly "sold out" of those books which were supposed to be confiscated or that the messenger arrived just after the books had "unfortunately" already been sent out. Some months later, another list of forbidden literature came out, organised in the same way as the first. On this somewhat shorter list, some of the same authors appeared again, but everything which these principally Jewish authors had written was banned. A short additional list of forbidden books dated 13th May, 1943, was sent to the Police Chief and marked 'secret'. The third list resembled the earlier ones and was the largest, occupying eleven printed pages. Jewish and Communist authors featured prominently. As late as the end of August 1944 typed additional lists were received by libraries and booksellers from the *Kultur og Folkeopplysnings Departement*, including some broadcast talks of Communist and other political texts and some "immoral" books.

Orders to withdraw books were received in libraries by letter, telephone messages or by police visits. Between 14th April 1944 and 14th March 1945 fourteen letters from the Cultural and Adult Education Department were sent to the Chief Librarian at the University of Oslo to the effect that about half a dozen titles had to be treated as "forbidden literature". As soon as the books reached the Library they had to be sent to the *Kultur og Folkeopplysnings Departement*.

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46 Department of Culture and Public Instruction, a Nazi controlled government department.
47 Universitetsbiblioteket i Oslo, Correspondence files, Wilhelm Munthe 1944-1945.
Often there was great confusion around a new book in that first it would be confiscated, later released, perhaps with only a few days in between. Certainly the fact that a book had been confiscated served to advertise it, even if the confiscation had only lasted a few hours. Publishers could sense if a book was likely to be stopped, and would inform the booksellers. A whispering campaign among Norwegian patriots followed rumours of confiscation of new books. The interest in books was even greater than before, since there was little else that could be given as a gift in wartime conditions. A bookseller in the far north relates that he had to organise a queue outside his shop every time a new book arrived. When word got out that a delivery had arrived at the quay, impatient customers visited his house and demanded that he should open the shop. Indeed, people would wait from seven am till midday in hard Arctic weather to get hold of a book or preferably several. But as interest rose, so did the number of shoplifters. A bookseller in Trondheim went to the trouble of appointing his own inspector "with the power to apprehend book thieves". Within just three months, one hundred book thieves had been caught in this shop. The culprits included fourteen women and forty-seven men under twenty-one years of age and twenty-nine men and ten women over this age.  

8.8 University of Oslo Library

A few days after the outbreak of War on 8th September 1939 a note was sent to the Akademiske Kollegium from the Church Department Committee for Preparedness for War with plans to secure collections and evacuate the catalogues, archives, special collections and some newspapers from the

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49 Kikidepartements komite for kulturell krigberedskap.
University Library. Many thousands of important volumes were placed in disused silver mines in Kongsberg.\textsuperscript{50} Wilhelm Munthe (1883-1965) placed the most challenging Hitler biographies and other anti-Nazi literature in safety and removed their cards from the public catalogue\textsuperscript{51}.

It is, however, for the building of the Drammensveien site that Munthe will be remembered; even during the difficult economic period of the War, he managed to persuade the authorities that the Library should be extended - twice. The Germans took the most secure store rooms to use for their maps and their military provisions.

As the senior librarians were dedicated to the preservation of a democratic Norwegian society, this created a supportive atmosphere for people participating in passive or active "illegal" activity. This meant that when someone left his/her desk to take a telephone call and was away for a while, no one asked any questions. Another example of the supportive society was described by a Librarian\textsuperscript{52} who responded to a question concerning the resistance movement: "I was not actually a member of the movement. I just did what everyone else did, I distributed newspapers." Library staff did the necessary "patriotic" work, even if it was not actually librarianship. Two librarians who were central in organising the escape of Jews had their office in the Library.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{50} Sixty miles inland southwest of Oslo.
\textsuperscript{51} Munthe, W. "Norwegian libraries during the war, a personal narrative", Library Quarterly 17 (2) 1947, 128.
\textsuperscript{52} See Appendix A1, Interviewee Number 12, 1.8.97, retired public librarian.
\textsuperscript{53} Sigrid Helliesen Lund (1892-1987) rescued Norwegian Jews from Czechoslovakia through the Nansen Help Committee in October 1939. They were sent to families in Norway. In autumn 1942, 800 of the 1,900 Norwegian Jews were arrested and sent to Germany. In November 1942 she organised the escape of Jewish families to Sweden, and in February 1944 Helliesen Lund herself escaped to Sweden.
The Library was a delivery point for a Home Front newspaper.\textsuperscript{54} Grønland\textsuperscript{55} recounts that on 30th November 1943 a librarian had happened to get into work early and a note had been handed to him which warned that the German army would occupy all University institutions - patriotic students had to be warned. The Reading Room was full and there was very little time, so he quickly took a Greek dictionary from the shelf and put the message in it, placing the book on someone's desk. Shortly afterwards the Reading Room was empty apart from a few known Nazis. When the Germans arrived they found no students in the Library. The Norwegian Department was a safe place to hide documents for certain "borrowers" who got the number of a box from the Librarian before collecting a message. Messages were left in concealed sections of catalogue drawers or in books for specific "borrowers". From the many sources examined it appears that during the War at least three Norwegian librarians were imprisoned in Germany, four in Grini, three escaped to Sweden, two to England and one to the USA.

8.9 Public Libraries

As the war progressed and there were no radios, outdoor pursuits or uncensored newspapers, Bergen Public Library became a central focus of city life with up to one thousand people using the lending department every day. It was reported that there was a continuous stream of people "in through one swing door in the Lending Department and out of the other." "It was a great time for the library, never has the importance of the Library for the city and the

\textsuperscript{54} Bulletinen began in 1940 and later became the leading paper for the Home Front. There were 150 issues. It was only towards the end of the war that it was named when it was the voice of the Home Front leadership.

\textsuperscript{55} Grønland, V.E. "Litt om universitetsbiblioteket i Oslo under krig og okkupasjon 1940-45", Norwegia 10, 1983, 83.
district been so important as then."^56 The books which the Germans classed as "forbidden" were particularly popular and there was a long waiting list. While books in original English were confiscated, translations of the same books remained in circulation and there were books which, according to the German rules, were to be withdrawn but remained free and this constituted the most popular literature."^57

First Assistant in Trondheim Public Library in 1939, Joanna Matheson (1900-1944), together with some other library staff, was involved in civilian war work, including the evacuation of children and the elderly. She gradually became an important link in Home Front activities. As public libraries were very busy in the War period, they were good places to act as meeting points. Couriers looked for Joanna, received directives from her and left quietly again. Gradually as the war progressed, it became obvious to the Germans that there was an active and effective home front "underground." A state of emergency was declared in large parts of mid-Norway in October 1942. In the administrative report of the Public Library of September, 1943, there is a short note: "It was reported that First Assistant at the library, Joanna Matheson, was arrested on 31st October 1942 by the German security police."^58 She spent the rest of her life as a prisoner of the Germans. By the time she arrived in Ravensbrück in July 1944 she was in a poor state of health.


^58 Tysk sikkerhetspoliti.
None of the new arrivals was particularly strong after their long period in prison and exhausting deportation to Germany. 15th November 1944 is the date on which Joanna Matheson died, four months after her arrival in Ravensbrück.  

An Assistant Librarian in Grunnerløkka Branch of Deichman Library, Kåre Hansen (1912-), was imprisoned in Grini in February 1942 for his illegal activity during the war. Hansen provided an account of his resistance activity:

I helped to make stencils of illegal newspapers for the Youth section of the Trade Union (LO), but there were too few of us to produce and deliver the papers so I joined the main organisation and worked on their newspaper Frie. It was exciting, I would be walking down Karl Johan Gate where there were soldiers with a knapsack full of illegal papers. We never knew when we would be caught with illegal material on us. It could happen any time. I was imprisoned during the most important years of my youth.

Illegal newspaper work was constant toil, a struggle to find a location for the radio receiver, typewriter and duplicator, and endless efforts to get hold of stencils, ink and staplers; endless walks in darkness and cold carrying manuscripts and messages, and back again with papers to be distributed. And during all this tiring work in miserable locations and with worn out equipment, there was the constant risk of being caught. Clandestine newspapers were produced under the threat of severe penalties, even death, as the only possible reward.

At Aker Public Library, Nancy Kobro (1899-1968) refused to withdraw books which did not suit official thinking as defined by the Nazi-controlled Cultural Department. She was replaced by a non-librarian who was a member of the Party. Fortunately, she survived the war and was able to return to her position when the war ended.

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59 Lindsay, M. "Defiance and idealism in a Norwegian public library: Joanna Matheson 1900-44", Scandinavian Public Library Quarterly 31 (1) 1998, 30.
60 Interview with retired public librarian January 1994.
In Kristiansand Public Library Reidunn Johnsen, explained how she managed to circumvent the attempt to Nazify the service. Gradually she managed to get the readers to borrow books which were "in the danger zone" and simply to keep them out of sight for a long time. She concluded that none of the NS officials who were responsible for confiscating books had any knowledge of their content or of literature in general: "So there was constantly literature on the shelves which was considerably more dangerous for German world opinion than many of those which were confiscated. And the books found their public."

There were many curious "confiscations" and Reidunn, who was imprisoned in Grini from the winter of 1944 till the end of the war, could not understand how Hjartøy's *Orientation on library technique* was a danger to the Third Reich.

Some books were stopped because they had a Norwegian flag on the dust jacket. This was particularly the case in the early days when Germans were afraid of national symbols. During Nazi rule the libraries were supported in a comparatively ample manner, but one quarter of the appropriation was reserved for the purchase of propaganda books which were "donated" to the libraries.

There was a death penalty attached to holding material from Jewish publishers such as *Bonniers Litterära Magasin*. The library staff kept these items out of sight of the Gestapo.

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62 Reidunn Johnsen (b. 1905) attended Teacher Training College in Kristiansand in 1925, three years later she became a trainee in Kristiansand Public Library. In 1933 she attended the University of London Library School and in 1938, after several years as a Librarian, she was appointed Chief Librarian of Kristiansand Public Library in 1938. In 1949 she graduated from the Library School of the University of Chicago.

63 However, Munthe claims that: "The chairman of the library board was a Nazi. He ordered all sorts of Nazi literature to be bought in great quantities and propaganda posters and pictures to be pasted on the walls. About fifteen hundred volumes were confiscated", Munthe, W. "Norwegian libraries during the war: personal narrative", *Library Quarterly* 17 (2) 1947, 131.

64 Kildal, A. "Norwegian libraries have a mission", *Library Journal* 72, 1947, 498.

65 *Christiansands Tidende* 30th June, 1945, 2.
Arne Arnesen (1880-1943), is best known for having kept the Deichman Library service going throughout the Occupation period. He closely followed the development of Norwegian public libraries and took part in most of the annual library meetings both at home and in other parts of Scandinavia. He visited Germany, England and USA to study library buildings. A Norwegian library school was one of the aims he was strongly committed to, and here also he saw the fruit of his work fulfilled when the School was finally opened in Oslo on 15th January 1940. The 1930s were a time of great adversity, with a reduced book budget from the Council and internal struggles among the staff. When a member of the library staff returned home from a period in Berlin with disquieting reports on German librarianship and on German society as a whole, many staff at Deichman Library were concerned, but Arnesen withdrew from the information meeting in protest in 1938. Many of the staff felt that he was favouring the Nazis and during the war Arnesen became further isolated in his office. There is, however, nothing to indicate that he had more than a strong professional relationship with the German authorities at that time.

During World War II and the period of occupation, many of the staff of Deichman Library participated in printing and spreading illegal material, and took part in activities against the occupying forces. Ringdal found that there were reasons to believe that Arnesen knew about and supported the illegal

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66 Arnesen was first appointed to Deichman Library in 1901, he was Head of the Cataloguing Department in 1905 and became Chief Librarian in 1914.
67 "Arne Arnesen, in memoriam", Deichmanbladet 12 (7) 1943, 54.
68 Ringdal, N. By, bok og borger: Deichmanske Bibliotek gjennom 200 år, Oslo: Aschehoug, 1985, 185. The presumably political reasons for this protest were not explained by the author who recounted this event.
69 Hjartøy stated in 1948 that Arnesen never had sympathy for Nazism, but believed it was a passing sickness of the German nation. Hjartøy, H. "Arne Arnesen og bibliotekets bygning på Hammersborg", Deichmanbladet 17 (8) 1948, 118.
70 Ringdal, N. By, bok og borger: Deichmanske Bibliotek gjennom 200 år, Oslo: Aschehoug, 1985, 186.
activities which took place in the library's hiding places. Just one instance of these activities occurred on 30th November 1943 when a student entered the Reading Room in Deichman Library and gave advance warning of approaching soldiers. One of the advantages of the neo-classical building was the range of corridors in the walls behind the gallery and in the stack areas. About 50 students hid there and were not traced by the soldiers. The porter Erling Larsen and Chief Cataloguer Henrik Hjartøy were found in 1942 to be engaged in illegal activity related to the underground press in the Library, and were arrested and imprisoned in Grini Concentration Camp.

Some staff had to go into hiding or were dismissed and replaced by NS members without formal education, who were given an office in the centre of the main library. Kildal explained that German librarians were put into both the University Library and other libraries throughout the country as "middle men" between the German authorities and the libraries. The Verbindungs-offizier made many inspections to check that the books which were forbidden by the occupying forces had been removed from the lending departments. Henrik Hjartøy was working in the Cataloguing Department when Norway was occupied. His greatest pride was organising the archives of the Labour Movement. He rescued the archive from confiscation by quickly changing its name to Landsorganisasjon. He removed the black-listed books and distributed them around the eastern part of the country wherever he had contacts.

Kildal, A. Presse og litterature fronten under okkupasjonen 1940-45, Oslo: Aschehoug, 1945, 250.
National organisation
8.10 Conclusion

Confiscated books and building damage were the most concrete obstacles to the provision of a full library service in occupied Norway. The public libraries suffered heavy losses during the war; fifty were completely wiped out and many more experienced severe damage to books and other property. Of the completely demolished libraries, half were located in Finnmark, the northernmost province, which was evacuated by the Germans in the winter of 1944. At that time everything was burned to the ground and the population driven southwards. The other public libraries which were destroyed by bombing in the spring of 1940, for the most part, were situated further south in smaller cities and rural districts. It is evident that the attempts of the occupying forces to Nazify Norwegian society were hindered by a population (particularly by the authors among them) who were aware of the tyrannous aspects of National Socialism before the war started. Resistance to the regime occurred at a variety of levels. Because of the dependent relationship of librarianship to the book trade, it has been necessary to consider how people in this sector were affected by the Occupation. Imprisonment of individuals seemed to have occurred in publishing more than in other parts of the book world, and some bookshops were completely destroyed by enemy action. Although less often documented, there were incidents involving support of the Quisling regime, particularly affecting bookshops.

Retrieving the confiscated books after the war ended involved some peculiar discoveries; for example, books were found in a ditch about 50 m. deep in Grini Prison grounds. In many places the police had broken into libraries and taken books away in carloads. Munthe reports that: "Many of these have been
rediscovered in the process of cleaning out Nazi offices. The books were simply thrown and stuffed into rooms and closets and the key turned in the door.  

William Kielhaug, who had been imprisoned during the war, wrote to Wilhelm Munthe on 8th June 1945:

My house, Pilestredet 94, which was confiscated by the Gestapo on 9th June 1940 has been used as a store house for books which the Germans pillaged from different institutions and private individuals. There are many from Prof. Worm Müller's Library. Several thousand volumes have been placed on shelves in the same rooms. With reference to discussions I had today with First Librarian Sommerfeldt and Librarian Kleppa, permit me to recommend that the library makes space for the books so that you can bring them directly from my house down to the library.

On 8th February 1947 the Church Department issued a memorandum concerning the students who had not taken a patriotic stand during the Occupation. They could only be admitted to institutions when their legal position was settled and when there were no legally binding judgements requiring them to be expelled. In 1948 28 students were denied access to the University for varying lengths of time because of their collaboration during the Occupation.  

Holdningskampen - the idea to fight for your convictions and attitudes - was shared not only by pacifists and declared anti-Fascists, but by the majority of the Norwegian people. There was a social homogeneity and cohesion, based on commonly-accepted principles, one of which was faith in democracy and the other a desire for the restoration of the King and the conditions which prevailed in Norway prior to the invasion. The great victory in Holdningskampen was that the NS did not succeed in discrediting Norwegian institutions, whether civil or political. Collaborators or renegades were few enough in number to cause them to be regarded as second-rate citizens by the
loyal Norwegians, and the moral issue, as well as the stamp of incompetence, weighed heavily against them. While doctors, teachers and the Lutheran clergy used their organisational structures to challenge the occupying forces, librarians courageously disobeyed censorship rules and provided islands of free thinking in the centre of enslaving military Occupation.\footnote{See Appendix Figure A1 Norwegian Librarians.}
Chapter 9 Library Buildings and foreign influences on their design

9.1 Introduction

Having looked at some of the libraries, their librarians, the growth of a professional approach, the establishment of a Library School, and the part played by the book world in World War II, this chapter turns to the actual buildings in which the books were housed and those libraries functioned. The University of Oslo\(^1\) was established in 1811. For the first 100 years the Library was housed in various premises, though for sixty-three years (1850-1913) it was situated in the west building of the University\(^2\). The present building in Solli Plass, Drammensveien, was opened on 2nd January 1914, the west wing was added in 1933 and the east wing was completed in 1945. The old Observatory was taken over by the Library in 1965 and rebuilt to house the Division of Studies in Education and the National Music Collection. Germany and America were the principal sources of architectural expertise in the 19th to the late 20th century in Norway, and this influenced library building.

9.2 Danish domination of Norway\(^3\)

In his charter of 1536 the Danish King Christian III had to promise that although Norway would not be an independent kingdom, it would forever remain a part of Denmark on the same terms as the other parts of that country. The union with Denmark greatly influenced the cultural conditions of Norway, and this is very evident in the development of its higher educational institutions.

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\(^1\) The University of Oslo was founded in 1811 as Det Kongelige Frederiks Universitet (1811-39), when the city's name was Kristiania. Since 1939 it has been known as the University of Oslo.

\(^2\) Universitetsbiblioteket i Oslo, The Royal University Library in Oslo, Oslo: Universitetsbiblioteket i Oslo, 1961, 4.

\(^3\) See the Introduction for more information about Norwegian political history.
over a period of three hundred years. In the last decade of the 18th century better economic conditions gave rise to intellectual activity, even though the Danish authorities for a long time tried to centralise all of the country's political and cultural institutions in Copenhagen. An important disadvantage of the Danish influence was that it restricted the availability of books published in Norwegian and available to the local population.

9.3 A Norwegian university

A demand for a Norwegian university had been submitted to the Danish King at regular intervals and was backed up in 1811 by a large sum of money collected among Norwegians at a time of economic depression to establish a Norwegian university. Among the objections raised to Kristiania as the location was the argument that the town was too large, which would constitute a threat to the morals of the students, as the town was too "Londonised". But the arguments in favour of the capital weighed heavily and on February 12th, 1812 the King resolved that the university should be set up in Kristiania. The advocates of the capital had pointed out that Kristiania was the administrative centre of the country, as well as being best equipped with libraries, hospitals and art collections. It was a place where the students would meet people of all classes and professions and not constitute a separate academic clique. In 1813 the University opened its doors and from that time onwards Kristiania became the centre of Norway's intellectual life, where during the 19th century all holders of civil and ecclesiastical offices received their training and undertook academic

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4 As stated in Chapter 1, the city was known as Christiania from 1624-1877 and as Kristiania from 1877-1924. As this chapter considers events in the library world from the 19th to the 20th century, the spelling of Kristiania will be used.

5 No further explanation is given of the term "Londonised". Molland, E. "The university and academic life", Oslo the capital of Norway; edited by C.F. Engelstad, Oslo: Prograrmbyrået, 1950, 113.
studies. Up to 1833 the examination *Artium* could only be taken at the University and this in most cases was also the preliminary academic requirement for entry to University studies.

9.4 University of Oslo Library buildings 1813-51

The first two homes of the University Library were in rented premises not specifically designed for library use. The first period of the University Library's existence was spent in Madame Moestue's building, now Karl Johan Gate 14, where it shared the first floor with a professor's residence and some teaching rooms, but it outgrew this space after two years. In 1816 the Library moved to Rådhusgaten 19, its home for the next 35 years where it occupied nineteen rooms. This was one of the oldest and most handsome buildings in Kristiania. It was built in 1626 for councillor Lauritz Hansen and subsequently the building was owned and used by many prominent government officials. After the Library had moved out it was used by the army and has since been known as the Garrison Hospital.

9.5 University Square - 1851-1912

After more than three decades in cramped and unsuitable premises, the Library could at last, in 1851, move to a new building which was purpose-built. The University Librarian Keyser had himself taken part in the long and complicated planning of *Domus Bibliotheca*.

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6 After the law of 1882 women could enter, and from 1884 they had equal access with men to the University.
8 See Chapter 5.4 for further information about F.W.Keyser (1800-87)
Figure 9.1

University of Oslo 1851
University Library, Museum,
Teaching Block

Source: Alnaes, E. [and others] compiler, Norwegian
architecture through the ages, Oslo: Aschehoug, 1950, 252.
It was the western part of the three monumental buildings which were built for the University around an open square which later became the city's new main street.

Here the Library was placed in the central University area at the side of the teaching building and the museum. The plans were worked out by the Chief Librarian, A.C. Drolsum, and the architect, Christian Henrik Grosch. Drolsum says that the State Architect Grosch (1801-1865) had a high reputation in his profession and was considerably more than a mere slavish follower of foreign patterns. The foundation stone of the Library was laid with great ceremony on the thirtieth anniversary of the establishment of the University on 2nd September 1841.

The building was designed to hold 250,000 volumes but the stock was only about 120,000 volumes, so there was plenty of space for growth. It was in the simple book room style with six book stores and galleries in three columns along the walls. By 1884, however, the Chief Librarian had to solve acute space problems. *Domus Bibliotheca* had been a very modern building in its time, but the collections, staff and the number of people using the Library had all increased, so there was a shortage of space. When its capacity of 250,000 volumes was exhausted, Drolsum managed to convert some of the lofty book halls into something like a modern stack and an inner courtyard into a large reading room with fifty reader places. A reference library of about 2,500 volumes was created in 1884 by placing a glass roof over the yard. Because of

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9 See Chapter 5.4 for further information about A.C. Drolsum (1846-1927)
the high shelves it was necessary to use long ladders in order to reach the uppermost shelves. If anyone fell down clumsily, Drolsum jokingly called such an incident "falling on honoured ground."\(^\text{12}\)

Similar conditions prevailed in Dresden where the Librarian met his death after falling from a step in his Library.\(^\text{13}\) Shelves are the most important fixtures and fittings in a library. The preferred type used in Norway is another indicator of foreign influences in the developing library structure.\(^\text{14}\) There was general acceptance of bookstacks as the most efficient means of housing large collections in the first twenty years of the century.

The lack of heating in the bookstores meant that staff had to wear winter coats and gloves when they were arranging the books. The lending area and book store were cold and dark. As a result of the inadequate heating system Keyser reported to the *Collegium* on 21st Nov. 1851 that the air was dangerous for the respiratory system and caused headaches. He recommended that as soon as possible there should be timberwood heating stoves in the rooms, apart from the book stores which were not heated in this period. It was not until 1883 that a new steam heating system was installed so it was no longer necessary to keep matches on the premises. A serious lack was the absence of lighting and central heating in the book stores. A librarian\(^\text{15}\) who worked in the Library in the period 1896-1930 found that there was little access to light in the office, and on dark days it was difficult for many borrowers to orientate themselves at the counter.

\(^{12}\) Tellefson, T. "Fra det gamle bibliotek", *Festskrift til W.Munthe på femtiårsdagen*, Oslo: Grøndahl & Søn, 1933, 428.


\(^{14}\) See Figures 9.3 "Snead standard book stack" and 9.4 "Lipman system of book shelving."

\(^{15}\) Tellefson, T. "Fra det gamle bibliotek", *Festskrift til W.Munthe på femtiårsdagen*, Oslo: Grøndahl & Søn, 1933, 428.
The light came in from the three windows in the Reading Room which had ceiling light provided through the two glass roofs. If snow had fallen on the Reading Room roof during the night, it was almost impossible to see anything before the snow was cleared from the roof.

Before electric lighting was installed it was often impossible in winter time by 3 p.m. to find books from the top galleries or the interior rooms, and the library staff had to ask the borrowers to return the next day. Tellefson\textsuperscript{16} describes an incident in 1889 when Drolsum arranged for the Frogner Factory to carry out a test of electric light in the Reading Room. He says that one dark autumn afternoon he and his colleagues went into the library in the dark just before 6 p.m. and had to grope forward through the lending office to the Reading Room, where two large arc lamps were hung up. Suddenly at precisely 6 o’clock there was a sparkle and a moment later the Reading Room and its bookshelves shone with strong white light. Tables and shelves and the bottom of the walls were fully illuminated, while the space above was partly in a mystic half darkness, which strongly contrasted with the brightness of surfaces where light shone.

Drolsum often claimed that he had saved the Norwegian state enormous expense in the 1880s by ensuring that the library building in University Place had double capacity. However, at the turn of the century it was clear that the space would only last for a few years. He suggested in 1900 that there should be plans for a new building. It had always been intended that the library building could be expanded, but gradually it was understood that this would create difficulties. In reality there was not much space and the basic conditions

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\textsuperscript{16} Tellefson, T. "Fra det gamle bibliotek", \textit{Festskrift til W.Munthe på femtiårsdagen}, Oslo: Grøndahl & Søn, 1933, 438.
in the old building were a fire risk. The aesthetic grouping of buildings in the university area was an important aspect of building plans. In summer 1907 the Chief Librarian and the architect travelled to a number of European countries to study libraries. Some years were to pass from the date when the original plans had been presented in 1907 and the opening in 1914.

9.6 Drammensveien - 1914

On 17th January 1914 H.M.King Haakon VII and Her Majesty Queen Maud attended the opening ceremony for the Library and the next day the government, diplomats, chairmen and representatives from science, art and commerce (400 people) visited the Library. The structural problems of the new building were solved in a very economical and quite novel way. The main frontage was built in rough blocks of red granite, facing a busy traffic circus and placed on a low ridge sloping to the rear, which made it possible to put book tiers in the stack wings below the main entrance level. Thompson describes "The Scandinavian type" of library with open lending hall and gallery accessible to readers. "The lending department contains the catalogues and the readers' adviser's desk, and the gallery makes it possible to keep a larger stock in the one large open-access room." The intention in organizing the new Library on Drammensveien was to arrange the most important public rooms in a main floor as far as possible in the front of the building. The lending office was in the centre, the public catalogue and reading room on either side. Behind this were the staff office and the book stores.

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17 See Figure 9.2 “University Library, Drammensvein 1913" below.
Figure 9.2

University of Oslo Library 1913-99
42, Drammensveien
This was consistent with Arnesen's\textsuperscript{19} recommendation that the Librarian's office should be central for daily management, easily accessible to the main entrance and with access to all the other offices.

