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"A library...will prove a veritable godsend to the children... opening for them the magic casements of poetry and romance,... matter-of-fact pursuits,...and intellectual development."

The Brisbane Courier,

7 April, 1908, p.4.

ABSTRACT

The thesis comprises three major parts. In Part I, existing writing, both published and unpublished, on the history of school libraries, is surveyed, showing that there is available no comprehensive history of school libraries, or even of school libraries in a country or region. In Part II, the development of school libraries is traced from the eighth century library at York to the school library media centres of the present day, with emphasis on British, American, and Australian school libraries. This chronological survey covers medieval English school libraries, the libraries of the grammar schools of sixteenth and seventeenth century Britain, the elementary and Sunday school libraries of the nineteenth century, the libraries of "public", academy, and independent secondary schools in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the secondary, elementary, and Sunday school libraries of the twentieth century. In Part III, "Concepts of the School Library", the development of school libraries is considered in terms of the reasons for which such libraries have been established and maintained over the centuries. The five types of school library discussed are: the school library established to support the teaching and learning activities of the school; the school library established to provide recreational reading; the library established to serve both the school and the community; the school library established as a scholars' library to serve the needs of a particular group within the school; and the school library established as a memorial. The aim of the thesis has been to show that school library provision is a great deal older than has generally been assumed, and that the reasons for which the school libraries have been established and maintained have changed but little over the centuries.

STATEMENT ON ACCESS

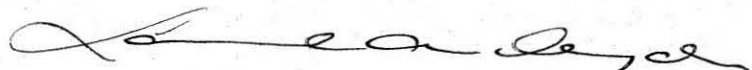
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Laurel Anne Clyde
15 November 1981

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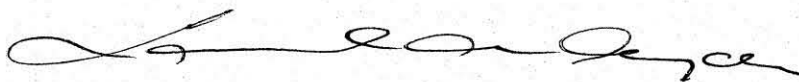
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DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in any form for another degree or diploma at any university or other institution of tertiary education. Information derived from the published or unpublished work of others has been acknowledged in the text and a list of references is given.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Laurel Anne Clyde', written in a cursive style.

Laurel Anne Clyde
15 November 1981

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writing of a thesis can be a traumatic business for the author, the author's friends, and even for others only remotely concerned with the process. The trauma was reduced, and the process made a little more enjoyable (for the author, at least), through the assistance provided, and the interest shown, by so many people in Australia and overseas.

Between 1978 and 1981 I visited almost fifty schools in Australia, the United Kingdom, and Europe; a list of them appears in Appendix F. I should like to thank the school principals and the school librarians who made the visits possible. Not only was the time I spent in these schools invariably made pleasant by the hospitality shown, but I was always given easy access to school and library records. On many occasions principals and librarians spent a great deal of time sharing with me their own knowledge of the history of their school and its library. Particular thanks are due to Mr. James Lawson, Librarian at Shrewsbury School, and Mr. Paul Yeats-Edwards, Librarian of the Warden and Fellows' Library, Winchester College, who shared with me the results of their own published and unpublished research on the history of their libraries, and to Mrs. Joan Potter, Librarian at Merchant Taylors' School, Crosby, who allowed me to read her unpublished thesis on school libraries in Lancashire, and discussed issues raised in it with me.

I take this opportunity to thank all those people in some sixteen countries who responded to my letters, and those in this

state who responded to my questionnaire survey of Queensland independent secondary schools. The range of my correspondence during the last three years, with teachers, librarians, church authorities, educational administrators, library educators, archivists, museum curators, and others, has been truly vast, and I have enjoyed this contact with colleagues and interested "laymen" throughout the world.

Of enormous practical assistance has been the work of Ms. Pauline Roberts, in charge of inter-library loans in the Library Resources Centre, Townsville College of Advanced Education. I have benefitted, too, from the advice and assistance of Mr. Brian Pump, Instructor in Educational Media at Townsville College of Advanced Education; his expertise in photography, and especially in work with old photographs, has added greatly to the quality of the illustrations. Miss Nancy Miller, of Parramatta, New South Wales, made the travel arrangements which got me round the world; Miss Margaret McCristal, Deputy Principal, St. Raphael's College, James Cook University of North Queensland, looked after my tangled affairs in Australia while I was away; and London friends Diana and Nicholas Forrest provided a base in Britain and did so much to make my research there and in Europe easier and more pleasant.

