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PART II:

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF  
SCHOOL LIBRARIES

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## AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF SCHOOL LIBRARIES

Chapter 2: Early School Libraries to 1800.

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CHAPTER TWO

## EARLY SCHOOL LIBRARIES TO 1800

Libraries have existed in English schools at least since the eighth century, notably at Canterbury, York, Winchester and Hexham, where they were closely associated with religious foundations.<sup>1</sup> These school libraries have developed and changed in response to developments in education and in the field of librarianship over the last twelve hundred years. In this Part the history of school libraries will be traced from the early church schools of Yorkshire in the mid-eighth century to the twentieth century schools of the United Kingdom, the United States of America, and Australia.

When Aelbert, an eighth century English secular priest at York Minster who was active in education and church administration in Northumbria, was appointed Archbishop of York in 766,<sup>2</sup> 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

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1. Sheila G. Ray, Library Service to Schools, (2nd edn, London, 1972), p.10.
  2. Arthur F. Leach, The Schools of Medieval England, (London, 1915), p.59.

treasures under one roof".<sup>1</sup> This is the best early evidence we have for the existence of libraries in or associated with schools in England.<sup>2</sup> Born at York in about 735, Alcuin was educated at the cathedral school under Aelbert, with whom he later travelled to Rome to search for books and manuscripts. Because of his considerable reputation as a scholar and teacher, he was invited by Charlemagne in 780 to come to his court to play a part in the revival of learning under the Franks. Alcuin founded a new school at the Frankish court, which he organised along the lines of the school at York.<sup>3</sup> In order to supply it with books, he persuaded Charles to send a number of copyists to York to reproduce some of the most famous books there. The letter in which Alcuin put his case to Charles still survives:

I have need of the most excellent books of scholastic learning, which I had procured in my own country, either by the devoted care of my master, or by my own labours. I therefore beseech your majesty...to permit me to send certain of our household to bring over into France the flowers of Britain, that the Garden of Paradise may not be confined to York, but may send some of its scions to Tours.<sup>4</sup>

What the "flowers of Britain" were at this time, Alcuin has told us

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1. Alcuin, Of the Bishops and Saints of the Church of York. This poem was written when Alcuin was schoolmaster and librarian of York Minster, probably between 776 and 780. The poem is now only known from a transcript made in 1690 from the original MS 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), p.390, and this quotation is taken from Arthur F. Leach, Educational Charters and Documents 598-1909, (Cambridge, 1911), p.17.
  2. In her article "The Schoolmaster-Librarian", The School Librarian, 7(1954), p.162, Miss S.M. Allenby Moore, mentions that this is "one of the earliest" references to a school librarian which she has been able to trace, and that this was "one of the most distinguished" libraries.
  3. John L. Thornton, Selected Readings in the History of Librarianship, (London, 1966), p.16.
  4. Quoted by Ernest A. Savage, in Old English Libraries, (London, 1911), p.36. Another translation of this passage, from Alcuin's Epistle xxxviii, appears in James Westfall Thompson, The Medieval Library, (New York, 1967), p.56.

in his long Latin poem, Of the Bishops and Saints of the Church of York. 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.<sup>1</sup>

Then following what has been called<sup>2</sup> a catalogue in verse, which listed the names of forty writers, including Jerome, Hilarius, Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, Pope Leo, Aldhelm, Bede, the ancients Pliny, Aristotle, Cicero, Virgil, Lucan, grammarians Probus and Donatus. And Alcuin concluded his listing with the remark that "many other masters eminent in the schools, in art, and in oratory, who have written many a volume of sound sense" could be found in the library, but the writing of their "names in verse would take longer than the usage of the pen allows".<sup>3</sup> Alcuin speaks with some pride, for this represents a substantial collection of manuscript books for the eighth century; it was a collection which would have been of great value to a school.

Though Alcuin was the most famous teacher of his age, and York

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1. Quoted by Savage, in Old English Libraries, p.36.
  2. Edward Edwards, Memoirs of Libraries, (London, 1859), Vol.1, pp. 104-105; Leach, School's of Medieval England, pp.60-61.
  3. Quoted by Leach, Educational Charters and Documents, p.17. Alcuin's list is, however, marred by two serious defects, both of which stem from the metrical form in which he wrote. Firstly, he names only the authors and not the specific works which the library held. And secondly, "it is certain that exigencies of metre compelled Alcuin to omit the names of writers who were certainly represented to some extent in the library, for example, Isidore of Seville". M.L.W. Laistner, "The Library of the Venerable Bede", in A. Hamilton Thompson (ed.), Bede, His life, Times and Writings, Essays in Commemoration, of the Twelfth Centenary of his Death, (New York, 1966), p.237.

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. Alcuin himself in 797 wrote to Bishop Ethelbert and the congregation at Hexham that they should continue to

...teach the boys and young men diligently the learning of books in the way of God, that they may become worthy successors in your honours and intercessors for you...For the increase of the flock is the glory of the shepherd, and the multitude of learned men is the safety of the world.<sup>1</sup>

Certainly a library had been established at Hexham at least half a century earlier, since Bede tells us that when Acca succeeded Wilfrid as bishop there in 709, he built "a very large and most noble library, assiduously collecting histories of the passions of the martyrs as well as other ecclesiastical books".<sup>2</sup> In Winchester in the ninth century there was apparently a school serving the court of King Alfred which had a collection of books for the use of the pupils. In Asser's Life of King Alfred,<sup>3</sup> a romance written about a century later than Alfred's time, there is some evidence that Alfred's youngest son, Ethelward, "was sent to the grammar school (ludis literariae disciplinae) with nearly all the children of noble birth and many not so noble, under the diligent care of masters. In that school (scola)

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1. Quoted by Leach, Educational Charters and Documents, p.21.
  2. Bede, in Bertram Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors (eds), Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, (Y.20), (Oxford, 1969), p.531.
  3. Available in two editions: Asser, Asserius de Rebus Gestis [Asser's Life of King Alfred], edited by W.H. Stevenson, (Oxford, 1904); and Asser, Asser's Life of King Alfred, translated by L.C. Jane, (London, 1908).

books in both languages, Latin and Saxon, were read continually..."<sup>1</sup> Leach, in discussing a mid-tenth century listing of a collection of school books given to the monastery at Canterbury, argues that "the casual way the list is entered", on the fly-leaf of one of the books, "affords a convincing proof of the commonness of school books...among the English at the time it was made."<sup>2</sup>

In the period following the Norman Conquest there are isolated references to libraries associated with schools. Early in the twelfth century<sup>3</sup> 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

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1. Asser, Life of King Alfred, written about 1001. Quoted by Leach, Schools of Medieval England, p.73. While there is evidence that this romance is highly inaccurate about Alfred's life and times, Leach claimed that it can, in this passage quoted, be taken as at least accurately reflecting grammar school education in Winchester at the time it was written. Ibid., p.74.
  2. Leach, Schools of Medieval England, p.94. Leach's argument here is, however, difficult to accept. This list is certainly proof that a schoolmaster at this time could accumulate a collection of books for use in school. But the fact that the list is entered in a "casual way" on the fly-leaf of one of them is probably more indicative of the scarcity and high cost of suitable materials on which to write, than of the "commonness" of school books. The fact that almost every scrap of parchment or vellum was used, (and often re-used in bindings), meant that important catalogues, lists, instructions, and so on, were often written on unused end pages of books. The list of school books in this collection is written on the fly-leaf of one of them, Isidore's De Natura rerum, which in the fifteenth century belonged to St. Augustine's, Canterbury, and is now in the British Library. (Cott.Dom., I.f., 55b). The modest books appear to have belonged to a schoolmaster called Athestan, who when he retired or died left them to the monastery, rather than, as Savage claims, (Savage, Old English Libraries, p.40), to King Athelstan. The list included grammars, an arithmetic book, histories, as well as "The Apocalypse". Thompson also agrees that the books could not have belonged to King Athelstan, but were more likely, on the evidence of the handwriting, to have belonged to an eleventh century cleric, probably at Canterbury. Thompson, The Medieval Library, pp. 121-122.
  3. About the year 1111. Leach, Schools of Medieval England, p.110.



h[ic] syndon Sa bec he a[nt]estane[r] p[er]nan. denatura p[er]sum.  
 p[er]sius. de a[nt]e m[er]ica. donatu[m] <sup>in h[ic] op[er]e</sup>. Excep[ti]ones de m[er]ica  
 a[nt]e. Apocalipsin. donatu[m] <sup>in h[ic] op[er]e</sup> maiore[m]. d[ic]tionum. Glossa  
 sup[er] catonem. libellu[m] de q[ue]st[io]nibus a[nt]e. <sup>in h[ic] op[er]e</sup> Etia[m] que p[er]s[er]s.  
 Sedulum. . . . . 7. se p[er]sum. p[er]s al[ia] p[er]lo[ra] p[er] p[er]s[er]s.  
 Glossa sup[er] donatu[m]. Dialo[gu]m.

The tenth century schoolmaster's books, given to the library of St. Augustine's monastery, Canterbury. This list was written on the fly-leaf of one of the volumes, which is now in the British Library (Cott.Dom., I.F., 55b).

of all the books of our church".<sup>1</sup> The schoolmaster was to have care of "the books in the cupboards...by the altar" which had been made specially to stow them. These volumes were, in front of the brethren of the Church, to be handed over to him 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, making "diligent inquiry under pain or excommunication whether any of the books, either secular or theological, had been taken out by anyone, and if there have been, ... [to] order them in virtue of their obedience to be returned".<sup>2</sup> This means then that Master Hugh in Norman London was performing the same joint function of schoolmaster and librarian as Alcuin had performed at English York four hundred years before. However Statutes made at St. Paul's in about 1250, nearly a century and a half later, indicate that the Chancellor, who was responsible for appointing the grammar school master, again had charge of the aumbry in which the school books of the church were kept.<sup>3</sup> During the fourteenth century two of the almoners responsible for looking after the young boys who boarded in the cathedral almonry in order to receive instruction in "grammar", that is, Latin language, at the cathedral school, bequeathed large collections of books to assist these boys in their education. In 1329 William Tolleshunt left all his grammar books for their use in school, including the works of Priscian, Isidors, and Hugutio. He also left

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1. Arthur F. Leach. "St. Paul's School", Journal of Education, 40(June 1909), p.503, citing Mun. St. Paul's, Lib.A.f. xxviii. See also Leach, Educational Charters and Documents, pp. 80-81.
  2. Ibid., pp.80-81.
  3. Leach, Schools of Medieval England, p.160.

books on logic, law, and medicine, which were to be available for their use if they went on to university.<sup>1</sup> In 1358 William Ravenstone bequeathed an even larger collection of books to the library available to these boys. This gift consisted of forty-three volumes of grammar and poetry, both classical and medieval, including all the major authorities like Priscian, Peter Helias, and Hugutio, often in more than one copy.<sup>2</sup>

In the thirteenth century Bishop Grosseteste left either his library or his writings to the Grey Friars at Oxford. It is possible that this gift formed part of two collections of books existing in the fifteenth century in the same friary, one the convent library, open only to graduates, and the other the Schools library, for secular clergymen and laymen living amongst the brethren for the sake of the teaching they could get. In these collections there were many Hebrew books, which had been bought at the time of the expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290.<sup>3</sup>

