The Schole Lybrarie: Images From Our Past

Laurel A. Clyde

Faculty of Social Science, University of Iceland, Iceland

A review of the literature shows that not only is there no comprehensive published history of school libraries, but that school libraries are inadequately covered in the general histories of education and librarianship. Those writers who do discuss the history of school libraries tend to assume that they are a more recent phenomenon than they actually are; indeed, some assume they are a 20th-century development. This article discusses school libraries as they existed in four different times and places: in the educational foundations of medieval England; in the English grammar schools of the 16th and 17th centuries; in the schools of 19th-century Britain; and in the 19th-century common schools of the United States. These four "snapshots" of school libraries in the past show that school libraries have existed in schools since at least the 8th century. These early school libraries would have been very different from school libraries today, just as schools now are very different from their predecessors of earlier centuries.

Introduction

"No one has yet set out to tell the story of school libraries," said Cecil Stott (1971, p. 21) in his Presidential Address at the Annual Conference of the School Library Association (United Kingdom) on December 30, 1970. Two years later, the historian R. J. Wallis noted that "the history of school libraries is still to be written" (Wallis, 1973, pp. 36-37). In 1974, Sidney L. Jackson wrote in his general history, *Libraries and Librarianship in the West*, that "the story of an entire type of library service is so far virtually unknown" (p. 210). In addition, as Stott pointed out, both general histories of education and histories of libraries and librarianship failed to provide coverage of the historical development of school libraries. Although more than a quarter of a century has passed since these comments were made, they remain substantially true today.

Although some statements about school library development do exist, they tend to present school libraries as a more recent phenomenon than the historical evidence suggests. Jean Key Gates, for instance, has a subsection on "The School Library Media Center" in her textbook *Introduction to Librarianship* (1976), in which she covers "the development of the school library to 1960," as "a look at its history may shed some light on why it has grown as it has and why its current status is what it is." Nevertheless, the many school libraries in 19th- and early 20th-century America are dismissed in less than a paragraph, because "the school libraries which first appeared were used little, and their contribution to the teaching-learning process was minimal" (p. 166). No evidence is presented to support the first part of this statement

1

and, although these libraries may have been used less than school libraries in many places in the 1990s, there is no proof that the school libraries in the 1920s, when Gates' survey really begins, were used considerably more than those of, say, 20 years earlier.

The second part of the quotation assumes that the only purpose of school libraries has been to support instruction in the school; this ignores the fact that school libraries were often established for other purposes unrelated (or minimally related) to school instruction, as, for instance, meeting the recreational reading needs of children or the needs of the local community. In the third edition of their *History of Libraries in the Western World* (1976), Elmer D. Johnson and Michael H. Harris note that "while some feeble beginnings in the area of school library services were made early in the 19th century, it was not until after 1900 that school libraries in the modern sense of the term became fairly general" (p. 282). In another general library history by Johnson, *Communication: An Introduction to the History of Writing, Printing, Books, and Libraries* (1973), a section on American school library history begins: "The school library as we know it today in the United States is almost entirely a twentieth-century development .. at the turn of the century there were few public schools with anything like workable libraries" (p. 249). Writing in 1930, Lucile F. Fargo supported this: "The organized school library is a twentieth century phenomenon," she said, "explicable only in the light of the educational development of the last quarter century" (p. 1). Meanwhile, in the antipodes, Harrison Bryan, in his 1973 Presidential Address to the Library Association of Australia, remarked that it would be difficult to say anything substantial about school libraries in that country before the 1939-1945 World War as "it was difficult ... to comment constructively on what did not exist" (p. 355).

Despite all this, there is considerable evidence for the existence of libraries in schools in England (and in some other European countries) from at least the 8th century; in the United States from the 18th century; and in Australia from the early to mid-19th century (Clyde, 1985). However, it seems that this evidence has mostly been passed over by 20th-century writers, possibly through lack of knowledge of the earlier history of school libraries. Although some historians do indicate that school library history appears to be a field for which there are rich sources (Kelly, 1966), these sources are widely dispersed and not necessarily readily accessible. This article, based on research carried out for a doctoral thesis (Clyde, 1981), attempts to address this situation and to provide a framework for the discussion of the development of school libraries over the centuries.

The Literature
Although the school library is a widely occurring institution that most people readily identify and understand (Gates, 1976), its history tends to be treated in the literature of education and librarianship (when it is discussed

at all) as a subsidiary part of the history of the public or children's library, or as a minor aspect of educational history. Jackson's *Libraries and Librarianship in the West* (1974), mentioned above, includes probably the most comprehensive comments about school library history to appear in a general work. There are, however, descriptions of early school libraries in some histories of individual schools, and a few school libraries have been the subject of detailed research. In addition, some work has been done on the history of school libraries in particular geographic regions at particular times.