Above all, I should like to thank Mr. Ron Store, Principal Librarian at Townsville College of Advanced Education, who very carefully read through the final draft of this thesis; I have benefitted greatly from his constructive criticism and suggestions, and particularly from his knowledge of the history of schools and libraries in Queensland.

INTRODUCTION

Cecil Stott, in his Presidential Address at the Annual Conference of the School Library Association on 30 December 1970, commented that it was strange that, as far as he knew, "no one has yet set out to tell the story of school libraries".¹ Two years later, the historian P.J. Wallis noted that "the history of school libraries is still waiting to be written".² Stott pointed out that both general histories of education and histories of libraries and librarianship failed to provide coverage of the development of school libraries over the centuries, and quoted examples:

They do not appear as an index entry in the index of Foster Watson's great book The English Grammar Schools to 1660: their curriculum and practice (published originally in 1908, reprinted in 1969) where an account of school libraries and their use would have illuminated a great deal of what is said on teaching method, especially as Foster Watson's own book is full of information about the books themselves....Nor does the subject find a place in the collected lectures or essays assembled under the title of The English Library Before 1700 (1958), edited by Francis Wormald and C.E. Wright, which deals primarily with the bibliographical aspects of libraries.

He further noted that, while the history of school libraries has not been thoroughly investigated, "the material available is large, and is to be sought in a great variety of sources".³

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1. Cecil A. Stott, "Schools and School Libraries Over Two Centuries: 1", The School Librarian, 19(1971), p.21.
 2. P.J. Wallis, reviewing Gwendolen Woodward and R.A. Christophers, The Chained Library of the Royal Grammar School, Guildford, Catalogue, (Guildford, 1972), in Library History, 3(1973), pp. 36-37.
 3. Stott, "Schools and School Libraries Over Two Centuries: 1", p.21.

Since the Middle Ages, school libraries have been recognised as an important feature of many schools; even the idea of the school library as the "pivot" or "centre" of the school is several hundred years old. The physical form of the school library has changed over the centuries, with libraries increasing in size and in sophistication of organisation and administration. However it needs to be stressed that, while the physical expression of the idea of a school library has undergone great change, the idea itself is far from new.

Sister M. Constance Melvin, in a thesis on the history of public school libraries in Pennsylvania, has suggested that if "we accept... the essentials of the school [as being] the pupil and the teacher", then we should "acknowledge as the primary elements of the library the book and the reader". Just as "the one-room log school house is considered the predecessor of the modern school", so "any collection of books, other than texts,...in the school" for the use of members of the school, should be treated as a forerunner of the modern school library.¹ Defining the school library has been a problem for many writers on the subject over the years. Most definitions which have been developed are too narrow, often failing to take into consideration many types of school library which have existed in the past, and which still exist today. Sister Melvin's is one of the more comprehensive published definitions, yet it, too, fails to take account of many important aspects of school libraries, including those which serve the public as well as the school population, and those which give emphasis to non-book materials of various sorts in their collections.

1. Sister M. Constance Melvin, History of Public School Libraries in Pennsylvania, (Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1962), p.23.

In this thesis a school library will be considered as a library in or attached to a school, usually owned, wholly or in part, by that school, and regarded by the school as a school library. It may serve teachers, trustees, fellows, pupils of the school (or particular types of pupil, such as members of the top form, monitors, collegers, boarders, or prefects), the local community, or any combination of these groups. There may be more than one library in a school, each serving one or more of these groups. The library may be a reference library or a lending library; it may require the payment of subscriptions or be free to those who are eligible to use it.

My research began as an investigation of the history of school libraries in eastern Australia. As more and more information on the nineteenth and early twentieth century history of Australian school libraries was located, the field of research was narrowed to the history of libraries in government, church, and independent schools in Queensland. An exploration of the earliest evidence for school libraries in this state led to an inquiry into the sources of their founders' ideas, and an investigation of the educational theories which had influenced them. This line of research led first to Sydney and further work on the early school libraries in New South Wales which had so impressed Queensland educators, and then to Britain and to the English and Scottish school libraries on which those in nineteenth century New South Wales were modelled. As I began to find information about the earliest history of English school libraries, it became apparent that before the history of school libraries in any one country could be adequately discussed, a framework was needed which would take account of the very considerable age of school libraries in Europe, and of the wide range of

types of school library provision which had existed over the centuries and which continued to exist even in nineteenth and twentieth century New South Wales and Queensland.