During the medieval period, libraries in monasteries, churches, and cathedrals, contained books deemed necessary for grammatical study in the schools, as well as other books, chiefly the Church Fathers, which were regarded as proper literature for the priest or monk. The variety of books which Alcuin listed for the library at York in the eighth century, including as it did histories ancient and modern, grammars, works of theology, rhetoric, art, poetry, and oratory, was

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1. Arthur F. Leach, "St. Paul's School Before Colet", Archaeologia, 62,1(1910), pp.220-222.
  2. Nicholas Orme, English Schools in the Middle Ages, (London, 1973), p.125.
  3. Savage, Old English Libraries, pp.53-54.

characteristic of what is known of medieval libraries generally.<sup>1</sup> Such schools and such libraries were chiefly for the glory of God and the increase of the clergy and religious, but they supplied a general education for the pupils. For their value in teaching "grammar", and as models of literary style, classical authors, especially Virgil, Ovid, Cicero, Horace, and Juvenal, were viewed

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1. Laistner, in an attempt to reconstruct a library of the early Middle Ages, has examined Bede's writings to determine the sources available to him in his working library. He admits that it would be "unjustifiable to assume that all the books consulted by Bede throughout a long life devoted to scholarship were actually to be found in his day in the libraries of Wearmouth and Jarrow" where he worked. Books were occasionally copied, even in part, for him in other places, and he borrowed books from other centres for consultation or copying. But it is evident from his writings that Bede did have readily available, and used again and again, some classical (Latin) works, theological treatises, Biblical commentaries, grammatical works, including the grammarians of the later Roman imperial age, historical works, and natural history treatises. Laistner, "The Library of the Venerable Bede", pp. 237-266. Other libraries, even small ones, show something of this variety. For example, Abbot Ælfword gave to his abbey of Evesham, about 1035, many books on grammar as well as sacred books. Savage, Old English Libraries, p.44. The tenth century collection of fourteen school books given to St. Augustine's monastery, Canterbury, by Athestan, shows the same range of content, with grammars, an arithmetic, Biblical works. Leach, Schools of Medieval England, p.95. This general impression of the medieval library is confirmed by the work of R.M. Wilson, whose article "The Contents of the Medieval Library", in Francis Wormald and C.E. Wright (eds), The English Library Before 1700, (London, 1958), pp.85-111, is based on a detailed study of medieval library catalogues. He found that most libraries were likely to possess religious works including psalters, rules, copies of the Bible, works of the Eastern and Western Church Fathers, works of the Englishmen Bede, John of Cornwall, and John of Salisbury, and lives of saints; works on logic, including Aristotle; books on canon law and civil law; the classics of Greece and Rome; works of Cicero; histories and natural history ancient and medieval; grammarians; some schoolbooks, and works like Aesop's Fables, often used in schools; many libraries would have had adequate collections too of science, arithmetic, geometry, music, astronomy, and medicine.

as supplementary often to the early Latin Christian poets,<sup>1</sup> as well as to the grammatical works of Donatus, Victorinus, Macrobius, and Priscian, and were studied by religious and in schools throughout the Middle Ages. From time to time the use of the classics in schools, and their presence in associated libraries, was condemned, but with no effective result, since they were needed for teaching purposes, evil though their content may have been considered by some.<sup>2</sup>

The evidence for libraries, particularly for school libraries, which has survived from the Middle Ages, is in most cases fragmentary. This is chiefly a result of the general destruction of books and records and the dispersal of library collections, at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, and the upheaval in ecclesiastical institutions during the Reformation period. However the oldest school libraries having a continuous history to the present, the Collegiate libraries at Eton and Winchester, date from the late Middle Ages. These libraries were developed in the fifteenth century for the use of the Fellows of the Colleges; their collections, having survived the subsequent religious upheavals in England largely intact, were built up and extended in later centuries.

Winchester College was founded in 1382 by William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester from 1366 to 1404 and twice Lord Chancellor under Edward III and Richard II. He was also the founder of New College,

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1. For instance, Bede's own knowledge of the classical authors was "slight" and "mostly acquired through intermediate sources", but he had read widely in the Christian poets, particularly of the fourth and fifth centuries. Laistner, "The Library of the Venerable Bede", pp.242-243.
  2. Savage, Old English Libraries, p.214.

Oxford; his Winchester college and the Oxford college were designed as complementary institutions to cover the years of school and university education. The original College community at Winchester numbered 115 people, including a Warden and ten Fellows who were to be the Governing Body and whose duties were to include the advancement of learning and religion; two schoolmasters; seventy scholars, who were to enter around twelve years of age, and pass on in due course to Oxford; three Chaplains; three Lay Clerks and sixteen Quiristers who were to form the choir. In addition to these foundationers, ten others, the forerunners of the present Commoners, were allowed to share at their own expense the education provided. The example of William of Wykeham was followed elsewhere by other founders, including Henry Chichele, Archbishop of Canterbury, who founded the College school at Higham Ferrers in Northamptonshire in 1422 and the College of All Souls at Oxford in 1438,<sup>1</sup> and especially by Henry VI with his double foundation of Eton and King's College, Cambridge.

The Warden and Fellows' Library, which has a continuous history from the foundation of Winchester College, was intended for the use of the then resident Fellows and Chaplains. William of Wykeham was the first benefactor, giving a life of Thomas Becket by William of Canterbury, and a copy of Higden's Polychronicon;<sup>2</sup> he also encouraged others to make donations. The first catalogue of the library was produced about 1432 by Robert Heete, a Fellow of the

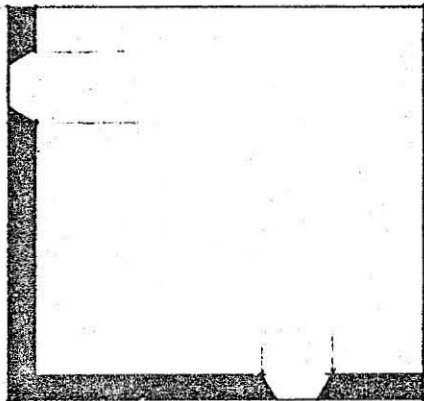
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1. Leach, Schools of Medieval England, p.253.

2. Paul Yeats-Edwards, "Portrait of a College Library: A Brief History of the Warden and Fellows' Library of Winchester College", Antiquarian Book Monthly Review, 3(1976), p.172.

College from 1421/2 to 1432/3, and entered by him into the College's Liber Albus.<sup>1</sup> This records around 230 items, almost all of them individually valued; it also shows that there were forty-three donors, a reflection of the founder's activity in soliciting gifts. The Liber Albus gives a comparatively elaborate classification of the books, with eighteen classes used. It is probable, however, that this did not represent a shelf arrangement, since the classifications used in inventory lists prepared in 1405 and 1421 are much simpler, while no classification at all is used in an inventory in 1432, which lists the books in a different order from that of the earlier lists.

Though the founder made provision for a library room in the original plan for the building of New College, he did not at Winchester. From 1409 to 1411 a makeshift library was furnished and decorated, probably in the Audit Room in the Exchequer Tower,<sup>2</sup> to cater for the needs of the Fellows. This room had some lighting, and



Audit Room, which formed the Library 1412-1446. (After Walter Oakeshott, "Winchester College Library Before 1750", The Library, fifth series, 9(1954), p.7, plate IV(b)).

1. Winchester College, Liber Albus, College Muniment, Chest 1, No.48, folios 31 to 36. This was also published in the Archaeological Journal, 15(1858), pp.59-74, by W.H. Gunner. Four other early fifteenth century library inventories exist in the College archives dated 1405, 1421, 1431, and 1432. According to Walter Oakeshott in an article "Winchester College Library Before 1750" in The Library, fifth series, 9(1954), p.2, Heete's list in the Liber Albus follows the order of the 1431 inventory.
2. Walter Oakeshott, "Winchester College Library Before 1750", The Library, fifth series, 9(1954), p.7.

there were some presses or desks with chained books, so that, although not altogether suitable, it could be used as a reading room. The inventory list of 1432, which has also served as a borrowers' book, in its preamble mentions "books chained" and "books not chained". In the latter lending section of the library there were twenty-three books, some of them noted as being in cista in libraria, a great iron-bound chest in the Audit Room.

In 1446 the first room specially designed to house a library was built at Winchester. This was the upper room of Fromond's Chantry, built in the Cloisters of the College by the executors of John Fromond, Steward of the College Manors, who died in 1420; masses were to be said in it for the repose of his soul and the souls of his wife and friends. However though the upper room was intended for a library, it was not actually used as such until recently, when it was restored to house the collection of books and documents relating to the history of the school.<sup>1</sup> The plan for this library reflects the mid-fifteenth century development of chantry libraries, in which the chantry priest both said masses and opened the library at certain hours. This form of library occurs often enough in surviving library foundation deeds to suggest that it was a common form. In Bishop Carpenter's foundation at Worcester, for instance, in 1464, books were to be kept chained in the chapel and made accessible for four hours daily; in addition, a public lecture was to be delivered once a week.<sup>2</sup> It is possible that chained books may have been moved into the lower section of Fromond's Chantry, the Chapel, from 1446, as well as into the College Chapel after that date.

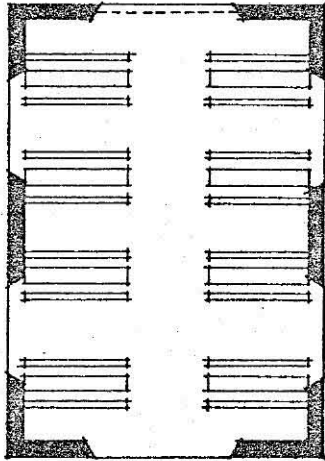
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1. Winchester College, Winchester College, A Guide, (Winchester, 1977), pp.8-9.

2. J.W. Clark, The Care of Books, (Cambridge, 1901), pp.121-123.



Certainly at the Reformation the whole library was transferred to the Chantry Chapel when masses ceased to be said there. At some date before 1609 the Chantry Chapel was set up as a reading room with four sets of shelves with seats on each side at right angles to the walls.<sup>1</sup>



Winchester College: Plan of the Chantry in 1669 showing shelves and seats.  
From: Oakeshott, "Winchester College Library Before 1750", plate IV(d).

At Eton, too, the founder, Henry VI, wanted to have a good library. Chapter 44 of the Statutes of the College, drawn up after the Charter of Foundation in 1440 and before the formal opening in December 1443, indicated that the founder intended that there should be a Common Library (libraria communis), in which the books were to be chained. But in addition there was to be a separate collection of books which could be distributed, a common arrangement in College libraries of the time and, as we have seen, an arrangement adopted at Winchester in the same period. Each borrower entered books taken out in small indentures (indenturas parvas), giving the first words of the second folio, to be kept by the Provost or Vice-Provost. Sir Robert Birley, however, in his History of Eton College Library<sup>2</sup> said

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1. Oakeshott, "Winchester College Library Before 1750", p.7; inventory list of 1609 in the College records.
  2. (Eton, 1970), p.3.