It is possible that little attention has been paid to the school library in historical studies because it has traditionally been seen as playing a dependent role in both education and librarianship. Its budget, for instance, usually forms only a small part of that of the school or of the public library authority, and its staff, when provided at all, has generally been less well qualified than either the school teaching staff or the public library staff, until well into the present century. So although school libraries have usually been seen only as a subsidiary and not very important form of librarianship in the general library histories, they have also been seen in general histories of education as playing only a minor role in education.

The writing of the history of school libraries has also been limited by the restrictive definitions of school library service that school library historians have themselves adopted. These definitions, which have tended to describe only the one type of school library service with which the particular writer was familiar, have caused these writers to ignore much of the earlier school library development and to see school libraries as a more recent phenomenon than they really are (see, e.g., Gates, 1976; Johnson, 1973; Duncan, 1958; Alexander, 1921; Logasa, 1928; Fargo, 1930). Those who were accustomed to school libraries as curriculum materials "laboratories" failed to see even earlier curriculum-related school collections as "libraries," and they often ignored school-housed libraries serving the public, or libraries designed solely to meet the recreational reading needs of pupils. School "libraries"—past and contemporary—which did not relate to their ideal, they did not acknowledge as school libraries. Instead of enlarging their concept or definition of the school library to cope with the different varieties of service, they simply excluded many types of school library service from consideration (Clyde, 1981). This has meant that school library historians generally have failed to seek the origins of the present-day school libraries in the school libraries of medieval England, in those of the grammar schools of the 16th and 17th century, in those of the voluntary schools, the public elementary and Sunday schools of the 19th century.

In the research literature, the history of school libraries tends to be discussed in relation to their supposed evolution from "two shelves of books in a cupboard in the corner" to "the modern school library resource centre." W.A. King (1929) for instance, outlined a five-stage pattern of development for school libraries:

3

1. Small collection of books in classrooms.
2. The "storeroom" stage with books stored centrally (usually in a cupboard), and with a regular teacher in charge.
3. A library room without a librarian in charge.
4. A library room with a librarian in charge.
5. The library "programmed" as part of the teaching and learning process in a school.

Although this type of scheme may describe the development of a large number of school libraries, it does not take into account that many began at stage 4, some of them centuries ago, with a separate room and a librarian. It does not take account of the maintenance simultaneously in many schools of small collections of books in classrooms (stage 1), in addition to a centralized school library under the control of a librarian (stage 4). It also does not acknowledge the fact that many schools have not seen, and do not see, stage 5 as a desirable goal.

For similar reasons, there are problems with chronological and geographical approaches to school library history; even in one country or region, and within a limited time frame, the development of school libraries has not necessarily followed a pattern that is consistent for time and place. It is true that, in some Canadian and United States school districts from the 1920s and 1930s and in many Russian school regions in the 1970s, all school libraries were developed to a pattern, sometimes even with collections that were duplicates of each other. However, it is more common that, even in one local area of a country, there are schools of different types with different levels of school library provision. Sometimes these differences range from no school library provision at all to school libraries of considerable sophistication and perhaps of considerable antiquity as well—although the age of the school library is not necessarily an indication of the development of the collection and services.

These frameworks, presented as a basis for describing school library development, are too restrictive, taking no account of developments before the 19th century, nor of many types of modern school libraries. Any framework must reflect the realities of school library provision through the centuries and in different places. Thus I have developed a thematic approach to the history of school libraries, based on the reasons for which school libraries have been established and maintained over the years. This approach takes account of the considerable age of some school libraries in Europe and of the wide range of types of school library provision that have existed over the centuries and that continue to exist even in the 20th century. Based in grounded theory, it has been developed out of the historical evidence for school libraries, dating back to the 8th century in England and tested through the historical evidence. The following ideas or "concepts" of the school library are proposed as a way of explaining both the development of the

particular types of school library services that have been evident through the centuries, and the wide variety of school library provision past and present:

1. The school library as a resource to support teaching and learning.
2. The school library as a centre for recreational reading.
3. The school library as a school/community library.
4. The school library as a scholar's library—supporting the intellectual elite.
5. The school library as a memorial.

These concepts of the school library have been discussed in more detail elsewhere (Clyde, 1981). This article sets the scene by looking at some school libraries that existed prior to the 20th century—in fact, from the 8th century to the 19th century—in order to establish the background against which the development of school libraries should be discussed. In particular, the aim is to dispel the notion that school libraries are a 20th-century phenomenon that can be explained only in the light of educational development in the present century.

The Development of School Libraries

It seems that libraries have existed in English schools at least since the 8th century, notably at Canterbury, York, Winchester, and Hexham, where they were closely associated with religious foundations (Ray, 1972, p. 10). These are the first school libraries for which enough documentation exists for us to be able to build a picture of what they might have been like and the functions they might have served. Since then, school libraries have developed and changed in response to developments in education and in the field of librarianship over the last 1,200 years in different countries. In this section of the article, the history of school libraries is traced from the mid-8th century to the late 19th century, through discussion of some highlights and key developments. This is not intended to provide a comprehensive coverage of the history of school libraries; rather, a series of images or pictures of school libraries at particular times and in particular places is presented as a way of showing that "the schole lybrarie" does have a long history, even though that history may be poorly documented.