In an essay of reminiscences from the University Library Amundsen\textsuperscript{20} says that the new building was in many ways an excellent working place, well planned, and designed with a view to the future, including extensions for storage and reading rooms. But he also was aware of some weaknesses. The rooms on the 5th floor were ice cold during winter. It was found that there were holes which let in air, this was in order to insert festival poles during national festivals when the front of the building was to be decorated and so the wind blew into the reading room! Building expansions were added in 1932 on the south side, in 1933 the west wing was added and the east wing was finally completed in 1945. Arnesen\textsuperscript{21} in his textbook on library buildings says that one of the most perfect shelving systems was that produced by the Snead Company Iron Works, Jersey City. The side pieces were made of cast iron in different styles. He also recommended the German so-called Lipman storage system (provided by Wolf, Netter and Jacobi in Berlin) which would take up less space than the American. The University had looked at two different types of shelving and eventually chose the Lipman system.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{19} Arnesen, A. *Bibliotekbygninger*, (Norsk Bibliotekforening Småskrifter 4), Kristiania: Stenersen, 1919, 39.
Figure 9.3

Snead standard bookstack

Source: Dahl, S. *Haandbog i bibliotekskundskab* 2, Copenhagen: Hagerup, 1927, 406, Fig.78.
Figure 9.4

Lipman shelving system
University of Oslo 1913

Source: Dahl, S. Haandbog i bibliotekskundskab 2, Copenhagen: Hagerup, 1927, Fig. 79.
9.7 Norwegian library buildings - German and American influences

In the 19th century German libraries were models of the ideal academic library. The new Library building on Drammensveien in 1913 made good use of what had been seen and learnt in Germany. As noted before, the German influence was very dominating within university circles and within the scholarly and cultural milieu in all the Scandinavian countries right up till the inter-war years. As for the American influence, the Norwegian librarian Wilhelm Munthe\(^2\) claims that:

The American library movement had its origin in England. It came like a tidal wave, first to the Atlantic states, where it gathered force and impetus and then flowed out over the hills and plains of the rest of the new world. But later the tide changed and sent a refreshing stream back to Europe, reaching first the British Isles and then the Scandinavian countries. Toward the turn of the last century, however, Norway began to be directly affected by the American public library movement.

In order to illustrate the American influences on library building generally in Norway, some reference will be made to public library buildings which were initially modelled on the American architectural styles. Describing early American library buildings Orne\(^3\) explains that:

For the most part, a library before 1876 was usually planned as a lofty room, either with galleries on one or more levels around the perimeter, or with a series of double-faced bookshelves arranged to create alcoves based upon the outside walls with a reading space in the centre between the rows of alcoves. Administrative functions were lodged almost at random.

Rogers\(^4\) describes the rapid growth of buildings designed in America which in 1874-8:

Were less than ideal because the planners by using a combination of balconies and alcoves tried to accommodate all users and entire collections in one room. The result was frequently a hall 50 to 60 feet in height with a roof skylight and/or high windows. Lighting in the lower


alcoves was sometimes poor despite augmentation of natural daylight with gaslights, while heat in the upper galleries caused serious damage to bookbindings.

In his textbook on library architecture published by the Norwegian Library Association, Arnesen\(^{26}\) refers to the simplest form of a library building being a single room and illustrates this with a photograph of Portland, Oregon, Public Library. He says that "it ought to be rectangular with the entrance in the centre of one long wall. A library of this type ought to have the most complete general view and the most economical use of staff." In 1919 a book describing Carnegie libraries was reviewed in a Norwegian library journal as "one of the most important books on library building."\(^{27}\)

Munthe\(^{28}\) argues that the library revolution which Norwegians brought home from America did not affect academic libraries in Norway: "on the other hand, the great scholarly libraries, both in north Europe and in Germany, have maintained their traditions with a stubbornness that seems to the apostles of the American library gospel to border on the unpardonable sin." When American practices were adopted in the smaller Norwegian libraries, the changes were the result of the influence of the larger libraries, of reports in the professional journals, of personnel taught by American-trained librarians, or other indirect means. A Norwegian author, H.T. Lyche (1859-88), who spent many years working in America as a Unitarian pastor, regularly wrote articles in *Kringsjaåd*\(^{29}\) where he drew the attention of his Norwegian readers to how much better libraries were there than in Norway. He says in one of these unsigned articles in

\(^{26}\) Arnesen, A. *Bibliotekbygninger*, (Norsk Bibliotekforening Småskrifter 4), Kristiania: Stenersen, 1919, 12.

\(^{27}\) "Fra utlandets tidsskrifter", *For Folkeoplysning* 3, 1918, 132-3.


\(^{29}\) *Panorama*
1893\textsuperscript{30} that, compared with the more developed of the North American free states, Norway's public library buildings were deplorably behind. In many small American towns there was a public library including a reading room in the most conspicuous and most attractive building, which was architecturally the town's spiritual centre. The contrast between a public library in a Norwegian provincial town and a small American town was striking. The American library was in an attractive, light, spacious building, whereas in Norway the library was usually a dark, ugly room or cupboard. The American buildings were a type of intellectual temple. Besides book collections and reading rooms, they also contained a lecture hall where there was entertainment and the halls could be rented at a low cost.

Although he did not restrict his attention simply to buildings, Munthe\textsuperscript{31} claims that "in the library field, the Scandinavian countries have from the Reformation onwards been subject primarily to German influence. England's part has been comparatively insignificant, even though her language and literature were well known." When designing the Kristiania University Square Library, Grosch followed and developed F.F. Gartner's building of the State Library in Munich, built 1831-1842, so consistently down to the tiniest expression following the generally accepted storehouse system. The top shelf had to be within reach of a person of average height standing on the floor.\textsuperscript{32}

On 15th September 1866 the new Library building for the Royal Norwegian Society in Trondheim opened its doors to members. In the centre of the

\textsuperscript{30} "Offentlige biblioteker", Kringsjaa 1, 1893, 762.
\textsuperscript{31} Munthe, W. American librarianship from a European angle, Chicago, Ill.: American Library Association, 1939, 1.
\textsuperscript{32} Drolsum, A.C. Universitets-Bibliotekets festskrift 1811-1819 i anledning of hundred aars jubilaet, Kristiania: Brygdes, 1911, 58.
Reading Room there was a bridge from the north to the south gallery. The idea of this arrangement was, according to Støren, taken from other recent library buildings, including the architect Grosch's building of 1850 for the University of Oslo Library. Landmark pointed out that, like all libraries of this older type, there is an open central area where books cannot be housed. "Nevertheless the gallery installation entails in this modest building a definite aesthetic effect, which has its own charm." Støren also appreciated the advantages of the gallery which he felt had a fine aesthetic effect. A comparable gallery installation had also been used by C. Christie in the National Archive Building in Oslo. The tradition of high shelves was criticised by Arne Kildal (1885-1972) when he returned home to Norway from America. He said that the storeroom of Bergen Public Library had shelves right up to the ceiling, and double-sided ladders were placed against the shelves in order to remove books. He felt that this organisation of the book stock was old-fashioned and it was extremely difficult to find the books which had been requested. Shelving problems were also identified in one of the early locations of Deichman Library. It was reported that shelves had to be added continually and the old ones were

33 See Figure 9.5 "Interior of Scholarly Society Library 1933" below.
37 For further information about Arne Kildal see Chapter 6.2.
filled right up to the ceiling, so that the staff had plenty of exercise in climbing up and down the steps.\textsuperscript{39}

The first public library to have a separate building was the Deichman Grunnerløkken Branch at Schous Plass in Oslo, opened in 1914.\textsuperscript{40} The building was planned by Nyhuus and was, both in general structure and in detail, based on the pattern of American public library branch buildings. One serious defect of the building was that it contained no work space for the staff.\textsuperscript{41} In the first four decades of the 20th century the building programme of new libraries in Norway amounted to public library buildings in Kristiansand 1915, Bergen and Haugesund 1917, Ålesund and Kristiansund 1919, Larvik 1921, Rjukan 1924, Levanger and Hamar 1925, Fredrikstad 1926, Moss 1927, Oslo 1933. Many of these buildings and a number of others were modelled on American examples and indicate the very strong influence of the United States. The directors of the new library at Moss were eager to get a new building not only because the old circulation areas were inadequate, but also because they wanted reading rooms in conjunction with the loan desks in accordance with the American pattern.\textsuperscript{42}

The American educated Norwegian librarian Arne Kildal planned the Bergen Public Library building which was opened in 1917.\textsuperscript{43} The interior planning of the Library owed much to American ideas. In 1916 it was felt that the most strikingly attractive building, architecturally speaking, was expected to be the new library edifice in Bergen. The administrators of the Deichman Library were interested in getting new premises not only because the old lending rooms

\textsuperscript{39} Melhus, C. "Fra 'Eventyrården' til Hammbersborg", \textit{Deichmanbladet} 17 (8) 1948, 110.
\textsuperscript{40} See Figure 9.7 "Bergen Public Library 1917", below.
\textsuperscript{41} Danton, J.P. \textit{United States influence on Norwegian librarianship, 1890-1940}, Berkeley and Los Angeles, Cal.: University of California Press, 1957, 63.
\textsuperscript{42} "Moss nye folkebibliotek", \textit{For Folkeoplysning} 12 (3) 1927, 97-98.
\textsuperscript{43} See Figure 9.7 "Bergen Public Library 1917" and Chapter 5.5.
were short of space, but also because there was a desire for the American type of Reading and Lending Rooms.

From the 1920s and 1930s onwards the American influence became stronger in academic libraries. The building of the University Library in Oslo in the 1930s and its subsequent additions had clear American models with open shelves for large collections and much used literature, incorporating working spaces for researchers. American carrels were introduced into the new university library building in Bergen in 1961. At the 14th Meeting of Norwegian Librarians in 1921, Arne Arnesen gave an address on modern library buildings, illustrated with slides to show American and Norwegian libraries. Although Arnesen was funded to visit the United States for the purpose of observing American public library buildings, when the Oslo Public Library was opened in 1933 it was not centrally located in the city, and there was a ten metre height difference between the front and the back of the building, while the main public room was lined with books to a height of nearly 30 feet. These features are in marked contrast with those of the best American public library building practices of the time. At the opening there was a description in the press about the "Deichman step building." From an architectural point of view the library resembled a university library rather than a publicly-orientated one. All the newspapers discussed the "book temple", reacting both positively and negatively. One journalist characterised the building as a shabby film set or an American military station. The library staff also had mixed feelings as their song shows:

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44 Carrels were also included in the expansion of the university library building in Trondheim in 1975.
45 "Fra utlandets tidsskrifter", For Folkeopplysning 3, 1918, 132-3.
46 See Figure 9.8 "Deichman Library 1933" below.
We go up a step and down a step at Deichman!

I live at Majorstua just at the station and found out one day that I needed a bit of exercise for my brain which was completely hibernating. I asked a chap and he said: "It's fine, you should just take a walk down to Deichman, there you will find literature in big halls!

You go up a step and down a step and a step up and a step down!"

There were steps and columns and columns and steps and around the walls were full of rules and regulations with the weird order from the office. "Wipe your feet!" "Leave your briefcase." "Don't use the lift if you can walk"

You bet I did what they told me!

I went up a step and down a step and a step up and a step down!"

But when I came up to the Lending Room, I remained standing thunderstruck for indeed it reached the ceiling! the books were impossible to reach, It made you quite dizzy just looking up, but now it was too late to go back!"

I went up a step and down a step and a step up and a step down!"*

Commenting on the green coloured paint used on the Deichman Library extension in 1930, Ringdal48 observes that the colour was seldom used in Oslo and the library building stood out from the city's main architecture which was predominantly north German and Scandinavian in appearance.

The library buildings in Oslo, Bergen, Drammen, Kristiansand and Oslo were a physical witness of the extent to which Norwegian public libraries were modelled on American ones. However, it must be acknowledged that during the long period of planning the building in the 1920s and 30s, there were many

48 Ringdal, N. By, bok og borger: Deichmanske Bibliotek gjennom 200 år, Oslo: Aschehoug, 1985, 155.
discussions about library buildings in America and Great Britain as well as in Scandinavia.49

9.8 Conclusion

It has been shown that the library revolution at the end of the 19th century in America was strongly echoed in Norway, and in the early 20th century particularly in public library buildings. In order to understand the origins of these influences, it is relevant to recognise that they resulted from the documented reports and experiences provided by Norwegians returning home after visiting or working in libraries in other countries. Just as Norwegian emigrants in America sent letters home to family and friends in Norway describing the new life they were experiencing, similarly many, such as H. T. Lyche, wrote articles in a Norwegian journal praising the American library revolution which was occurring towards the end of the 19th century. Many of Lyche's articles were directly translated from American English to Norwegian. Those which described buildings also included photographs. The American influence on Norwegian public libraries affected both the practice of librarianship and building designs. However, the 1913 building of the University of Oslo on Drammensveien followed styles seen in German university libraries. These libraries had been visited by Norwegians on study tours there in the 1880s. It was not till the 1920s and 1930s that American influences became apparent in the University of Oslo buildings, including the Library.

49 Hjartøy, H. "Arne Arnesen og bibliotekets bygning på Hammersborg", Deichmanbladet 17 (8) 1948, 116.
Figure 9.5

Interior of the Library of the Royal Norwegian Society of Science and Letters, Trondheim 1933

Source: Overbibliotekar Wilhelm Munthe på femtiårs dagen, fra fagfeller og venner, Oslo: Grøndahl, 1933, 254.
Figure 9.6

Grunnerløkka - First purpose-built branch of Deichman Library 1914. Photograph 1930s

Photograph supplied by kind permission of Deichman Library
Figure 9.7

Bergen Public Library 1917
Figure 9.8

Deichman Library 1933

Extension added 1972, Children’s Library, School Department and Social Library Service

Source: Ringdal, N.J. By, bok og borger, Deichmanske Biblioteket gjennom 200 År, Oslo: Aschehoug, 1985, 176.
Chapter 10

Historical development of the University of Oslo Library - Books and manuscripts

10.1 Introduction

Having looked at the development of Norwegian librarianship in general terms, we can consider the establishment of main academic institutions and, in particular, the development of the University Library. The University of Oslo Library, founded 1811, has great significance for Norwegian librarianship overall, as it also serves as the National Library. The first people to donate books to the University of Oslo Library included individuals who were concerned about their "fatherland," "freedom of the individual" and the constitutional development of Norway. This chapter commences with biographical information about those who provided the founding material for the University Library, concentrating on the following individuals: Bernt Anker (1746-1805), Halvor Andersen (1745-1810), Jacob E. Colbjornsen (1744-1802) and Peter Frederik Suhm (1728-1798). Following discussion of leading individuals, an historical account of the manuscript collections is given, and then the first book purchases for the University Library are identified. Consideration of the deposit law follows, which led to defining the national and academic functions of the Library and the establishment of the Norwegian Department.

1 While this thesis concentrates on the period up to the late 1960s it is important to acknowledge recent developments in the establishment of the National Library. “In 1989 the Rana Division of the National Library was established and given the responsibility for the administration of the Norwegian arrangement of legal deposit. In 1992 the Norwegian Parliament decided to establish a unified self-contained National Library with its main office located in Oslo. The Office of the National Librarian came into operation in 1994. The Oslo Division was established in 1999 based on national functions and collections separated from the University of Oslo Library.” http://www.nb.no/english.

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10.2 Donating books - intentions and reality 1770-1811

Even before the University Library was founded, a small group of wealthy families who were intertwined through business relations and intermarriage made some very important donations which laid the foundations of the University Library. They formed a close circle in the lumber industry, mining and shipping. At the end of the 18th century the timber merchant Bernt Anker (1746-1805) was Norway's richest man. In the 1770s he was - like his father ten years earlier - engaged in plans for a Norwegian bank. He was a public benefactor, patron of genius, literature and the arts.

In the early 1790s the first manifestations of interest in a Norwegian university occurred. Bernt Anker offered monetary prizes for the best essays submitted by the public on the subject of a Norwegian university. He opened negotiations with Peter Frederik Suhm on the establishment of a university library. Bernt Anker was aware that many books ought to be permanently available for public use. But as he himself did not own more than 4,000 books he purchased Suhm's books which in the 1790s amounted to 100,000 volumes. Anker had planned to put the books, which were mostly collected from Norway, as the foundation collection of a university library in Kristiania. But the whole plan collapsed because of the unwillingness of the Royal Danish Government to comply with the wishes of the Norwegians. However, Bernt Anker did not abandon his

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2 According to accepted practice in rich families, Bernt Anker and his brothers had private tuition at home, and after matriculation at Copenhagen University in 1764 he travelled for three years with his Danish tutor to other European countries. From 1767-83 he ran the flourishing family firm and capitalized on the good relations which the North American War of Independence created for Norwegian trade. The Norwegian merchant fleet grew very strong, while the timber stock in England shrank. Wood from Anker's firm is recorded as being used in London in 1777.


interest in a university; he left part of his fortune to provide stipends for students at a future university in Norway. The collection was stored until the time when a university came into being, and then it was placed in the Library.

A notable benefactor, whose collection eventually reached the University Library, was Halvor Andersen (1745-1810).\(^5\) Andersen's book collecting was focused on Norwegian and Danish history and statistics in the period 1501-1810. He was a member of the Scandinavian History and Language Association. He never married but willed much of his wealth to an adopted daughter as well as providing a pension both for her and for his mother. His collections of natural history specimens, antiques and 15,000 volumes of books as well as a valuable manuscript collection were willed to a future Norwegian University in 1786.\(^6\) Halvor Andersen\(^7\) was always greatly interested in the situation in his home country. In his will he said he left his library to his dear native country, Norway, where there was a greater shortage of public libraries than in Denmark; and so, provided that Norway will in time fulfil the desire to establish a University, the books should be put there. The collection was placed in Deichman Library until the University was established in 1811 and then it formed an important part of the collections there.

Jacob Colbjørnsen (1744-1802) was another notable figure in the early collection building of the University Library.\(^8\) After he passed the examination

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\(^5\) His first employment was as administrative assistant to a chief magistrate. Then, aged 26, he went to Copenhagen and took the law examination and became a junior clerk there in 1771. By 1793 he was appointed accountant in the Danish Chancellery and in 1805 he received the title \textit{Cancelliraad}, Councillor.

\(^6\) Ringdal, N. \textit{By, bok og borger: Deichmann Bibliotek gjennom 200 år}, Oslo: Aschehoug, 1985, 17.


\(^8\) He was born in Romerike, the son of a military man, and was partly educated at home by tutors and his father. In 1758 at the age of fourteen he was sent to Kristiania Cathedral School where he was accepted into the top class. In 1760 he went to Copenhagen where he
in law in 1770, he was appointed a High Court Lawyer and when the Extraordinary Professor in Jurisprudence died in 1772, Jacob was appointed Ordinary Professor at the University of Copenhagen in 1774. "As a legal author he was very productive and his polyhistoric knowledge was described as amazing."9 Jacob gave his books to the King in 1810 and he, in turn, gave the collection to the new University Library.10 The Dane gave his books to Norway for a new university library, though he himself never went to Norway. The collection included 8,000 volumes, but after the duplicates and some parts of the Danish collection were removed, there were around 3,000 volumes of law, language and fiction. He died in Copenhagen in 1802 aged fifty-seven years and has been described as "an agreeable and pleasant person".11

Trondheim had achievements to its credit which had excited the admiration of the nation. Chief amongst them had been the founding there in 1767 of Det Trondhjemske Videnskabs-Selskab (The Trondheim Scientific Society)12 founded by three scholars: P.F. Suhm (1728-98), Gerhard Schøning (1722-80) and John Ernst Gunnerus (1718-73). These men helped to arouse self-esteem and love of their country in prominent Norwegians. Until the University was founded in 1811, the Society was the only centre of learning in the country, and later it was to fill an important place in Norway's intellectual development. Suhm, a historian, was Danish by birth but had married into the noted Trondheim family of Angell, and he lived there from 1751 to 1765, publishing a

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10 Ringdal, N. By, bok og borger: Deichmanske Bibliotek gjennom 200 år, Oslo: Aschehoug, 1985, 17.  
12 See also Chapter 5.2.
popular journal (1760-65) devoted to the arts and sciences, *Trondheimske Samlinger*. He wrote most of the articles including a series of book reviews. As a nobleman, the young Suhm naturally had to take the *embets* route and after legal studies, at the age of twenty he became Assessor and later a Chamberlain. His marriage to Karen Angell enabled him to remain a lifelong independent scholar. To facilitate his studies, Suhm collected all books of interest to him, and eventually his library amounted to 100,000 volumes which he made available to the public. In 1771 Suhm published an anonymous pamphlet, in which he indulged in bitter invective against the Danish government for failing to make provision for higher education in Norway. He said that the Danes from mean-spirited jealousy and unfounded fear sought to perpetuate ignorance in Norway. There was no academy, no university, no public library. In Suhm's will of 1788 he bequeathed his library for public use as well as a fund to purchase and bind books and pay the annual salary of librarians who should have free access to his house. In 1796, two years before Suhm died, the library of 100,000 volumes was bought by the King for the Royal Library which was open to the public. When the University of Kristiania was established in 1811 the king gave about 40,000 volumes from this collection towards the new University Library. The main force driving book collectors to donate their books to the new University Library was the desire to promote greater Norwegian independence. As soon as *Selskabet for Norges Vel* was

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13 Papers from Trondheim.
14 Position named by the King, in both civil public service and military life.
17 The Society for the Good of Norway.
organised, it strongly supported the cause of establishing a university. This nation's demand was expressed in such vigorous terms, and the desire was backed with such large subscriptions that the Danish King Frederick VI found it hazardous to postpone so reasonable a request and the University charter was granted in 1811.

10.3 Manuscript collection

Halvor Andersen's collection of manuscripts forms the basis of the manuscript collection of the University Library. The first catalogue of the total collection was created in 1834 and described three hundred and fifty manuscripts, in addition to H. Andersen's collection. The Library bought a number of manuscripts at auction in 1835. An exotic acquisition of manuscripts was bought in 1836 which included thirteen Arabic and two Persian manuscripts for Professor C.A. Holmboe's (1796-1882) teaching. With this exception, the acquisition policy was directed to Norwegian history and topography. In the 1850s there were many purchases at auction. The largest was the one hundred and thirty five manuscripts bought at auction from the historian Judge J.C. Bang's collection. In the 1850s the lawyer Jonas Skaugaard (1896-1968), who owned one of the finest private collections in Norway, left his collection of 536 manuscripts and 3,340 letters to the University Library. In 1906 the Ibsen

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18 See Chapter 10.2, above.
19 After leaving Kristiania Cathedral School in 1814, Christopher Andreas Holmboe studied theology and passed the embedseksamen in 1818. He studied Arabic and Persian in Paris 1821-22. He was appointed as a lecturer in Oriental Languages at the University of Oslo in 1822 and became a Professor in 1825. From 1830-76 he organised the University coin and medal collection and published works on numismatics in 1841 and 1854. Holmboe's publications extend over a wide range of subjects. His interests included philology, mythology, archaeology and folk traditions. Throughout his work, there is the thread of the close linguistic and cultural historical connections between Scandinavia and India. He was a member of the committee for revising translations of the Old Testament and he took part in meetings on this from 1842 to 1869. Marstrander, C. "Holmboe, Christopher Andreas 1796-1882", Norsk Biografisk Leksikon 6, Oslo: Aschehoug, 1934, 249-50.
family donated a large number of Ibsen papers and this has been complemented by other gifts and library purchases. At last, in February 1920 the manuscript collection had its own Librarian and the Department has since then grown steadily. The additions have included gifts as well as purchases from private collectors and auctions. The Bjørnson Archive comprising about 4,500 volumes of editions and translations of works by the poet and 2,000 letters was opened with a grand ceremony on 21st November 1934. The collection has developed over the years, partly from new gifts from the Bjørnson family, but also from Norwegian academics and many other individuals both in Norway and in other countries. Additionally, the Library has purchased items for the collection. Bjørnson’s collection has been described as central for research on Bjørnson, but also of value for Scandinavian and European history. About sixty European medieval manuscripts are held in the Library’s collections. Most have a theological and edifying content: Bibles, psalters, books of hours, sermons and other holy literature. In addition, there are texts from classical Latin (Vergil and Cicero), and writings on astronomy and astrology.

10.4 First Book purchases 1811-1933

One of the earliest acquisitions was a collection consisting of over 2,000 volumes, mostly modern fiction, which was bought by the Board of Management of the University at an auction in Kiel in November 1811 from a Dutch nobleman, D.C.A. van Rumoh. When Prof. G. Sverdrup (1770-1850) was appointed University Librarian in 1813, he organised the transfer of the

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20 Bjørnstjerne Bjørnson (1832-1910) was a poet, dramatist and novelist. He was also a powerful advocate of intellectual and political freedom and a Nobel Prize winner.
22 For further information about G. Sverdrup (1770-1850) See Chapter 5.5.
collections from Copenhagen as well as all the purchases of new literature, and he continued to do this while he was linked to the Library although he was not expected to participate in daily library activities. In a country which in the first 10 years of its independence remained in poverty there were no large grants which could be allocated to the Library, so that manuscripts and rarities were never considered for purchase. Fiction was limited to Scandinavian books and some from the principal European languages, where the books were expected to become "classics". The University of Kristiania established a regular exchange of literature with countries abroad in the 1870s. A special exchange office was established with its own librarian in 1896. This additional activity ensured that valuable works and books sent abroad helped to make Norwegian literature better known. Gradually as the literature increased it became more specialised and subject specialist staff were appointed in the 1920s.

A revision of the methods for collecting statistical records of stock size in Scandinavia took place in the 1920s. For many decades the number of accessions in Norwegian libraries had been roughly estimated rather than accurately counted to show how the library had grown since the previous year. These statistics made comparisons between libraries highly problematic. The Swedish libraries resolved to throw all volume statements overboard and calculate the size of shelf in metres. But this alone was not satisfactory. International library statistics are required in numbers of volumes. In order to create a new reliable foundation for the report on the size of the University Library there was a need to make a general count of actual volumes on the shelves. In 1922 a count began with twenty staff at 10 a.m. and finished by 2 p.m. The result was that the book department included 477,927 bound books,
2,158 bundles of small printed matter, 122,154 unbound dissertations, and
17,320 bound newspapers, besides duplicates, maps and pictures. A calculation
based on numbers of volumes per shelf metre was used to count the stock
throughout the library. In 1882 the Library had 240,359 volumes, 1,270
manuscripts and 481 maps.

10.5 Deposit law 1781-1939

The aim of legal deposit of publications is to build up a collection of documents
which will give as complete a picture as possible of a nation’s existing society
for present and future. In some countries and at certain periods there is also the
less often stated aim of keeping an eye on what is published. Already in the
17th century there were ordinances in Norway-Denmark requiring deposit
which was originally linked to book printing privileges in Copenhagen. "In
accordance with the ordinance of 1781 three copies should be deposited in the
Royal Library in Copenhagen."23 A year after Norway broke away from the
Union with Denmark, in 1814, deposit regulations were passed, but this was
seen as a form of censorship. Legal deposit obligations were not enforced from
1814 till the 1880s, so that the Norwegian printed heritage as a totality was not
being collected in a consistent way in the period when the national literature
"grew up". F.W. Keyser (1800-87)24 felt that he was only a University Librarian
and so it was only necessary to buy the Norwegian literature which was needed
for an academic library for professors and students.25 His successor, P. Botten-
Hansen (1824-69)26, took the opposite view because he was interested in

23 Holm-Olsen, A.G. "Norsk avdeling", Universitetet i Oslo i ord og bilder; edited by B. Norlin,
24 For further information about Keyser F.W. (1800-87) See Chapter 5.4.
25 Munthe, W. "Universitetsbibliotekets opgaver som nasjonalbibliotek", For Folkeoplysming 9
(1-2) 1924, 7.
26 For further information about P. Botten-Hansen See Chapter 5.5.
establishing a Norwegian Department but had no plans to encourage donations to the Library or a general deposit policy. Ludvig Daae (1834-1910)\textsuperscript{27} wrote an appeal to the newspapers for a voluntary deposit but with no success. At last, with the help of the Legal Deposit Act in 1882, A.C. Drolsum (1846-1927) succeeded in obtaining a reintroduction of the deposit of one copy of every published text emanating from Norwegian presses and publishing houses. This law was revised in 1939 and now required that all such works should be delivered to the Library twice a year.