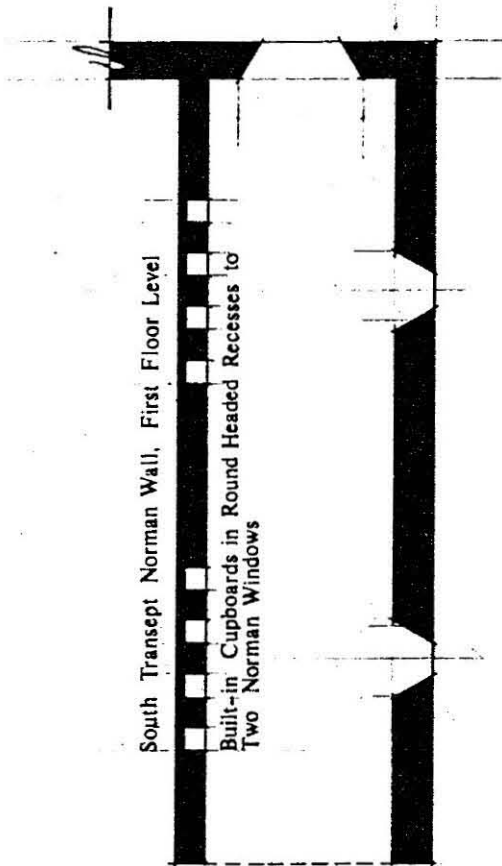
that he could find no evidence that this distinction was actually carried out in practice at Eton.

The methods of housing these early libraries at Winchester and Eton illustrate widespread developments in this field during the Middle Ages. As well as referring to a collection of books stored in a variety of ways, including chests, aumbrys, and on shelves and desks, the term "library" came to mean also the room in which the books were housed. The need to keep close check on valuable volumes, and the related practice of chaining books which developed in response to this need, led to the use of the same room for storage and reading. Reliable details of library rooms in the Middle Ages are even more sparse than for collections of books. However it is clear that by the end of the thirteenth century books had come to be dealt with in four main ways in the communal life of monasteries. There was the lectern or desk to which one or more books were chained; there were almeries and chests in which books could be locked up; there was the row of carrels, later developed as part of the structure of the cloister at Gloucester Cathedral around 1400, in which books taken from adjacent almeries, could be read in a good light in a semi-public place under some supervision; and there was also, in a few monasteries, a room set apart for books, though not necessarily adapted to or used for reading them.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Burnett Hillman Streeter, The Chained Library, (London, 1931), pp.5-6. The provisions variously made for storing and using books in monasteries are also discussed by Francis Wormald, "The Monastic Library", in Wormald and Wright, The English Library Before 1700, pp.17-20. This article quotes the Rites of Durham and the Customs of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, to illustrate the use of almeries and carrels, and provision made for supervision of readers.

It cannot be assumed that provision for reading space evolved according to a pattern which could be applied to all libraries. However the use of the library as a store room is an older form. The Norman Library at St. Swithun's Priory, in use about 1100, a long narrow room with arched book cupboards, is an example of this type. The joint use of the library as a store and reading room at

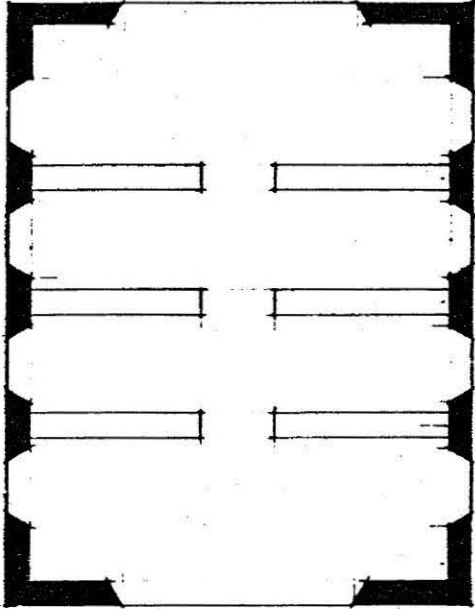


The Norman Library, St. Swithun's Priory. The window plan shown is not earlier than 1500: nothing is known of the earlier windows on this side of the room. (After Oakeshott, "Winchester College Library Before 1750", plate IV(a)).

Winchester in 1410 shows a development of function. And by 1446 the reading room was a common form of library. Oakeshott suggests<sup>1</sup> that the architect of the room above Fromond's Chantry which was planned as a library for Winchester in 1446 intended that it be a reading room with six presses to be built out into the room at right angles to the walls, three down each side between the windows. He also

1. Oakeshott, "Winchester College Library Before 1750", p.9.

suggests that the idea may have come to Winchester from Canterbury, where Archbishop Chicele's library had been built a few years before. It is also certain though that the idea of the library as



Winchester College, the room above Fromond's Chantry. Plan of the shelving as presumed planned in 1446. (After Oakeshott, "Winchester College Library Before 1750", plate IV(c)).

simply a place where books are stored was one which was not completely abandoned; such libraries were created in schools for centuries after this 1446 attempt to plan a library as a reading room.

In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries there was a change in the type of educational institution being founded or maintained, and a change in the purposes and emphasis of education.<sup>1</sup> This was especially evident in the re-foundation, re-endowment, and enlargement of old schools, and the establishment, endowment, and erection of

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1. John Lawson and Harold Silver, A Social History of Education in England, (London, 1973), p.93.

new colleges and schools, particularly grammar schools,<sup>1</sup> so that by the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign (1603) it was reported that there was a grammar school sufficiently endowed to provide for a master and an usher in almost every corporate town in her kingdom. It should be noted though that the grammar schools were an old institution in England, having a pre-Reformation ecclesiastical origin in the chantry schools of the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, and in lay or secular grammar schools attached to monasteries and taught by secular clergy or occasionally by lay teachers. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries grammar schools were most often founded by the benefactions of rich citizens, often by London merchants,<sup>2</sup> or by churchmen, both of whom, in earlier times, might have left their wealth to the Church.<sup>3</sup> Such schools were often further endowed, or refounded, by Tudor monarchs, with many refoundations particularly being credited to Henry VI, as the Royal Grammar School at Guildford was.<sup>4</sup> These schools came into being under the influence of the Renaissance, and of what was referred to as the

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1. Leach, Schools of Medieval England, p.235. Leach's work is generally regarded as greatly exaggerating the institutionalised provision of education in the Middle Ages, and in particular it is claimed that he "is much impressed by the antiquity of the immemorial grammar school tradition in England..."; see W.E. Tate, A.F. Leach as a Historian of Yorkshire Education, (York, 1963), p.6. Nevertheless he does draw attention to the antiquity of many foundations which had previously passed unrecognised as pre-Reformation schools. Though he is also aware of Leach's weaknesses as a historian, Nicholas Orme says of his work: "He created the modern study of the subject [of school history] and his writings remain indispensable for its pursuit". Nicholas Orme, English Schools in the Middle Ages, (London, 1973), pp.4-5.
  2. Foster Watson, The Old Grammar Schools, (London, 1916), p.46.
  3. Lawson and Silver, A Social History of Education in England, p.103.
  4. D.M. Sturley, The Royal Grammar School, Guildford: A Brief History, (Guildford, 1970), p.4.

New Learning; they aimed to provide a thorough grounding in Latin<sup>1</sup> and at least an introduction to Greek so that sons of the local gentry and townspeople could gain entry to the inns of court and the universities and thereby to the professions.<sup>2</sup> There is evidence of library development in grammar schools in the sixteenth century, with book collections being provided sometimes for the master, sometimes for the pupils, and sometimes for the use of educated members of the local community.

While it is certain that there was a library in the Royal Grammar School at Guildford from 1573, there is some evidence that a library was provided in the school even before this date. The school had been founded through the Will of Robert Beckingham, a Freeman of the City of London and a member of the Grocers' Company, apparently unconnected with Guildford except through his friendship with Thomas Polstead, of Stoke parish, whom he made one of his executors. His Will having been proved in 1509, a free grammar school was opened in 1512 with "a sufficient schoolmaster" provided for by rents on the properties he left.<sup>3</sup> The first information we have about a book collection in the school comes from the year 1575, when John Parkhurst, Bishop of Norwich, died. He had been educated at Guildford Grammar School, and by his Will, dated 1573, he gave "to the Lybrarie of the same Towne joyning to the Schole the most parte of all my Latten bookes whereof shalbe made a catalogue as shortelie as I maye God

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1. Orme, English Schools in the Middle Ages, p.70.

2. Lawson and Silver, A Social History of Education in England, pp.92-93.

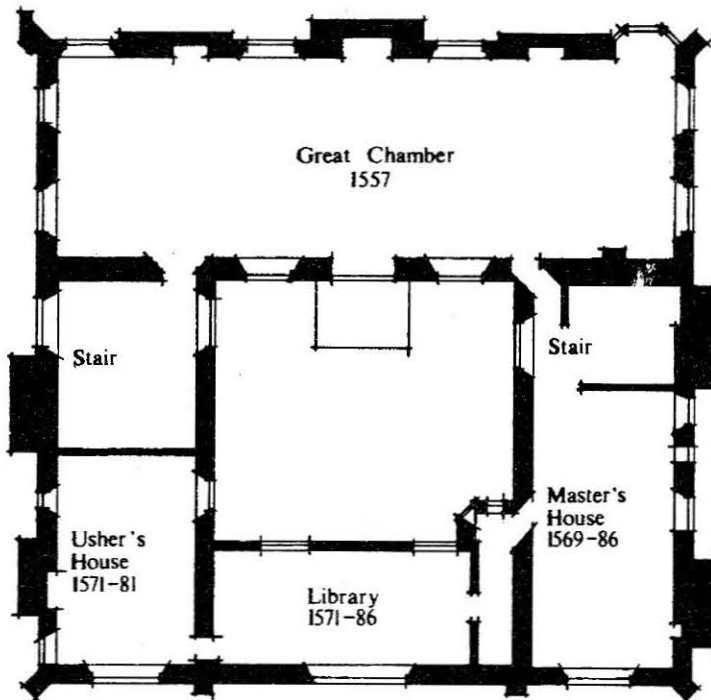
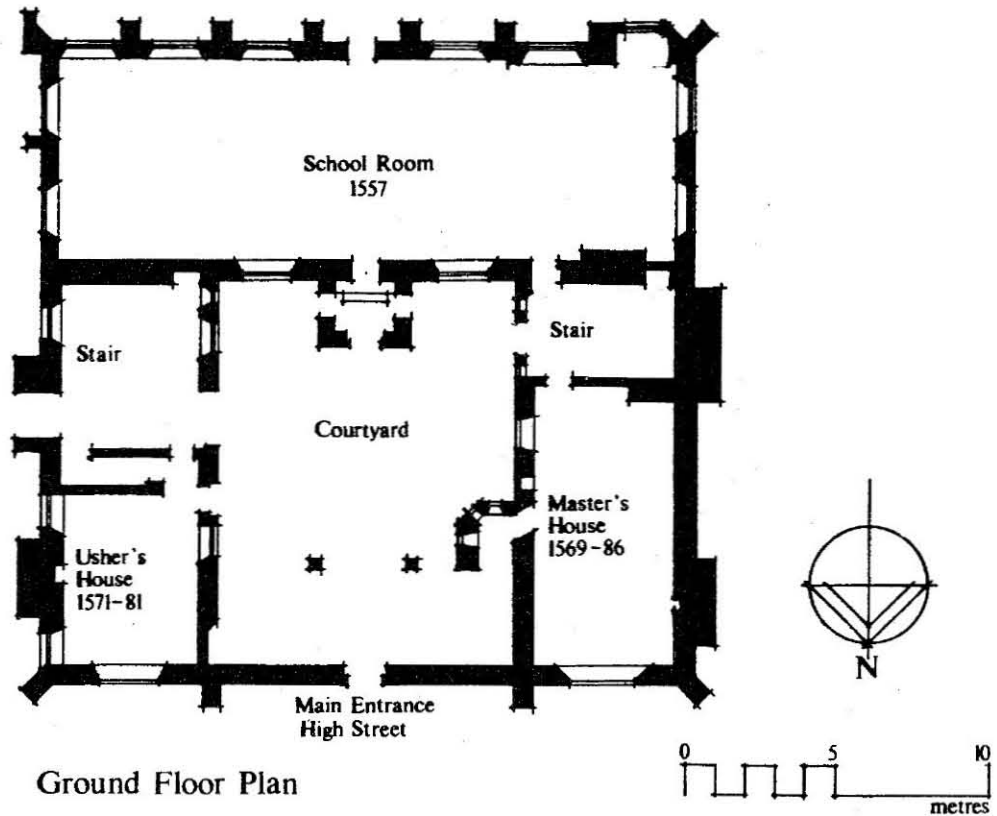
3. Sturley, The Royal Grammar School, Guildford, p.4.