The School Libraries of Medieval England

When Aelbert, an 8th-century English secular priest at York Minster who was active in education and church administration in Northumbria, was appointed Bishop of York in 766 (Leach, 1915), he chose his close friend Alcuin to succeed him as head of the episcopal school, giving him "the sphere of wisdom, the school, the master's chair, the books, which ... [he] had collected from all sides, piling up glorious treasures under one roof" (Leach, 1911). Because of his considerable reputation as a scholar and teacher, Charlemagne invited him to his court in 780 to establish a new school to be organized along the lines of the school at York. In order to supply it with

5

books, Alcuin persuaded Charlemagne to send a number of scribes to York
to copy some of the books owned by the school; the letter in which Alcuin
put his case to Charlemagne still survives (Alcuin, Epistle xxxviii). The books
in the library at York, he said, included:

> The volumes that contain
> All the ancient fathers who remain;
> There all the Latin writers make their home
> With those that glorious Greece transferred to Rome, —
> The Hebrews drew from their celestial stream.
> And Africa is bright with learning's beam.
> (Savage, 1911, p. 36)

There follows what has been described as a catalogue in verse, a listing of the
names of more than 40 writers who were represented in the library collec-
tion, including the Church Fathers, ancient Greek and Roman writers like
Pliny and Cicero, grammarians, and "other masters eminent in the schools,
in art, and in oratory." The collection reflects a medieval school curriculum
that placed heavy emphasis on the acquisition of Latin (which, when
mastered, became the language of instruction) and Greek, plus grammar,
rhetoric (writing), logic, and theology (Good, 1963, p. 69ff).

Although Alcuin was the most famous teacher of his age, and York was
then renowned as a place of learning, it is certain that many other schools
existed with collections of books, sacred and secular, for teaching purposes.
One of these was at Hexham; Alcuin himself wrote to the congregation there
in 787, urging them to continue teaching "the boys and young men diligently
the learning of books in the way of God ... For the increase of the flock is the
glory of the shepherd, and the multitude of learned men is the safety of the
world" (Leach, 1911, p. 21). A library had been established at Hexham by
Bishop Wilfrid at least half a century earlier, according to the medieval
historian Bede.

In the period following the Norman Conquest of England, there are
isolated references to libraries in schools. Early in the 12th century, Richard
de Belmeis confirmed Hugh the Schoolmaster of St. Paul's London (and his
successors) as ex officio librarian, granting to "him also and to the privilege
of the school the custody of all the books of our church" (Leach, 1915, p. 110).
The volumes were to be handed over to him, in front of the brethren of the
Church, after they were listed in an indenture, one copy of which was to be
placed in the Treasury and the other handed to the schoolmaster. In addition
to caring for the books, he was to supervise lending; the penalty for failing to
return a book was specified as excommunication (Leach, 1909). This means,
then, that Master Hugh in Norman London was performing the same joint
role of schoolmaster and librarian as Alcuin had performed in English York
400 years before.

During the 14th century, two of the almoners responsible for looking after
the young boys who boarded in St. Paul's Cathedral almonry in order to

6

receive instruction in "grammar" (i.e., Latin language) at the cathedral school, bequeathed collections of books to assist these boys in their education. In 1328 or 1329, William de Tolleshunt left all his grammar books for their use in the school, plus books on logic and natural history that would have been of use in school studies. He also left books on medicine, civil and canon law, and theology, which were to be available to them if they went on to university-level studies (Leach, 1910; Courtenay, 1987). In 1358, William Ravenstone bequeathed an even larger collection of books to the library to be available to these boys. This gift consisted of 43 manuscript volumes of grammar, poetry (both classical and medieval), mathematics, music, and liturgy, sometimes in more than one copy (Orme, 1973; Courtenay, 1987; Rickert, 1948).

Other school libraries known to be in existence in the 14th or 15th centuries include those of Winchester College (Yeats-Edwards, 1976; Gunner, 1858; Oakeshott, 1954) and Eton (Birley, 1970; James, 1928). At Winchester College, the first room specially designed to house a library was built in 1446 (by which time the College had a substantial collection). Chapter 44 of the Statutes of Eton College , drawn up after the Charter of Foundation in 1440 and before the formal opening of the College in December 1443, indicated that the founder intended that there should be a "common library" in which books were to be chained, although some books were to be available for loan. The libraries of both Winchester and Eton survive today. Although the numbers of books in these medieval libraries appear small to us, it has to be remembered that these were manuscript books, each copy of which represented perhaps months of work on the part of a scribe, and so 100 or more books indicated a considerable investment. This is reflected in the penalties for failing to return books and the emphasis on chaining the collections so that books could not be removed from the library press (usually a cupboard with attached reading desk) or from the library room.