10.6 National and University Library 1814-1907

"Right from the start the University Library authorities understood that our country's main learned library had other tasks beyond its purely university role."\textsuperscript{28} There is an explanation for the wider role seen by the University Library in Oslo. The Kingdom of Norway had no institution with the official name of the Royal or National Library. The explanation of this situation may be found in the historical fact that the country had no royal court or central administration within its own boundaries during the long union with Denmark. When the two countries were separated in 1814, the Library of the Royal Frederick University, founded only three years before, had to take over some of the obligations of a national library.\textsuperscript{29}

The Library had collected literature to cover all the subject areas studied within the University. In a report from 1826 Sverdrup said that: "This is not actually a

\textsuperscript{27} Ludvig Ludvigsen Daae (1834-1910) was best known as Professor of History. He was the author of a number of popular articles and a tireless debater and he was Chief of the University Library from 1869-76.

\textsuperscript{28} Universitet i Oslo, \textit{Om Universitetsbiblioteket}, Oslo: Brøggers Boktrykkeri, 1931, 8.

\textsuperscript{29} Universitetsbiblioteket i Oslo, \textit{The University of Oslo Library}, Oslo: Grøndahl, 1947, 3.
University, but a National Library." Fifty years later, when A.C. Drolsum was Chief Librarian of the University Library 1876-1922, he too felt that the Library was somewhat more than a Library for the University. He saw it as the single Academic Library in Norway as well as the National Library. In 1895 he therefore raised the suggestion of a name change to: "National and University Library" or "State and University Library" in order to emphasise the commitment as an Academic Library for the whole country. This question was discussed in Parliament but it did not lead to any name change. Drolsum raised the question again in 1907 but again this did not lead to anything. When discussing libraries in the Scandinavian countries Gislason explains that:

A national and university library has to perform two sets of functions: it has to carry out functions of a national library and to serve the university to which it is attached. The conflict of interests between use and preservation of documents can be a serious problem in a national and university library. One of its duties is to preserve its collections of national documents for posterity. But the library has an obligation, which clashes with that duty. It has to serve a university, and that means lending of books to academic staff and students. The library has to minimise the conflict of interests between permanent retention of national documents in the library and lending to people using them outside the library's premises.

Munthe argues that the question of which library would take on the national duties was easily answered as the university library was the country's only library which had staff and financial allocations. All cultured states at this time had an official national library. Their most important role was to secure the

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31 Axel Charlot Drolsum (1846-1927) was appointed research assistant in the University Library from 1870, and then became Chief Librarian in 1876. His remarkable achievements for staffing included increased working hours with compensation in salary and an increased number of positions from four to forty. In the autumn of 1913 the Library moved into the new building. When he retired in 1922, he could look back on a consistent period of growth, the book collection had increased from 200,000 volumes to 750,000 volumes.
national imprint by legislation requiring book printers or publishers to deposit one or several copies of their works in the National Library.34

10.7 The Norwegian Department 1883-1930

Munthe35 claims that: "The most important part in Drolsum's plan for the Library was the establishment of the Norwegian Department and the catalogue of University publications." There were models within Scandinavia for the formation of a department to collect national material. In 1780 the Royal Library in Copenhagen resolved to collect everything printed which was produced within the Danish state in a "Danish Department". In Sweden there was a similar situation dating from 1840 and in Finland from 1845. In Norway the law of 20th June 1882 on depositing printed matter took effect in January 1883, and from that date the Norwegian Department was regarded as established. In his examination of the reasons for the Nordic predilection for separating the national literature from the main library system, Munthe36 felt that it would be irrational for a library in a state with a world language to try to separate domestic and foreign books, but a small nation with a language of its own has a stronger feeling of its duties toward its own idiom. He concluded that national literature which was managed in special departments would be an expression of sound national consciousness.

Thirty years later we find similar aims expressed by Tveterås37 who said that a special national department in the library would increase respect for Norwegian

34 Munthe, W. "Universitetsbibliotekets opgaver som nasjonalbibliotek", For Folkeoplysning 9 (1-2) 1924, 8.
37 Tveterås, H.L. "Universitetsbiblioteket 1876-1911-1961", Universitet i Oslo 1911-61, 2. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1961, 134. The "separate" lending collection was additional to the main collection maintained for preservation of the national literature.
scientific and literary production, and it would have the practical advantage of
providing cataloguing and loans of a separate collection which could be used as
the foundation for the national bibliography.

The Norwegian Department from the outset has been the focus for Norwegian
bibliography.\(^\text{38}\) Heads of the National Department have included well-known
bibliographers such as J.B. Halvorsen (1845-1900), editor of *Norsk Forfatter
Lexikon*,\(^\text{39}\) 1814-80, H. Petersen (1856-1928), compiler of *Norwegian National
Bibliography*,\(^\text{40}\) and W.P. Sommerfeldt (1881-1956), editor of several
bibliographical works. Halvorsen's exceptional knowledge of 19th century
Norwegian literature meant that he knew where the gaps were in this collection.
Initially, the task was to create an independent national department which also
included moving the older Norwegian material, spread throughout the library
under different subjects, to the Norwegian Department - a very demanding task,
which was continued by Halvorsen's successor, H. Pettersen, who in 1898
became Head of the Department. According to Fischer\(^\text{41}\), Pettersen's
*Bibliotheca Norvegica*, a four volume work, and his other bibliographical
publications will always remain leading works in Norwegian bibliography. From
1883 to 1920 the national bibliography was published in annual volumes, and
from 1921 also in 5-year cumulations. In the early 1950s the bibliography
consisted of monthly lists, annual volumes and quinquennial cumulations. W.P.

\(^{38}\) Fischer, K. "Universitetsbibliotekets Norske Avdeling 1882-1932", *For Folkeoplysning* 17 (3) 1932, 115.
\(^{39}\) Bibliography of authors.
udlandets litteratur*, Christiania: Cammermeyer, 1908-17; Pettersen, H. *Bibliotheca
\(^{41}\) Fischer, K. "Universitetsbibliotekets Norske Avdeling 1882-1932", *For Folkeoplysning* 17 (3) 1932, 117.
Sommerfeldt, who took over the leadership in 1926, had for many years been Hjalmar Pettersen's closest colleague. He was not engaged in collecting, organising and preserving the Norwegian material like his predecessors, but his aim was to bring it to researchers and other interested scholars in the form of bibliographies. Among the many tasks which Sommerfeldt took up was indexing of biographical and topographical material in Norwegian newspapers. Another notable Norwegian scholar connected with the Department was the linguist A. Kjær, editor of P.A. Munch's collection of Norse legends of Gods and heroes. Kjær was Deputy Director of the Norwegian Department 1882-1922.

10.8 Conclusion

Oslo's first University Library in 1819 was located in an old residential building in the centre of the old city. As the Norwegian state was on the brink of bankruptcy after the dissolution of the union with Denmark and following the war with Sweden and the allied states, the Library had a difficult start. Only in 1850 could it move to a building properly designed for the purpose, situated in the centre of the city and next door to the main University buildings, where it remained until 1914. The 1914 Library had to be extended twice, in 1933 and 1945. The University developed gradually. The first six professors of the University were appointed in January 1813. The first eighteen students were enrolled in August the same year. Among the first six professors, no fewer than three were elected members of the Constituent Assembly, and a fourth, the professor of Greek (and later of philosophy), Georg Sverdrup, won fame as a

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42 Norrøne Gude-og Helte-Sagn, collected by P.A. Munch; edited by A. Kjær, Christiania: n.p, 1880.
43 See Appendix Figure B13 “Norwegian book production 1643-1930”
national leader. By 1861 there were thirty-five University teachers and a total of five hundred and sixty pupils. In the centenary year of 1911 the staff consisted of seventy-one professors, eleven readers and twenty research fellows in addition to a number of lecturers and research workers, while there were 1,550 students. Twelve years earlier, in 1899, there were 1,350 students and the three most popular subjects were history of philosophy, mathematics, natural science and medicine. In the first two decades of the 20th century student numbers remained around 1,400-1,500. From 1910 to 1919, the three most popular subjects had become history and languages, medicine and law.

Bibliographical activities have always been to the fore. By 1940 Norwegian periodicals were catalogued in a register for the period 1800-1920. From 1951 to 1985 a union catalogue for foreign periodicals in biology and medicine was produced. Other union lists were compiled for periodicals in all subject areas in later years. In 1973-74 a comprehensive directory of all Norwegian newspapers was published.

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44 For further information about Sverdrup See Chapter 5.4.
45 See Appendix Figure B14 Number of students in Norwegian Universities.
48 Norske aviser 1763-1969: en bibliografi; edited by T.A. Høeg, Oslo: Universitetsbiblioteket i Oslo, 1974, 2 vols. In 1980 the University published Utenlandske periodika i Norge. Biologi, medisin, Oslo: Universitetsbiblioteket, 1980, followed by Norsk samkatalog for periodika. Biologi, medisin, Oslo: Universitetsbiblioteket, 1985. "There are no special union catalogues for medicine for Norway or, in fact, for Scandinavia, as far as we can ascertain. However, no printed editions of even the complete version were produced. The 1985 publication was replaced by a microfiche edition (in fact started in 1983), which was updated annually until autumn 1997, when that too disappeared", [Personal communication with M. Elleby August 1999].
There is also a Department which contains documents from and about the Second World War including clandestine literature, German publications produced in Norway, Norwegian publications printed abroad, and publications by foreign authors about Norway at War. Important departments include Norwegian music, Map collections, Incunables, an East Asian collection, and Theatre history.

In the foundation years the nucleus of the stock of the University of Oslo was from donated collections, with an emphasis on the humanities, and the growth of the collections was assured by legal deposit from 1814 to 1838 and from 1883 up to the present time. Most of the departmental organisation of the Library was established in 1883, including the following departments: Norwegian, Foreign, Oriental, Map, Picture and Craftwork collections. In 1927 the Norwegian Music Department and in 1933 the Bjornson collection were established. There was a rationalisation of subject collections in the 1920s. The Agricultural High School and the Technical High School Libraries took over responsibility for their specialist literature. Similar changes gradually took place in Norway's Dental High School, the Veterinary School and the Trade school, to mention but a few. As the newly established libraries were for a long time very weak, the University Library was a focal point in the academic library system which was slowly built up. The standstill in general civil research activity and in nearly all ordinary higher education during the Second World War created an impetus for a great increase of academic literature in the post-War years. Following an investigation of information needs, the Library was able to demonstrate in 1947 that Medicine had a high priority, and hence it was

allocated 10% of the book budget and about 30% of the periodical budget. The seriousness of the situation was apparent when it was pointed out that the medical works which the University Library could not purchase would probably never be bought by any other library in the country. They would presumably remain inaccessible for Norwegian research. The following year improvements began and they continued through the rest of the 1950s and all of the 1960s. In the course of the 1960s the University Library took over the running of most of the University Institute Libraries which were gradually gathered under the leadership of a Faculty Librarian for each Faculty.  

In the 19th and early 20th centuries the Chief Librarian in the University of Oslo was in charge of the country's largest library when there were only a few other academic libraries with full-time library leaders. He was the professional advisor for both libraries and librarians. Library co-operation very often took the form of personal contact in informal discussions. The great growth both in the number of libraries and the size of collections in the post-War years meant that an urgent need for a central place for advice and information about the country's stock of literature resulted. Therefore in 1958 the position of Statens konsulent for de vitenskapelige og faglige biblioteker was established. With the establishment of many new libraries in the 1960s, co-operative activities became an urgent necessity. Co-operative work was needed for acquisitions, 

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50 By 1970 the reorganisation was complete and this made it possible to expand the collections. In many cases, the book collections for whole subject areas were moved from the main library to a faculty service. This occurred, for example, in medicine, natural science and education. In other cases only parts of the main library collections were moved. The University Library's faculty services were built up with different degrees of centralisation but with service points in most large institutes or departments. The twice daily book van services provided a good link between the main library and the institutes. Improved cataloguing and bibliographic information services facilitated a better use of the main library's collections, aids and expertise.

union catalogues, deposit libraries, conservation and security besides the use of new technology for registration and information services. In 1969 *Riksbibliotekstjenesten*, the National Library Service, was established.

The constant drive to establish a National Library had continued for over a century. It was in 1895 that A.C. Drolsum first took up the suggestion of a name change of the University Library on Drammensvein to become the National and University Library.
Chapter 11

Historical development of Norwegian Medical education

11.1 Introduction

This chapter begins by recognising the widespread nature of early medical literature which was influenced by the activities of farmers and the clergy as demonstrated in earlier chapters where publications and activities for the promotion of literacy are discussed. It is obvious that Norway cannot be viewed in isolation from the development of the science of medicine in Europe. The discovery of *mycobacterium lepræ* was a cornerstone in the history of medicine. The Norwegian Gerhard Henrik Armauer Hansen (1841-1912) described his first observations of *mycobacterium lepræ* in detail on 28th February 1873. This was the first known case where a chronic human disease was attributed to bacillar infection, and it was discovered nine years before Robert Koch (1843-1910) described the tuberculosis bacillus. Norwegian medical research has made significant contributions to leprosy research in epidemiology and through immunological studies of the disease. A thorough description of the disease, based on direct clinical observations and autopsies, was given in an atlas by D. C. Danielsen (1808-75) and C. W. M. Boeck (1845-1917). Danielsen was the head of the Leprosy Hospital in Bergen, and Boeck was a dermatologist who later became a professor at the University of Oslo. Boeck's studies of tuberculosis skin phenomena were very progressive in the late 19th century. From 1899 onwards he wrote about the more benign forms of skin tuberculosis: one form is called "Boeck's sarcoma".

Apart from pioneering scientific discoveries in leprosy, tuberculosis and dermatology, mentioned above, Norway was not a leader in medical advancement within Europe. This discussion of the growth of medical

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1 For information about disease patterns in Norway 1830-1950 see Appendix Figures B 16, B17 and note at end of this chapter.
2 The leprosy bacillus
3 Danielssen, D.C., Boeck, C.W. *Om spedalskhed*, Christiania: Chr. Grøndahl, 1847.
education for doctors practising in Norway commences by considering "a medical province", identifying Danish medical education, also a major influence on Norway, followed by reference to the opening of the National Hospital in 1826 and subsequent criticism of hospital facilities in the 1830s. Recruitment to the medical profession, the family practitioner service and the important place of health information in the development of medicine will be investigated. Subjects taught in the early years of the Medical Faculty of the University of Oslo are finally identified, linked to the writings of significant authors whose works were represented in the Library.

11.2 The influence of the work of farmers and clerics on early medical literature

Because priests and farmers pioneered the early book collections, theology and farming must have been reflected in their libraries. But additionally, books and periodicals written for laymen in the late 18th century provided descriptions of the most common diseases and gave advice on how to avoid and to cure them. The introduction of Confirmation by the law of 1736 was the first sustained effort to promote mass literacy in Norway and an unconfirmed person was excluded from full membership of society. But the most notable example of religious sanctions imposed for civil offences occurred in 1810. In April of that year a Royal Order made vaccination against smallpox compulsory for all Norwegians. "After that date the church refused either to confirm or to marry anyone not holding a vaccination certificate."

By demonstrating that ministers gained reputations as clever "doctors", it can be shown that the clergy were also expected to have a certain command of medical literature. Already in the autumn of 1802 Niels Hertzberg (1759-

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4 See Chapter 3.
5 Larsen has traced papers describing occupational hazards, accidents, diseases, social conditions and medical services among the Norwegian miners and their families in the 18th century. Larsen, Ø. "Helseforhold i norske bergersamfunn ved slutten av 1700-tallet", Nordisk Medicin-Historisk Årbok, 1966, 3-23.
6 See Chapter 2.5.
1841), a vicar in the Bergen diocese, together with a young theology graduate, had vaccinated 402 people against smallpox, including almost all the children in the parish, not one of whom had died after inoculation. Yet this was only one year after vaccination had been introduced into Norway. In 1803 some fifty-four people, of whom eighteen were clergymen, reported that they had carried out vaccinations. J.A. Krogh reported that in a single week he had performed 200 inoculations and that his house had ‘swarmed’ with people bringing their children to him. Krogh, together with a fellow parson and a farmer, inoculated 562 people, and of those who contracted the disease only four died from smallpox. In neighbouring parishes during the same period 326 people who had not been inoculated were said to have contracted smallpox and according to Krogh eighty-seven of these died. There were also some farmers who vaccinated their family and neighbours themselves. The vaccination coverage was sufficient to prevent large outbreaks of smallpox after 1860.

The general impression of Norwegian 19th century history is that health conditions in the various parts of the country promoted an abundance of diseases and misery, measured by any standards. As shown earlier, the incidence of contagious diseases increased steadily in the period up to 1890, when a culmination took place. One of the main forces behind the creation of medical societies in the nineteenth century was the desire for knowledge, and the professional literature was the most important instrument for satisfying that desire. Apart from making study visits from the peripherally located Nordic countries, mainly to Germany and France, reading was the only way to obtain professional information. In Kristiania a medical reading club was founded in

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8 Malm, O. Koppe og vaccinationen i Norge, Kristiania: [n.p], 1915, 61.
11 See Appendix Figure B16 for mortality rates from infectious diseases
12 As stated in Chapter 1, the city was known as Christiania from 1624-1877 and as Kristiania from 1877-1924. All considerations of 19th century activity in this chapter will adopt the spelling of Kristiania. From 1924 onwards the official name of the capital Oslo is used.
1826, and at the very first meeting of the Medical Society of Trøndelag on November 17th 1842 it was decided to subscribe to four medical journals, two in German, one in French, and one in Swedish.13

11.3 A medical province - Copenhagen

During the period of Union with Denmark (1380-1814) Norway had only a few barber-surgeons and very few university-educated physicians. The University of Copenhagen was founded in 1479, two years after the University of Uppsala in Sweden. The social standing of surgeons was lower than that of the physicians, a fact which was common in many other European countries. In Copenhagen there were courses in dissection and surgical exercises. Pupils gained clinical experience at the Royal Frederick Hospital and other hospitals in the city and they had to pass an examination. These academic pressures meant that students needed access to library collections. In 1785 a Royal Surgical Academy was founded, an important step in the improvement of surgical standards in the twin kingdom of Denmark-Norway, although the Academy was not incorporated into the Medical Faculty of the University of Copenhagen until 1842. The Academy represented a revolutionary reorganisation of medical education in Scandinavia, and a break with the century of principles and traditions in Copenhagen where the Anatomical Surgical Theatre had been established in 1736, as a school for surgeons. Norwegian surgeons had their principal contacts with foreign colleagues in Germany and Austria. According to Reichborn-Kjennerud:

The developments in surgery in our country closely followed the developments in central Europe. In Bergen there were many foreigners among the leaders as well as the ordinary surgeons. Most city medical officers before 1814 were Danish or German.14

11.4 19th century hospitals and 20th century libraries

When the University of Oslo began to educate doctors there was a problem in that the capital city did not have enough big hospitals where students could be taught at the bedside and where they could see a large and varied number of patients. From 1815 onwards three hospitals were suitable for use for training doctors at the bedside - Kristiania City Civil Hospital (40 beds), the Military Hospital (25 beds) and Akershus Hospital for “radesyge”15 (120 beds).16 Akershus Hospital was in a bad condition and difficult to reach from the other hospitals, and it was little used for lecturing. The foreign medical schools often had access to very large hospitals in Copenhagen, Vienna, Berlin, Paris, Stockholm and other places - but not in Kristiania.

In 1814 the Royal Norwegian Health Collegiate Authority suggested that there should be a general hospital for the nation with 150 beds and a maternity institute for 30. The aim was to get treatment for the patients as well as providing for the practical education of doctors and midwives. The Military Hospital building, constructed in 1807, was the foundation of the National Hospital, which was opened with 100 beds for medical and surgical patients in 1826, but there were great difficulties in arranging clinical lectures. The hospital gradually increased its capacity to 230 beds and was divided into a medical and a surgical department with a consultant, registrar and trainees in each. That the National Hospital had little success affected both the patients and student education, when developments abroad were known but not followed and economic problems hindered progress. Plans for a new National Hospital were presented in the 1860s and the hospital was eventually opened in 1883.

The first part of Ullevål Hospital was built according to the "pavilion system" with beds placed on outdoor balconies, and the first patients were admitted in

15 The typical form of venereal disease which occurred in Norway.
1887 during a severe epidemic of diphtheria and scarlet fever. From this beginning as an institution for infectious diseases Ullevål Hospital later developed into the largest hospital in Norway and a major laboratory for the education of doctors.

The Leper Hospital in Bergen was first mentioned in 1411, and the hospital gradually acquired a book collection which by 1853 constituted an important medical library. From 1926 the Oslo Council Hospitals Department was purchasing periodicals and books for Ullevål Hospital. In the early 1930s the Library was run by a Book Committee and it was not until 1947 that a Librarian was appointed; in 1971 new premises were made available in the new central hospital block.

In 1929 the Norwegian Women's Association for Public Health established the first hospital for the treatment for rheumatoid arthritis in Norway, the Oslo Rheumatism Hospital. Librarians were not appointed until 1963, and in 1968 a Librarian was appointed to co-ordinate library services at the different medical institutions. It was only after the Second World War and the tremendous advances in medicine that the importance of a rational organisation of medical libraries was understood.

11.5 Health information an important part of health policy

Larsen found that in Denmark - Norway, as in other countries of the late 18th century, books and periodicals written for the layman provided descriptions of the most common diseases and gave advice on how to avoid and cure them. Medical remedies in the 18th century were very costly and difficult to obtain and unlikely to be used except when absolutely necessary. But the medical

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17 Ullevål Hospital, Correspondence files, 1929.
18 In 1947 a medical librarian was appointed to the University Library in Oslo. Bergen University established its own medical faculty in 1948 which created a demand for better organisation of medical literature. Haukeland Hospital opened a new reading room for its physicians and students in 1950. When the Central Medical Library was established in Oslo in 1947, a few of the larger hospitals and institutions investigated the possibilities of creating their own medical libraries with regular staff. Librarians were appointed at Ullevål Hospital as well as in hospitals in Trondheim and Drammen in the period 1947-48.
prevention and treatment described in the literature of popular medicine was not very different from the advice given in medical textbooks to be used by surgeons and doctors in general practice and in hospitals. There was a great shortage of doctors throughout the country, and the fact that folk medicine was widely accepted said something about the limits of therapeutic medicine. As the result of a royal proclamation of 1794, people without medical education who set out to cure the sick were met with punitive prison sentences, even though it was impossible to get a doctor up till the mid-19th century. The public often claimed that the untrained practitioner had done better than the doctor. A more even distribution of doctors was needed throughout the country. However, the only way to weaken the influence of quacks was through information. Health information was an important part of health policy, by spreading knowledge about how people could fulfill their duty to society through self-care.

Towards the end of the 19th century the popular health movement provided much of the vital information on hygiene and health needed at the time. A large proportion of this literature found its way into libraries.

11.6 Important medical authors represented in the University of Oslo catalogue 1920

The approach to the Medical School curriculum was mirrored in the Library’s collections. The following extracts from the University Library catalogue of 1920 illustrate some of the internationally known authors from the 16th to the 19th century available to the students. The place of publication (where available) and dates of a selection of books in stock during this period are given. These library acquisitions reflect the importance of medicine in the early University collections. As explained in Chapter 3, the slow development

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21 See also Chapter 1.3 on the relationship of health information and mortality rates.
22 See below Note on disease patterns in Norway 1830-1950 and Appendix Figure B17 "Mortality rates of tuberculosis 1871-1955."
of publishing and bookselling in Norway meant that the texts were probably not readily obtainable in Norway until the end of the 19th century. That so many leading authorities on medical subjects are represented in the collection indicates that, despite the limited curriculum, the Library was meeting the educational needs of physicians and medical students, especially with texts on anatomy, from the early days of the provision of medical education in Oslo.

**Anatomy by individual authors**

Duputryen, G. Paris, 1803  
Morgagni, G.B. Leyden, 1728, 1741  
Vesalius, A. Leyden, 1725

**Descriptive anatomy - Reference and textbooks**

Bartholin, T. Copenhagen, 1688, 1701  
Bichat, X. Paris, 1801, 1818 (3 titles)  
Gray, H. London, 1887  
Vesalius, A. Basel, 1555 (12 copies)

**Topographic anatomy**

Coles, A. Dublin, 1811

**Skeletal system**

Duchenne, G.B. Paris, 1867  
Virchow, R. Berlin, 1857  
Hunter, J. London, 1778, 1808

**Digestive canal**

Pavlov, J.P. Paris, 1901

**Blood system, blood and lymph**

Bartholin, T. Copenhagen, 1648, 1652, 1653, 1670  
Bartholin, T. Leyden, 1654

**The nervous system - anatomy**

Willis, T. Amsterdam, 1664, 1666

**Tiredness, insomnia**

Gilles de la Tourette Paris, 1887, 1888

11.7 Recruitment to the medical profession in 19th century Norway

At the end of the 18th century there were two routes open to Norwegians wishing to become a doctor, a university or the Surgical Academy in Copenhagen. Of 642 Danish and Norwegian doctors in the period from 1500 to 1800 there were only 35 who were born in Norway, that is about 5%, all men.23

23 Flottorp, S. "Kvinnelege leger - valg av spesialitet og karriere", *Tidsskrift for den Norske
There were very few doctors in Norway before 1814. Those who did so-called medical work consisted either of foreign university-educated doctors or apprentice-educated surgeons of different types, as well as a number of others who had an extremely varied background. Hjort provides a picture of the recruitment of Norway's doctors in 1814 up to the end of the 19th century. As in most countries in this period doctors were, to a large extent, recruited from families where the father had an academic or business position, so that the most important qualification for medical education was economic. Between 1893 and 1920 fifty-nine women doctors qualified. Most medical students were recruited from the middle and higher social layers, and geographically mainly from cities in the eastern areas.

### 11.8 General practitioners 1814-1948

Towards the end of the 18th century there were serious discussions about who actually had responsibility for an individual's health. In 1814 the ratio of doctors per inhabitant was 1:5,600, in 1864, 1:4,700 and in 1980 1:491. The concept of district doctors emerged with a Royal Resolution in 1836 and a district organisation of doctors established 63 medical positions for the country. This organisation was to record the state of public health and to provide medical help. The country passed its first health legislation in 1860 and appointed district doctors. The number of district doctors increased in the following years from 63 in 1836 to 246 in 1875 and 756 in 1980. Universal health insurance became law in Norway in 1909, later expanded in 1911, 1930 and 1948.