sendinge me lief".<sup>1</sup> Parkhurst as a young man went from the Grammar School to Merton College, Oxford, where he took his M.A. in 1533. When Mary succeeded to the throne he exiled himself to Zurich, where he began to build up the Latin Library which is now at the school. On his return to England, former colleagues in Zurich continued to send him books, most of them bearing the imprints of printers in Zurich, Basle, Geneva, and the surrounding area. The greater part of the collection now remaining is made up of the Fathers and the Biblical commentaries of the Reformers, excluding Luther. It was for such loyalty to the Protestant cause that when he returned to England after the succession of Elizabeth, he was made Bishop of Norwich.<sup>2</sup> After a prolonged legal dispute with his successor as bishop, the books, or rather some of them, reached the school where they were housed in the newly finished gallery which George Austen says he "conuerted to a library wherein all the bookes...geuen by... John Parkhurst...and diuers other bookes geuen sithens by others hereafter mencioned are nowe remayninge".<sup>3</sup>

R.A. Christophers in the "Historical Introduction" to his Chained Library of the Royal Grammar School, Guildford, Catalogue,<sup>4</sup> suggests that there may have been some library provision in the

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1. G.C. Williamson, The Royal Grammar School of Guildford, 1509, a record and review, (London, 1929), p.97.
  2. R.A. Christophers, "Unfamiliar Libraries XVIII: The Chained Library of the Royal Grammar School, Guildford", The Book Collector, 22(1973), p.20.
  3. Austen Papers, Guildford Muniment Room, BR/OC/7/1, p.49. See also Malcolm Seaborne, The English School: Its Architecture and Organization 1370-1870, (London, 1971), p.19. The plan of the school on the next page shows this library.
  4. Gwendolen Woodward and R.A. Christophers, Chained Library of the Royal Grammar School, Guildford, Catalogue, (Guildford, 1972), p.2.

## THE ROYAL GRAMMAR SCHOOL, GUILDFORD, 1557-1586



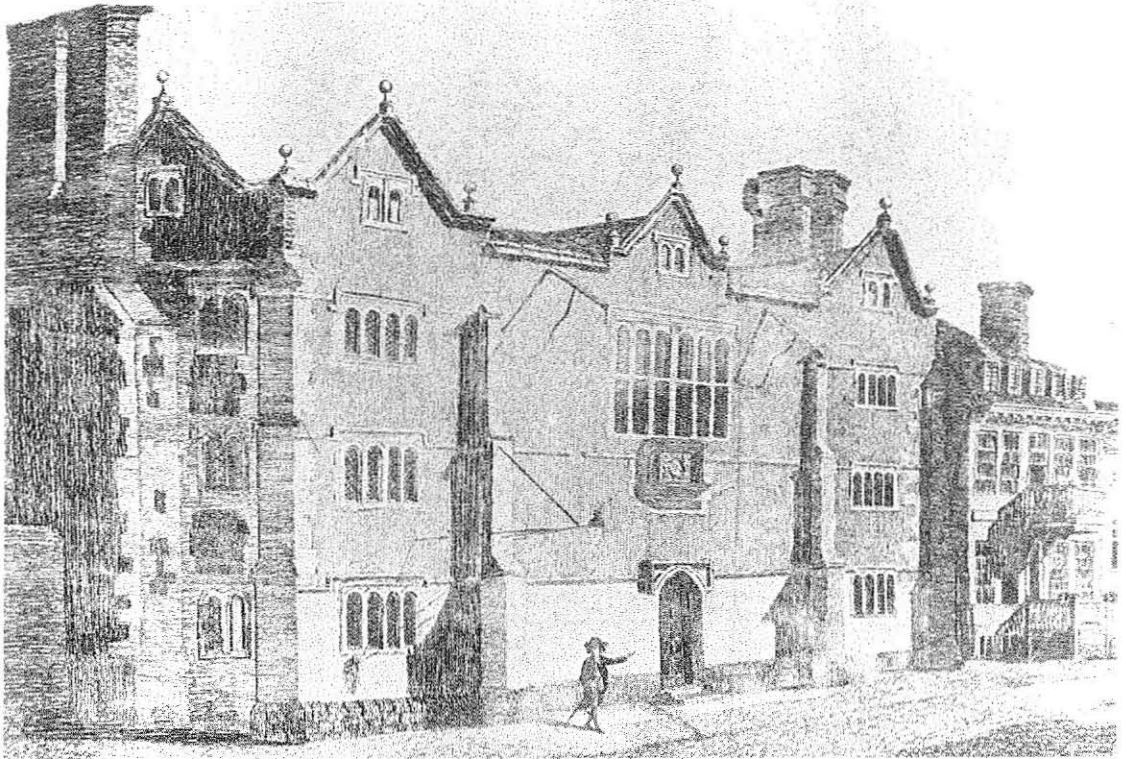
The ground and first floor plans of the original building, the front of which is shown in the illustration which follows. The first floor library shown is the gallery converted by George Austen to house the books given by Parkhurst and others.



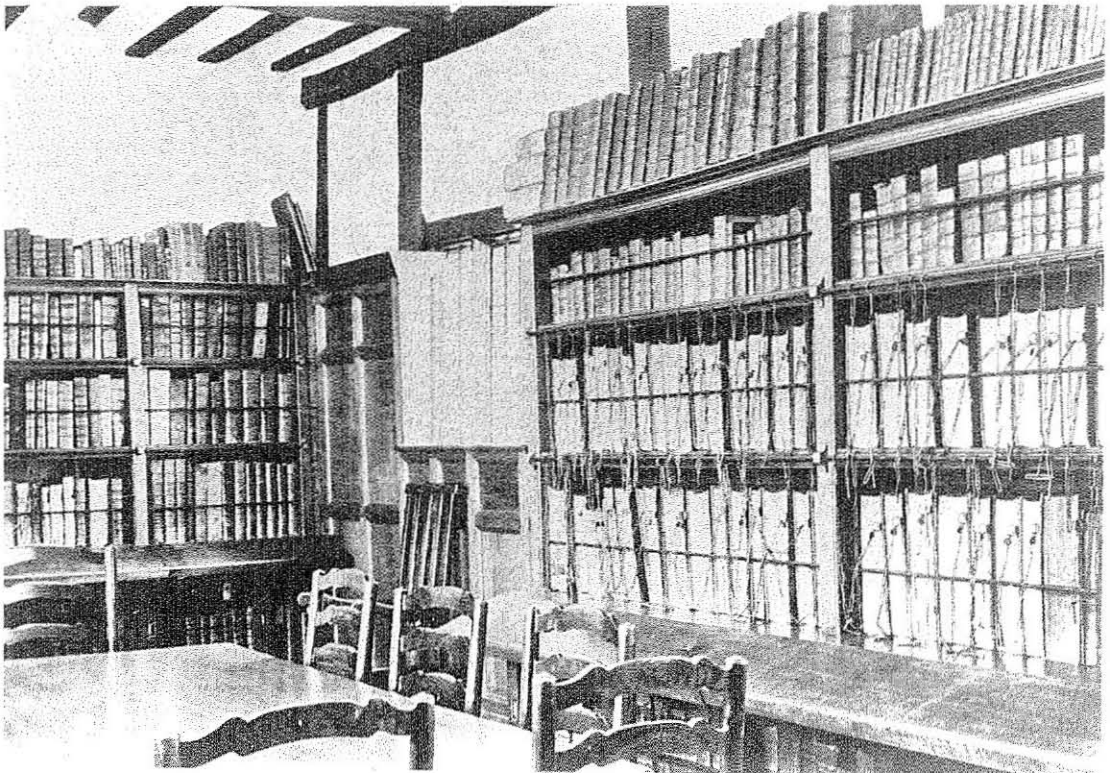
school even before this collection was given in 1573, since the wording of Parkhurst's Will, "I gyve to the Lybrarie of the same Towne joyning to the Schole..." seems to imply the existence of a library. This would appear to have been a library attached to the school and serving the town. Christophers speculates that this could have been the remains of the library of the Dominican Friary of Guildford, the surviving books of which were catalogued by Neil Ker in his Medieval Libraries of Great Britain.<sup>1</sup> However most of the Friary's library would have consisted of manuscripts, whereas the school library today is almost exclusively of printed books; there is also no indication on the books themselves that they ever belonged to the Friary.

Austen in the late sixteenth century made the earliest known list of the books in the Guildford Grammar School library, seventy-three in number.<sup>2</sup> He also processed the collection, which today forms a large proportion of the books still chained. It is probable though that all of the books acquired in the sixteenth century, being large folios, were chained at first. Books, chiefly folios, continued to be chained at Guildford into the seventeenth century, possibly to distinguish those books which could be borrowed from those which could not; possibly because the school's rulers would have had little knowledge of current practice in other and newer libraries.<sup>3</sup>

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1. Neil R. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, (London, 1963).
  2. Reprinted as Appendix D to Woodward and Christophers, The Chained Library of the Royal Grammar School, pp.78-79.
  3. The bookcases shown in the photograph of the library in the late 1960s were built in the nineteenth century. They were probably very similar to the mid-seventeenth century cases built from eight oaks given by Arthur Onslow in 1650.



Above: The Royal Grammar School, Guildford, in about 1750. This building in the High Street is still used by the school, and the chained library is housed in the room over the central door.  
 Below: The chained library in the late 1960s, substantially as it is today. (Photographs from the Royal Grammar School, Guildford.)



The library at Shrewsbury School also dates back to the end of the sixteenth century. It owes its existence to a provision in the School Ordinances of 1578, drawn up under the Queen's authority by Thomas Ashton, assumed to be the first Headmaster, which gave high priority to the establishment of a library in the 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 Astronomie, and all other Thinges appartayninge to learninge, which maye be either given to the schole or procured with the schole moneye".<sup>1</sup> In 1587 the Bailiffs of Shrewsbury asked permission of St. John's College, Cambridge, as they were required to do by the Ordinances, to use the money in the school chest for carrying out this provision, though the actual building was not begun until 1595. It was finished in the following year, and provided space for reading as well as storage space for the collection. The first recorded gift to the library, "Mullinax, his terrestiall globe, in a frame with a standinge base covered with greenish buckrome", was made in 1596 when the library opened.<sup>2</sup> Other "spheres" were added later, as well as some maps, a reminder that even as early as this a library was not seen as purely a repository

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1. Quoted from the Ordinances in the School by J.B. Oldham, "Shrewsbury School Library", The Library, fifth series, 14(1959), p.81.
  2. Shrewsbury School Library Benefactors' Book, MS, from 1596. Though this list goes back to 1596, it was not written up until 1634, all these previous benefactions being written in the beautiful hand of one clerk, from a collection of skins of various sizes on which early records were kept. Maintained by subsequent headmasters, it includes a pressmarked list of books and other donations each year, preceded by an alphabetical list of the donors.