The 16th- and 17th-Century English Grammar Schools

In the 16th and early 17th centuries, there was a change in the type of educational institution being founded or maintained in England and a change in the purposes and emphasis of education (Lawson & Silver, 1973). This was especially evident in the refoundation, reendowment, and enlargement of old schools, including grammar schools, and the establishment, endowment, and building of new colleges and schools, particularly grammar schools. By the end of the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (1603), it was reported that there was a grammar school in almost every corporate town in her kingdom (Leach, 1915; Orme, 1973; Watson, 1916; Lawson & Silver, 1973). These schools came into being under the influence of the Renaissance and of what was referred to as the New Learning; they aimed to provide a thorough grounding in Latin and at least an introduction to Greek, so that sons of the

7

local gentry and townspeople could gain entry to the inns of court and the universities and thereby to the professions (Lawson & Silver, 1973).

It is known that many of these schools had libraries, although they looked rather different from today's school libraries and sometimes served different purposes. The Royal Grammar School at Guildford, founded in 1509, seems to have had a library by 1573, this being the date of the Will of John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, who died in 1575. He left to the "Lybrarie" at his old school "the most part of all [his] Latten bookes whereof shalbe made a catalogue" (Williamson, 1929, p. 97). The books eventually reached the school after a prolonged dispute with Parkhurst's successor as Bishop; they were housed in a newly finished gallery that had been "conuerted to a library," along with "diuers other bookes geven sithens by others" (Alexander, 1921, in Austen Papers, BR/OC/7/1, p. 49). It seems that this library, although attached to the school, also served the citizens of the town. It was a chained library; books, particularly large folios, continued to be chained at Guildford into the 17th century (Woodward & Christophers, 1972)

The library at Shrewsbury School also dates back to the end of the 16th century. A provision in the School Ordinances of 1578 gave priority to the establishment of a library in the new school. After houses for the masters had been provided, the Ordinances specified that there should be built "a librarye and gallerye for the sayd schole, furnished with all manner of bookes, mappes, spheres, Instrumentes of Astronomye, and all other Thinges appartayninge to learninge, which maye be either given to the schole or procured with the scole moneye" (Oldham, 1959, p. 81). The building was finished in 1596; it provided space for reading as well as storage space for the collection. The first recorded gift to the library, made when it opened, was "Mullinax, his terrestiall globe, in a frame with a standinge base covered with greenish buckrome" (*Shrewsbury School Library Benefactors Book*). Other "spheres" were added later, as well as some maps, a reminder that even as early as this, a school library was not seen as purely a repository for books, but for all "implements of learninge." However, an "instrumente of astronomye" did not arrive until 1740, when a "fire engine" and a "tellescope" were added to the collection. The first known catalogue of the library (written in a parchment book) dates from 1613; it records 205 works, and by 1634, there were 704 books in the collection. Although many volumes were donated, the school also allocated sums of money to be spent on library books, including the large sum of £100 in 1616. The library, like that at Guildford, was chained; detailed instructions for cataloguing, chaining, and pressmarking the books were given on a page at the beginning of the *Benefactors' Book* (started 1596). Also, like that at Guildford, the library was used by the citizens of the town as well as by masters and students of the school (Kaufman, 1967).

Shrewsbury and Guildford were by no means the only schools maintaining and developing libraries in the 16th and 17th centuries. In 1546, Bristol

Grammar School received books and a donation to "make a library." From its beginnings, this library, like the one at Shrewsbury, included material other than books, as the bequest that provided the first books also provided an "astrolabia," "poticary with cartes and mappis," and instruments "belonging to the science of astronomy or cosmografia" (Sampson, 1912, pp. 108-112). Other schools with libraries at this time included St. Alban's School, King Edward VI School at Bury St. Edmunds (Bartholomew & Gordon, 1910), and Rivington Grammar School (Christie, 1885). The organization of these school libraries varied considerably; most were at least partly chained, with some accommodation for readers; and most appear to have been intended for the master of the school and at least some of the pupils, along with, in some cases, the educated members of the local community.

More evidence for the widespread existence of school libraries in this period can be found in a survey of English grammar schools, carried out by Christopher Wase of Oxford University in the 1670s. Wase attempted to survey all the grammar schools, using a short questionnaire that he distributed through messengers, students travelling home for vacation, and personal contacts (the postal system as we know it was a much later development). One of the seven questions asked about a library in the school. The replies, from more than 700 schools, are available today through the Bodleian Library in Oxford. In addition, Wase used the results of his survey in his book *Considerations Concerning Free-Schools, as Settled in England* (1678). His investigations indicated that a school library was becoming a not unusual feature; he says that "in divers late Foundations a Room for Books hath been annex'd to that of the School: elsewhere desks or Presses" (p. 104). Convinced that "the greatest benefit to Learners after the Master, is a good Library" (p. 97), he went on to describe an ideal library, which would consist not "of promiscuous Books" (p. 98), but of books related to the studies carried on in the school, for use by master and pupils alike. In relating the library so closely to the work of the school, he was in accord with the educational ideas of writers like Charles Hoole, who in his *A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole* published in 1660 (only about 13 years before Wase began his survey), considered that a well-stocked library was essential for the provision of a classical education.