### 11.9 Subjects in the Faculty of Medicine - University of Oslo

The reciprocal relationship between medical education and library services is manifest through the identification of subjects which were developed as part of

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*Lægeforening* 113 (17), 1993, 2112.

the medical curriculum. In the University Charter of 1812 it was stated that a Medical Faculty should provide instruction in medical scientific learning through an "encyclopaedic" approach consisting of medical history and literature, anatomy, physiology and dietetics, pathology and therapy, pharmacology, prescribing, surgery and obstetrics, forensic medicine and "health policy" - the social medicine of the time. It was not necessary to have a rigid curriculum for medical education in 1814 as there were only three students. A hundred years later there were 338 students, and by 1920 had become 620. In 1931 there were 1136 students. In 1923 a Royal Resolution said that student intake should be limited to about 60 each year, but this did not occur.  

When one examines the Library's catalogue from 1920, it can be seen that there were texts by internationally renowned authors, especially in anatomy. Until about 1940 medical studies were mainly unstructured, students used their own initiative in organising their work. The principle of academic freedom was not abandoned despite the efforts to regulate the situation which eventually took on a compulsory structure in the form of time-tables and courses. The Faculty's point of view was that a fixed system of training would restrain industrious and talented students, while others would not manage to follow a plan and there would no longer be freedom in studies. Without detailed study plans, which certainly do not exist, it is impossible to use the library catalogue to investigate the correlation between library accessions and authors quoted in lectures or in recommended reading lists. The students were recommended to take part in clinical education, so that from the outset they could see the art of medicine in practice. In 1824 it was decided that the medical examinations should include natural history, chemistry, physiology, pharmacology, pathology, surgery, therapy and obstetrics as well as an anatomical dissection test. The first

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25 From 1896 to 1901 there were 14 professors in the Faculty of Medicine, there were 15-16 up till 1918, and 17 in 1919.
26 See paragraph 11.6 above.
examination took place in 1844. There were further revisions of the regulations in 1852 and 1867 when state medicine was divided into hygiene and forensic medicine. The reason for the revisions was to move lecturing from theoretical to practical thinking.27 Clinical teaching was the main influence in the 1860-70s, and this trend continued up to the 1890s. The final phase in the time span under examination, from 1890 up till 1940, was characterised by the interest in pathological anatomy and bacteriology.

In the 1890s specialisms were introduced. Chairs were established in 1890 in otolaryngology, paediatrics, neurology and eye diseases. In 1893 hygiene was separated from pharmacology and a Professor was appointed. These developments put further pressure on libraries and their collections and in turn led to the expansion in the methods used for subject retrieval. A new committee was installed by the Faculty in 1904 to remodel the curriculum, which led to new examination regulations in 1914. More lectures became obligatory and individual new courses and subjects were introduced with demonstrations and practical education. Physics, bacteriology and sociology were introduced as new examination subjects in 1933. From that time up to 1940 the curriculum and examination regulations only had minor changes. This development was paralleled in textbooks and the growth of journal literature was reflected in library collections and in the schemes used to classify them.

A simplified approach based on a narrow range of special and simplistic explanations and recommended treatment constituted the basis of medical education. These systems functioned as a barrier against further development of study methods and teaching practice. Falkum28 claims that: "There was no special professional breadth in the medical milieu in Norway before 1850."

11.10 Conclusion

A parallel can be drawn between the experiences of librarians seeking professional training and doctors. In the 19th and 20th century both groups had to travel to study and gain qualifications. Similarly, the upper social classes and females were the main recruiting ground for librarians, who had to travel abroad for their professional education, and male doctors were similarly selected from these social groups. Medicine is a useful case study of professional education, providing many analogies with the development of librarianship and the book trade relying on overseas suppliers for academic texts. The cost of medical education included the severe obstacles to obtaining books in the limited book market of early 19th century Norway. Most importantly for library history, the central role of health information in a literate population must be emphasised, as it constituted the foundation for a comprehensive family practitioner service for an educated health-conscious population. It has been found that, although there may have been a limited curriculum for medical education in the first years of the University of Oslo Medical Faculty, important medical authors were represented in the Library from the earliest medical studies.

Note on disease patterns in Norway 1830-1950

In order to put the emergence of medical classification schemes used in the University of Oslo Library into a social context, and to consider the currency of Library acquisition which paralleled the growth of Norwegian medical education, it is necessary to identify the disease patterns which swept the country in the late 19th and early 20th century.

Leprosy

Leprosy is an infectious disease transmitted chiefly by bacteria-laden droplets in nasal discharges. It may cause severe neural and muscular injuries, which

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29 See Chapter 7.
30 See Chapter 2.
31 See also Chapters 1.3 and 2.
32 Mycobacterium leprae
may lead to loss of sensation, sores, and discoloured patches on the skin, collapse of the nose, blindness, claw hands, and drop feet, as well as bending and shortening of the fingers and toes. In the 1830s and 1840s there was a considerable increase in persons afflicted with leprosy in Norway. They were confined chiefly to the coastal districts and were particularly numerous around Bergen. At the time of the first reliable census of this disease in Norway, taken in 1856, about two per thousand of the inhabitants were afflicted with leprosy, which meant that Norway was the only European country in which leprosy was increasing. A law was implemented in 1856 which required that districts with leprosy establish local health commissions to fight the disease. *Mycobacterium leprae* was first described in 1873 by Hansen, who noted rodlike organisms in the cells of freshly excised leprous tissue. It is Hansen's chief merit that he insisted, in the face of opposition, on the contagious nature of the disease. The idea of a living virus as the cause of disease had at that time only few supporters, and methods for the detection of bacteria were very primitive. From the middle of the nineteenth century Bergen was an internationally recognised centre for leprosy research, where several famous clinicians, pathologists, and microbiologists came from central Europe in order to study the disease.\(^{33}\)

**Tuberculosis**

In the first half of the 19th century tuberculosis was most prevalent in southern Norway, but it gradually spread northward. By the end of the 19th century tuberculosis was a main cause of death in Western Norway. Poor housing was often connected with tuberculosis. District physicians described houses where "anyone who moved in, died." With bed sharing, poor ventilation in houses, overfull rooms, lack of cleanliness, especially sputum expectoration, tuberculosis was bound to spread among city dwellers. The first act to prevent the spread of tuberculosis was passed in 1895, and subsequently district doctors

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\(^{33}\) Rudolph Virchow (1821-1902) and Albert Neisser (1855-1916).
had a duty to treat tuberculosis patients. The 1900 tuberculosis legislation required Health Authorities to make a tuberculosis register and also to provide information about preventing the spread of infection. Kristiansen\textsuperscript{34} reports that "during two decades 1920-1940, Ullevål Hospital was a national and international centre for tuberculosis research."

**Cholera**

*Cholera Nostras* was the name given to mild cholera-type diseases, but as doctors could not always distinguish between various gastro-intestinal diseases, the different types were grouped together.\textsuperscript{35} There were large fluctuations in incidence, with a peak in Kristiania of 67 per 1,000 inhabitants in 1888. Where the disease was rampant, it could paralyse large sections of working life, with serious economic consequences.

**Smallpox**

Bray\textsuperscript{36} describes how smallpox is spread and its effects:

> Transmission is by droplet infection not contact as one might expect from a disease where a major manifestation of the disease is to be seen on the skin...The most severe form of the disease is haemorrhagic smallpox. Death is due to the multiple haemorrhages and is frequently complicated by broncho-pneumonia. Eye involvement is also common and a frequent sequel to smallpox is blindness. The joints may be affected and lead to permanent damage.

Vaccination started in Bergen during a new wave of smallpox in 1803 and was made compulsory in 1810, but many years passed before the vaccination coverage was sufficient to prevent new epidemics. City areas were more affected by the spread of infections than the more sparsely populated areas. Generally, however, the vaccination coverage was sufficient to prevent large outbreaks of smallpox after 1860.

**Diphtheria**

Death could result from respiratory obstruction or from the effects on cardiac and neural tissue. Diphtheria could develop very fast, which may explain why

\textsuperscript{34} Kristiansen, K. "Ullevål Hospital 1887-1987", *Journal of Oslo City Hospital* 37, 1987, 69.


rural doctors registered relatively few cases in the earlier period. The disease increased in the years 1870-90, and shortly after the First and Second World Wars. It easily infected children in crowded urban dwellings. At the end of the 1890s diphtheria death rates dropped from on average 42 to 5 per 10,000. Diphtheria serum came into use in the 1890s, something that revolutionised the treatment. For the first time a specific therapeutic remedy was at hand for this disease. Enthusiastic descriptions of patients being miraculously cured are reported by the physicians. The decline must be seen in connection with the economic and hygienic progress towards a strong improvement in the general health position among small children.

**Typhoid fever**

Typhoid fever is a serious gastro-intestinal disease. Along with tuberculosis, typhoid fever was the most prevalent cause of death among physicians before 1890. It was often stated that the disease began in a district after a sick person had returned home from one of the large fishing expeditions. In addition, the district physicians throughout the whole area regularly complained about the sanitary conditions and poor drinking water in all the fishing villages. The incidence was generally higher in the towns than in the country districts. The epidemics were more serious in Kristiania, an overcrowded city with poor sewerage, than in the counties of Akershus and Smaalenene. The incidence fell somewhat towards the turn of the century, and the epidemics became less frequent.

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Influenza

The so-called "Spanish disease" was an influenza pandemic of great seriousness which affected Norway in 1918. There had been influenza epidemics in Norway in 1900, when many were affected by fever and shivering and headaches as well as body pains, sometimes also complicated by lung infection, stomach symptoms or ear infections.

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42. Influenza generally spread from east to west across Europe. Scandinavia and the Baltic region were usually attacked early, Spain and Italy late and from the north and northeast, with the Pyrenees and the Alps acting as partial barriers”, Atterson, K.D. Pandemic influenza 1700-1900, Totowa, NJ: Rowman and Littlefield, 1986, 86.
Chapter 12
The influence of medical education on cataloguing and classification, reflected in two Norwegian academic libraries

12.1 Introduction
The growth of medical education, which will be considered in this chapter, is mirrored in the development of medical classification and cataloguing procedures in Norwegian academic libraries and their influence on library professional practice. Despite the convenience which universal classification systems and uniform methods afford it is, nevertheless, a fact that in every country and in every individual system libraries look upon literature from their own point of view and local problems have been dealt with in an individual manner. The methods of organising the large academic libraries in Norway developed in harmony with the traditions of Northern and Central Europe. To some extent, they have been dependent upon local conditions, but they have also been subject to foreign influences, especially from Germany. The Library of the University of Copenhagen adapted Hartwig's Halle classification, the Library of the University of Oslo the system of Ersch, and the Royal Danish Library the Göttingen scheme. A clear picture of the University of Oslo classification system cannot be found without looking at Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab Library. The early catalogues of the University of Oslo Library, the Ersch classification scheme and Norwegian cataloguing rules will be examined in this chapter.

The provision of medical education went hand in hand with the growth of the Library. As indicated in chapter eleven, the classification of the University of Oslo Medical Faculty and the book acquisitions in medicine reflected developments in medical thinking. The importance of periodical publishing and the growth of thesis literature to both educational and library development
is recognised by the attention given to these aspects of library stock in this section.

12.2  *Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab*¹ - 1768-93

The principal duties of the Librarian of *Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab* Library in 1768 included making a catalogue of the Library’s books as well as providing help for students. The earliest extant manuscript catalogue is that of 1768. It is divided into twenty-three subject groups and four formats: folio, quarto, octavo and duodecimo. Midbøe² notes that the catalogue provides a good picture of additions to the stock of *Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab* Library in its early years. In addition to author and title, place of publication and the year acquired, the editor, the donor and number of volumes were recorded. Part of the early organisation involved devising a classification system that treated theology prominently by putting it first, followed by legal sciences, medicine and philosophy.

The Library’s first two printed catalogues were produced in 1770 and 1790. The 1770 catalogue was only 16 pages in length and provided very limited information on authors, titles and number of volumes in each work. Place of publication and editor were ignored, but the donor’s name was recorded. In the statutes of 1779 it was stated that "the librarian should keep an index of the manuscripts, natural objects, drawings, printed books etc."³ The 1779 catalogue was in Latin with an index and a foreword, and both place and year of publication were included. An alphabetical list of the donors was made and their initials were written in the books which they had given.

In 1780 Gerhard Schøning, archivist and collector of Norwegian history and topography, died and his large and valuable book collection was willed to the

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¹ The Royal Norwegian Society of Sciences and Letters established 1760. Originally known as *Det Thronhjimske Selskab*, from 1767 established as a Royal Academy.
Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskab Library. Up till that time the literature of the natural sciences had formed a central point of the collection, but Schøning's library of about 13,000 volumes also included extensive humanistic literature. It was one of the richest collections in Scandinavia at the time and it created a new situation for the Library. The old classification system was no longer adequate and a new catalogue of the total stock was needed.

J.C. Tellefsen (1774-1857)\textsuperscript{4} was nominally editor of the catalogue but, because of ill-health\textsuperscript{5}, it was in reality his assistant C.P.P. Essendrop who did the work in the years 1845-9\textsuperscript{6}. When Essendrop joined the Library in 1845 the bookstock totalled between 23,000 and 24,000 vols. and was shelved without class marks and in groups arranged, according to Tranaas\textsuperscript{7}, "completely coincidentally". Essendrop wrote the catalogue information on slips, which were organised alphabetically by author in guard books and also filed in a card index. In 1846 Essendrop emphasised the need to use the same class mark in the books as in the catalogue and during the next two years he revised the classified arrangement with the assistance of subject experts, paying particular attention to the legal and medical sections. In 1847 he wrote his "Key to the Library's system"\textsuperscript{8}, where he said that new classified and author-title catalogues were needed. By 1848 he had arranged entries for 12,420 titles and the books were shelved by class marks. The sheaf catalogues were the foundation of the library's alphabetical catalogue.\textsuperscript{9} The Librarian F.W. Keyser (1800-87)\textsuperscript{10} in Oslo suggested that it was not necessary to make a new classified catalogue,

\textsuperscript{4} For further information about J.C. Tellefsen (1774-1857) See Chapter 5.4.
\textsuperscript{5} Landmark, J.D. Bibliotekarer og assistenter ved det Kgl Norske Videnskabers Selskabs bibliotek i Trondheim 1766-1858, Trondheim: Universitetsbiblioteket i Trondheim, 1932, 14.
\textsuperscript{8} Beskrivelse over Opstillingsordenen i det kgl norske Videnskabers Selskabs Bibliothek samt over Indretningen af Bibliothekets alphabetiske Catalog. Commonly known as Nøgle til Bibliothekets system.
\textsuperscript{10} For further information about F.W. Keyser (1800-87) See Chapter 5.4.
but to use Nyerup's system with simple changes and expansion of new subject areas when appropriate. But he recommended an alphabetical index for books with personal authors and anonymous works as well as the use of loose-leaf slips, and advised how the books should be marked and arranged on the shelves. Large, valuable book gifts and many different formats of published material increased the irrational situation, with the following collections separately catalogued:

1864 Knudtzon's English and French fiction and essays.
1902 Boeck's Scandinavian literature, history and literature history - 31,467 vols.
1917 Hagen's botanical literature - 2,000 vols.

12.3 University of Oslo - Early catalogues

In January 1813 Professor G. Sverdrup was appointed Librarian of the University Library, which Munthe suggests was probably because he was a pupil of C.G. Heyne (1729-1812), Chief of the University Library in Göttingen, which at that time was renowned in Europe. One sheaf catalogue produced in 1815-28 was filed in 63 binders, but there were no class marks on the slips, probably because there were never enough people to complete such a large task. It must have been very complex to locate specific books when the classification scheme was not regularly updated. In 1816 the Library had its own building and the city's citizens had access and could borrow from 1819. By 18th May 1822 Sverdrup reported that cataloguing was proceeding, with 50,000-60,000 entries ready, while another 40,000-50,000 were being prepared in an author-title catalogue. The alphabetical classified catalogue reached "M" in 1827, and these sheaf catalogues were used up till the 1870s. The University Librarian, Drolsum, like many other Norwegian academics in the 19th century, was strongly influenced by German culture and society. Another

13 M (Social Science) was completed in 1961 and entered on cards.
14 For further information about A.C. Drolsum, see Chapter 10 footnote 30.
University Librarian, Munthe\textsuperscript{15}, claims that since Drolsum studied in Germany he subsequently modelled his work on that of German librarians. In 1838 the University commenced the production of annual printed accessions catalogues, \textit{Norwegian Book Index}\textsuperscript{18}. In 1882 the catalogue was divided into Norwegian and foreign literature. However, it took from 1883 to 1927\textsuperscript{17} to organize the old Norwegian literature into the Norwegian Department. Originally the 18x12 cm sheaves were fixed in folders by two holes in the left margin and by the 1870s there were 380 filed slips. It became inconvenient to add new slips in the correct alphabetical place, and for a long time it was only done annually, thereby rendering the catalogue virtually useless.

\textbf{12.4 Norwegian Cataloguing Rules 1844-1960}

The large Norwegian academic libraries have developed a cataloguing tradition of their own - a tradition in harmony with that of the German libraries - and their rules were, therefore, similar to those embodied in the Prussian Rules of 1899. The rules of the Royal Library of Copenhagen and the rules for the catalogue of the foreign collection in the library of the University of Oslo were concerned principally with title entry and had much in common with the Prussian Rules. Rules for cataloguing in the University of Oslo Yearbook for 1884 required that a full author's name should be written on the top left of the catalogue entry as a filing word, family name first, followed by given name.\textsuperscript{18} The Norwegian rules were the result of considerable deliberation. A set of rules for use in public and children's libraries was compiled in 1910 by Arne Arnesen and Haakon Nyhuus. In 1918 a committee was formed to prepare a set of rules for all Norwegian libraries, and it was joined in 1922 by representatives of the library of the University of Oslo. A set of uniform rules was agreed upon

\textsuperscript{15} Munthe, G. "Axel Charlot Drolsum og Universitetsbiblioteket", \textit{Norvegia} 10, 1983, 34. See also Chapter 6.5 for more information about W.Munthe.

\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Norsk bog-fortegnelse 1814-47}, Oslo: Halvorsen og Borsum, 1954; since 1920 these have been continued as five-yearly catalogues. \textit{Norsk Bokfortegnelse: årskatalog over norsk litteratur}, Oslo: Cammermeyer, 1904-51.

\textsuperscript{17} See Chapter 10.7 for information about the Norwegian Department.

\textsuperscript{18} \textit{Universitets-Bibliothekets aarbog for 1884}, Christiania: Aschehoug, 1885, viii.
but the University Library inserted a number of variations representing its own practice. The rules were, in many instances, almost a translation of the Joint Anglo-American Code of 1908. Corporate entry was admitted, titles were entered under the first word not an article, married women under the latest name used, and books of the Bible under the Norwegian form of the names. In the entry of a name with a prefix the rules leaned toward the German practice, and librettos were entered under the composer. Joint authors were entered under the name of the first author with references from the names of the others. The section on "Rules for cataloguing Norwegian literature" confirms Hanson's claim that Anglo-American and Norwegian rules have followed similar principles on treatment of personal authors "wholly or in part."

12.5 German influences on classification in the University of Oslo Library 1884-1914

Scandinavian librarians have been eminently successful in adapting foreign systems and methods to national needs. The German influences on the University of Oslo Library can be deduced from the development of its classification. In 1886, Chief Librarian A.C. Drolsum (1846-1927) and First Librarian J.A.J. Kjær (1853-1941) went on a study tour to libraries in Berlin and Dresden and to the University Library in Halle in order to study their classified catalogues. Tranaas notes the influence of these libraries on solving classification problems. For example, at Halle in the 1880s Otto Hartwig (1830-1903) created a completely new catalogue as well as a classification system of 20 classes notated A-U (I/I are taken as one letter), subdivided with lower case letters. Munthe says that the result of Drolsum and Kjær's German tour was a new classified catalogue divided into 18 classes, later expanded to


21 Chief Librarian of the University Library in Halle (1876-98) when it was the leading academic library both in and beyond Germany.

21. Apart from Natural Science and Philology, this scheme remained in use until 1914 when the *Universal Decimal Classification* was introduced. There is a pattern within Hartwig’s scheme which uses the standard series of form divisions for textbooks, dictionaries, periodical writings and collected works arranged under the following subjects:

- Ua General Medicine
- Ub Anatomy,
- Uc Physiology
- Ue General therapy.

His system was later used in many places including, in a modified version, the University of Copenhagen Library. In a discussion of the bibliographical classification schemes of the 19th century, Schneider refers to Hartwig’s scheme as:

A typical example of the catalogue classification schemes intended for a medium-sized public library, in which it is desirable to avoid the use of intensive classification, because the primary aim is the practical work of the filing of bibliographical materials. On the other hand, its special characteristic is that the arrangement of its 20 major divisions is determined by unexpressed division according to “natural” and “intellectual” sciences.

Arnesen felt that the system had great implications for Scandinavian university libraries. It was found to be especially logical and well balanced, but was not thought to be as flexible as was necessary and it would be difficult to make changes and amendments for the libraries within practical subjects. His scheme was regarded with considerable appreciation but by 1929 Bliss said that "it does not satisfactorily embody the modern system of knowledge."

12.5.1 Johan Samuel Ersch (1766-1828)

The first classified arrangement of books in the University of Oslo Library, used from 1838 to 1883, was in accordance with a scheme created by Johan

23 Hartwig, O. "Scheme des Realkatalogs der Königlichen Universitäts-Bibliothek zu Halle a.s.", *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* 3, 1888, 119-460. See Appendix Figure D2.
24 This resembles the structure of the National Library of Medicine and the Library of Congress classification schemes.

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Samuel Ersch. John Samuel Ersch (1766-1828) studied theology, "polyhistory", and bibliography in Jena in 1785. He was Chief Librarian of the University of Halle from 1808 till his death in 1828. He was the lexicography expert in the Göttingen School of Librarianship and Director of the University Library in Jena. From 1800-03 he edited Intelligenzblatts der Allgemeinen Literaturzeitung. His main works included a comprehensive encyclopaedia of arts and sciences, an academic classification scheme and the Handbook of German literature which was in effect the earliest comprehensive classification scheme for the University of Oslo Library. We can trace patterns in this arrangement of recurring forms of publication within Ersch's scheme, for example:

- History and literature
- Special papers, introduction, encyclopaedias
- Teaching material
- General works, mixed collections
- Specific aspects of the subject, technical aspects

12.5.2 Characteristics of the Ersch (1812) Library Classification Scheme (Medicine)

Medicine has been selected for special attention, because it provides in this account of the development of Norwegian librarianship a good example of the growth of specific collections in the University of Oslo Library. One way in which this can be seen is the manner in which the expansions and changes in the curriculum are reflected in the development of the library classification scheme. In his discussion of medical library classification, Thornton states

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29 Ersch, J.S. Handbuch der deutschen Literatur seit der Mitte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts bis auf die neueste Zeit 1, Leipzig: Comptair, 1812, 389-94. See Appendix Figure D2 for further details of the medical section of his scheme.

30 His principal work was a contribution to the first German bibliographical indexed journal Lemgo. From 1785-1849 he was affiliated to the scholarly journal Allgemeine Literatur-Zeitung (ALZ, General literary paper) with a leading body of classicists and romantics. In 1795 he edited the Neue Hamburger Zeitung (New Hamburg paper), and then began his main bibliographical work Virtual Vereinigung (Organisation of knowledge). He collaborated with Goethe on the central cataloguing rules in Jena in 1800. He studied the principles of literary history in the 19th century and in 1802 was appointed Professor of Philosophy and in 1803 of Geography and Statistics.

31 Handbuch der deutschen Literatur seit der Mitte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts bis auf die neueste Zeit, 4 vols., Amsterdam: Comptoir, 1812-40.

that "schemes of classification that have proved most successful in practical application are those which have been specially devised for collections of books." The progress of medicine within the university sphere in 18th century Europe was principally in the fields of anatomy and physiology. With the exception of the University of Leiden, there was no formal bedside instruction in northern Europe until the middle of the century. The first main classification scheme in the University of Oslo emphasised the importance of anatomy and physiology, with relatively small sections allocated to illness and fevers. Ersch's scheme, which, like most other systems, begins with a general approach and then moves into more specialised aspects of subjects, is reproduced below:

**Medicine**

1. History and literature 1-32
   (ii) Book arts 33-66
   Papers for doctors
1. Formal encyclopaedias and introduction to medicine 67-144

**Anatomy**

Anatomy
History and literature 427-30
AA Papers, introduction and practice 431-4
BB Teaching materials and general works

**General works on systems and function of the human body**

Medicine (dynamic) pathology and therapy
General works on pathology and therapy
General pathology 1283-87
Pathology overview 1288-1308
Single aspects - Nosology 1309-31

**Overview of surgery**

A) Overview of surgery 2239-52
Specific aspects of surgery (practical, teaching).
Types of operations, instruments and equipment
B) Aspects of organs and functions treated surgically
A) Treatment of wounds and incisions. Illness that arises from an open wound, cuts, breaks and fractures and sprains

**Irritability and sensibility (of higher organisms)**

General overview 905-907
Specific aspects
Irritability of the muscle system 908-912
Sensibility of the nervous system

BB The Influence of outside factors, such as the soul on the body 643-662
An inconsistent alphabetical notation, e.g. AB followed by AA, persists throughout the scheme. The author begins with the study of the human body (anatomy and physiology) and then he expands the scheme into a subjective relational view of the activities of the medical profession. The scheme concentrates on anatomical parts and systems. The subjects are a reflection of medicine at the time, less scientific and more of a philosophical mixture of fact and fiction than we would expect today, such as “the soul and its influence on the body” and “irritability and sensibility.” The scheme is based on the concept of the “real” catalogue, which is not theoretical or philosophical, a practical rather than a theoretical tool to organise tangible things. Ersch did recognise the subjects which were then undeveloped specialities, such as general health, psychiatry, pathology and cancer. The overall pattern of Ersch’s scheme was evident in the University catalogue of foreign literature as late as 1920-21. In order to demonstrate the relationship of Ersch’s subject terms to the state of medical knowledge in the early 19th century, selected topics from his scheme will be described. The subjects selected for close examination are:

- Natural therapies, devices - magnetism, electricity, galvanism 1589-1788
- Fever overview 2443-98
- Scrofula, smallpox, scarlet fever 2585-9

12.5.3 Natural therapies

Ersch allocated relatively large amounts of space for books on “Natural therapies, devices - magnetism, electricity, galvanism” as part of the natural therapies section. Humbug and misunderstanding in connection with the electrical relations of living tissues were rife. It was not till after 1825 that electricity came to take a place in rational medicine.