This thesis, then, attempts to provide such a framework for the discussion of the history of school libraries, based on the reasons for which school libraries have been established and maintained from the eighth century onwards. The most important of these reasons will be discussed in Part III in relation to the particular "concept" of a school library with which each is associated.

Other frameworks have been provided by library historians for the writing of school library history; like definitions of the school library, these tend to be too restrictive, omitting both pre-nineteenth century school libraries and many types of modern school libraries. In the small amount of research literature available, 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,¹ for instance, outlined a five-stage pattern of development for school libraries:

1. Small collections 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.

While this type of scheme may describe the development of a large

1. The Elementary School Library, (New York, 1929).

number of school libraries, it does not take account of the fact that many began at stage four, 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 one), in addition to a centralised school library under the control of a librarian (stage four). It also does not acknowledge the fact that many schools have not seen, and do not see, stage five as a desirable goal towards which to aim.¹

In discussing the history of school libraries over the last twelve hundred years, I have mainly used as examples various school libraries in Great Britain, the United States of America, and Australia. In addition, some examples have been taken from New Zealand, Canada, South Africa, France, Denmark, Germany, Poland, and Sweden; the emphasis is, however, on school libraries in "western", English-speaking countries. Generally only literature in English has been consulted; among the exceptions are works translated for me from Polish, French, German, and Russian, and some early school library catalogues in Latin, Greek, and Norman French.

As Appendix F will show, I was able to visit many school

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1. A similar scheme, designed to show the pattern of evolution of school libraries, was developed by Jen-chi Chang:
 1. The classroom library, often based on public library books.
 2. A separate room for the library.
 3. A part-time teacher-librarian.
 4. The school library as the centre of the school, with a full-time teacher-librarian.

Much the same objections can be made with regard to this scheme as were noted in relation to that developed by King. For further details of this scheme, see Jen-chi Chang, "The School Library", Alabama State Education Association Journal, 2,1(1960), pp.11-12, 45-46, 48.

libraries in the eastern states of Australia, and in Great Britain, to collect information for this study. The Australian school libraries were visited on journeys from Townsville by car and by plane, occupying altogether about three to four months. Selected English and Scottish school libraries were visited during a seven-month period in 1979/1980, prior organisation for the travel and the visits taking approximately twelve months. I was also able to visit some school libraries in Denmark and the Netherlands, and in other European countries. Arrangements for these visits were made either directly with the schools concerned, through the country's association of professional librarians, or through its school library service.

I had also planned to visit some school libraries in the United States of America, particularly those mentioned in nineteenth century reports, in articles, and in manuals, as having been in existence from an early date. I began preliminary correspondence with those schools, with major research libraries, and with professional associations at the same time as I began to make arrangements with British schools and organisations. Responses from America to letters, however, were few and not very encouraging; by the time I was ready to leave Australia, with my European and British visits organised, I still did not have sufficient information on material available in the United States to make plans for a research trip from London. Nevertheless I was able to collect a good deal of information on American school libraries from other sources. The Library of New South Wales in Sydney, for instance, had a considerable collection of reports and other publications, particularly on school libraries in California, while the Library Association Library in London had a

comprehensive collection of material, especially on school libraries in eastern states. But because I was not able to visit individual school libraries in the United States, as I was able to do in Great Britain and Australia, there are some sections of this thesis in which I have had to rely most heavily on examples from the latter two countries, even when I have been aware that appropriate examples of a particular type of school library provision also existed in the United States.

Sources of information for this thesis have included nineteenth and twentieth century articles and monographs, government reports, sixteenth and seventeenth century publications on education, literary sources (especially school stories), histories of individual schools, school magazines, newspaper reports, published and manuscript school library catalogues, archival materials, school library documents and records, evidence from surviving book collections, and oral evidence. The use of some of these sources has involved particular difficulties. Not the least of these was the difficulty of deciphering handwritten documents dating variously from the twelfth century to the present; my neglected skills in palaeography, acquired many years ago, and not much used since, were rapidly refurbished under guidance in England to cope with the problem,

Other difficulties were associated with the use of journals and school magazines. The major indexing and abstracting services covering the fields of librarianship and education do not normally index material written prior to the 1920s and 1930s; some are even more recent in coverage. Most have used a variety of different terms over the years under which to index material on the history of school libraries, so that a manual search can be very time-consuming,

particularly when a change of term is not listed in the introduction or noted as a cross-reference. Many of the journals themselves were poorly indexed; some also had an inadequate table of contents. I am not the first researcher to find that there was a great deal of material on school libraries in the pages of the major journals which was not noted in the index or contents list.¹ This resulted in a page-by-page scanning of early issues of the Library Journal prior to 1930, and of all issues of the Australian Library Journal, QUILL, the Journal of the School Library Association of Queensland, The Australian School Librarian, Education News, and The Teacher-Librarian.