An alphabetical Catalogue of table containing the proper names with  
 their surnames and titles of dignity belonging  
 to all such persons who have bene benefactors  
 to the Library of the free school in  
 Shrewsbury and their severall gifts  
 bestowed there on the same Library  
 according to the yeares  
 wherein they were  
 bestowed

The letters figures and other marks here added to the  
 severall gifts do point out the place in  
 the sayde Library where the sayde  
 gifts are to be looked for and  
 found according to the note of  
 directions set downe in the  
 beginning of this  
 booke for that  
 purpose

Anno Domini 1596

Thomas Lawson bachelaur in divinity and public preacher  
 of the towne of Shrewsbury his gifte  
 Mullinax his terrestriall globe in a frame with a stand  
 base covered with greenish buckrome

Anno Domini 1606

Shrewsbury School Library Benefactors' Book, which records donations from 1596. This shows the first page, with instructions to the person making the entries, and the first donation, "Anno Domini 1596, Thomas Lawson, bachelaur in divinity and public preacher of the towne of Shrewsbury, his gifte, Mullinax his terrestriall globe in a frame with a stand base covered with greenish buckrome."

## Libri theologici. . . !

## A

- V. Aug. lib. de similitate et de rivalitate dei cum romanis. fol. lib. 1. /  
 V. Ambrosij opera duobus vol. Basilea 1567 fol. /  
 V. Insuper opera Coloniae Agrippinae 1612 fol. /  
 Benedic. Metij scol. problem. Bernae Helvet. 1603 fol. /  
 Acta et script. scoloy. Wirtemberg. et de August. /  
 confess. grec. et lat. Wirtembergae 1584 fol. /  
 Magistri Alexander de Stanck. annotat. in lib. /  
 sapient. manuscript. in memb. 4<sup>to</sup> /  
 Eiusdem annotat. in evang. Tur. manuscript. in memb. 8<sup>to</sup> /  
 Anonymi ubi pr. Jam apud me. manuscript. in memb. 8<sup>to</sup> /

## B

- Biblia lat. recognita a scol. Soran. Antuerpiae 1503 fol. /  
 Bibl. 4<sup>to</sup> pagin. a ffr. a tabli lat. Basilea 1564 fol. /  
 Bibl. ffr. man. Tremelij et ffr. Junij. lat. rum annot. /  
 duob. vol. ffr. ansturti 1579 fol. /  
 Bibl. ffr. 4<sup>to</sup> pagin. Lucens. lat. Coloniae 1541 fol. /  
 Bibl. sanct. lat. Tiguri 1564 m. 4<sup>to</sup> fol. /  
 Bibl. Heeb. cum lat. interlin. interpret. Pantio /  
 4<sup>to</sup> pagin. Lucens. item lib. Oper. s. grec. script. rum /  
 lat. interlin. interpret. nec. etiam test. Cyriac. cum lat. /  
 interlin. interpret. Benedic. d. via Montani Antuerp. 1584 fol. /  
 Bibl. ffr. Heeb. m. 4<sup>to</sup> /  
 Heeb. test. Heeb. cum lat. interlin. interpret. et alia ad /  
 latus apocrita. grec. etiam ad finem pag. a ffr. a tabli /

for books, but for all "implements of learninge". However no "instrumente of astronomye" appears to have been provided until 1740, when the writing master gave the strange combined gift of "a fire-engine and <sup>a</sup> tellescope w<sup>ch</sup> are placed in the Galery".<sup>1</sup> The first known catalogue of the library dates from 1613,<sup>2</sup> indicating that attempts to organise the collection and to classify it so that material could be located easily, were made in the very early years of the library's existence. So not only was the building of a library given high priority by the founders of the school; there was also an early emphasis on the management of the collection to facilitate its use. This 1613 catalogue was written in a parchment book, which also contained a later 1636 catalogue, and some Latin exercises in the back. The catalogue is arranged in five broad classes: "Libri theologici" with around ninety-five entries; "Libri juris" with ten entries; "Libri medici" with two entries; "Libri philogici" with approximately seventy-eight entries; and "Libri mathematici" with twenty entries; giving a total of approximately 205 works.<sup>3</sup> By 1634, when the library's Benefactors' Book was written up, there appear to have been 704 books in the library, including thirty-seven manuscripts - a very substantial collection. While many volumes were donated, the school also allocated sums of

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1. Shrewsbury School Library Benefactors' Book.
  2. Shrewsbury Borough Library deed No.11385.
  3. J.B. Oldham, "Shrewsbury School Library: Its Earlier History and Organisation", The Library, fourth series, 16(1935), pp.49-50. Oldham, a former librarian of Shrewsbury, indicates that at the time he wrote the article the library was "fortunate enough to possess five catalogues of its contents made in the seventeenth century, and two in the eighteenth". The 1613 catalogue was discovered after he wrote this, with the papers of a former headmaster, by the present librarian, Mr. James Lawson, in 1964.

money to be spent on library books, including the very large sum of £100 in 1616.<sup>1</sup> The library, like that at Guildford, was chained,<sup>2</sup> minutely detailed instructions for cataloguing, chaining, and press-marking the books being given on the page at the beginning of the Benefactors' Book.

It is probable that this library, again like that at Guildford, was intended at least partly for the use of the townspeople. It was described on the fly-leaf of a book in the collection as "the library in Shrewsbury" in 1708, with no mention of the word "school".<sup>3</sup> And the presentation inscription of another volume refers to "The Public Library of Shrewsbury Schools".<sup>4</sup> Earlier, in the seventeenth century, the simple name "Biblioteca Salopiensis" was apparently used to describe the library.<sup>5</sup> These would all seem to indicate a wider use than just by the school community. This provision for wider use could be related to the fact that the school, though placed under the supervision of St. John's College by the founders, was owned and controlled by the people of the town under the Bailiffs.<sup>6</sup> Certainly by

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1. The Shrewsbury School accounts at this time show that in the period 1606-1634, the average price of volumes bought was almost £1. Oldham, "Shrewsbury School Library", p.83.
  2. The library was unchained and made into a borrowing library in late 1736. New books received after about 1688 had not been chained. Shrewsbury School Library Borrowers' Book, MS. begun January 1736. Oldham, "Shrewsbury School Library", p.86, refers to the "dechaining" as "evidently part of the reorganization...in 1736" when a new catalogue was made and the borrowing register begun.
  3. Volume CVI 18 in the collection. Notes in the Library at Shrewsbury School by a former librarian, Stacy Colman.
  4. Volume AIII 14 in the collection.
  5. Paul Kaufman, "The Loan Records of Shrewsbury School Library", The Library, 22(1967), p.252, cites Stacy Colman for this information.
  6. Oldham, "Shrewsbury School Library", p.82.

1736 when the library had been unchained and a borrowing register started, citizens of the town of Shrewsbury, and visitors, were making considerable use of the library.<sup>1</sup>

Shrewsbury and Guildford were by no means the only schools maintaining and developing libraries in the sixteenth century. By the Will of Nicholas Thorne, who died in 1546, Bristol Grammar School received his books, with £30 sterling, to "make a library". From its very beginnings this library, like that at Shrewsbury, included material other than books, since he also left to it his "astrolabia", his "poticary, with cartes and mappis", and his instruments "belonging to the science of astronomy or cosmografia".<sup>2</sup> Though we have no evidence of the way in which this library was organised or used, it is probable that it too was used by some townspeople in addition to members of the school.<sup>3</sup> St. Alban's School had a library before 1587, since "a note of those books as are geven to the librarie in the tyme of Thomas Wolley and Thomas Rocket governors of the free gramer schole", bears that date.<sup>4</sup> The list of books for 1597-1598 indicates that the books of the library were kept in "a great standing deske

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1. Shrewsbury School Library Borrowers' Book, MS, 1736. See also Kaufman, "The Loan Records of Shrewsbury School Library", pp.252-256, for a discussion of this Borrowers' Book.
  2. C.P. Hill, The History of Bristol Grammar School, (London, 1951), p.14.
  3. "A Catalogue of the Books belonging to the Grammar School in the Bartholomews, taken September 23rd, 1725..." Reprinted in Walter Adam Sampson, A History of the Bristol Grammar School, (Bristol, 1912), pp.108-112.
  4. St. Alban's School, Catalogue of the Old Library of St. Alban's School, Xerox. In the Bodleian Library, 2590c St. Albans 1.1. Bound in this volume is a 1966 insurance valuation of the library, and eight lists of books, variously dated from 1587-1589 to 1754.



with Curtins, chaynes of brasse and claspes with an heure glasse..."; the other furniture of the library included a "deske", a "stoole", a table, and a "forme", which would have provided some comfort for readers. Other school libraries established in the sixteenth century included that of King Edward VI School, Bury St. Edmunds in 1552 or 1560,<sup>1</sup> and that of Rivington Grammar School in 1571.<sup>2</sup> What these libraries had in common was that they were, with the exception of Shrewsbury, whose foundation Ordinances made provision for a library, the gift of wealthy citizens associated with those towns in some way; men who in pre-Reformation days would have supported chantries and chantry schools with their wealth. The Shrewsbury library too was gradually built up through the donations of such men. The libraries, like those in the Middle Ages, consisted chiefly of works on theology, the classics, and the standard reference tools for the study of "grammar". This is understandable in view of the fact that a knowledge of the classics in this era of the "New Learning" was still the basis of all learning and the key to entry to the professions. And in the Reformation and post-Reformation age of theological debate and dispute and of lay participation in theological enquiry, the emphasis on theology was also understandable, though it was included in the school libraries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries for reasons different to those which governed the development of monastery library collections of theology in the Middle Ages. In addition, theological works still formed the basis of much reading in the schools, and many of the schoolmasters, who would have influenced the

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1. A.T. Bartholomew and Cosmo Gordon, The Library at King Edward VI School, Bury St. Edmunds, (London, 1910).
  2. Richard Copley Christie, The Old Church and School Libraries of Lancashire, (Manchester, 1885), p.189.

selection of books, were clergymen. Though the organisation and the catalogues of the grammar school libraries varied considerably, they were usually at least partly chained, and provided some reading accommodation for users. Most of these libraries appear to have been intended for the master of the school, and for the use of some of the pupils; they also appear to have admitted as users the educated members of the local community.

The first known survey which looked at school libraries throughout England was conducted as early as the 1670s by Christopher Wase, and the documents generated by it provide considerable information about libraries and education in the second half of the seventeenth century. Information about school libraries before this time comes from a variety of different sources, including foundation deeds, wills, letters, catalogues, which often refer to libraries only incidentally, and which date from different periods. But here in this survey, for the first time, we have a mass of information, gathered within four years, with one purpose, and by the same person, and so that there is the possibility of getting a reliable overall view of school libraries in the 1670s. There is a sense in which this survey marks the beginning of the modern period of school library development, with libraries being treated systematically as an accepted part of a school with an accepted place in the process of education. This is borne out by the appearance, close to this date, as well as in the survey itself, of systematic advice on library management and organisation.<sup>1</sup>

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1. The survey documents are preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and are made available to researchers through the Bodleian Library: Bodleian Library, MS.CCC. Oxon., 390/1 to 390/4.