12.5.4 Fever, Smallpox and Scarlet Fever

A subject which was allocated many subdivisions by Ersch is “Fever”:

Fever overview, typhus overview 2443-98
Fever in the growing child 2445-98

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33 See Appendix Figure D3 for a selection of entries from the Ersch scheme.
34 See note on diseases at end of Chapter 11.
While we may be unable to relate the specific fevers mentioned by Ersch to modern vocabulary, many diseases had fever as a symptom and epidemics of infectious diseases wiped out large sections of the world's population up till the end of the 19th century. For these reasons the section devoted to fevers represents the state of medical and public concern when Ersch wrote his scheme of book organisation. It was not until after 1870 that important discoveries in bacteriology enabled physicians to understand the diseases which affected large sections of the population. The discoveries of bacteriologists provided the basis for the formulation of concepts of causation. These included:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Disease</th>
<th>Organism</th>
<th>Discoverer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>Leprosy</td>
<td>Bacillus</td>
<td>Hansen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Typhoid fever</td>
<td>Bacillus</td>
<td>Eberth, Gaffky</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>Tuberculosis</td>
<td>Tubercle bacillus</td>
<td>Koch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>Cholera</td>
<td>Bacillus</td>
<td>Koch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>Diphtheria</td>
<td>Bacillus</td>
<td>Klebs, Loffler</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The diseases were not, however, formally recognised as such at that time, therefore, we could hardly expect a library classification published in 1812 to use this terminology. Between 1700 and 1800 nearly 60 million Europeans had died of smallpox. Smallpox was always present in Europe in the 18th century, attacking principally the very young, killing enormous numbers, particularly infants, disfiguring and often blinding those it did not kill. With the recognition of smallpox and attempts to prevent it in the early 19th century, we can appreciate that Ersch was able to identify the term in his library classification. Ersch lists scarlet fever in his section on fevers. In 1675 Sydenham described the disease scarlet fever accurately as it occurred in London. By 1683 the disease was therefore well known in certain areas, but it was often confused with measles or diphtheria. It was the work of clinicians of the 19th century that gradually defined the disease, showed its relation to tonsillitis and distinguished it from other throat infections. Ersch was certainly
aware of medical thinking about this infectious disease, as he cited it in his classification.

12.5.5 Scrofula

Another term used by Ersch was “scrofula”. The clinical features of the diagnosis included chronic swelling of lymphatic glands, principally in the neck, but the swellings might also affect other concealed parts of the body. Some physicians believed in a close relation between scrofula and consumption; others denied the relationship. In the publications of this era the physicians generally assumed that scrofula, as observed clinically, was a single disease. The term "scrofula", remained in use in mainly British and French medical texts through the 18th century. In the early 19th century clinical and pathological discrimination was not yet sufficiently sharp to distinguish clearly between scrofula and tuberculosis. In the 1860s it was realised that what was called scrofula was tuberculosis. As scrofula was one of the commonest varieties of tuberculosis in the past, Ersch was correctly representing medical thinking of his period when he included it in his classification scheme.35

12.6 The Medical Classification Scheme in the University of Oslo Library 1839-1934

In the 18th century medical publications were rarely issued for teaching purposes, since students did not have the means to buy them and had to content themselves with notes taken during the course of lectures. As medical knowledge became wider and its methods more precise in the 19th century, the need for practical instruction increased. When we examine the size of the collection of the University of Oslo Library catalogue, the largest sections cover physiology, anatomy and anthropology. The reproductive system and

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35 Because of the cough, which followed lung tuberculosis, much of the folk medicine advice was based on drinking cures. Tuberculosis of the lung had been known in Norway from the earliest periods. Remarkably it was not identified as an infectious disease among people to the same extent as many of the epidemic infectious diseases and well into the 20th century there was no great attempt to isolate the sick. The preventive work against tuberculosis began with a law in 1900, which was revised as late as 1947. Holck, P. Norsk folkemedisin, kloke koner, urtekurer og magi, Oslo: Cappellen, 1996, 120.
embryology were also well stocked areas. The classification section for medicine “G”, completed in 1920, reveals a move away from authoritative teaching centred on the textbook towards “empirical medicine” based on observations and experience. This part of the scheme follows Ersch’s pattern of starting with general subjects and then allowing for more specific titles later:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ga</th>
<th>General Medicine</th>
<th>Gb</th>
<th>General Pathology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Medical statistics</td>
<td></td>
<td>Medical genetics</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Biophysics</td>
<td></td>
<td>Clinical biochemistry and physiology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Biomedicine techniques</td>
<td></td>
<td>Experimental medicine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Medical bacteriology and serology</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

“General therapy” provides an important clue to therapeutic interests. The section of the scheme which concentrates on “Hydrotherapy” represents subjectively evaluated diseases of fashion which were popular for a period in Norway from about 1813 to 1917. Ersch's breakdown of the subject is shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gc</th>
<th>General therapy. General therapeutic methods and systems</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Physical therapy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Hydrotherapy. Balneology. Health resorts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a.</td>
<td>Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b.</td>
<td>Writings of mixed content</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1. Periodicals and series</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. Congresses and meetings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3. Other writings and textbooks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.</td>
<td>General presentations. Reference and textbooks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d.</td>
<td>Health resorts. Mineral springs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Turning now to the classification of diseases which affected the Norwegian population throughout the 19th century, a major disabling condition was leprosy. In order to understand why leprosy is not given much space in the University classification scheme, it could be relevant to acknowledge that this was the "illness that dare not speak its name." In 1837 the government created a Royal Commission which proposed stringent measures to eradicate leprosy from Norway and a national leprosy register was begun in 1856, and it is at this point that we could assume it was acceptable to accommodate books about

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36 See Appendix Figure D4 “University of Oslo Library classification of medicine 1887 to 1920”

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leprosy in the University classification. After A. Hansen (1841-1912) discovered in 1873 that leprosy was an infectious disease, isolation of leprous patients was enforced. The second major disease to be studied in the classification is tuberculosis which, in contrast to leprosy, has a comprehensive section at Ge III, and is clearly an expression of 20th century developments.

Ge III
Tuberculosis. Lung tuberculosis [TB in other organs, see organ]
4. Diagnostics
   a. Sputum investigations
   b. Tuberculin tests
   c. XRay diagnosis. Fluoroscopic photography
d. Other methods
7. Pathological anatomy, physiology and chemistry. Experimental tuberculosis research
8. Epidemiology

Norwegian mortality was strongly affected by infectious diseases in the 19th and early 20th centuries, principally by cholera, smallpox, diphtheria, typhoid and influenza, and these sections are the focus of interest in the classification scheme for this period. The section Ge II is where all the books on epidemic diseases would be placed.

Ge II
Internal Medicine
Infectious diseases, parasitic diseases
1. Introduction
   a. Bibliography
   b. History
2. Writings of mixed content
   a. Periodicals
   b. Other writings of mixed content
4. Epidemics
5. General diagnostics and therapy
6. Focal infection
7. Individual infectious diseases. Influenza. Aetiology, pathogenesis, epidemiology, symptoms, prognosis, prophylaxis
8. Individual parasitic diseases

We find that there is a section for individual diseases and only one, namely "influenza", is cited. This is strange, since typhus reached epidemic proportions at the end of the 1830s. There was a powerful cholera epidemic in

37 Conditions with particular stigma problems include the epilepsies, venereal diseases, psychiatric diseases and the 20th century plague, AIDS.
38 See Appendix Figure B16 “Mortality rates of infectious diseases 1871-1955” and Figure B17 “Mortality rates of tuberculosis 1871-1955”
the Kristiania area in 1853, when about 5% of the population died of the illness. The disease was an important feature of daily life in the 1850s, public information was being disseminated on posters on street corners and printed in the press. Smallpox caused devastating epidemics in Bergen and surrounding areas in the 1860s, followed by minor epidemics in Finnmark up to 1892. Diphtheria increased in the period 1870-90. The incidence of typhoid fever showed a clear epidemic pattern. It was known and feared throughout the 19th century. When we consider the important effect of infectious diseases on Norwegian mortality, it does seem curious that they do not have generous sections in the classification which was constructed between 1839 and the 1920s.39

The classification could, however, represent a feeling of optimism that the major epidemic diseases were declining in importance, while influenza was important enough to have its own section in the scheme. In his discussion of Norwegian folk medicine, Holck40 explains that the infectious concept was regarded as though it only concerned acute epidemic infections, while the more endemic, stationary conditions were seen as God's will. More stationary or chronic infectious diseases, for example tuberculosis, did not have the same desolation surrounding them, and nothing was done to prevent their spread. Coughing, spitting and lack of hygiene were quite simply not linked with becoming sick and dying. Throughout the historical development of the University of Oslo Library there are complaints about the shortage of staff. The Amanuenser41 were appointed to help with the service throughout the first

39 Against dysentery folk medicine used "red" remedies, which are "like against like" - cure for example of powder of bricks, red chalk, red wine etc. Otherwise it was recommended to take soot from the fireplace and mixed with fresh milk; this had to be drunk on Good Friday morning. Instead of isolation for cholera the aim was to use different means to dampen the illness, as for example "cholera drops". Others had daily drinks of their own urine in order to remain healthy. Use of protective amulets was common, similarly smoking juniper or tar. Brandy with pepper or camphor was also a popular medicine. For an acute infectious attack of typhoid brandy was an important medication, but fresh milk boiled was also a palliative. Holck, P. Norsk folkemedisin, kloke koner, urtekurer og magi, Oslo: Cappellen, 1996, 109 & 112.
40 Holck, P. Norsk folkemedisin, kloke koner, urtekurer og magi, Oslo: Cappellen, 1996, 35, 43.
41 Research assistants.
half of the 19th century, and to a lesser extent after this period. These students did not always stay in the Library for more than a few years, but they were regarded as part of the labour force. When subject changes were reflected in the classification system, it was necessary for library staff to reshelve books according to the new structure. In a library which had insufficient staff for stock control, book shelving could have been neglected.

12.6.1 The Fk Section of the Classification Scheme

The clearest example of the University classification scheme accurately representing thinking of the period in which the scheme was constructed (1930) is found in Fk Anthropology section 16 “Inheritance. Racial hygiene.”

Fk (1884-1937)

Anthropology, Normal human anatomy, Physiology and Embryology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Anthropology</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Inheritance. Racial hygiene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.</td>
<td>Inheritance and environment. Twin research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f.</td>
<td>Genetic genealogy. Family research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g.</td>
<td>Selective processes. Struggle for existence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h.</td>
<td>Mixing races. Cross hybrid. Intermarriage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.</td>
<td>Degeneration. Criminal anthropology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Collections Class L, Forensic medicine]</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j.</td>
<td>Racial hygiene</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k.</td>
<td>Sexual identification. Inherited latent sexuality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l.</td>
<td>Correlation between generations. Crossing over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1)</td>
<td>Inheritance of individual constructions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2)</td>
<td>Inheritance of constitution, body proportions, intelligence, infection resistance, usefulness.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Eleven titles were found in the University of Oslo catalogue of foreign literature for 1920 in the section on "Race biology", and 29 titles on "Inheritance". The population question caused much concern in the 1920s and 1930s, in Norway as in other Nordic countries. There was a widespread feeling that, concurrent with a halt in population growth, there was an increase

42 "Alfred Ploetz coined the term 'race hygiene' (Rassenhygiene), Ernest Haeckel first considered selection by killing 'weaklings', and the physician Fritz Lenz finally formulated his theory of race inequality. Lenz's works were read by Hitler during his prison sentence in Landsberg (1924-1925). They had a great influence on his race politics of the years to come. Throughout his credo Mein Kampf, Hitler refers to the Jewish race as a bacillus, a parasite, a disease", Ernst, E. "Killing in the name of health: the active role of the German medical profession during the Third Reich", American Journal of Medicine 100 (5) 1996, 579-81.
43 See Appendix Figure D5 “Book stock distribution University of Oslo Library 1920-21”
in the number of the mentally disabled, insane and other groups with low social capabilities. In June 1942 the puppet regime of Vidkunn Quisling substituted for the 1934 law a new law, "Lov til vern om folkeætten". In accordance with Nazi ideology and German political pressure this new sterilization law emphasized biological inheritance at the cost of environmental factors and social considerations, extended the range of conditions for sterilization, and gave guidelines for coercion and even the use of physical force. The sterilisation of legally incompetent persons reached a plateau in the late 1930s and only started to drop around 1950.

12.7 Classification in the University of Oslo Library 1902-61

By the 1920s it had become clear that the University of Oslo Library could not continue with the 19th century classification system. There had, since 1902 if not earlier, been work on plans to reclassify G (Medicine), M (Social science), and R (Aesthetics) but these plans were abandoned and the work was taken up anew at this period, but on a greatly simplified basis. Munthe claims that the classified catalogue is often characterised by librarians as the criterion of an academic library. The catalogue is a reflection of scholarly education and the thinking for which it was created. It is evident that a well built-up classified catalogue is a working tool whose value is difficult to over-estimate, as it is the best way of assessing the currency of the library. He feels that it is remarkable how little practical classification work, with all its problems, is treated in Norwegian professional literature.

In her discussion of choosing a classification system, Lund, who drew up a classification for use in the University of Oslo Library, felt that large libraries have had their traditional systems and would find it difficult to change for

44 "For the protection of the race."
46 For further information on the Fk section see Appendix Figure D6 University of Oslo Library catalogue 1884-1937
practical reasons. She felt that it would be futile to discuss preparing a completely new system which would be wholly unsatisfactory, so she incorporated much of the old arrangement into the structure of the one she was devising. She recommended adhering as closely as possible to the existing fixed system and not to change its inner or outer structure without good reason. In 1942 she worked in co-operation with H.L. Tveterås on guidance for the classified catalogue, as well as describing a general form for cards for the classified catalogues. By 1961 the University Library had a classified catalogue on cards for A (Literary history), D (Theology), E (Mathematics), G (Medicine), I (History), J (Geography, incomplete), K (Cultural History), L (Law), M (Social Science), N (Agriculture, incomplete), P (Education), R (Aesthetics) and U (Trade and Commerce). The next section examines the classification scheme for Medicine in the University Library which was compiled between 1839 and 1934.

12.8 Development of medical periodical publishing in Norway

The growth of medical journal literature was a crucial factor in the development of medical librarianship. As well as acquiring many journals the Library stocked monographs by leading thinkers in the developing medical sciences of the early 19th century. However, few journals in medicine and related fields were founded in Norway until the last decades of the 19th century. By the turn of the century most health professionals (pharmacists, midwives, dentists etc.) had their own journals in Norwegian. The first medical journal, Eyra, had been founded in 1826 and lasted till 1837, running to eleven volumes, each comprising four issues. The first reading club for doctors was established in Kristiania in 1826, and the Norwegian Medical Society was founded in its wake in 1833. An important step in the newly established

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51 Det Norske Medicinske Selskab
medical association in Oslo was the establishment, a few years later, of the association’s periodical. *Norsk Magazin for Lægevidenskaben* commenced publication in 1840 and later came to play a considerable role in Norwegian medicine. It was for many years the only professional medical journal in Norway, until 1881 when three physicians launched the *Tidsskrift for Praktisk Medisin* in Kristiania. The supply of original contributions was scarce, and this led to some irregularities during the early years and a short interruption in publication in 1846.

The *Ugeskrift for Medicin og Pharmacie* was established in 1842, but ceased to appear after only four years. The *Medicinsk Revue*, which aimed mainly at presenting reports and abstracts from internationally published research, was established in Bergen in 1884. Through its first 15 years it was a private enterprise, but from 1899 it was published by the Medical Society in Bergen. It merged, along with seven national journals, into *Nordisk Medisin* in 1939. A dispute over academic versus practical medicine in 1881 reflected a growing conflict between the more conservative, philosophical and theoretical medicine of the past and an incipient, experimentally-based medicine of the future. The periodical *Tidsskrift for Praktisk Medisin* (1881), mentioned above, for members of the Norwegian Medical Association, was renamed *Tidsskrift for den norske lægeforening* in 1890. It became the most significant single medical journal in Norway for the scientific community and practising clinicians.

The small number of physicians in Norway in the 19th century must have made it financially very hard to produce medical journals. In a survey of Norwegian

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52 *Norwegian Magazine for Medical Science*  
54 A century later the financial status of the publication was difficult and it became a part of the journal *Scandinavian medicine* in 1939.  
55 *Journal of Medicine and Pharmacology* 1842-46.  
56 *Medical Review*  
57 *Scandinavian medicine*  

311
periodical publishing, Tvetereås\textsuperscript{58} shows the statistical growth of medical journals from 1800 to 1920:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Medicine</th>
<th>All subjects</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-1800</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1800-10</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1811-20</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821-30</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>35</td>
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<td>1831-40</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841-50</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851-60</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861-70</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871-80</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-90</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-00</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>493</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1911-20</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>646</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the first part of the 20th century clinical medicine was covered by the \textit{Norsk Magazin for Lægevidenskaben}\textsuperscript{59}, a journal intended mainly for hospital physicians in different specialities. In 1941 the \textit{Alment Praktiserende Lægers Forening}\textsuperscript{60} launched a new journal, \textit{Den Praktiserende Læge}\textsuperscript{61}. This journal had a difficult time during the Second World War and in 1945 it merged with the \textit{Tidsskrift for den norske Lægeforening} which became a widely-read journal. Increasing specialisation is the most striking feature of the changes in the medical profession in the 20th century and this is strongly reflected in the development of specialist journals, which restrict their content to one speciality and often publish mainly technical articles.

\subsection*{12.9 Academic dissertations in the University of Oslo Library}

An important measure of the growth of both education and librarianship can be seen in the development of thesis literature. The publication of doctoral theses on medicine in Norway started with Frederik Holst’s dissertation, written in Latin in 1817.\textsuperscript{62} This was the first academic dissertation in Norway. The three following dissertations (1829, 1830 and 1842) were all medical, and were

\footnotesize{\textsuperscript{58} Tvetereås, H.L. \textit{Norsk tidsskrifter: bibliografi over periodiske skrifter i Norge inntil 1920}, Oslo: Universitet i Oslo, 1940, vii.\
\textsuperscript{59} Norwegian journal for medical science 1840-1933.\
\textsuperscript{60} General Practitioners Association (1938).\
\textsuperscript{61} The practising physician 1941-.\
\textsuperscript{62} The subject of his study was \textit{Radesyge} in Scandinavia, a chronic disease related to syphilis.}
written and defended in Latin. After a break of more than 30 years, the next medical dissertation was defended in 1875. From then until the turn of the century all dissertations were written in Norwegian. An increasing number of dissertations were written in German during the first two decades of the 20th century and after the First World War Norwegian and German were the prevalent academic languages. A few dissertations were published in English, but until the Second World War German was the dominant language of international scholarly communication in the Scandinavian countries and Central Europe. After the Second World War English rapidly became predominant.

12.10 Conclusion

While tracing the development of the catalogues in the largest, early scholarly libraries, it was found that classification and cataloguing techniques were strongly influenced by German practice. One aspect of Norwegian library organisation was the provision of separate catalogues for Norwegian and foreign literature. The foreign catalogue in the medical collections yields useful information for closer analysis of medical librarianship and the development of medical education.

By 1908 the Norwegians decided to move away from the Prussian Instructions and embrace the recently drawn-up Anglo American Code. The need was felt at this time to acquire foreign works in the Library.

Medical education was important in the Library collection. The gradual move away from philosophical, subjective beliefs and towards medical education which was centred on empirically-based diagnosis was reflected in the library collections which included the evolving basic medical sciences and early clinical medicine.

Ersch's generous provision for books on the speculative ideas of Mesmerism, Galvanism and electrotherapy was replaced in the later university classification.

63 This practice is quite common in libraries where more than one alphabet is used, for example Arabic and Roman or Hebrew and Roman or Cyrillic and Roman etc.
schemes by symptomatology of disease processes. A variety of explanations can account for the relatively small sections in the University classification scheme for Medicine in the late 19th and early 20th century. The constraints of using a fixed location system were found to be a considerable obstacle to flexibility of classification. The importance of the growth of journal publishing for Norwegian librarianship and medical education has been acknowledged. Academic dissertations in medicine also constituted an emerging literature in medical librarianship in the period 1817-1945.
GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The geographical characteristics of Norway, a country which retained a predominantly agricultural economy up till the late 19th century, have contributed to the observation that at certain periods in its history the forces concerned in influencing libraries were subject to variation. The mobile library services are impressive because of the difficult terrain in Norway. In his account of the history of mobile library services in the United Kingdom, Orton explains that in 1905 it was rarely, if ever, possible to provide a building programme with a branch library for every 25-30,000 inhabitants, “so delivery stations or travelling libraries were organised in several large towns to meet any inadequacies.”\(^1\) He also refers to an anonymous letter written in November 1895 which suggested that “where a branch library is not available the best alternative would be to send out each day in different directions two or three large vans or libraries on wheels, containing in each about 1,000 books arranged on shelves.”\(^2\) Branch library building and mobile library provision were the immediate answer to an expanding urban population in the decade following the end of the First World War. Arne Kildal (1885-1972) was the first to introduce the idea of a book car\(^3\) to Norway. After a considerable volume of correspondence had been exchanged between the Central Library in Kristiansand and the Council authorities the Library was granted money for a book car service to be established in West Agder in 1939. A bookstock of 600 volumes was taken on three routes in the county. The first vehicle was a


\(^3\) See Figure 5.8 “The book car in Kristiansand.”
tradesman's car. Initially the books could only be placed in boxes on the floor, but within a few months three shelves were fitted on each side of the vehicle, visible through the side windows. The visits from the book car greatly stimulated interest in reading.\(^4\) In 1945 the Youth Department of Vestfold County allocated money for Tønsberg Public Library to build a book car. In order to contribute further to the costs of this the book car was rented out for touring in the summer. By 1953 the book car was replaced by a bus with new models bought in 1959, 1974 and succeeding years, until the fleet consisted of three vehicles.

Another form of mobile library service is the bookboat. The bookboat service was started in Trøndelag Central Library in 1955 and later in Sogn and Fjordane and Møre and Romsdal. As the book car was replaced by bookbuses in two counties the number of boat stops was reduced. Originally Møre and Romsdal had over 100 stopping locations but this was later reduced to seventy-five. In later years Sogn and Fjordane had forty stopping places.

Literacy and the spread of education were also affected by geographical considerations. The rural country was a powerful force in this regard. The origins of literacy, book provision and ultimately libraries may be attributed to two major forces. Both priests and farmers were important in spreading the expansion of public book collections at different times. It was, however, easier to define the forces which led the movement towards a literate population, as this was promoted by the strict citizenship requirements of Lutheran Confirmation.\(^5\) An English tourist in Norway in the 1790s, Edward Daniel Clarke, maintained that he was unable to find a single bookshop in Christiania,

\(^4\)Collin, T. "Med bokbil i Vest-Agder" *Bok og Bibliotek* 6, 1939, 124.
\(^5\) See Chapter 2.
only book binders and paper dealers who also sold Bibles, prayer books and almanacs. In rural areas booksellers travelled around selling a very limited selection of books.\(^6\)

Traditionally book dealers in Norway had operated a rotation system between printers and the book dealer, and gradually also between book binders and book dealers. Books from countries other than Denmark reached the Norwegian market in summer, while those from Copenhagen were much more regularly delivered. As late as 1842 the parliamentarian C. H. Svenkerud\(^7\) wrote a paper to *Storting* asserting that most people wandered in an ignorant darkness, which was incredible in a country with such a free constitution. This investigation has demonstrated that the Norwegian people have progressed in their ability to read and write over two hundred years. By 1850 85% of all adults were literate and twenty years later the figure had reached 90%. 99% of everyone aged fifteen and over was able to read and write in the late 1960s. The development of free public library services must take a large part of the credit for this achievement.

The single most important point in the central theme of this thesis was not that many Norwegians left for the New World, but rather that many of them came back again, bringing American library practices with them and introducing these new methods into the Norwegian library world.

The expansion of Norwegian libraries and the services which they provided was in some areas influenced by methods of working used in other countries and described in the professional literature which began to be produced locally. Foreign influences were a strong element in many spheres of Norwegian

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A German book classification system was used in the University of Oslo in the early 19th century, while American and British library techniques were adopted by Norwegian librarians in the early 20th century. Cataloguing rules were originally based on the Prussian Instructions, and then moved to the Anglo-American Cataloguing Rules. There is also evidence of foreign influences on library building styles in both university and public libraries. The result of this assimilation of good practice from experience overseas was that for many years Deichman Library was a leading public library in Scandinavia. Until just before the outbreak of World War II Norwegian librarians travelled abroad for their professional education and this interest in library practice overseas has continued throughout Norwegian library history.

Library Consultant Karl Fischer (1861-1939) found that an English book on public libraries had been decisive in his work. American and British library practices were studied at first hand and then imported home, as can be seen from professional practices with regard to mobile libraries, issue systems and book acquisitions during the same period. The architecture of library buildings and cataloguing rules were influenced by both German and American styles. The American designed *Dewey Decimal Classification* was widely adopted by Norwegian public libraries. A preliminary twenty seven page introduction to the Dewey system was published in Norway 1914. Six years later Arnesen published an eighty two page edition of the classification scheme which

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8See Chapters 4, 5 and 9.
remained in use for over thirty years, until the 2nd edition appeared in 1955 with one hundred and twenty seven pages, followed by a 3rd edition in 1969 with two hundred and seventeen pages. In 1933 W. Munthe attended the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA) conference in Chicago because he felt this would help to increase understanding, tolerance, respect and co-operation among librarians working for common values. Another instance is recalled in 1939 when a librarian visited libraries in England and recorded her impressions about issue systems, library assistants wearing overalls and book displays.

But foreign practices were not adopted uncritically. At the end of the 1930s Munthe confidently rejected the American methods of library campaigning. In his consideration of American campaigns for gifts to public libraries he explains:

Public parades and pageants go a long way here. I believe that the danger is that the library will get the reputation of being a dumping ground for out-of-date and worthless books. In Boston a book drive brought in 27,000 volumes, but of these the library itself could use only 5,000. Worthwhile gifts can hardly be expected to come in through drives.

Not surprisingly, a small isolated country such as Norway looked beyond its own shores to see how libraries were organised and buildings were designed, but it is also important to acknowledge that in the opening years of the 20th century Norwegian library practices were a model for other Scandinavian

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11 Arnesen, A. *Klassifikasjon etter Melvil Deweys system*, Kristiania: Kirkedepartementet Folkeboksamlingenes Ekspedisjon, 1920. There have been four editions published since 1920, with a fifth one in preparation at the time of this thesis.

12 Munthe, W. "Den internasjonale bibliotekkonferanse i Chicago 1933", *Bok og Bibliotek* 1, 1934, 94. International congresses of librarians had been held in Philadelphia in 1876, Chicago in 1893, Paris in 1900, St Louis in 1904 and Brussels in 1910. The concept of a permanent organisation was presented at the library congress in Prague in 1926 and was discussed by the participants at the American Library Association Congress in Philadelphia the same year. But it was at the 50th anniversary in Edinburgh the following year that the International Federation of Library Associations was established.

13 Lippestad, H. "Inntrykk fra engelske folkebiblioteker", *Bok og Bibliotek* 6, 1939, 256.

countries. Norwegian librarians made overseas links with colleagues in the other Scandinavian countries especially during the inter-war years.

Throughout this study the influence of American librarianship practice has been seen in Norwegian library development but as Nylander\(^\text{15}\) stated in 1999 "every now and then something good does indeed come from the North", which occurred in 1928 when John Ansteinsson (1893-1961) organised the cataloguing of the printed books in the Vatican Library in Rome. Ansteinsson’s direction of the creation of a dictionary catalogue earned him the reputation of "the father of the modern catalogue in the Vatican Library". His work in the Vatican Library was recognised in the international library world in the 1930s. He was elected to the IFLA Cataloguing Committee and was an enthusiastic member of the International Federation for Documentation and was on the UNESCO Abstracting Committee. His fame in Scandinavia came from his work on Swedish union catalogues, numerous publications on Norse philology and his often reprinted English-Norwegian technical dictionary.\(^\text{16}\)

Hjartøy\(^\text{17}\) stated in 1948 that Arnesen’s books on classification and cataloguing (\textit{Katalogisering,} 1932; \textit{Klassifikasjon,} 1932) were used as textbooks in other Scandinavian nations during this period. Interest in the progress and achievement of Scandinavian libraries increased to such an extent that by 1950, or thereabouts, when travel restrictions began to ease, librarians from overseas started to revisit the Northern countries, and they brought back with them, like Marco Polo of old, impressive stories of what they had seen.\(^\text{18}\) At this time

\(^{15}\) \textit{Ab Aquilone: Nordic studies in honour and memory of Leonard E. Boyle,} OP; edited by M-L. Roden, (Riksarkivet 14), Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Rom, 1999, 1.