School magazines, issued by many schools in Great Britain, the United States of America ("school yearbooks"), and Australia, often contain a great deal of material relevant to the history of their school library. Many printed a regular "Library Notes" column or page, which often included a list of new books and other materials added to the library since the last issue. Access to these magazines can, however, be difficult, since there is no comprehensive listing of them available for any country, and no large centralised collection of them (though the National Library of Australia has recently attempted to fill this gap for Australian schools).² I used copies held in the schools themselves, in public, state, and academic libraries, and in the possession of individuals. I found few complete runs available, even for older and well-known schools. The magazines themselves were never indexed; many were without even a

1. Melvin, History of Public School Libraries in Pennsylvania, p.17.

2. Anonymous, "School Magazines Wanted", Education News, 16,2(1977), p.3.

table of contents, while those contents lists which were included were often unreliable.¹ As with some of the journals, then, each page of each issue of a school magazine had to be scanned for relevant information and photographs.

Fewer problems were encountered in the use of fiction, particularly school stories, for historical purposes. In an article on nineteenth century Australian schools as seen through the eyes of imaginative writers, John Cleverley has commented on the rich sources available on schools and schooling in literature, and on the use of such writing by historians:²

To attempt a history of Australian education through literature, a professor once told me, was properly a task for retirement, fit only for the late and brief span of my declining years. Then everybody knew that writing based on fact - the stuff of history - was reliable. Fiction and verse, on the other hand, were principally inventions of the human mind. In this context, history derived from literary sources appeared a contradiction in terms: how could truth come out of falsehood? But times change. Today fact has lost its aura of objectivity, whereas fiction is commonly accepted as one form of historical statement.

Many writers who mention school libraries in their novels, like Frederic Farrar, taught for a time; others, like Rudyard Kipling, wrote about schools they had known as schoolboys; still others, like Charlotte M. Yonge, were familiar with the internal organisation and management of schools of various sorts. Visitors, too, have care-

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1. In the introduction to her thesis, *Old School Libraries of Lancashire: A Continued History 1885-1978*, (M.A. thesis, Loughborough University of Technology, 1979), p.12, Joan M. Potter also noted that school magazines were "a most fruitful and comprehensive source" of information on school libraries, "a fact which justified the labour involved in going through hundreds of issues, many of them unfortunately without index or contents page...".
 2. John Cleverley, "Once Upon a Time", *Education News*, 16,8(1979), pp.16-23.

fully observed and written about schools. As Cleverley says,¹ their "imaginative reconstructions which present their own view of reality usefully complement conventional data." He goes on, "The caution must hold though that literature applied to historical ends must be subject to the same critical intelligence applied to historical evidence from whatever source."

Many issues relevant to the history of school libraries are discussed only briefly, if at all, in this thesis; most of these would be useful areas for further research. They include: the relationship between developments in the philosophy and practice of education and the development of school libraries; the relationship between developments in librarianship generally and the history of school libraries; and the relationship between developments in children's literature and in the teaching of reading and changes in school libraries. Further research is needed on the history of school libraries in each country; once this is available, comparative studies of school library development in different countries would show common influences and parallel developments as well as different responses to particular problems from country to country. Comparative studies of different types of school libraries - secondary school, elementary school, school/community, Sunday school, and others - would also be valuable in illustrating what is common to all libraries in schools, while showing differences which result from the special requirements of a particular clientele. What is needed, above all, however, are scholarly, comprehensive histories of individual school

1. Ibid., p.17.

libraries,¹ which place those libraries in the context of developments in educational ideas and teaching methods, changes in the theory and practice of librarianship, the history of reading materials for children, and the growth and development of the particular school of which the library is a part.

1. The English library historian, Thomas Kelly, author of the History of Public Libraries in Great Britain 1845-1965, has also highlighted this need: "...library history must be firmly based on the history of individual libraries...We...need far more individual studies than we have." In "Thoughts on the Writing of Library History", Library History, 3(1975), p.167.