Wase, Bedell of Civil Law at Oxford University, began collecting data in 1673 with the aim of publishing a detailed guide to classical schools. In this Wase had a political motive. During the years of Parliamentary power and the Commonwealth the government had been sympathetic to the grammar schools, though not unnaturally teachers who were strongly and publicly royalist ran some risk of losing their jobs.<sup>1</sup> With the Restoration, the grammar schools fell under some initial suspicion since they had nurtured the late revolutionaries, including Hampden and Cromwell, so that it was feared in the schools that the government might move to suppress them. Wase, a convinced royalist who had been headmaster first of Dedham and then of Tonbridge School before moving to Oxford, and who had written several works used in schools, including an English-Latin and Latin-English dictionary in 1675 and translations of and notes on classical works, took up the cause of the schools. His purpose in beginning his research was to demonstrate that the grammar schools were playing a role indispensable to the welfare of the country. But by the time his survey was producing results the danger had receded, as had the need for an apologia for the grammar schools. In 1678 he published an uncontroversial book Considerations Concerning Free-Schools, as settled in England,<sup>2</sup> which was partly based on material he collected during the survey.<sup>3</sup> The papers which he collected and from which he compiled this small book still survive at Corpus

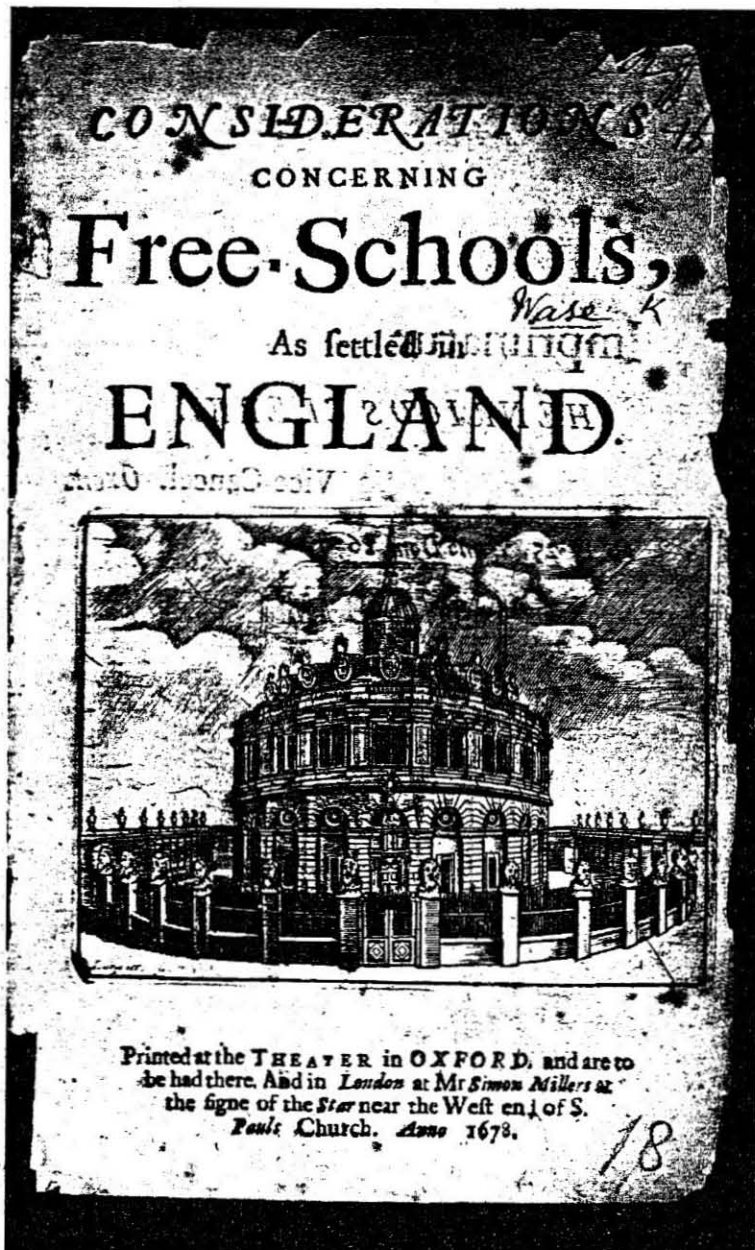
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1. This risk could not have been too great, however, because Busby, headmaster of Westminster School from 1640 to 1695, and others like him who made no secret of their views, remained in office.
  2. "Printed at the Theater in Oxford, and are to be had there...And in London at Mr. Simon Miller's at the signe of the Star near the West end of S. Pauls Church. Anno 1678".
  3. Cecil A. Stott, "Schools and School Libraries over Two Centuries: 1", The School Librarian, 19(1971), p.18.

Christi College, Oxford.<sup>1</sup> Wase's survey is important in the history of school libraries because the last of his seven questions directed to the schools concerning the founder, the endowment, the masters who had held office, the governors and visitors, asked simply "what libraries in them and what MSS"?

Much of the correspondence in the Wase Collection is related to his attempt first of all to identify and locate the grammar schools so that a copy of his questions could be sent to each. To this end he wrote to diocesan offices, local councils, clergymen, to find out whether any schools were known to them. He wrote to Guilds and City Companies who might have supported or been trustees of schools. And he wrote to universities and colleges which accepted exhibitioners from the grammar schools. He followed up information given in letters from friends and family, including brothers and cousins. And he had them, and travelling friends and students, check information when they visited distant towns, and particularly when they visited areas where he had no contacts. He received descriptions of more than seven hundred schools<sup>2</sup> in the course of his four years investigation.

Wase sent his short questionnaire to the schoolmasters of the grammar schools he could locate, and often wrote to others to check the information given by masters: to ministers, bishops, London Guilds and City Companies, and to the universities and colleges. He

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1. Bodleian Library, MS.CCC. Oxon, 390/1 to 390/4. Though the papers are at Corpus Christi, they are made available to researchers through the Bodleian Library.
  2. D.K. Shearing, "Aspects of Seventeenth Century Grammar School Librarianship", The School Librarian, 23(1975), p.305. P.J. Wallis, in his review of the documents in the Wase Collection, "The Wase School Collection", The Bodleian Library Record, 4(1952), pp.84, 86-104, gave the number of schools as 704.



The title page of Christopher Wase's Considerations Concerning Free-Schools,..., published in Oxford in 1678. (From a copy in the British Library, 1031.d.3). The "Theater in Oxford" is the Sheldonian. Designed by Wren in the 1660s, it staged University ceremonies and also housed the University Press in its attics and galleries. The rather curious circular windows shown in the roof were to light the printers at work. The Press was housed in the Clarendon Building next door about a century later, and the attic windows disappeared in modifications to the roof made early in the nineteenth century.

wrote again and again when schoolmasters failed to answer all his questions. And he collected copies of school foundation deeds and other documents. He used, in fact, remarkably modern research techniques and collected a great deal of information in an age when travel was difficult and slow, when there was no centralised postal system, and when schoolmasters, supervising several classes in one room for up to nine hours a day, were badly overworked by our standards, and so presumably with little time for such correspondence.

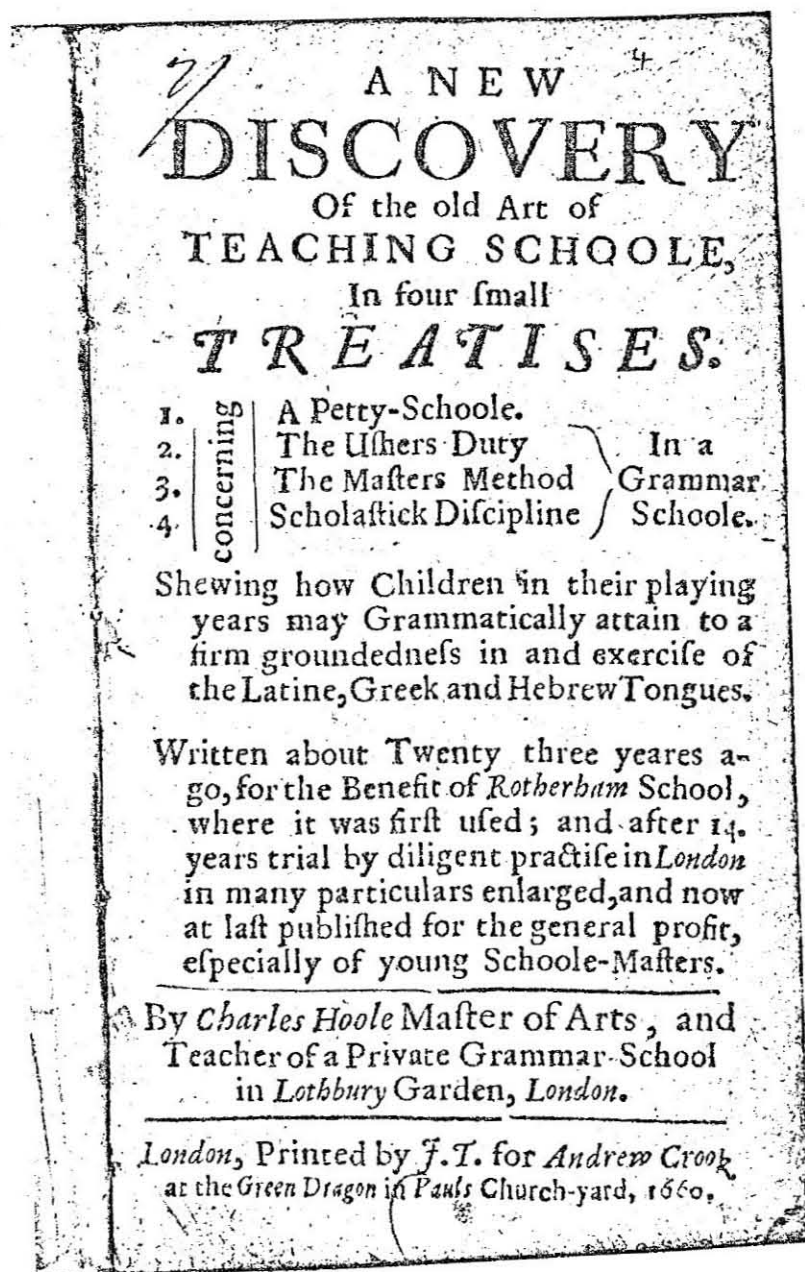
Wase's investigations indicated that a school library in the late seventeenth century was becoming a not unusual feature; he says that "in divers late Foundations a Room for Books hath been annex'd to that of the School: elsewhere desks or Presses...".<sup>1</sup> Convinced that "the greatest benefit to Learners after the Master, is a good Library",<sup>2</sup> he went on to describe an ideal library, which would consist not "of promiscuous Books"<sup>3</sup> but of books related to the studies carried on in the school, for use both by the master and by the pupils. In relating the contents of a library so closely to the school's curriculum, 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 thirteen years before Wase began his survey, considered that a well-stocked library was essential for the provision of a classical education, and suggested ways in which the pupils could be encouraged to read widely in the process of acquiring "grammar". Wase justifies his comment that "a

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1. Christopher Wase, Considerations Concerning Free-Schools, as settled in England, (Oxford, 1678), p.104.