\(^{16}\) \textit{Engelsk-norsk teknisk ordbok,} Trondheim: Brun, 1948. See Chapter 5.2 for information on Ansteinsson’s career.

\(^{17}\) Hjartøy, H. "Arne Arnesen og bibliotekets bygning på Hammersborg", \textit{Deichmanbladet} 17 (8) 1948, 115.

Scandinavian libraries were providing models of high levels of service. In 1938 the well-known English public librarian, L.R. McColvin, reported: “there is probably no public service wherein methods and achievements vary more considerably from place to place and from country to country than the public library service.”19 By 1956 he was able to say that “the finest public library system in the world today was found not in America or England but in the Scandinavian countries such as Norway”.20

To understand the remarkably slow growth of publishing in Norway it is necessary to refer back to the foundation of more southerly European universities in the twelth and thirteenth centuries and see the sharp contrast. While the establishment of medieval universities in some parts of Europe made it possible for a book trade to develop, the first Norwegian university was not established until 1811. The Norwegian book trade could not expand, due to the restrictions which were imposed by its partner in an unequal union of nations.21 Denmark delayed the growth of printing and publishing in Norway and it was not until the publishing house of Gyldendal brought its Norwegian authors "home to Norway" in 1924 that Norwegian publishing began to flourish. The economic and social conditions were important factors in the relatively slow development of the book trade, the growth of university education and the long-term effect it had on the lives of the Norwegian people. There was, however, a steady increase in Norwegian book production as shown below:

20 McColvin, L.R. The chance to read: public libraries in the world today, London: Phoenix House, 1956, 90. Lionel Roy McColvin (1896-1976) will always be remembered as the author of a classic report on the British public library service (McColvin, L.R. The public library system of Great Britain: a report on its present condition with proposals for post-war reorganisation, London: Library Association, 1942). He was a prominent librarian in the reconstruction of libraries after World War II.
Norwegian book production 1815-1966

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1815</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>1922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>2761</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td>3210</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The book production figures for 1950-52 are shown below:

**Percentage by subject in Universal Decimal Classification categories**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Norway No.</th>
<th>Titles</th>
<th>0</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>2761</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>2773</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>2704</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were two subject areas which expanded particularly in the early post-war years. Both literature and social science were prominent in 1950-52.

It was not until libraries had their own purpose-built buildings that services really took off. In 1767 the book collections of *Det Kongelige Norske Videnskabers Selskabs Bibliotek* in Trondheim were located in the private houses of prominent members. In 1808 the first public library in Norway was the single storey grass-roofed farm house belonging to Sivert Aarflot. In 1882 Bergen Public Library collections were located in a former butcher's shop. It is quite appropriate that in the second half of the 20th century Deichman Public Library book bus used the logo *Boken kommer* as many more people had free access to books than was possible less than two hundred years earlier.

Norwegian librarianship has grown into a professional undertaking, from the encouragement by a handful of enlightened clergy and farmers to read

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21 See Chapter 2.
23 Barker, R.E. *Books for all*, Paris: UNESCO, 1956, Table 2 “Book production in 60 countries”, 20. The 10 main categories of UDC are the following: 0 General works, 1 Philosophy and psychology, 2 Religion, 3 Social sciences, 4 Philology (this category did not continue after 1963), 5 Pure Sciences, 6 Useful arts and applied sciences, 7 Fine arts and recreation, 8 Literature and 9 History and geography.
24 The book is coming.
theological and agricultural books to an appropriate place for library students to have practical training. In the 1960s and 1970s the many new library buildings which were opened, particularly in Oslo, attracted visitors from overseas as Norway had established an international reputation for high standards, particularly for children's services.\textsuperscript{25}

The first Library Act was passed in 1835 during a period of economic depression. This provided a legal framework, but without legal obligations for state and council support for libraries. The councils continued with their policies from year to year just as they had done before. Parliament had provided funding for public and school book collections since 1836, initially sporadically, but on an annual basis from 1877, though financial support was throughout this period very modest. This state support did not speed up the establishment of new libraries, but it made it easier for Eilert Sundt (1817-75) twenty years later (in 1850-60) to take up the work for public libraries. A year after the passing of the legislation in 1903 definite regulations for state support were introduced so that public libraries could have an annual book fund.

The re-organisation of Deichman Library in Oslo provided an impetus for the whole country from 1898 onwards. A part-time consultant position was established in the Department of Church and Education in 1902 to provide support for the book collections and to oversee the use of resources. The first library inspector was appointed in 1918. The Office also provided librarians with advice and guidance on day-to-day difficulties as well as on establishing new libraries.

The 1930s economic crisis led the Ministry of Ecclesiastical Affairs to appoint a committee to consult with societies and institutions for popular enlightenment as to the means of widening the cultural movement to a higher standard and a Library Act was passed in 1935. The enactment of the law was an important step in putting Norwegian libraries on a sounder basis with progress in library

\textsuperscript{25} See also Lindsay, M. "A glimpse at some Norwegian libraries", \textit{Assistant Librarian} 70 (2) 1977, 22-6.
inspection, mobile services, hospital and ship libraries. From 1940 to 1945, the Library Office in the Department of Church and Education was taken over by the Nazis.

In the struggle of the Norwegian people against Germany's attempt at its extermination the courageous participation of Norwegian librarians played an important part. By providing channels of communication both within their libraries and through support for the underground press during World War II, the whole of the public and university library movement was mobilised in the fight for freedom of access to the printed word. Some librarians used periodical boxes to locate messages for the resistance movement, others had hidden stocks of forbidden books, messages were transmitted to "Good Norwegians" through slips of paper concealed in books and catalogue drawers. It can be claimed that the nation realised itself in the course of a life and death struggle. The "Spirit of Norway" was well served by the Norwegian library profession.

One common trait in all we see,
One ruling passion - Liberty!
Touch but their freedom, and you find
A nation with a single mind.^[26]

This led to increased public library use and raised the importance of libraries in national consciousness in post-War years^[27]. Post-War reconstruction also included library legislation in 1947. The law passed in this year decreed that every community and every school should have an organised library and for that purpose receive a minimum sum from local government supported by the State. In 1949 the Library Office became *Statens bibliotektilsyn*.^[28] County libraries had to take over special responsibilities for larger administrative areas and received special grants for that purpose. A new Library Act in 1949 provided minimum obligatory grants for county support of public libraries as

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^[27]See Chapter 8.

^[28]Special directorate for public and school libraries.
well as state provision. But this law, like the previous ones, concentrated on the smaller public libraries. The country's largest public library in Oslo continued to develop independently of state legislation. Subsequent legislation led to increased financial support for public and school libraries as well as financing mobile library services throughout the national library scene. The increased role of the public library in education and culture greatly helped the development of children's libraries.

When we reflect on professional development, it is clear that librarians were unable to provide an adequate service until they had full-time salaried positions and comprehensive collections. Combining library duties with secretarial, school teaching or museum work was an obstacle in progressing towards the creation of catalogues and providing adequate opening hours and service-points. It was the establishment of Den Norske Bibliotek Forening\(^29\) (1918) and the thirty year struggle leading to the eventual establishment of national formal library education, Statens Bibliotekskole\(^30\) (1940), which really defined the birth of the profession.

Educational development has a direct bearing on the organisation of libraries, especially in the academic sector. One example of this is the progress and development of medical education during the 19th and 20 centuries. The bookstock mirrored the struggle of medicine in moving away from defining disease according to a mixture of fact and fiction towards empirically based explanations. The beliefs in the efficacy of magnetism, electricity and galvanism found in Ersch's 1812 book classification scheme were replaced by a greater concern with diagnostics in the University scheme of 1839. The changes in the University Library classification scheme in the Faculty of Medicine are a direct reflection of the progress in medical education. When tracing the patterns of development of library classification, attention has focused on the Library of the Medical Faculty of the University of Oslo.

\(^{29}\)The Norwegian Library Association See Chapter 6.
\(^{30}\)The State Library School See Chapter 7.
The disease patterns which were seen in Norway were not consistently reflected in the university classification schemes, particularly for infectious diseases in the late 19th century. A variety of possible explanations for the gap between incidence rates of epidemic diseases and space allocated in the classification scheme of the University of Oslo in the late 19th century have been proposed. The reluctance to introduce changes in the classification may be directly attributable to the necessity to move books in a poorly-staffed library without trained librarians. However, there were two subjects where the classification scheme did seem to represent thinking of the period, the subjects of balneology and racial hygiene described in Chapter 12.5-12.6. The author of the University Classification Scheme incorporated much of the older arrangement into its structure and it was not until the early post-war years that a universal scheme was accepted. The time gaps between changes in medical thinking and the University of Oslo Library classification scheme were found in the topics of "fevers" and "infectious disease". The investigative techniques for diagnosing tuberculosis were speedily reflected in the classification schedules of the (1839-1934) scheme and "racial hygiene" was closely echoed in the Fk section of the classification.

**Future research needed**

Since no history of Norwegian librarianship exists in English at the present time, a general overview of developments over more than two centuries in this investigation has identified areas which could be investigated more closely. The next step would be to extract themes for specialised study. There is a long and rich tradition of providing library services for children. Such an investigation would require a thesis in itself and has therefore not received attention here.

In Norway a few individuals with initiative campaigned for public library

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31See Appendix Figures B16, B17, the note on disease patterns at end of Chapter 11. See also Figure D4 where space for specific infectious diseases, excluding tuberculosis, was limited.
32Lund, H. *Klassifikasjon til systematisk katalog*, Oslo: Grøndahl, 1943.
33See Chapter 12.6.1.
collections, drove the Norwegian Library Association to lay the foundations of the profession, developed formal library education and inspired other librarians. Further research needs to be done to trace these leaders and to construct a national biographical archive of Norwegian librarians. A major lack in the documentary sources that formed the basis of this research was a national listing of librarians since 1969\(^4\). This is a task which could profitably be pursued by the Norwegian Library Association. The preliminary research which has been carried out in this thesis could be followed up by utilising information obtained in obituaries, the *Norsk Bogfortegnelse*\(^5\) and library publications. As the oral history method\(^6\) was an appropriate method of targeting "inspiring" leaders, this would seem to be a suitable way forward for recording the experiences of librarians in the 20th century. Conducting interviews provided completely new information about whole areas of twentieth century Norwegian librarianship which was unavailable from written or printed sources. This new information also added a human context to the factual data and recognised the value of individual experience.\(^7\) As Robert Perks\(^8\) of the British Library National Sound Archive says:

> Oral history can make us look afresh at assumptions we may have drawn from documentary sources or from hearsay, and encourage us to pay attention to marginalised groups in society, many of them previously hidden from history, for example. Oral history is the only type of history in which it is possible to question the makers of history face-to-face.

Acknowledging the tendency of interviewees to recall selectively the most appropriate attitudes and values for the occasion, Perks states that: "The important point, of course, is that all historical sources, whether they are documentary or oral, are subject to the same influences of selectivity, interpretation and partiality. Each oral history interview is one individual piece

\(^{35}\) *Norwegian National Bibliography*
\(^{36}\) See Appendix A1 "Personal viewpoints of Norwegian librarians."
\(^{37}\) The recent formation of the *Norsk bok-og bibliotek historisk selskap* (Norwegian Book and Library History Society) is planning to carry out oral history interviews as part of its collection of archive material.
of a complex jigsaw which, when assembled, gives us a clearer view of our past." In order to identify the other side of the story from the occupation period from 1940-45, it would be interesting to extend the information gathered for this study by conducting interviews with the 'marginalised groups' of Nasjonal Samling (NS), even though they might wish to remain anonymous and not be cited by name.

While the identification of "foreign" influences on Norwegian librarianship helped to explain how the profession developed, further study is needed in order to look at Norwegian influences on librarianship in other countries in later periods. A very profitable area of research would be to study the influence of Norwegian librarians in America in the 19th century. While they were few in number, some of them reached very high positions, such as J.C.M. Hanson (1864-1943), Wilhelm Munthe (1883-1965) and John Ansteinsson (1893-1961) and earned great honours in international librarianship.

There is a need to document the establishment, expansion and possible decline of specialist medical libraries, before they were integrated into the new National Hospital Library which occurred after the period of this investigation. The question which remains to be answered about these small hospitals is, where did the medical staff go to meet their library and information needs before librarians were appointed in their own centres of clinical activity? While there are statistical data available on the size of hospital collections from 1952-60, it would be interesting to identify the hospitals concerned and trace their development before and after these dates.

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40 See also chapters 4 and 5.
41 The libraries of particular interest include Gaustad Hospital, Sophies Mindes Orthopaedic Hospital, Oslo Rheumatism Hospital, Neevengården Hospital, and the University Psychiatric and Paediatric Clinics.
42 Statistisk Årbok, Oslo: Aschehoug, 1952-60.
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Introduction

This section documents recorded interviews with librarians followed by a note which provides biographical data cited with respondents’ permission. This particular methodology provides a personal touch to the history of librarianship in Norway and supplements material not available in archive or published form, this is especially the case for the period during World War II.

Between 1997 and 1999, fifteen Norwegian and one English librarian working in Norway agreed to talk to me, while being recorded, about "Library work in Norway." The aim of these interviews was to see if there was any consistent pattern in their attitudes towards their choice of career, their professional training and working experiences. In order to avoid a biased picture, all the participants were asked the same questions and there was also consistency in the time allowed for each recording, using a maximum of two ninety minute cassette tapes per person.

The themes, which are discussed in this Appendix, emerged without prompting from the interviewer. Issues which arose in the discussions included: family influences, books central in childhood, professional influences and the image of the librarian.

Interview Questions

1. What were the main factors which influenced you selecting librarianship as a career?
2. When did you decide which type of library you would want to work in?

¹ The interviews which are transcribed in this text include the use of the letter “M” to denote the interviewer’s name i.e. Margot Lindsay.
3. Are there any particular individuals who have influenced your career either at Library School or while working in a library?

4. Have you ever worked abroad? Yes/No

4. (a) If yes, have your attitudes towards Norwegian Library services changed as a result of this experience?

5. Did you have pre library school training in a library? Yes/No

5 (a) If yes, how did this affect your studies or subsequent work?

6. Have you ever studied librarianship through a correspondence course? Yes/No

6 (a) If yes, would you like to comment on the benefits of this course?

Five librarians explained that they selected librarianship as a career either because of childhood experiences of helping in the school library, or due to the persuasive influence of a family member and four enjoyed using their Public Library in their childhood. Six people emphasised the importance of books in their childhood. Despite a not very impressive local library service in her childhood, a library career was pursued by one interviewee, who explained:

M: When you were a child was there a library service where you lived?

G: (Laughing) Well it took a long time before I realised that there was a library. It was in some local man's house in western Norway, it wasn't even a village, just a few houses. But at school there was a library, which was a couple of shelves in the teacher's cupboard. I can't remember how often we borrowed books, but I remember he would read out the authors and titles to us, and we could then call out if we wanted to borrow a book. We weren't allowed to go and actually handle the books.

M: Were they story books?

G: No. There were no storybooks.

Another negative experience in childhood was recounted:

MD: I remember when I went to Deichman when all the spines of the books were red and looked very dull and even now I find the door of Deichman so heavy, it is like going into a temple. Those big steps, I don't like Deichman at all.

M: It is a very pretentious building, you feel as though you have to have an academic gown on.

MD: Yes. Those big Greek pillars.

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2 Interviewee 1 former public librarian, 15.1.97
3 Interviewee 5 medical librarian, 26.2.97
4 See Chapter 11 for information about library buildings
But another⁴ was not affected by the unappealing building:

M: When you were a child did you use your children's library?

S: Yes, very much indeed Bergen Library was in an old building. Today I can see it wasn't very child friendly. It was an old stone building, but it had a very good children's department.

Family influences

Sometimes family members can help influence a young person towards a career as in this respondent⁴:

M: Would you say that in your library career there has been anyone who taught you a lot or influenced you?

B: No, but my mother perhaps was keen for me to become a librarian, she told me that my grandmother had wanted to become a librarian but she had to travel to America for education, but she met a man and married him and never went to America. So it is a bit in the family.

Identifying with the unfulfilled dreams of a parent could be seen in one librarian⁷:

M: The first thing I would like to ask is if you would think back to what were the main factors which influenced you towards selecting librarianship as a career.

S: I think the main factor was that my mother was working first in the Public Library and then she went to the Norwegian School so I was brought up in a library-orientated house.

S: She was not a qualified librarian, the war came, and interrupted her education

Librarianship could be seen as the "lesser evil" by the librarian⁸ who explained:

M: When you were in the last few years at school did you discuss what you wanted to do in the future?

H: Yes, and I thought that maybe I would like to become a teacher, but I was discouraged, because my mother said "Oh you won't be able to stand all the children, so why don't you stick to something quieter, like libraries" and I did that.

Another librarian,⁹ who is, now better known as a children's author and translator also had some family influence at the outset of her career:

I had an old Aunt who was a librarian and her work was to keep an eye on school libraries in Deichman Library...My Aunt influenced me as I didn't know what I was really going to do.

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⁴ Interviewee 7 public librarian, 28.2.97
⁵ Interviewee 4 medical librarian, 26.2.97
⁶ Interviewee 7 public librarian, 28.2.97
⁷ Interviewee 8 special librarian, 4.3.97
⁸ Interviewee 6 retired children's librarian 15.2.97
Another person who was influenced, in the long term, by her mother explained:

I started by studying. I had been in America and came back and thought that I should become a philologist. But it did not suit me to sit in the reading room all day long. So I had to find out what I should do. My mother said it would suit me to be a librarian. I found that I would not become a philologist, there were many other things that were more exciting. I went to secretarial school but found that did not suit me. So I found that there was a vacancy in the Parliament Library. This sounded exciting. I applied and got a student place.

There were sometimes strong family objections to the choice of a library career:

K: My father said this was absolute nonsense, and he wondered why I was not planning on becoming a teacher like my mother. He pointed out that she had long paid vacations and that she could go anywhere to get a job. Afterwards I could marry and have children. He also drew attention to the fact that my mother was able to have a maid at home because she made money

M: So he really disapproved of you

K: Very much, it was the scholarship, which made them slowly, adjust to the idea. He thought that I would get ill because there would be all kinds of people in the library, they would be coughing and sneezing and I could get horrible diseases. He emphasised this risk of infection, because tuberculosis was the big problem when my father grew-up. He said that people with tuberculosis who took books home, handled them and brought them back to the library meant that I would get the diseases from these books.

M: Was the expected route for women to be a housewife?

K: My father said that: “If you absolutely want to do something you can become a secretary, you will get well paid.” He was on the board of a bank and claimed that they paid their secretaries very well.

Books central in childhood

The central role of an interest in books was influential in the choice of librarianship as a career. One child who lived in an isolated situation obviously found companionship in reading:

M: Would you cast your mind back to the early days of your career and try and identify which things influenced you in this choice of librarianship

K: Reading, reading and more reading. I grew up in an isolated place in a lighthouse in the Oslo Fjord and there were few children to play with except my sisters and reading was our favourite time. When I was 12 years old I visited the library for the first time in my life, in Horten and I decided there and then this is what I want to do with my life. I want to be with books all the time, be surrounded by them, take them out of the shelves, read them, talk to people about them and be where the books are and I had to be torn out of the library and was very grumpy when I was brought back to the lighthouse.

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10 Interviewee 13 school libraries, a public library service, 3.3.99.
11 Interviewee 9 retired public librarian, 3.3.97
M: Was there someone in the library telling stories, who brought the books alive?

K: That had not been invented then, that was before. Then the war came and it was decided that families should be moved from the lighthouse because there were big battles on the hills beside Horten and the lighthouse was at risk of being hit by bombers. The family was evacuated to the shore and I thought that was glorious, for we could visit the library every day. This was near the railway station at Horten.

Another public librarian also recounted a lonely childhood spent reading:

M: I wonder if you would cast your mind back and try and explain why you choose to become a librarian.

L: I first began to think about Library School when I was in the military service. As I had begun to think about what I should do afterwards, I thought I would like to be engaged in literature and reading.

M: Did you have any contact with libraries in your childhood?

L: Not so much. I read most of the books which we had at home, and we bought new books. The main question was the books we bought. I read books for adults; I read Dickens and many other books suitable for adults. I also read many exchange books, about Indians and all other sorts.

M: Was it unusual for a boy to be reading a lot?

L: It was unusual that I read so much. My brother was nine years older than I was, so I was like an only child, where we lived there was a forest around the house, and there were not many children around. So it was natural for me to begin to read.

A respondent who spent some years as a medical librarian explained:

My father was the Rector and studied German and History so we had many books at home. I had a lot of sickness when I was a child. Very many children had chest infections and we spent a lot of time at home in winter, and my father often read to us. He was a secretary, librarian in the school; in fact he did everything there.

The President of the Norwegian Library Association, looking back on his childhood, explained the importance of early experiences in his choice of career:

Why? I grew up in a family with a lot of books. There were always information books, discussion; the library had a high reputation. My family had travelled around in Norway a lot and the main thing for us was the quality of the library.

A public librarian explained that when she was about twelve years old she wrote a school essay about her future choice of career. She wanted to become a librarian so that she could sit and read the books all day. Now, after twenty-five years’ experience, she told me that all public librarians are expected to read

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12 Interviewee 14 public librarian, 3.3.99.
13 Interviewee 10 public librarian, 6.6.97
the latest texts so that enquiries from users can be met with a knowledgeable response.

This unpaid activity has to be done in one’s own time. The requirement to know the actual content of fiction and children’s literature is understood by both employers and the public. That’s what librarians do, you know.  

Professional influences

Despite negative professional influence, persistence was rewarded by one librarian who experienced a discouraging start:

J: Arne Arnesen was the Chief Librarian and when he interviewed me he said that my examination results were good but he had to tell me that I ought not to work in the library. I said that he couldn’t advise me not to take the place because he felt I had greater opportunities for the future in the Commercial College. He thought a library career had so few jobs that I would be much better in commerce. I asked him if the choice was not mine. If I had listened to what Arnesen said, I would not have become a librarian. He was a very cautious man. It is very difficult to give someone advice.

M: I find it very strange for Arnesen wrote textbooks for librarians and was very active in the profession

J: He was a very eager librarian, but he misjudged the situation, it had nothing to do with his own devotion to the library.

Practical experience was valued more than theory by the public librarian who answered a question about influential people at Library School as follows:

G: Unfortunately, no. There is no one I remember especially.

M: You were mature

G: What I remember, was that I noticed that many of the teachers who had the theoretical background lacked practical experience.

Positive professional influences were experienced by the respondent who said:

When I was working with children the focus was on literature. Jo Tenfjord was one of the people who influenced me by her attitudes. She taught me at Library School and certainly made a big impression on my thinking. She inspired me, but there were also influences from

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14 Interviewee 8 special librarian, formerly a public librarian, 3.3.99.
15 Interviewee 6 retired children’s librarian 15.2.97
16 Interviewee 16 Head of the Reference Department in a public library 2.3.99
17 Interviewee 7 public librarian, 28.2.97
18 Interviewee 6 retired children’s librarian 15.2.97
people in the practical library world. Another person whom I remember from college was the head of the Parliamentary Library, Christian Torp. I remember working at this Transport Institute, I had one year off to work at the Parliamentary Library to learn about official publications and he made me believe that this was an exciting thing. He made it exciting. Working with him was remarkable, a very different subject. I very much enjoyed being in the Parliamentary Library.

Another librarian reported:

M: When did you identify that it was children's librarianship which you wanted?

H: I think that was in my second year at Library School, when I had the eminent teacher Jo Tenfjord who taught us children's literature. She inspired me. She was very lively, she was not afraid of making a fool of herself. She showed us how to act out the stories. In fact in my first job as a children's librarian in Sandefjord, the second day they just said to me "OK tomorrow you start with the children's programme."

M: And then you had to perform straight away

H: Yes, for 30 children

When Jo Tenfjord herself, was interviewed, she said she had also learnt from example:

I had a very stimulating experience in the Children's Department in Deichman. I could see what Rita Deinboll was doing. We had small lectures for children and at that time there was a long queue to hear about pirates. They could be dreadful and sometimes... Rikka Deinboll was very clever in finding things she could do herself. I was for instance making posters and I hadn't done that before. She got her staff to realise what they could do. I made jackets for my first books myself. I believe that first practical experience was important.

Another positive influence decisive in influencing career choice was recounted by a librarian who was inspired by the Parliamentary Librarian, Mr Torp:

E: Torp was a very inspiring and helpful leader. I had a great respect for his knowledge.

M: Did he help you to decide to become a librarian?

E: Yes. He gave us a lot of help and discussed technical library problems with us. From this experience I decided to become a librarian.

Looking back, one librarian had negative feelings about her choice of career:

After completing his library education in SBS, Olaf C.Torp was appointed Deputy Librarian of the Parliamentary Library. He wrote a series of book on the Norwegian parliament from 1954-94. For 16 years he taught public information at SBS and was awarded a prize for this work in 1982. Mr Torp was parliamentary librarian 1958-91. He received the King's First gold medal in 1991.

Interviewee 8 special librarian, 4.3.97
Interviewee 6 retired children's librarian 15.2.97
Interviewee 15 school libraries, a public library service, 3.3.99
Interviewee 11 government librarian 6.6.97
M: I always ask people at the end of a discussion about their career. If you were to make the same choice again, would it be the same one?

A: No, I would not choose the same work. If one likes to learn new things, I think that librarians are people who provide resources, but they are badly paid. I remember when my son had completed his training as a computer consultant he said he could not understand why I would work in a job which was so badly paid. He was right.

Image of the librarian

The early librarian was described by Arnesen (1910) as a learned man, who was comfortable with his books, but he was not involved in anything else or with the people around him. He was described as a composed, modest man. If anyone came to his library, he was there to serve but if there were no readers that was equally good. He only had to ensure that the books were in their places and none were damaged. However, Arnesen felt that in far too many places the library stands apart in a corner, outside the life of the city, and too often the librarian waits for someone to come to the library. He saw the librarian’s task as diligence and using imagination to attract people into the library. Rather then being passive, the librarian should use business methods in order to attract people to the library and encourage them to return. This would require advertising the library, arranging talks and writing. As stated in Chapter Five "The office was a great honour in the sense that only members of the Society could be selected as Bibliothecarius." All participants in these interviews were asked if they had any particular concerns about the image of the librarian, in order to see if the original feeling of pride in holding the position had continued through time. The problem of inappropriate modesty, was identified by the librarian who felt that the stereotype of an “old-fashioned person” still applied. When she told people about her profession, they did not

24 Arnesen, A. "Konkurrende biblioteker", For Folke og Barneboksamlinger 4, 1910, 139.
believe her. She concluded “perhaps we are not clever enough at public
relations.” She felt that the most important attribute of a potential librarian was
to have an enquiring mind. One respondent recognized the old stereotype of
the “mousy type” of librarian but felt that late 20th century librarians had a
different image:

MD: Yes. I think that people thought librarians were old ladies with their hair in a bun who
spoke quietly and were a bit dull. If people said "you look like a librarian" you did not take that
as a compliment. I actually think that has changed.