The 19th Century: England and Wales

Almost a century and a half after Wase's grammar school survey, another important survey, by Nicholas Carlisle, looked at school libraries in England and Wales. His 1818 report was the first of several major school survey reports of the 19th century. However, a more complete survey of the grammar schools in England (endowed, private, and proprietory schools) was carried out by the Schools Inquiry Commission, the results being published in 21 volumes in 1868 in what is generally known as the Taunton Report. The Commissioners investigated all aspects of education, including whether the

9

school had a library and whether it was open to all or to boarders only. In the Report of the Commissioners, the results were tabled by school under counties. In the counties, the schools were classified into three types: "classical schools," which gave a traditional grammar school education in the classics with perhaps mathematics and some science or history, for students who aimed to enter the universities; "semi-classical schools," which taught some classical and some "modern" subjects including modern languages, sciences, English, and perhaps trade courses; and "non-classical and elementary schools." Overall, 40% of all endowed grammar schools in England had libraries in 1868, although there were wide differences among the three types: two thirds of classical schools had libraries, but only one third of the semi-classical and one quarter of the non-classical and elementary schools. The quality of library provision varied widely from school to school: some schools had libraries of several thousand volumes, with a librarian in charge, whereas other libraries were small. Nearly two thirds of the schools that had libraries opened them to everyone in the school; however, some schools restricted their libraries to subscribers (those who paid a small fee), or to senior students, or to boarders.

Nine important English endowed schools were not included in the Taunton Report, because these—Eton, Winchester, Westminster, Charterhouse, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, Rugby, Shrewsbury—had already been described by the Public Schools Commission in its Clarendon Report of 1864. The Commissioners' survey asked the questions, "Has the school a
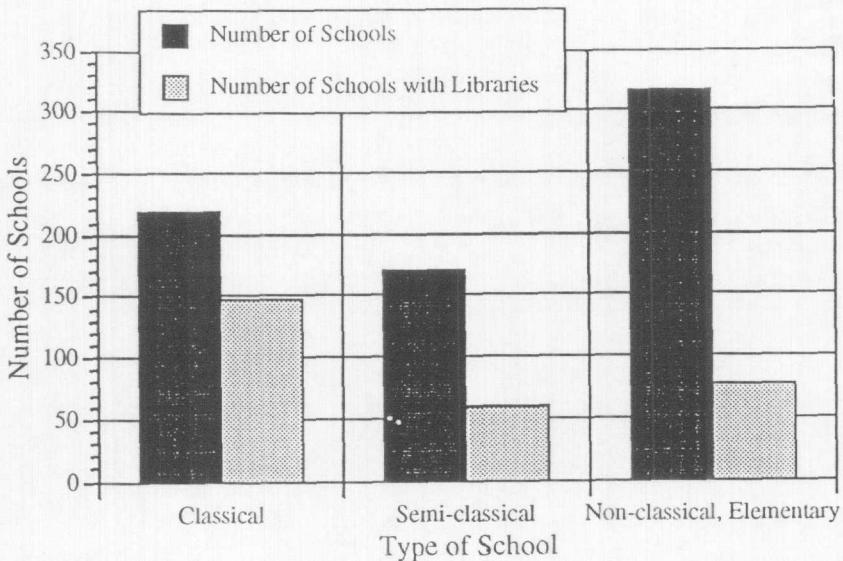

Figure 1. Libraries in endowed grammar schools in England, 1868 (based on an analysis of data provided in the Taunton Report—the Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission, 1868).
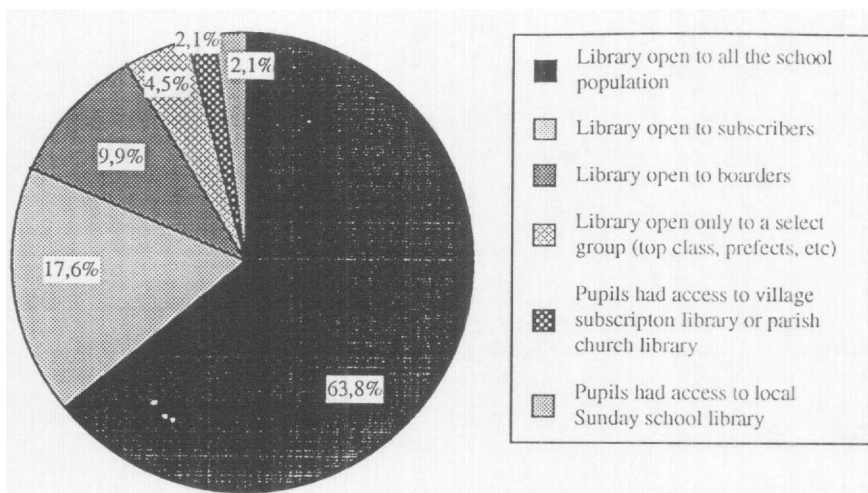
Figure 2. Library provision in endowed grammar schools in England, 1868 (based on an analysis of data provided in the Taunton Report—the Report of the Schools Inquiry Commission, 1868).