2. Ibid., p.97.

3. Ibid., p.98.



The title page of Charles Hoole's A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schoole, published in London in 1660. (From a copy in the British Library, C27.a.39).

library would even at the present be reputed a necessary member of a School-House",<sup>1</sup> for although a pupil can be provided by his parents with printed books "such as are cheap and portable for his present use as he proceeds in Learning, yet there are voluminous Authors, Pillars of a Library, which would highly advance Study, yet are not the purchase of every one that is most studious: and therefore best able to use them".<sup>2</sup>

While it is apparent from Wase's survey that school libraries were not unusual, it is not possible from the surviving material to calculate the number and proportion of schools with and without libraries. It is sometimes difficult, for instance, to identify schools which returned completed questionnaires or which are described in the survey documents, because of changes in the names, or the spelling of names, of towns and schools, or because there may have been similarly named places in several counties. Some difficulties in identification are caused simply by illegible handwriting, or the poor state of preservation of some of the letters. So it is sometimes hard to tell if a school described in a letter by a clergyman, or a civil official, or a Guild correspondent, is in fact the same as the school with a similar name which had returned a questionnaire completed by the schoolmaster. The same school might be variously described as "the grammar school of...", "the school in...", and "the free schole in...",<sup>3</sup> and even the same village name may not always be

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1. Ibid., p.98.

2. Ibid., p.97.

3. The school at Newport, the trustees of which were the Haberdashers Company of the City of London, is described as the "Grammar School, Newport, Salop.", and "Newport Schoole", Ms.CCC. Oxon. 390/2, fol.145/146, and 390/3, fol.140. (verso).



used consistently to describe a school. There are times when it is unclear whether the library being described is a parish library available to the schoolmaster at the church, a town library, or a school library.<sup>1</sup> However given these limitations, the replies Wase received to his questionnaire do seem to indicate that about one school in twenty had a library or book collection which it considered to be worth reporting.

The schools reporting libraries, whether separate rooms or library collections housed in the schoolroom or elsewhere, were scattered throughout England, and varied enormously in age and size. They ranged from schools like Shrewsbury, reported to be the largest school in the country around the year 1600, with four hundred pupils, a master and three ushers,<sup>2</sup> to small one-master schools with twenty or so pupils in isolated villages. The standard of equipment in the schools, including the libraries, also varied greatly. Shrewsbury of course had a famous library built up during the early seventeenth century, though Wase did not include it in his survey. He did, however, include two other large and well-known schools. In his book he praised the example of the Merchant Taylors' School, London, whose benefactors had "erected a fair library, and replenish'd it with a

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1. Louth School: "There have been formerly belonging to the schools a considerable number of books kept in two presses for the use of the schollars...there is adjoining the School a Fair Library for the use of the Masters, and Ministers of the Town....There is also for the Minister a Library belonging to the Quire...". MS.CCC. Oxon. 390/2, fol.49.  
Free Schoole at Kings Lynne: "There is a Library at St. Margaret's ye Great Church there....The Usher of ye Free Schoole is generally made choice of for ye Library-Keeper...". MS.CCC. Oxon. 390/3, fol.201 (verso).
  2. Camden, quoted by Stott, "Schools and School Libraries over Two Centuries: 1", p.18.



The seal of the Free Grammar School in Louth, Lincolnshire, founded in 1552, shows the Master with the implements of his profession, the birch and the book. With books being used by those pupils who are not being chastised, and other volumes stored on wall shelving, this seal shows something of the book provision "for the use of the scholars" which Wase found at Louth and in some of the other schools he surveyed. (From Nicholas Carlisle, A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools of England and Wales, Vol.1, (London, 1818).)

store of choice Books, some contributing 50 pounds others too very considerable sums towards it". These books were rescued from a disastrous fire in the school in 1660, "through the great industry of the Master",<sup>1</sup> who, regardless of his own safety, carried them from the burning library. At St. Paul's School, London, too, there was a library "competently provided with usefull Books, and Globes" which was destroyed in the London fire, but which had since been restored to a thriving condition "by ye liberality of ye Mercers, of ye Scholars...and others".<sup>2</sup>

But not all older or wealthy schools had libraries, while some of the smaller and more precarious foundations were relatively well provided for by benefactions or donations. At Heskin, for instance, then a small town in Lancashire, there was in 1673-1674 a library in the Free School, housed in a "study" so that it could be easily used, and "consisting of some 80 volumes".<sup>3</sup> These were chiefly standard works like "Sr. Waltr. Rawleigh's History of ye World", Scapula's Lexicon, Cooper's Dictionary, the "Cornucopia" Lexicon (Perottus), editions of and commentaries on the works of Greek and Roman writers such as Homer, Plutarch's Lives, Virgil, Horace, Juvenal, and "severall other schoole books, & others very useful both for ye Schollars & Masters".<sup>4</sup> The greater part of this collection had been left to the school in 1623 by the Master, Richard Radcliffe, who also

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1. Wase, Considerations Concerning Free-Schools, p.105.

2. MS.CCC. Oxon. 390/2, fol.68.

3. MS.CCC. Oxon. 390/2, fol.8.

4. Ibid.

left £7.17.2 to purchase further "school-books".<sup>1</sup> A catalogue of the library was made in 1653 in the school Minute Book, by which time a further twenty-two books had been added to the collection.<sup>2</sup> There were more additions to the library, from both donations and purchases, in the 1660s and 1670s.<sup>3</sup>

Other less well-known schools which reported apparently substantial libraries were the grammar schools at Gloucester and Newport. The Gloucester School library sent a copy of its catalogue which indicated a considerable book collection of more than two hundred titles.<sup>4</sup> The Master of the Grammar School at Newport, Shropshire, wrote that his school was "furnished with a very fine Library wherein are many excellent and very choice bookes of all sorts especially for humanity" (that is, the classics).<sup>5</sup> The school was also the possessor of "one fair Manuscript" in Greek. Wase obviously checked this account, for there is a later letter from the Company of Haberdashers of the City of London confirming that there was indeed "a considerable Library belonging to this Schoole", and that it was "a fair Library of ye Classik Authors and Lexigraph".<sup>6</sup> No further detail was supplied, however, about actual titles in the collection, nor is there any indication of how the library was housed. Other schools indicating that they possessed libraries included Colchester

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1. Christie, The Old Church and School Libraries of Lancashire, p.171. Christie printed, on pages 172-175, a full list of the books left to the school by Radcliffe.
  2. Ibid., p.176.
  3. Ibid., pp.176-177.
  4. MS.CCC. Oxon. 390/3, fol.205/206.
  5. MS.CCC. Oxon. 390/2, fol.145/146.
  6. MS.CCC. Oxon. 390/3, fol.140 (verso).

School in Essex with a library "left by ye...Bishop of York";<sup>1</sup> Ottery St. Mary Grammar School, in Devon, which had "many Books procured by the present schoole-master for ye use of ye School";<sup>2</sup> and the Free-School of Kington in Hereford which had "a bout an Hundred bookes",<sup>3</sup> though no list of titles in the collection was given.

There were also, in addition to schools which had libraries in 1673/4, many schools which sent sad tales of loss to Wase, indicating that libraries had at some time existed in or been planned for them. While this could indicate an earlier more general provision of school libraries than actually existed at the time of Wase's survey, in fact new school libraries were being established in the 1670s,<sup>4</sup> though the number being created may not have balanced the number being destroyed. The high rate of loss of school libraries in the period before Wase's survey reflects the turbulent political conditions of the times, as well as the prevalence of natural hazards, and instances of destruction through neglect. Peter Woodnoth, Schoolmaster at Northwich, reported that the library there was "destroyed in ye time of war",<sup>5</sup> and Lincoln School listed books lost or "pilferred in the times of warre".<sup>6</sup> Books had been bequeathed to the "Freeschoole of Durston", Herefordshire, by the founder, but they were "purloyned" by his

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1. MS.CCC. Oxon. 390/1, fol.118.

2. MS.CCC. Oxon. 390/1, fol.103.

3. MS.CCC. Oxon. 390/1, fol.201.

4. For example, Mary Box, who with her husband Henry founded Witney Grammar School in 1660, gave her husband's books to the school to form a library in about 1674. Mary A. Fleming, Witney Grammar School 1660-1960, (Oxford, 1960), p.19.

5. MS.CCC. Oxon. 390/1, fol.67.

6. MS.CCC. Oxon. 390/2, fol.49.

Northwich

The best information I can give of  
free schools at Northwich is such as follows

- 1 That Sr. John Deane Drury one of y<sup>e</sup> sons of  
Lawrence Deane late of Northwich in y<sup>e</sup>  
Parish of Darwenham Vic<sup>e</sup> County of Chesh.  
Esq<sup>r</sup> & son of Sir John Deane Bart<sup>l</sup> of great  
St Bartholomewes near Smithfields in London  
was found of y<sup>e</sup> free Grammar Schoole at  
Northwich in the Township of Hutton
- 2 That it was founded in y<sup>e</sup> year 1558
- 3 That it was endowed with twelve pound<sup>er</sup> ann<sup>u</sup>  
by our found<sup>er</sup> but in a former  
reformation the last of the Days of building  
in Chesh<sup>r</sup> of times of war
- A Mr John Farmer was our first Master who  
continued 40. years and left y<sup>e</sup> maintenance  
of a poor scholar at each University & life of  
y<sup>e</sup> y<sup>e</sup> pound<sup>er</sup> in Mr Rich. Egort & John Quett  
of Northwich Librat<sup>r</sup> 2. Mr James Hinton. 6. John  
Hobbs. 7. Mr Tho. Colman. 8. Mr Tho. Swanson  
9. Mr John Greenhalgh. 10. Mr James Howard  
11. Mr Tho. Warrand<sup>r</sup> now dead.
5. That our Vicar<sup>us</sup> are twelve Hoopes w<sup>ch</sup> are chopt  
out of y<sup>e</sup> neighbours Townships at the decease of  
four, and especially out of y<sup>e</sup> ground & tithes of  
Qualifield.
- 6 That our Librarie was destroyed in y<sup>e</sup> time  
of war.
- 7 That most of y<sup>e</sup> Country of Chesh<sup>r</sup> have  
been brought up at Northwich schoole and that  
we have had 228 scholars at once.