M: What would you say is the image of the librarian now in Norway?

MD: I think they have been more outspoken and that they look more like business people
because they are being involved so much in information technology and they are competing
with men and they have to look good. I did a course at the engineering college some years ago
and the speaker said you can’t sell information if you don’t look like the man who is buying it.
You have to have court shoes, you have to look like a business woman.

In contrast to this another respondent felt that librarians dressing in imitation
of business people was unrealistic:

I don’t find it very useful for society. But sometimes people say that we must do something.
These people have developed across forty or fifty years, how can they change? Of course you
can say, you must brush up and look as though you are from a big company and be very
business-like. They say, men should remove their beards. It is a case of human capital, it is a
mixture of genes and experience. I try to participate in the fights which we can win.

One respondent had formed a very negative view of the attitudes which were
promoted at Library School, although this did not prevent her from going on to
have a very successful career in public libraries. She recalled:

S: When I started at Library School I felt that I should never ever in my life have been a
librarian, because I felt there were so many manipulating groups and they didn’t respect
peoples’ attitudes and that they knew best what was right for people. This was the
folkeopplysning tradition. The attitudes they were teaching us at the school were a problem.

M: Was it the feeling that the librarian knows best?

25 Interviewee 5 medical librarian, 26.2.97
26 Interviewee 10 public librarian, 6.6.97. The respondent later joined a private company, but
only remained there a few months and then returned to public librarianship.
27 Interviewee 7 public librarian, 28.2.97
28 The enlightenment of the people through religion and education.
S: Yes. I had been brought up in the tradition that people knew best for themselves and that was their choice

M: That was your family

S: Yes. Every person has the right to choose what they want to read and certainly no one knows better what is best for another person. So I found it very difficult and went back to my parents and said that I would never set foot in a library as a librarian again. I then got a job as a student teacher of Swedish and Norwegian literature.

She was however very impressed with the in-service training in the University Library in 1964-5:

At that time we had to have an apprenticeship. The way they ran it was that there were six of us and we had an hour's training every day and one of the librarians taught us round the table. Then we had time for reading. They really took care of us and took it very seriously.

While acknowledging that teachers and anyone else who wants to, can describe themselves as a “librarian”, which is not a legally protected title, a public librarian explained that the Norwegian Library Association worked hard to protect librarians' salaries so that they could be kept at the same level as others with similar levels of educational attainment. She felt that “We get respect for what we do.” This positive self image was evident in her pride in collecting and distributing educational literature. “It is fantastic, and it is the same all over the world.” When she goes on walking holidays, she always takes time to visit libraries wherever she is. Another librarian who identified the positive image of librarianship worked in a large public library in Bærum.

He explained:

There is certainly a stereotype, but those who use Bærum Library or the main library in Bekkestua know that librarians are not the old-fashioned type. We are not particularly concerned about this. Norwegian librarians are very involved in IT, they started this very early. We have never been insecure about data. Our lending system is recorded as data. We were the first public library in Norway which used a CD ROM. We have atlases and encyclopaedias in this medium and these were very often used before the internet became available.

Another librarian commented that the Norwegian tradition is always to decide what is best for other people. This is why Norwegians have always been deeply committed to helping developing countries. Norwegian foreign ministers go abroad to create peace. She felt that it is rather presumptuous to assume that Norwegians know what is best for other people. A frequently quoted statement by Gro Harlem Bruntland, former prime Minister of Norway, was: “It's
typically Norwegian to be good and skilful"\textsuperscript{29}. A positive response to the question about the image of the librarian is as follows\textsuperscript{30}:

I think that library work can be very flexible, behind the scenes or with the public. Retrieving and disseminating information which I think is fantastic. It is the same throughout many parts of the world.

**Conclusion**

Childhood experiences of libraries and reading habits developed at this time, were influential factors in later career decisions in favour of librarianship. Positive attitudes of family members towards a library career were more common than negatives attitudes. The most influential people in the profession were practitioners rather than tutors. Image concerns among respondents focused on a lack of assertiveness but the anger and frustration, which can sometimes be associated with this issue, did not emerge in this tiny sample of Norwegian librarians. All of these observations only apply to the people who participated in the study and is not statistically representative of Norwegian librarianship overall.

The librarians who agreed to be interviewed were willing to identify problems in their library experience and a few are related here. A children’s librarian felt that, traditionally: "The book selection was snobby and they selected on quality." However, she went on to explain: "Now we are much more concerned about the slow reader." But, she observed that, "It took years before we could have cartoon books, and they were very selective and you couldn't take them home. We [her family] had spent several summers in Denmark and always enjoyed going to Danish libraries because they are so much more relaxed."\textsuperscript{31} Norwegians felt that Danish libraries were more liberated in their attitudes to sex, drugs and the origins of life. They stocked books which explained these subjects in graphic detail. A medical librarian\textsuperscript{32} remarked that she felt:

\textsuperscript{29} "Det er typisk norsk å være god." Quoted by Interviewee 8.
\textsuperscript{30} Interviewee 16 Head of the Reference Department in a public library 2.3.99
\textsuperscript{31} Interviewee 7 public librarian, 28.2.97
\textsuperscript{32} Interviewee 5 medical librarian, 26.2.97.
I have to go to all the courses. It is difficult on my own, as I have to do the work besides keeping up with things. If I am ill, the users have to use the Medical Faculty Library. Now many doctors have the best facilities possible and they can search themselves, but their search results tend to be unselected lists.

A public librarian from Deichman Library explained the problem that arose when the two reading rooms were joined to form one: "There is too little space. It is a fantastic building, it has atmosphere, but it is a straitjacket, being old-fashioned, it is not suited to a modern library service. She further elaborated that:

Deichman has been a difficult and isolated institution to work in. It had not always been dynamic. We had fifteen branches and a bad economic situation and had to spread the resources further. The reading room did not have the lowest budget but compared with Sweden and Denmark our reference books and bibliographical resources were limited.

To conclude on a positive note, the Norwegian librarian who worked in England felt: "It struck me that a lot of my colleagues didn't seem interested in reading, which I thought was odd. My first colleagues were junior assistants so they were teenagers and not all of them were going to qualify. I thought that was very strange. They tended not to have "A" levels, they were younger, they had "O" levels, whereas for library training in Norway you had to have Artium. A medical librarian felt very appreciated by her readers, she explained: "They think that I know everything, but the young ones know much more. It is a job, but it feels like a hobby, I think it is fun. It is a brave new world." A former public librarian explained that she enjoys working with people and books and that she gets great satisfaction in finding the right book for the reader. "In Norway librarianship is a service occupation. The librarian is there to serve the readers, not just to sit and read." A public librarian who had a staff of about 20 admitted: "You will not become rich as a librarian."

But, despite this he had tremendous job satisfaction:

If you compare it with the private sector, the librarian's salary is not much. What makes it exciting for me is meeting people, a chance to meet the public, I have a wonderful staff which I

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33 Interviewee 3 Head of the Reference Department in a public library.
34 University entrance examination. Interviewee 1 former public librarian, 15.1.97.
35 Interviewee 5 medical librarian, 26.2.97.
36 Interviewee 8 special librarian, 3.3.99.
37 Interviewee 14 public librarian, 3.3.99.
enjoy working with, improving administration, also leadership. There is a whole perspective and the literature which lies behind it. This is what gives me the basis of being a librarian.

Biographical notes on Interviewees

Interviewee 1. Grete Mole

Grete began her library career as a trainee from 1953-5 in Larvik Public Library which occupied three rooms; the Children’s Library, the Reference library and a small workroom. The long waiting list for entrance to Statens Bibliotek Skole (SBS) led her to get another library position, this time, in the Lending Department of Bergen Public Library where she remained for one year. Having been to England once, Grete was keen to spend more of the country, so she sent speculative letters to County Librarians which led to a position in Buckinghamshire County Library as a Junior Assistant. After two and half years she was married and pregnant and left the library. Although not practising in librarianship, she was involved through her husband’s career as an academic in the former School of Librarianship in the Polytechnic of North London. Grete did, however, conclude: "Amazing how hazy everything seems now, I feel I have lived another two or three lives since then."

Interviewee 2. Margaret Elleby

Following a year working as a Library Assistant in Leeds Public Library, Margaret attended Leeds Library School from 1963-5 and then returned to the Library as a Senior Assistant for a year, followed by a position as Librarian, where she remained for about ten years. After marrying her Norwegian husband in 1978, she worked as a photocopying assistant in the University of Oslo Library for seven months and when her English qualifications were accepted she had a temporary position until 1982 when she was appointed Librarian in the Acquisitions Department where she was at the time of her interview.

Interviewee 3. Lise Refsum

A Norwegian librarian whose experience as a volunteer in the Card Maintenance Division of the Library of Congress 1949-50, led to selecting Librarianship as a career. She began in a one year trainee position in the Norwegian Business School Library. After three years as Library Assistant in Bergen Public Library 1950-53, Lise attended SBS for one year and was then appointed Assistant librarian in Bergen Public Library 1954-60. Following three years in Gjøvik Public Library and a period in the Norwegian Broadcasting Archives, Lise became Head of the Reference Department in Deichman Library and Special Librarian there from 1966 onwards. Lise was chairman of Norsk Bibliotekar Lag from 1968-70 and Vice President of the Norwegian Library Association 1970-72.

Interviewee 4. Bente K. Rustad

After completing her three year Library School course and one year practical experience with a correspondence course, Bente worked in Fosum Public Library, followed by eighteen years in Deichman Library. At the time of her

38Statens Bibliotekskole
interview, she had completed six years as a Medical Librarian in Statens Senter for Ortopedi linked to the University of Oslo. She made good use of the continuing education opportunities provided by the University Library.

Interviewee 5. Mimi Dammann
After two years in Drammen Public Library as a trainee, Mimi attended Library School from 1977-80, and also worked part-time for the National Hospital doing secretarial work. She worked for five years as a children's librarian in Bekkestua. She won a three month scholarship to study the National Youth Library in Germany and, later, four weeks in Czechoslovakia in 1984 and 1994. Over a period of eleven years, Mimi built-up a professional library service for the scientists and clinicians at Sanitetsforenings Revmatisemeykelsus Rikshospitalet Institutt for Generell og Revmatologist Immunolog, Oslo.

Interviewee 6. Jo Tenfjord
Jo Gjæver Tenfjord began her career in Deichman Library as a Library Assistant where she was a pupil from 1938-40, before qualifying as a Librarian. She studied children's literature in many countries. From 1940-47 she worked in Deichman Library and lectured on children's literature at the Library School from 1949 onwards. In the late 1940s she started writing and published 20 children's books and translated 200 German and French books into Norwegian. She spent two semesters in the US in 1947 on a UNESCO scholarship. She was on the Executive Committee of International Books for Young People and a member of the Department of Church and Education Committee for School Book Collections from 1961 and a member of the United Nations Co-operative executive for various periods. She was chairman of the UNICEF Committee from 1966-73. She was General Secretary of the Children's International Summer Villages from 1956-64 and their International President in 1962.

Interviewee 7. Signe Nordenberg
After one year library practice in the University Library of Bergen Signe completed her Library School examinations in 1967. Her first job was teaching Norwegian and Swedish literature at Atlantic College in Wales. She worked for six years in special libraries and was then School Librarian in Bærum for the period 1976-90. She then headed the Children's Department in Bekkestua Library.

Interviewee 8. Heidi Boiesen
Heidi's practical experience was gained in Sandvika Public Library followed by two years in Library School. Her first professional position was in Deichman Library for one year, followed by a Children's Librarian position in Sandefjord. She was then invited to apply for a job in Høvik Public Library as a Children's Librarian. Since 1996 Heidi has developed a special library service for severely

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39 The National Hospital for Orthopaedics and Orthopaedic Surgery includes Sophies Minde and Kronprinsesse Mårhass Institutt.
40 Oslo Rheumatism Hospital, National Hospital Institute for General and Rheumatological Immunology
41 Jo Tenfjord (Interviewee 12) also participated in a discussion about librarians in Occupied Norway, cited in Chapter Eight.
handicapped children and the interdisciplinary staff assessing and developing the skills of children in Haug School, which is in Bærum near Oslo.

**Interviewee 9. Kirsten Berg Welhaven**
Kirsten won a scholarship to attend Library School at the University of Washington in Seattle for three years. She then worked in Bærum Public Library and was very active in the *Norsk Biblioteksamfunn* where they warned potential applicants against jobs with inappropriate salary levels. Eventually a law was passed that every municipality should have a qualified librarian to head the system. Kirsten is a well-known figure in local politics and is regarded as an expert on book matters. She makes good use of her long career in public libraries by giving talks about new books in a bookshop in Høvik which is in Bærum near Oslo.

**Interviewee 10. Frode Bakken**
After Library School Frode's first post was in a bookshop for one year, but he soon realised that he wanted to work in public libraries and spent most of his career in the public library sector. Frode spent most of his career in the County Library service in Telemark, followed by a brief spell in the private sector, before returning again to public libraries. He has been President of the Norwegian Library Association more than once. He is concerned about free public library services and developing a common strategy for using information technology in all libraries (i.e. both academic and public). Mr Bakken is a founder member of the Norwegian book and library history Society (NBBS).

**Interviewee 11. Aug Gulbrandsen**
As a mature student Aug attended Library School for three years. In 1977 she started to work in the University of Oslo Medical Library and remained there till 1985, when she began working in the Foreign Office Library where she was working when interviewed in 1998.

**Interviewee 13. Kåre Valentin Hanssen**
Kåre Hanssen has been an enthusiastic for the free access to literature throughout his life. He started his career as a pupil in Deichman Library from 1939-41 and then managed to complete his Library School course. From 1941-42 he was Assistant Librarian in Grunnerløkka Branch of Deichman Library, but in February 1942 he was arrested with a rucksack full of illegal newspapers and was kept in concentration camps until 1945. From 1959-63 he taught reference work in the Library School. Since his retirement as Chief of Bærum Public Library he has been involved in book binding and renovating the special collections held in the Library.

**Interviewee 14. Lasse Christensen**
Lasse Christensen started his library career in 1974 as a book collector in the Norwegian Department of the University Library and then attended Library School for three years. He had a temporary position in the Children's Department of Stavanger Library for one year and then was appointed as Department Librarian in Bærum. After four months travelling around Asia, he

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42Norwegian Library Union
43 Norsk bok og bibliotekhistorisk selskap (established 1998).
returned in 1980 to manage the small outlying centres in Sandvika Public Library. In 1981 he moved to the Main Library to the new premises in Bekkestua. In 1989 he was appointed Head of the Adult Department in the Main Library.

Interviewee 15. Ellen Øyno
Following two years as a trainee in the Parliamentary Library Ellen attended Library School. Having three children, she could only take part-time library positions for some years. She studied librarianship in Utah, USA from 1975-77 and on returning to Norway was appointed School Librarian in Bærum, followed by some part-time jobs where she became very involved in the school library service in the country providing courses to stimulate reading. Following another period of badly paid short-term library positions, she worked at Bibliotekstilsyn\(^{44}\) for four years until 1993 when she became Head of the School Department in Bærum Public Library.

Interviewee 16. Greta Bruu Olsen
Greta's library career has focused on Deichman Library where she began as a trainee for six months, then worked as a Library Assistant for two years before attending Library School. She then worked in the University Library as a Library Assistant for one year and after this returned to Deichman Library in 1979 as Head of Stovner Branch Library. After a period of managing Furuset Branch Library in Oslo she was appointed Head of the Reference Department in the Main Library in 1996.

\(^{44}\)Government office for libraries
## Figure A2
Norwegian Librarians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Chief Librarian</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Hobby</th>
<th>Publications</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Father</th>
<th>MS</th>
<th>Father</th>
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<td>Botany</td>
<td>Priest, Teacher, Librarian</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Fish-</td>
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<td>Artium, Theology</td>
<td>Author, Philosophy</td>
<td>Philosophy</td>
<td>Priest, Professor, Librarian</td>
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<td>31</td>
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<td>Book Collector</td>
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<td>Book Illustrator</td>
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<td>man</td>
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<td>Name</td>
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<td>Dictionary</td>
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<td>Politics</td>
<td>Editor, Bibliography</td>
<td>Chief Librarian</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>Sea</td>
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<td>Munthe, G.</td>
<td>(1964-69)</td>
<td>45</td>
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<td>History</td>
<td>Professor articles</td>
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<td>M</td>
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<td>University of Kristiana Name</td>
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<td>Age</td>
<td>Education</td>
<td>Hobby</td>
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<td>Occupation</td>
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<td>Sverdrup, J.</td>
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<td>34</td>
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<td>Professor Greek, Politician, Librarian</td>
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<td>Proprietor</td>
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<td>Book collector</td>
<td>Professor of History, Librarian</td>
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<td>Bishop</td>
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<td>(1864-69)</td>
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<td>Artium. Philology</td>
<td>Poetry, Bibliography</td>
<td>Local history, Archaeology</td>
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<td>35</td>
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<td>UNESCO</td>
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### Bergen Public Library

**1873-1971**

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<th>Name</th>
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<th>Age</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Hobby</th>
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<th>Occupation</th>
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<td>30</td>
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<td>Kildal, A.</td>
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<td>Smith, V.</td>
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<td>Economist</td>
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<td>Trained by Nyhuus</td>
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### Deichman Library

**1785-1962**

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<td>Topography</td>
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<td>Music</td>
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<td>Librarian</td>
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<td>Politics</td>
<td>Press articles</td>
<td>Editor, Publicist</td>
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<td>Age</td>
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<td>Specialization</td>
<td>Marital Status</td>
<td>Years in Position</td>
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Source: Norwegian library periodical literature, *passim*

1 Age when appointed to library
2 Marital status
3 Number of years in senior position
Figure A3.1

Mimi Dammen, Medical Librarian (Top)
Benta K. Rustad, Medical Librarian (Bottom)
Signe Nordenberg
Children's Librarian
Figure A3.3

Jo Tenfjord
Author, translator,
and retired Children’s Librarian
Figure A3.5

Heidi Cortner Boiesen, Children’s Librarian
- Special School (Top)
Greta Bru Olsen, Public Librarian
- Reference Department (Bottom)
Figure A3.7

Ellen Øyno
Public Librarian - Schools Department
Figure B1

Average yearly growth rate in population

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<th>Rate/100</th>
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<td>1930</td>
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<td>1960</td>
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Annual growth of population
1835-1960

Source: Ramsøy, N.R. Norwegian society, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1974, Table 1.
**Figure B2**

**Annual percentage growth of population in Norway 1735-1865**

**Period by county**

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<tr>
<th>Period</th>
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<td>0.8</td>
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<td>0.7</td>
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**Av. annual % growth in population**

**1735-1865**

### Figure B3

**Male emigrants by age 1866-1920**  
**Relative figures**

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<td>64.8</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>1.5</td>
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<td>10</td>
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**Figure B4**

**Female emigrants by age 1866-1920**

Relative figures

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**Female emigrants to America 1866-1920**

Norwegian emigration

Rural and urban emigration
Per 1,000 population

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Rural/Urban emigrants to America 1866-1920

## Figure B6

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Figure B7

Norwegian periodical publishing 1800-1920

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Key to classification:
A Literature, book trade, librarianship, journalism, book art and typography
B Periodicals of mixed content
D Religion, mission, theosophy
M Social science, workers' movements, administration, peace issues
N Agriculture, housework, fishing, shooting
Q Technology, industry, craft work
U Trade, commerce, advertising.

Source: Adapted from Tvetérås, H.L. Universitetsbiblioteket Norsk tidsskrifter: bibliografi over periodiske skrifter i Norge inntil 1920, Oslo: Universitet i Oslo, 1940, vii.
### Figure B8
Books published in Norway 1814-47

| Subject       | Time   | 1814 | 1815 | 1816 | 1817 | 1818 | 1819 | 1820 | 1821 | 1822 | 1823 | 1824 | 1825 | 1826 | 1827 | 1828 | 1829 | 1830 | 1831 | 1832 | Totals |
|---------------|--------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| Mixed         |        | 0    | 0    | 1    | 3    | 0    | 0    | 4    | 3    | 2    | 0    | 1    | 0    | 1    | 1    | 0    | 1    | 0    | 2    | 2    | 21    |
| Philosophy    |        | 0    | 0    | 1    | 1    | 1    | 0    | 3    | 1    | 2    | 1    | 0    | 1    | 4    | 4    | 2    | 1    | 1    | 3    | 0    | 26    |
| Theology      |        | 17   | 8    | 9    | 10   | 1    | 1    | 1    | 2    | 2    | 2    | 3    | 3    | 3    | 11   | 14   | 16   | 4    | 3    | 4    | 114   |
| Maths         |        | 0    | 0    | 1    | 1    | 0    | 1    | 0    | 1    | 1    | 1    | 3    | 2    | 0    | 0    | 1    | 2    | 1    | 0    | 15    |
| Natural Sc.   |        | 0    | 0    | 1    | 1    | 0    | 1    | 0    | 0    | 1    | 1    | 1    | 3    | 2    | 0    | 0    | 1    | 0    | 3    | 2    | 17    |
| Medicine      |        | 0    | 1    | 2    | 1    | 1    | 0    | 0    | 1    | 0    | 2    | 0    | 2    | 4    | 3    | 1    | 1    | 2    | 5    | 0    | 26    |
| Philology     |        | 0    | 0    | 1    | 1    | 1    | 0    | 3    | 1    | 2    | 1    | 0    | 1    | 4    | 4    | 2    | 1    | 2    | 3    | 3    | 30    |
| History       |        | 13   | 11   | 6    | 7    | 5    | 7    | 5    | 8    | 6    | 13   | 6    | 14   | 12   | 16   | 12   | 2    | 9    | 162   |
| Law           |        | 9    | 25   | 8    | 7    | 10   | 0    | 6    | 3    | 6    | 15   | 21   | 3    | 8    | 11   | 7    | 8    | 11   | 5    | 17   | 180   |
| Technology    |        | 0    | 0    | 3    | 3    | 2    | 0    | 3    | 2    | 0    | 4    | 5    | 7    | 4    | 2    | 3    | 5    | 3    | 5    | 3    | 54    |
| Education     |        | 1    | 4    | 2    | 1    | 1    | 1    | 2    | 2    | 2    | 3    | 3    | 3    | 1    | 4    | 2    | 4    | 3    | 4    | 44    |
| Totals        |        | 40   | 49   | 35   | 36   | 22   | 9    | 28   | 20   | 23   | 37   | 41   | 39   | 41   | 51   | 45   | 53   | 41   | 35   | 44   | 689   |
| Av/Yr         |        | 3.63 | 4.45 | 3.18 | 3.27 | 2.08 | 0.8  | 2.54 | 1.81 | 2.09 | 3.36 | 3.72 | 3.54 | 3.72 | 4.63 | 4.09 | 4.81 | 3.72 | 3.18 | 4     |

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Source: *Droit d'Auteur*, 1917-40.
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Figure B11

Number of loans per inhabitant in public libraries
Listed by loans per inhabitant

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### Figure B11 (Continued)

**Public library loans 1924-6**  
Listed by loans/inhabitant

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**Figure B12**

Number of loans per inhabitant in public libraries
Listed by population size

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1930-37 an average of 3.06 loans per inhabitant per year
Figure B13

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Norwegian Book Production 1643-1930

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Source: Tank, R. "De femti år", Boken om Bøker 3, 1932, 18.
### University of Oslo Students 1896-1919

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Source: *Statistisk Årbok, 1896-1919.*
Figure B15

Number of volumes in Norwegian University Libraries 1937-60

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Source: *Statistisk Årbok*, Oslo: Aschehoug, 1937-60.
Figure B16

Morbidity and lethality of common infectious diseases 1871-1955 Deaths/100 cases

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Source: Dødeligheten og dens Årsaker i Norge 1856-1955, Statistisk Sentralbyrå, 1961, Table 43.
Figure B17

Tuberculosis
Deaths per 10,000 population

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Source: Dødeligheten og dens Årsaker i Norge 1856-1955, Statistisk Sentralbyrå, 1961, Table 43
Figure B18
Norwegian Public Library Loans 1950, 1954-8

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Source: Norwegian periodical literature, passim
## Figure B19

**Town and country libraries loan statistics 1919-57**

### Norwegian state supported public libraries

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<th>1919</th>
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Source: *Statistisk Årbok*, 1919-57.
Figure C1

Major Norwegian newspapers and magazines 1763-1924

Newspapers
1763  Norske Intelligens Seddeler
1763  Christiania Intelligensseddeler
1765  Efterretninger fra Adresse Contoret i Bergen
1808-14  Tiden
1808-14  Budstikken
1808-17  Norsk Landboblad (edited by Sivert Aarflot)
1815-21  Den norske Nationalblad
1815  Den norske Rigstidende
1819  Morgenbladet
1821-23  Den norske Nationalven
1831-7  Statsborgeren
1835-47  Den Constitutionelle
1849-55  Krydseren
1855-81  Aftenbladet
1860  Aftenposten
1868  Bergens Tidende
1868-1923  Verdens Gang (1945-)
1869  Dagbladet
1884-94  Vårt Arbeide (Organ of Trade Union Movement)
1910  Tidens Tegn (Signs of the times)
1924  Arbeiderbladet (The Workers’ Mail)

Magazines
1834  Norsk Penning-Magazin
1835-91  Skilling magazinet
1849  Almuevennen
1851-66  Illustreret Nyhedsblad
1852-1900  Folkevennen (The Peoples’ Friend)
1858-70  Dølen (The Dalesman - Landsmaal)
1865-79  Folketidende (Included letters from America)
1866-73  Norsk Folkeblad
1874  Ny Illustreret Tidende
1877-91  Fedraheimen (The Fatherland - Landsmaal)
1890  Samtiden (Contemporary life)
1894-1935  Den 17de Mai (Constitution Day - Landsmaal)
### Important dates in the development of Norwegian Education