library to which the boys have access? And if so, under what conditions are they permitted to use it?" It is apparent from the answers of the headmasters and trustees that these schools were generally served by two types of library: a general school library open to certain boys only, and house libraries open to all in the boarding house and usually containing recreational and general reference works. The trustees of Rugby, for instance, claimed a "tolerable library," a lending library open to all the boys, which had a printed catalogue listing several thousand volumes (Rugby School, 1860). However, evidence collected by the Commissioners suggested that these libraries were little used. This is borne out by evidence in the school stories of the time, written by novelists like Frederick Farrar and George Cruikshank, who had either been schoolmasters or had a lot to do with schools. This evidence should be seen as just another symptom of the generally anti-intellectual conditions in the public schools of the time, rather than a reflection of attitudes to the use of libraries specifically; it was, after all, partly these conditions that had led to the appointment of the Commission to investigate the schools.

The 19th Century: USA
In 1849, 15 years before the Clarendon Report, Henry Stevens, formerly Yale College Librarian, described the library situation in the United States of America for the British Select Committee on Public Libraries. Included in Stevens' list of "species of libraries" were "academy libraries, common school libraries, and Sunday school libraries." So in early 19th-century America, as in Britain, it was already accepted that a library formed a natural part of a school, at the secondary, elementary, and Sunday school level,

11

although this does not suggest that libraries were always provided—far from it. Where they existed these school libraries, as in England, often served a community much wider than the pupils and teachers of the school. In America even more than in Britain, libraries were valued for the role they could play in aiding a young man who wanted to educate himself and "rise in the world." In response to such sentiments, state legislatures from the 1820s began to take the initiative in providing funds for, and encouraging the establishment of, local libraries, particularly common school or school district libraries.

A state-by-state analysis (Clyde, 1981) shows that the history of library provision at this level in the 19th-century United States to be one of ups and downs: periods of support for school libraries, followed by periods of complacency or neglect. It was New York State that passed the first law of its kind in 1835 providing "that the school district library should be supported by taxation" (Sayers, 1963, p. 7), although as early as 1812 Governor Daniel D. Tompkins, in his annual message to the New York Legislature, "called attention to the importance of a judicious selection of books" for use in each school (Koos, 1927, p. 2), and the formation of school libraries had been recommended in 1827 by Governor De Witt Clinton in a message to the legislature (Warren & Clark, 1876). Although the 1935 law allowed voters in any school district to levy a tax of $20 to begin a library and $10 in each succeeding year to provide for its growth, few did so. In 1838, a new law was passed that gave $35,000 a year to the school districts to buy books for their libraries, on the condition that they raised an equal amount by taxation for the same purpose. Within 15 years, there were more than 1,600,000 books on the shelves of the school libraries of New York. However, after the early years of activity, expenditure on school libraries declined and insufficient money was made available to maintain their condition or add to the bookstock. After 1861 the libraries were reported to have been "crowded into cupboards, thrown into cellars and stowed away in lofts" (Warren & Clark, 1876, p. 40). Figures available for Massachusetts, Indiana, and Ohio, among other states, show that there also, after an initial period of attention to school libraries, expenditure on them declined (Warren & Clark, 1876).

It is clear that these libraries were small by our standards, although they served school populations that were, on average, also small compared with today. Although one school in California was reported in 1863 to have a library of "about 1,000 volumes," and others claimed up to 2,000 volumes, electors in Michigan after 1843 could reduce the sum raised by taxation once a school library had 200 volumes (suggesting that this number was regarded as reasonable), whereas in Wisconsin, in 1858, the average collection size was less than 30 volumes (Warren & Clark, 1876). Surviving evidence from annual reports and other sources (Hawks, 1977) suggests that the collections covered school subjects such as history, science, literature, "practical agriculture," plus fiction, "tales and sketches," and books specifically for the teach-

ers. Despite their small size, it seems that as long as sufficient money was being spent on them, these libraries were generally well used. In Indiana in 1856, for instance, reports from many townships showed that the number of books taken out during the year was from one to 20 times the entire number in the library; in 1866, when about 29,000 volumes were added to the libraries, the circulation of books was about 85,000 volumes; in 1868, circulation reached 140,000 volumes, probably as a result of these additions.

The development of common school libraries in the United States had parallels in other countries, including France, Canada, and Australia. Strong centralized government and a tradition of concern for centralization in education facilitated the development of school library collections in Prussia in the 19th century (Jackson, 1974). In France, after the French Revolution, attention was paid to the development of a centralized school system, and small communities began to be equipped with school libraries by 1831; by 1848, the state had spent two million francs on books for them. However, by 1850, these libraries, and the libraries for teachers that had come after them, had disappeared in the chaos of civil unrest. In 1860, though, attention was again being paid to school libraries; by 1865, there were 4,833 communal libraries for school use in France, with a total of around 300,000 volumes, giving an average book collection of only 60 or so volumes—rather fewer than the average in many American states at the time. Within 20 years, the situation had improved, so that by 1889, there were 36,326 libraries with well over five and a half million volumes, giving an average collection size of around 150 books. The elimination of fees for tuition in the state schools in 1881 meant that less money was available for books other than textbooks; the impact of the financial crisis on school libraries was softened, however, by state aid. These libraries continued to offer popular service, of varying quality, after the common school libraries of the United States had ceased to function effectively (Jackson, 1974).

Conclusion

In these "snapshots" of particular periods in the development of school libraries—the medieval school libraries of England, the English grammar school libraries of the 16th and 17th centuries, the school library situation as revealed by some of the various British Commissions of Inquiry and Select Committees of the 19th century, and the common school libraries of the United States in the 19th century—there are aspects of each situation that seem familiar to us today, and aspects that seem strange. There is an assumption throughout (sometimes stated, sometimes not) that the provision of school libraries is important, although the libraries themselves would have looked very different and would have been used differently in each period. The size of the schools, the school curriculum, the availability of appropriate books and other materials for purchase, the development of the printing trade from the late 15th century, the prosperity of the society, and the general

attitudes toward education have all influenced the development of school libraries, as have cruder factors like civil war.

Although it is clear that libraries have existed in schools at least from the 8th century, school libraries have probably become more common in recent times. Over the last 1,000 years, school library collections have certainly increased in size, just as books themselves have become more readily available. The rooms in which school libraries are housed have grown larger, partly reflecting collection size and increase in student numbers. In addition, school libraries have increasingly become the subject of professional inquiry and of government legislation, as has education itself. However, Charles Hoole, advocate of the use of library books by pupils in their day-to-day school work, would have had little difficulty in 1660 with the "modern" concept of the school library as "the centre of the school."

Acknowledgments

References

Alcuin. *Of the Bishops and Saints of the Church of York*. (This poem was written in York, probably between 776 and 780. It is now known only from a transcript made in 1690 from the original manuscript in the monastery of St. Theodoric, Rheims, which was destroyed in the French Revolution.) The transcript has been edited by James Raine, *History of the churches of York* (Ross Series, No. 71, London, 1879), and the quotations are taken from the version in Arthur F. Leach's *Educational charters and documents 598-1909*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911.

Alcuin. *Epistle xxxviii*. Translated in James Westfall Thompson's *The medieval library*; reprinted with a Supplement by Blanche B. Boyer. New York: Hafner, 1957.

Alexander, Mary. (1921). *School libraries, their history, organization, and management*. An essay submitted in connexion with the Professional Examination, Section VI, May 1921. Reprinted in *Library Association Record*, 1922, 24(16), 12-19. Austen Papers, Guildford Muniment Room, Guildford, Surrey, UK, BR/OC/7/1.

Bartholomew, A. T., & Gordon, Cosmo. (1910). *The library at King Edward VI School, Bury St. Edmunds*. London: De La Mare Press.

Bede. (1969). In Bertram Colgrave & R.A.B. Mynors (Eds.), *Bede's ecclesiastical history of the English people* (vol. 20). Oxford, UK: Clarendon Press.

Birley, Robert. (1970). *The history of Eton College library*. Eton, UK: Basil Blackwell for the Provost and Fellows.

Bryan, Harrison. (1973). Towards libraries for the nation: Twenty-five years of Australian history, 1948-1973. *Australian Library Journal*, 22(9), 350-358.

Carlisle, Nicholas. (1818). *A concise description of the endowed grammar schools of England and Wales* (2 vols.). London: Baldwin, Cradock and Joy.

Christie, Richard Copley. (1885). *The old church and school libraries of Lancashire*. Manchester, UK: Chetham Society.

Clyde, Laurel A. (1981). *The magic casements: A survey of school library history from the eighth to the twentieth century.* Unpublished doctoral dissertation, James Cook University of North Queensland, Australia.

Clyde, Laurel A. (1985). School library history. In Peter Biskup & Maxine Rochester (Eds.), *Australian library history. Papers from the Second Forum on Australian Library History* (pp. 16-28). Canberra, Australia: Canberra College of Advanced Education.

Courtenay, William L. (1987). *Schools and scholars in fourteenth century England.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Duncan, Paul L. (1958). *The secondary school library: A survey of the need for secondary school libraries, and their aims, provision and staffing especially in relation to state high schools in Western Australia.* Unpublished paper, BEd special study, University of Western Australia, Australia.

Department of State. Public Schools Commission (1864). *Public schools and colleges. Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the revenues and management of certain colleges and schools, and the studies pursued and instruction given therein* (4 vols, Clarendon Report). London: HMSO.

Schools Inquiry Commission (1868). *Report of the commissioners* (21 vols., Taunton Report). London: HMSO.

Fargo, Lucile F. (1930). *The library in the school.* Chicago, IL: American Library Association.

Gates, Jean Key. (1976). *Introduction to librarianship* (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Good, Harry G. (1963). *A history of western education* (2nd ed.). New York: Macmillan.