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Development</th>
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<tr>
<td>1150-1869</td>
<td>Cathedral schools</td>
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<tr>
<td>1539</td>
<td>Norwegian Church ordinance to teach Christianity</td>
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<td>1627</td>
<td>First Works School at Kongsberg</td>
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<tr>
<td>1736</td>
<td>Christian VI Confirmation Order</td>
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<tr>
<td>1739</td>
<td>School law for country areas - <em>Allmeuskole</em></td>
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<td>1740</td>
<td>Christi Krybbe school for the poor in Bergen</td>
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<tr>
<td>1749-51</td>
<td>Seminaries trained 200 teachers in Norway</td>
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<tr>
<td>1772</td>
<td>Drawing school for carpenters and goldsmiths</td>
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<tr>
<td>1802</td>
<td>Sunday Schools for boys to learn Danish and mathematics</td>
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<tr>
<td>1816</td>
<td>Parliament resolved that each parish should set a school budget</td>
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<td>1816-76</td>
<td>Teachers released from military service</td>
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<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>Parliament established a seminary in North Norway</td>
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<tr>
<td>1824</td>
<td>Teacher Training College opened in Tromsø</td>
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<tr>
<td>1827</td>
<td>Factories with minimum 30 workers must provide a school</td>
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<tr>
<td>1827</td>
<td>First brick schoolhouse in Kristiania</td>
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<tr>
<td>1827</td>
<td>Teacher Training Act, schools to be provided in every parish</td>
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<tr>
<td>1837</td>
<td>Local Government Act, self-government in parishes and towns</td>
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<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>Private school established by H.Nissen in Kristiania</td>
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<td>1848</td>
<td>Compulsory school attendance for all</td>
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<td>1848</td>
<td>Handicrafts training for girls</td>
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<td>1848</td>
<td>Education Act - town schools for pupils aged 7-14 years</td>
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<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>Society for Promotion of Popular Enlightenment established</td>
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<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>University training for science teachers</td>
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<tr>
<td>1859</td>
<td>Nine year foundation school</td>
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<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>State support for general schools</td>
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<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>Rural schools given a broader curriculum</td>
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<tr>
<td>1863</td>
<td>Reading books included folktales and poetry</td>
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<tr>
<td>1864</td>
<td>First Teacher Training for women in Kristiania</td>
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<tr>
<td>1868</td>
<td>Teachers to use local language not Danish in classrooms</td>
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<td>1869</td>
<td>Law on higher schools - <em>gymnas</em> and <em>realskole</em></td>
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<td>1869</td>
<td>A new <em>gymnas</em> for females and women teachers legally approved</td>
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<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>Middle schools established</td>
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<td>1889</td>
<td>Elementary schools built <em>Folkeskole</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>1896</td>
<td>New gymnas law, Latin optional</td>
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<td>1896</td>
<td>Co-educational higher schools</td>
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<td>1907</td>
<td><em>For Folke og barneboksamlinger</em> periodical begins</td>
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<td>1959</td>
<td>9 year foundation school <em>Grunnskole</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>6 years elementary, 3 middle and optional post-secondary school</td>
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**Time** | **Development**
--- | ---
1768 | Library opened in Royal Norwegian Society of Science & Letters
1780 | Carl Deichman donated his collection for a public library
1785 | Deichman Library opened in Oslo
1799 | Sivert Åarflof started the first lending library for public use
1809 | Society for Good of Norway Library established
1813 | University of Oslo Library opened in rented premises
1815 | First legal deposit law
1825 | Bergen Museum Library opened
1836 | First irregular and modest state grant for public libraries
1837 | Local government reform with autonomy for municipalities
1846 | Henrik Wergeland’s Public Book collection opened
1851 | State contributions provided for public book collections
1851 | University of Oslo Library moved into University Square
1876 | Regular modest state grants for public and school libraries
1879 | Bergen Public Library moved into three large rooms
1882 | Copyright Deposit Act
1883 | Reading room opened in Bergen Public Library
1885 | State Archive Library in Bergen opened
1892 | State Institute for Public health opened
1898 | Haakon Nyhuus published catalogues in book form
1899 | Browne Issue system started in Deichman Library
1899 | Open shelves in Deichman Library
1899 | Deichman Library opened lending centres
1900 | Nyhuus rented separate rooms for Children’s services
1901-13 | Reading rooms opened in ten town libraries
1902 | Library Consultant appointed in Department of Church & Education
1902 | Newark system introduced in Trondheim Public Library
1903 | Open access in Deichman Library
1903 | Secure regular state funding of public libraries
1904 | First Dewey catalogue in Deichman Library
1905 | Haakon Nyhuus introduced dictionary catalogue
1905 | Foreign Office Library opened
1906 | First branch library in Oslo (Deichman Library) opened
1906 | Trondheim and Tønsberg initiated storytelling hours
1907 | Library periodical *For folke og barneboksamlinger* commenced publication
1908 | State supported book boxes delivered to small collections and schools
1908 | Deichman Library changed to Newark System
1908 | Church Department wrote to school directors on care of libraries
1908 | First annual meeting arranged by Department of Church & Education
1909 | Open shelves Dewey classification in Bergen Public Library

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1 The smallest libraries which were only open for a few hours per week have been omitted from this list. The original names of the libraries are cited, the term “Public Library” was adopted in the 1920s.
Time    Development
1911    Deichman Library worked with Oslo schools
1911    Book boxes sent to lighthouses in Bergen
1912    First course in library management in a Teacher Training College
1913    Norwegian Library Association (NBF) formed - 360 members
1913    University of Oslo Library moved to Drammensveien
1913    Open access in 24 public libraries
1914    First purpose-built library building opened in Grunerløkka, Oslo
1914    School libraries administered by State Library office
1914-18  Two week courses run by State Library Office
1915    Book boxes sent to factories, institutions and military camps
1916    *For folkeopplysning* periodical commenced publication
1916    Drammen, Haugesund and Sarpborg start storytelling hours
1916    Church Department provides mobile children’s collection
1917    Bergen Public Library new building opened
1918    Children’s lectures and films in large hall in Bergen Public Library
1918    First library inspectors appointed for public library work
1921    Book cases lent for sailors on board ships financed by state support
1922    Trondheim College of Arts and Science Library opened
1933    Deichman Library moved into Hammersborg building
1933    *Bok og Bibliotek* library periodical started publication
1934    *Bibliotekcentralen* (Central Library Supply) formed
1935    Public and School Libraries Act
1939    Reading rooms opened in town libraries where population was over 5,000
1935-6  First mobile library car service in Kristiansand (three routes)
1940    *Statens Bibliotekskole* (National Library School) opened
1941    Use of UDC started in Royal Norwegian Society of Science & Letters
1947    UDC in Trondheim replaced by Library of Congress system
1948    *Norsk forskningsbibliotekarers forening* (Norwegian Research Library Association) formed
1948    University of Bergen Library opened
1949    Library Act, amended 1955
1955    Bookboat introduced in Trøndelag Central Library service
1955    Bookbus introduced in Stavanger Library Services
**Figure D1**

**Poole book shelving system**
**The Newberry Library 1890-95**

- A Archaeology
- B Bibliography
- C Customs (Including proverbs)
- D Documents
- E Education
- F Fine Arts
- G Geography
- H Biography
- H History
- I Incunabula
- La Language
- Li Literature
- M Music
- N Natural Sciences
- O Reference Books
- P Political Science
- Ph Philosophy
- R Religion
- S Serials
- U Useful Arts

Hartwig (1888) Classification Scheme - Medicine

I Bibliography and history of the literature
II History of medicine
   1. General history of medicine
   2. Antiquity in general, Greek and Roman periods
   3. Oriental
      A. General
      B. Egyptian
      C. Arabic
   4. Modern medicine
      A. In general, especially in Germany
      B. Europe excluding Germany
      C. The remaining areas (Oriental cultural areas)
 5. Biography of physicians
   A. Collections and encyclopaedia
   B. Single biographies and material from them
   A. General
   B. European
   C. Oriental
IV General duties and qualities of the doctor
V Textbooks of medicine as a whole, a main discipline
VI Dictionaries
VII Periodical articles. Appendix, Reports of medical meetings
VIII Collected works by different authors
IX Collected works by single authors
X Collections of medical correspondence
XI Travel reports
XII Charlatans, folk medicine, superstitions
XIII Mixed writings.

Ub Anatomy
I General writings on anatomy (and physiology)
   1. Bibliography and history of the literature
   2. History
   3. Problems, methods of anatomy
   4. Textbooks on anatomy (about 1780)
   5. Anatomical atlas
   6. Writings on comparative anatomy
   7. Collected works by various authors
   8. Collected works by a single author
   9. Mixed writing

II Practical anatomy
   1. Handling the dead. Embalming. Constructing the anatomical collection
III General (Microscopic anatomy, histology)
   1. General writings textbooks
   2. Histology and histo-chemistry
      A. Individual tissues
      B. Individual systems and organs
   3. Histology and histo-chemistry of fluids
   4. Anthropo? chemistry
      A. General writings, physiology, chemistry
      B. Chemistry together with single tissues
      C. Chemistry together with single organs

408
IV Developmental history of the human
2. After birth [General pathology, illness]

V Systematic (physiological) anatomy
1. Textbooks
2. Study of bones (osteology)
   A. General writings. Textbooks, Atlases
   B. Histology and developmental history
   C. Single skeletal parts
3. Ligaments and joints
4. Muscles (myology)
   A. General writings. Textbooks, Atlases
   B. Histology and developmental history. Single muscles and muscle groups
5. Gefasslehre
   A. Entire representations
   B. Blood vessels
   C. Lymph vessels
6. Entrails
   A. Collected writing
   B. Digestive organs
   C. Respiratory organs
   D. Urinary organs
   E. Sexual organs
      a. General writings on male sex organs
      b. Female sex organs
   F. Glandular system: skin, hair, nails
7. Teaching on the sense organs
   A. Writings of all sense organs
   B. Ear
   C. Nose
   D. Nose and tongue
8. Neurology
   A. General writings. Textbooks
   B. Histology and single tissues
   C. Central organs
   D. Peripheral nerves
   E. Sympathetic system (ganglion)

VI Topographical (surgical) anatomy
1. General writings. Textbooks
2. Anatomy of single regions

VII The lumbar form

VIII Pathological anatomy

IX Comparative anatomy

Physiology
I General writings on anatomy (and physiology)
1. Bibliography and history of the literature
2. History
3. Problems, methods of anatomy

General therapy
I General writings
II Antipyretic and antiflogistic methods
III Transfusion, intra-cutaneous and subcutaneous medical administrations.
   Intravenous and rectal medication.
V Respiratory methods
VI Balneotherapy and climate therapy
1. Bibliography and history of the literature
2. Writings
3. Hydroptherapy
4. Balneology (natural mineral, sea bathing)
   A. General and theoretical writings
   B. Health resorts
   C. Single health resorts (alphabetically arranged)
5. Artificial waters and baths. Milk, whey, grape cures. Climate therapy

VII Use of magnetism, electricity, galvanism
VIII Anaesthetics, narcotics, sedatives
IX Anti-ageing, anti-evacuating, purgatives
X Psychological treatment
XI Single superstitions, methods of treatment, curiosities (Amulets etc.)
XII Nursing
XIII Dietetics
   1. Private hygiene in general. Macrobiotics
   2. Dietetics through food (Hunger cure, vegetarianism)
   3. Skin care. Clothing
   4. Body movement
   5. Dietetics during the sex life

XIV Homeopathy
   1. Bibliography and history
   2. Journals
   3. Theoretical and polemic writings
   4. Homeopathic dietetics
   5. The legal position of homeopathy

**Figure D3**

**Ersch (1812) Classification Scheme - Medicine**

I. History and literature 1-32  
Book arts 33-66  
Papers for doctors  
1. Formal encyclopaedias and introduction to medicine 67-144  
2. Practical encyclopaedia, teaching books and dictionaries 145-346  
3. Regional areas. Popular medicine 399-426  

II. Medicine in specific categories  
Treatment of the healthy, knowledge of the human body  
Anatomy and physiology  
Papers about the human body in general  
Papers about anatomy and physiology  
Overview single category Specific anatomy  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>History and literature</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA Papers, introduction and practice</td>
<td>431-434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BB Teaching materials and general works</td>
<td>445-484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anatomy in combination with physiology</td>
<td>485-496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathology and surgery</td>
<td>497-522</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physiology, medical anthropology</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>History and literature</th>
<th>523-526</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA Introduction</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BB Systems and teaching materials. Physiology</td>
<td>527-564</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In combination with general science and aspects of medicine</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC Mixed collection on physiology</td>
<td>581-94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BB Special and general physiology with psychology</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AA Life and life cycle</td>
<td>595-642</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BB The Influence of outside factors, such as the soul on the body</td>
<td>643-662</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(2) Papers on special systems of the human body, special aspects of anatomy and physiology  

A Reproduction system of lower organisms  
(A) General foundation of primitive development of organs  
- bones and membranes 663-702  
(B) Circulation, lymph glands 703-720  
(C) Muscles 721-725  
(D) Bowel tissue 726-728  
A Specific functions of productive processes and organs 729-800  
B Food intake, Secretions 801-868  
C Asthma and its related aspects (especially voice and speech) 869-904  
Irritability and sensibility (of higher organisms)  
General overview 905-907  
Specific aspects 908-912  
Irritability of the muscle system 913-936  
Sensibility of the nervous system 937-990  
Subject in general 991-1030  

1 Some sections have been omitted due to translation difficulties.
A Differences between sickness and life-cycle, fathering 1031-1092
B Life cycle from birth to death 1093-1156
Treatment of the healthy human body (hygiene) and diet
(1) General and mixed 1157-1187
Specific systems and organs of the human body 1188-1210
External and internal influences 1211-1216
B Specific aspects of systems of lower and higher organisms 1217-1282
2) Specific aspects of personality in evolutionary time

General knowledge and treatment of the human body in illness
Anatomy and physiology, condition or state
Knowledge and treatment of illness
Pathology and therapy
General works on systems and function of the human body
Medicine (dynamic) pathology and therapy
General works on pathology and therapy

Works discussed in both 1283-1287
Single subject
General pathology Overview 1288-1308
Single aspects - nosology 1309-1331
Aetiology and pathogenesis 1332-1354
Symptomatology 1355-1398
General therapy - Overview 1399-1436
BB Teaching and care

Psychology and internal intermediary care 1437-1438
a) Knowledge of the consulting doctor 1439-1508
Teaching for consultation 1509-1526
b) Rules for consulting doctor, how to receive patients, an approach 1517-1588
Special classes of doctor. Specialists vs. consulting doctors 1589-1788
a) Natural therapies, Devices - magnetism, electricity, galvanism 1789-1922
b) Other natural substances used by doctors 1933-2088
(A) General overview. References to illnesses and the sick patient 2089-2116
(B) General aspects of more specific references to the above 2117-2162
AA Illness in relation to time (chronic, endemic, epidemic) 2163-2172
BB Illness of the individual 2199-2234
Illness sores, origins 2191-2198
Life cycle (childhood and women of child-bearing age) 2199-2234
BB Illness in relation to occupation 2235-2252
2) Surgery training in general. History and book arts 2239-2252
A papers 2253-2332
A) Overview of surgery 2333-2352
AA Specific aspects of surgery (practical, teaching) 2353-2368
BB Types of operations, instruments and equipment 2359-2388
B Aspects of organs and functions treated surgically 2389-2408
A Treatment of wounds and incisions. Illness that arises
from an open wound, cuts breaks and fractures and sprains 2409-2442
Functional abnormalities of the human body 2443-2454
Functional abnormalities of the reproductive system 2455-2498
Functional abnormalities of organs and their functions - general and specific 2499-2500
Lower organisms - cell growth, bones, membranes 2501-2508
Corpuscles 2509-2532
Circulatory system, including breathing 2533-2562
General references 2563-2588
Abnormal functioning of the circulating system 2589-2614
Fever overview, typhus overview 2615-2639
Fever in the growing child 2640-2664
b) Fever - symptoms and affects, including fever 2665-2700
c) Fever - madness. Lazareth and church fever 2701-2708
Epidemic from fever, endemic fever 2501-2502
a) Oriental and Persian fever 2503-2524
b) Western fever 2501-2502
BB Departure (Eintzudung) Abnormal reproduction
AA Amount of body weight and fat 2592-2592
a) VD, Dropsy, Scrofula, pox, scarlet fever -
Illnesses that are visible on the surface of the skin 2593-2656
Abnormalities
Cancer, infections of organs, polyps and stones 2657-2672
Illness of the muscles, Reproductive organs,
mouth, ear, stomach, bloating, colic 2681-2786
Internal organs - haemorrhoids 2805-2828
Blood infections - secretions 2885
Stones
Asthma, lungs and respiration
Irritability and sensibility of the muscle system and spasms 2787-2804
Treatment of wounds of muscles 2819-2830
Muscles - Functional abnormalities of the back of the extremities
Functional abnormalities of the nervous system - rheumatism, hysteria 2831-2844
Psychology of the mind 2845-2864
Nervous system and functions of the organs 2865-2683
Muscular system
Functional abnormalities of the extremities, body
as a whole system then nervous system using same categories 2885
Illness (Specialist doctor)
Male illness, sexual organs 2915-2923
Female illnesses, in labour 2924-2978
State controlled medicine 2979-3800
Characteristics of the doctor 3001-3802
Dealing with death 3803-3806
General works to do with the life cycle 3807-3814
Medical policy - present and future. Living arrangements. 3853-3870
Moral, ethical and practical policy [Number of abnormalities and benefits]
III Medicine in literature and reference books
dealing with medicine and other subjects 3871-3898
IV Popular medicine in relation to geographical and natural sciences 3899-3916

Source: Ersch, J.S. Handbuch der deutschen Literatur seit der Mite des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts bis auf die neueste Zeit. Leipzig: Comptour, 1812.
Figure D4 Classification of medicine
University of Oslo Library 1887-1920

Classified Scheme Class G'

Ga Medicine in general
Gb General pathology
   I General pathological anatomy
   II Medical genetics
   III Clinical biochemistry and physiology (Pathophysiology)
   IV Experimental medicine
   V General symptomatology
   VI Medical bacteriology seriology, immunology, immunity research,
      virus knowledge, medical mycology, protozoology and entomology
   VII General diagnostics
Gc General therapy
   I General therapy
   II Physical therapy
   III Homeopathy
   IV Psychotherapy
   V Serotherapy. Vaccination
   VI Organic therapy
   VII Nutrition therapy
   VIII Different therapeutic methods
   IX Nursing
   X First aid
Gd Pharmacology
   I General
   II Pharmacy
   III Pharmacopoeia
   IV Medications
   V Toxicology
Ge Internal medicine
   I General
   II Infectious diseases
   III Tuberculosis
   IV Circulatory diseases
   V Diseases of the blood
   VI Diseases of the respiratory organs
   VII Diseases of the digestive system
   VIII Metabolic diseases
   IX Endocrine lymph diseases
   X Urogenital diseases
   XI Pathology of the movement structures
   XII Diseases of the nervous system
Gf Psychiatry
Gg Dermatology. Venerology
Gh Tumours. Cancer
Ga Medicine in general
  1 Literature
    a. Bibliography
      1. Periodicals
      2. Book catalogues. Film catalogues
    b. Medical library. Manuscripts. documentation. Patient library
  2. History of medicine
    a. Introductory writings. Bibliography
    b. Periodicals and series
    c. Collected works
    d. Single periods of time
       1. ancient and pre-history
       2. Middle ages
       3. Modern times
    e. Single countries and people
       1. Europe
          a. General
          b. Scandinavia
          c. W. Europe
          d. Middle Europe
          e. East Europe
          f. South Europe
       2. Africa
       3. Asia
       4. America
       5. Australia
    f. Biography
       1. Collections. Address books
       2. Single biographies
    g. Medical societies and institutions
    h. Philosophical considerations. Guidance and systems
    i. Other writings. History of medicine. Symbols, art, culture
  3. Preparatory course. Biomedicine techniques
    a. Introduction to the study. Relation to other sciences.
    Education. Research.
    b. Film. Television. Photographic collections.
    Biomedicine techniques. Data handling
    See also Medical statists
    c. Biophysics
  4. The medical mission
    a. Ethics. Professional secrecy
b. Pastoral medicine

Gb General pathology
   As above, detailed subject analysis not included in this figure

Gc General therapy. General therapeutic methods and systems
I General therapy
   1. Introduction
   2. Writings of mixed content
      a. Periodicals and series
      b. Congresses and meetings
      c. Other writings. Reference books and textbooks
   3. General presentations
   4. Medical climatology
   5. Hydrotherapy. Balneology. Health resorts
   6. Electrotherapy
   7. Ray therapy. Light, radium and x-ray. Supersonic sound
   8. Exercise therapy, gymnastics, massage
   9. Therapeutic work

II Physical therapy
   1. Introduction
   2. Writings of mixed content
      a. Periodicals and series
      b. Congresses and meetings
      c. Other writings. Reference books and textbooks
   3. General presentations
   4. Medical climatology
   5. Hydrotherapy. Balneology. Health resorts
   6. Electrotherapy
   7. Ray therapy. Light, radium and x-ray. Supersonic sound
   8. Exercise therapy, gymnastics, massage
   9. Therapeutic work

III Homeopathy. Natural methods (Osteopathy, chiropractice, quackery)

IV Psychotherapy. Suggestions and hypnosis. Psychoanalysis

V Serotherapy. Vaccination

VI Organotherapy

VII Dietary therapy. Vitamin therapy

VIII Different therapeutic methods
   1. Blood letting
   2. Blood transfusion. Infusions

IX Nursing

X First aid, life saving

Gd Pharmacology
   As above, detailed subject analysis not included in this figure

Ge Internal medicine. Special pathology and therapy
I General

II Infectious diseases. Parasitic diseases
   1. Introduction
   2. Writings of mixed content
   3. General presentations. Infection. Tropical diseases
   4. Epidemics
   5. General diagnostics and therapy
   6. Focal infection
   7. Individual infectious diseases. Influenza. Aetiology, pathogenesis, epidemiology, symptoms, prognosis, prophylaxis
   8. Individual parasitic diseases

III Tuberculosis. Lung tuberculosis [TB in other organs, see organ]
   1. Introduction
   2. Writings of mixed content
   3. General writing. Reference books and textbooks
   4. Diagnostics
a. Sputum investigations
b. Tuberculin tests
c. XRay diagnosis. Fluoroscopic photography
d. Other methods

5. Aetiology and pathogenesis. Bacteriology and serology.
Constitution. Disposition. Allergy


7. pathological anatomy, physiology and chemistry. Experimental tuberculosis

8. Epidemiology

9. Special pathology and clinic
   a. Primary complex. Erythema nodosum
   b. Pleuritis
   c. Lymph tuberculosis. Scrofula
   d. Millary tuberculosis. Meningitis tuberculosis. Tuberculoma

10. Symptomatology
    a. General symptoms
    b. Local symptoms. Haemoptysis

11. Therapy
    a. In general
    b. Medication
    c. Diet. Food
    d. Sanitarium treatment
    e. Ray and light treatment
    f. Dietary treatment [Thoroplasty See lung surgery]
    g. Pneumothorax
    h.-j. Other treatment methods

12. Tuberculosis in children
13. Tuberculosis together with other diseases and pregnancy
14. Tuberculosis and society. Death rates
15. Prophylaxis. Vaccination with BCG
16. Prognosis
17. Convalescence

Source: This catalogue is held in the Medical Faculty Library of the University of Oslo.

* Sections of the scheme are extracted in order to demonstrate the pattern of subject organisation and topics addressed in the main text. See Chapter 13.5.5 for consideration of tuberculosis.
Figure D5  

Bookstock acquisitions  
University of Oslo Classified Catalogue  
Anthropology, Human anatomy and physiology  
Foreign literature June 1920-August 1921

I Anthropology

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>1 Literature and history</td>
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<td>2 Introductory writings</td>
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<td>3 Anthropology investigation methods</td>
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<td>4 Periodicals and society writings</td>
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<td>5 Other writings of mixed content</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 Hand and teaching books</td>
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<td>7 Human extraction</td>
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<tr>
<td>8 The fossil and prehistoric human</td>
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<tr>
<td>9 Chronology and craniotomy</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 Social anthropology</td>
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<td>11 Geographical anthropology</td>
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II Anatomy in general

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<td>2 History</td>
<td>11</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 Introductory writings</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Techniques, dissection</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Terminology, Nomenclature</td>
<td>7</td>
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<td>6 Anatomical museums and collections</td>
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<td>7 Periodicals</td>
<td>15</td>
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<td>8 Other writings</td>
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<tr>
<td>9 Encyclopedic writings</td>
<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>10 Handbooks and teaching books</td>
<td>44</td>
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<tr>
<td>11 Anatomical atlases and tables</td>
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<td>12 Popular writings on anatomy &amp; physiology</td>
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III Physiology in general

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<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 Introductory writings</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 Techniques, methods</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 Periodicals and collections</td>
<td>12</td>
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<tr>
<td>6 Other writings of mixed content</td>
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<tr>
<td>7 Encyclopedic writings</td>
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<td>8 Handbooks and teaching books</td>
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<tr>
<td>9 Physiological chemistry and physics</td>
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IV Embryology

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<tr>
<td>2 Handbooks</td>
<td>17</td>
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<tr>
<td>3 Nourishment &amp; nutrition</td>
<td>8</td>
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<td>4 Primitive organs</td>
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<td>5 Single organ development</td>
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V Histology and microscopic anatomy

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<tr>
<td>1 The cell and the functions of nerves</td>
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Figure D6
University of Oslo Catalogue

Fk (1884-1937)

Anthropology, Normal human anatomy, Physiology and Embryology

1 Anthropology [1-140]
   1 Literature [1-2]
      a. Periodicals, society writings, series [1]
      b. Bibliographies, library catalogues [2]
         [Bibliography of individual researcher's works See Fk:13]
   2 History [3-6]
      a. Reference and textbooks [3]
      b. Monographs on countries or time periods
      c. Biographies [5-6]
         1) Collections [5]
         2) Individual researcher's biography [6]

3 Introduction to the study. Relationship to other sciences.
   4 Philosophic considerations
   5 Terminology and nomenclature
   6 Periodicals, society meetings, series [1-]
   7 Reports, congresses, meetings [11]
   8 Festschrifts, small writings [12]

9 Individual researchers' collected or published works.
   Correspondence collections. Bibliography [13]
   10 Collections of works produced by several authors [14]
      [Periodicals, reports, festschrifts, see Fk:10-12]
   11 Methods, technique [15]
   12 Institutions, museums, collections [16]
   13 Encyclopaedias [17]
   14 Reference and textbooks. Popular writings [18]
   15 Constitution. Variation and variability. Identification [19]
   16 Inheritance. Race hygiene [20-24]
      b. Periodicals, society writings, series [21]
      c. Congresses, meetings [22]
      d. Reference and textbooks. General writings [23]
      e. Inheritance and environment. Twin research [24]
      f. Genetic genealogy. Family research [25]
      g. Selective processes. Fight for existence
      h. Mixing races. Cross hybrid. Intermarriage [27]
      i. Degeneration. Criminal anthropology [28]
         [Collections Class L, Forensic medicine]
      j. Race hygiene [29]
      k. Sexual identification. Inherited latent sexuality [30]
      l. Correlation between generations. Crossing over [31]
         [Sexual potential inheritance, see Fk:30]
      1) Inheritance of individual constructions[32-33]
         [Degeneration, criminal anthropology see Fk:28. Psychology see Class C]
      a. In general [32]
      b. Individual constructions [33]
      2) Inheritance of constitution, body proportions, intelligence, infection resistance, usefulness [34]
      3) Inheritance of general foundations [35]
         [Psychopathological foundations see Fk:33. Pathogenesis in individual organs see Fk:36-42]
4) Inheritance within individual organ systems [36-42]
   a) Muscular system [36]
   b) Gastro-pulmonary system. [37]
   c) Urogenital system [38]
   d) Circulatory system [39]
   e) Nervous system [40]
   f) Sense organs [41]
   g) Epithelium. connective tissue [42]
5) Inheritance & other foundations [43]
Other human genetics [44]
Other themes from human genetics [44]
Propagation [45-64]
   [Anatomy of the genital organs, see Fk:197-201,
   Physiology see Fk:350,
   Endocrinology see Fk:345. Embryology see Fk:362]
   a. Literature. History. Memorial publication. [45]
   b. Periodicals, society writings, series [46]
   c. Congresses, meetings [47]
   d. Reference and textbooks. General writings.

[ Sexual life in individual countries, population strata over time, 
  See class Kd. Sexual ethics see C:176]
   e. The man (Propagation biology, anthropology) [49-50]
      1. In general [49]  2. Individual themes [50]
   f. The woman (Propagation biology, general anthropology)
      1. In general [51]
      2. Puberty. Menopause [52]
      3. Ovulation, menstruation [53]
   [Pregnancy, birth, lactation, see class G, medicine]
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