Gunner, W.H. (1858). Catalogue of books belonging to the College of St. Mary, Winchester. *Archaeological Journal, 15,* 59-74. (This provides a published version of the manuscript catalogue: Winchester College, Liber Albus, College Muniment, Chest 1, No. 48, folios 31 to 36. Four other early 15th century library inventories exist in the College archives dated 1405, 1421, 1431, and 1432.)

Hawks, Graham P. (1977). A nineteenth century school library: Early years in Milwaukee. *Journal of Library History, 12,* 359-363.

Hoole, Charles. (1660). *A new discovery of the old art of teaching schoole.* London: Andrew Crook. (From a copy in the British Library, C27.a.39.)

Jackson, Sidney L. (1974). *Libraries and librarianship in the West.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

James, M.R. (1928). Chapel inventories. *Etoniana, xxviii,* 444.

Johnson, Elmer D. (1973). *Communication: An introduction to the history of writing, printing, books, and libraries* (4th ed.). Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press.

Johnson, Elmer D., & Harris, Michael H. (1976). *History of libraries in the western world* (3rd ed.). Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press.

Kaufman, Paul. (1967). The loan records of Shrewsbury School Library. *The Library, fifth series, 22*(3), 232-256.

Kelly, Thomas. (1966). *Early public libraries. A history of public libraries in Great Britain before 1850.* London: Library Association.

King, William A. (1929). *The elementary school library.* New York: Scribner's.

Koos, Frank Herman. (1927). *State participation in public school library service.* New York: Teachers College, Columbia University.

Lawson, John, & Silver, Harold. (1973). *A social history of education in England.* London: Methuen.

Leach, Arthur F. (1909). St. Paul's School. *Journal of Education, 40* (new series. (31)1 July, 503-509. (Citing an archival source, Mun. St. Paul's, LibA.f. xxviii. See also Leach, 1911, pp. 80-81.)

Leach, Arthur F. (1910). St. Paul's School before Colet. *Archaeologia, 62*(1), 220-222.

Leach, Arthur F. (1911). *Educational charters and documents 598-1909.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Leach, Arthur F. (1915). *The schools of medieval England.* London: Methuen.

Logasa, Hannah. (1928). *The high school library, Its functions in education.* New York: Appleton.

Oakeshott, Walter. (1954). Winchester College Library before 1750. *The Library, fifth series*, 9(1), 1-16.

Oldham, J.B. (1959). Shrewsbury School Library. *The Library, fifth series*, 14(2), 81-99.

Orme, Nicholas. (1973). *English schools in the middle ages*. London: Methuen.

Ray, Sheila G. (1972). *Library services to schools* (2nd ed.). London: Library Association.

Rickert, E. (1948). *Chaucer's world*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Rugby School. (1860). *Catalogue of the Arnold Library, Rugby School*. Rugby, UK: Crossley and Billington.

Sampson, Walter Adam. (1912). *A history of the Bristol Grammar School*. Bristol, UK: J.W. Arrowsmith.

Savage, Ernest A. (1911). *Old English libraries*. London: Methuen.

Sayers, Frances Clarke. (1963). The American origins of public library work with children. *Library Trends*, 12(1), 6-13.

Select Committee on Public Libraries (1849). *Report* (2 vols.). London: HMSO.

Shrewsbury School Library Benefactors' Book, MS, from 1596. (Available at the School).

Shrewsbury School Library Catalogue, MS, 1613. (Shrewsbury Borough Library, deed No. 11385; photocopy available at the School).

Stott, Cecil A. (1953) The school library movement in England and Wales. *Library Trends*, 1(3), 404-422.

Wallis, P.J. (1973). [Review of the book *The chained library of the Royal Grammar School, Guildford, Catalogue*]. *Library History*, 3(1), 36-37

Warren, S.R., & Clark, S.W. (1876). Common school libraries. In *Public libraries in the United States: their history, condition and management*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office.

Wase, Christopher. (1678). *Considerations concerning free-schools, as settled in England*. Oxford, UK: Printed at the Theatre in Oxford.

Watson, Foster. (1916). *The old grammar schools*. London: Oxford University Press.

Williamson, G.C. (1929). *The Royal Grammar School of Guildford, 1509: a record and review*. London: G. Bell.

Woodward, Gwendolen, & Christophers, R.A. (1972). *Chained library of the Royal Grammar School, Guildford, catalogue*. Guildford, UK: Royal Grammar School.

Yeats-Edwards, Paul. (1976) Portrait of a college library: A brief history of the Warden and Fellows' Library of Winchester College. *Antiquarian Book Monthly Review*, 3(5/6), 172-179.

Author Note

Dr. L. Anne Clyde is a professor in the Library and Information Science Department at the University of Iceland, Reykjavik. An Australian citizen, she taught in universities in her home country and in Canada before taking up her present appointment. She is the author of numerous books and articles, including *School Libraries and the Electronic Community: The Internet Connection* (Scarecrow, 1997). She is also IASL's Webmaster.