L. Woodnot Lib<sup>r</sup> m<sup>r</sup>

Northwich School: Peter Woodnoth's reply to Christopher Wase's questionnaire, mid-1670s. (From the Bodleian Library, MS.CCC. Oxon. 390/1, fol.67). (Reproduced by courtesy of the President and Fellows of Corpus Christi College, Oxford).

executors.<sup>1</sup> The schoolmaster at Rivington also told a story of the collection of books left to the school being "reduced to a small & inconsiderable number" though he did not know exactly how this had happened.<sup>2</sup>

Though it is apparent that many schools at some stage had libraries, the papers in the Wase collection also suggest that there were many schools which owned very few books. Ormskirk school had "no libraries or manuscripts";<sup>3</sup> the Free School of Upholland had "noe libraries in or near it";<sup>4</sup> while the Free Schoole in Idsall, Shropshire, simply said "libraries none".<sup>5</sup> Some schools admitted to having only one or two books, usually standard reference works. "Cyrencester" School, Gloucestershire, had Cooper's Dictionary;<sup>6</sup> Huyton, Lancashire, had Rider's Dictionary;<sup>7</sup> and Leyland School, Lancashire, had Goldman's Dictionary,<sup>8</sup> bought by the Churchwardens "for the use of the Schoole"; while others had two or three such works. Other schools answered the question by expressing the hope that there would soon be a library, though there was "yet none".<sup>9</sup>

Wase also turned his attention in Considerations Concerning Free-Schools to the organisation of the school library. The Library-Keeper was to have charge of a "threefold Book the Register of Benefactors:

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1. MS.CCC. Oxon. 390/1, fol.199.
  2. MS.CCC. Oxon. 390/2, fol.24.
  3. MS.CCC. Oxon. 390/2, fol.22.
  4. MS.CCC. Oxon. 390/2, fol.28.
  5. MS.CCC. Oxon. 390/2, fol.150.
  6. MS.CCC. Oxon. 390/1, fol.136.
  7. MS.CCC. Oxon. 390/2, fol.10.
  8. MS.CCC. Oxon. 390/2, fol.13.
  9. MS.CCC. Oxon. 390/1, fol.94, reply from Kingsbridge School.

the Catalogue of Books: and a note of what of them are lent out on what day"<sup>1</sup> and he was to keep these records up to date. He was to be paid a salary to open the library daily. Wase suggests that this Keeper could be a boy from "the uppermost form" and that he should be "studious, faithful and discreet".<sup>2</sup> The rules were not to be "so rigid as to debar all lending forth of any book", nor yet "so laxe as without occasion, without memorial, to part with them". He was to see that the books did not "receive the wounds or flourishes of every malicious or wanton pen", though "the Master's occasional Animadversion, the very trace of whose hand is supposed to leave some useful direction",<sup>3</sup> was to be tolerated.<sup>4</sup> There were very few works available on librarianship in this period; the best-known is that by John Dury, The Reformed Librarie-Keeper, published in 1650. Believing, as Wase did, that it was pointless to make available a multitude of books without a librarian to assist people to use them, Dury offered practical suggestions to this person. He regretted that librarians usually acted as "guardians", protecting their books from the users, of whose intentions they were most suspicious, instead of encouraging people to use the collection. If well-paid, highly respected people were chosen as librarians, he felt that they would be able to encourage people to read, and to assist in promoting "universal learning".<sup>4</sup> Dury also suggested that to aid users, books should be divided into "the subjectam materiam whereof they treat" and further subdivided if necessary by title. The catalogue, which

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1. Wase, Considerations Concerning Free-Schools, pp.105-106.

2. Ibid., pp.105-106.

3. Ibid., p.106.

4. John Dury, The Reformed Librarie-Keeper..., (London, 1650), passim.



was to be kept up to date, was to give an indication of the location of the books in "their shelves or repositories".<sup>1</sup> That this sort of organisation was not merely an impossible dream in this period is shown by the previously described 1613 broad subject divided catalogue of Shrewsbury School, among others. And Thomas Plume, Archdeacon of Rochester and late seventeenth century builder of Maldon School, which incorporated a public library, was able to direct that his librarian be a Master of Arts and that he be paid to organise and maintain the library from the profits of a farm left to the school to support both it and the library.<sup>2</sup> Many of these school libraries were considered general amenities for the whole community, with the grammar school master often taking the additional appointment of librarian. The master at Abraham Colfe's, Lewisham, which housed a shared library, was given five shillings from 1656 for his services as librarian, while the usher at King's Lynn Free School received payment of one pound a year for looking after the local church library, founded in 1631.<sup>3</sup>

Large though Christopher Wase's survey was, there were many schools in possession of libraries in 1673 which were not included, or which did not respond to his questionnaire. Reginald Bainbrigg, schoolmaster at Appleby Grammar School for thirty-two years, left his library of 295 volumes to the school in 1613; a "perfect catalogue of them was made in 1656 by Robert Edmundson, headmaster of that

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1. Ibid., p.19.

2. Shearing, "Aspects of Seventeenth Century Grammar School Librarianship", p.309.

3. Ibid., p.308.

time.<sup>1</sup> A linguist, writer, and antiquarian, Bainbrigg left a collection which included a manuscript and his own notebooks, as well as theological and philosophical works, and grammars and texts in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. At King's Norton, schoolmaster Hall in the 1660s left a collection of 750 books for the use of the schoolmasters and the minister, and left a further 270 "schoole bookes",<sup>2</sup> many of which had been listed as desirable by Charles Hoole, to form a school library.<sup>3</sup> The "catalogue" he made of these school books contains details of the prices of the books, and shows that Hall valued his library at £400. When it is considered that William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, an assiduous book collector, had his library valued at only £140,<sup>4</sup> this King's Norton library must be seen as a very substantial one indeed. The large and well-known libraries at Eton and Shrewsbury are not included in the survey, since they failed to respond to Wase's questionnaire fully. Other schools not mentioned by Wase which had libraries at this time included Bristol Grammar School with a library established in 1546;<sup>5</sup> King Edward VI School, Bury St. Edmunds, 1552 or 1560;<sup>6</sup> St. Alban's

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1. Edgar Hinchcliffe, Appleby Grammar School - From Chantry to Comprehensive, (Appleby, 1974), pp.35 and 37. And from a MS catalogue in the school, compiled by Robert Edmundson in 1656, "A perfect Catalogue of the bookes belonging to the schole of Appulbye...".
  2. King's Norton School Library catalogue, in Dr. Williams' Library, London, MS.Gl.1. (Baxter MS).
  3. John Edward Vaughan, The Parish Church and Ancient Grammar School of King's Norton, (7th edn, Gloucester, 1973), p.23.
  4. Ibid., p.23.
  5. C.P. Hill, The History of Bristol Grammar School, (London, 1951), p.14.
  6. A.T. Bartholomew and Cosmo Gordon, The Library at King Edward VI School, Bury St. Edmunds, (London, 1910), p.3.



The cover illustration from John Edward Vaughan's The Parish Church and Ancient Grammar School of King's Norton, (7th edn, Gloucester, 1973). This school boasted a substantial library collection in the seventeenth century.

School, 1587;<sup>1</sup> Sir John Deane's Grammar School, Northwich, also known as Witton Grammar, which had a library in 1631;<sup>2</sup> Bury, 1636;<sup>3</sup> Gresham's School, 1640;<sup>4</sup> Wigan Grammar School, 1647;<sup>5</sup> Abingdon School, 1656.<sup>6</sup>

Wase's survey of schools and their libraries was a very wide one, even by modern standards; surviving evidence indicates that the information he collected can be treated as very reliably reflecting conditions in late seventeenth century English schools. He went to a great deal of trouble to identify and contact as many schools as possible and he appears to have included a large proportion of grammar schools in existence at the time. Estimates of the number of grammar schools vary, from that of P.J. Wallis<sup>7</sup> who suggests a total of two thousand in the seventeenth century, many of which would not have been in existence during the whole of the period, to that of W.A.L. Vincent, who suggested that just over twelve hundred grammar

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1. St. Alban's School, Catalogue of the Old Library of St. Alban's School, Xerox. Bodleian Library, 2590c. St. Alban's l.l.
  2. Marjorie Cox, A History of Sir John Deane's Grammar School, Northwich, 1557-1908, (Manchester, 1975), p.68.
  3. Christie, Old Church and School Libraries of Lancashire, pp. 139-140; and Alan Hitch, Books in Bury: A History of Libraries, in Bury, Lancashire, to 1900, (F.L.A. thesis, 1972), p.8.
  4. P.J. Lee, A Catalogue of the Foundation Library, (Holt, Norfolk, 1965), p.4.
  5. Christie, Old Church and School Libraries of Lancashire, p.192.
  6. James Townsend, A History of Abingdon, (London, 1910), p.100.
  7. Wallis, "The Wase Collection", pp.84, 86-104. Later Wallis wrote that more recent research indicated that the number might be even larger, but in this new total of almost four thousand he included private fee-paying establishments. P.J. Wallis, "Histories of Old Schools: A Preliminary List for England and Wales", British Journal of Educational Studies, 14(1965), p.49, footnote.

schools were in existence in the period 1600 to 1660.<sup>1</sup> Returns from seven hundred out of a probable total of around twelve hundred schools is a very respectable sample indeed. The great care Wase took to cross check answers to his questionnaire from other sources, points to a high degree of reliability. Despite the fact that he himself was an enthusiast for school libraries, he did not include in his survey a number of schools which had excellent libraries, while he did collect information about many with poor libraries or none at all. And while in the book which resulted from his survey Wase was enthusiastic about the value of a well-organised library in a school, he did not exaggerate the reality of the actual provision in schools, nor did he give an account of any school not warranted by the evidence in the survey manuscripts.

Wase's survey was restricted to English schools, but there is other evidence that in Scotland, too, there were some substantial school libraries in the seventeenth century. One of the earliest was that of the High School of Edinburgh, where the establishment of a library for the benefit of teachers and pupils was recommended to the Town Council by the Master, Mr. John Muir, in 1658. As "fautors and favourers of nurseries of learning", the Council approved the idea and requested that the Treasurer supply presses and shelves for the books. This "useful and highly prized appendage of the seminary" was established initially with donations from the teachers and voluntary contributions from the pupils and citizens.<sup>2</sup> This library continued

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1. W.A.L. Vincent, The State and School Education, 1640-1660, in England and Wales, (London, 1950), pp.120-135.

2. Dorothy H. White, The Development of School Libraries in Scotland, 1658-1970, (M.A. thesis, University of Strathclyde, 1973), p.1.

to grow, so that by the mid-nineteenth century William Steven could report<sup>1</sup> that one half of the matriculation fund was appropriated to the library funds, and that there were 6400 volumes, including "the best Greek and Latin Lexicons, the best editions of the classics, several Encyclopaedias, and a valuable collection of antiquarian, historical and geographical authors". The Grammar School of Glasgow had a library by 1682,<sup>2</sup> and in 1659 books to form a library were given to Aberdeen Grammar School.<sup>3</sup> Montrose Grammar School, now Montrose Academy, possessed a library in 1686, which was the date of the first catalogue.<sup>4</sup> This library, which included many theological and classical works, served as a town library within the school.<sup>5</sup>

Eighteenth century Scottish foundations included Lanark Grammar School, which in 1769 received all the books belonging to a Dr. Smellie. These were used in 1775 to establish a library in a room immediately above the schoolroom. Instructions for the care of the library left by the doctor reflect very closely the practice of seventeenth and eighteenth century English school libraries. The schoolmaster, who was to be the librarian, was to give account to the Baillies, and Ministers of the Presbytery of Lanark, "once a year at vacation time", of his stewardship of the library. Accommodation was to be provided for readers, and Dr. Smellie left his "large reading desk, with the table flap that hangs to it...with the leather chair,

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1. William Steven, History of the High School of Edinburgh, (Edinburgh, 1849), p.64.
  2. White, The Development of School Libraries in Scotland, p.1.
  3. N. Boyd, "The Library of Aberdeen Grammar School"; The School Librarian, 14(1966), p.266.
  4. T.W. Johns, "The Library of the Grammar School of Montrose", The School Librarian, 10(1961), p.396.
  5. Montrose Grammar School, MS Borrowers' Book, at the school.

and smoaking little chair...as also the high steps there to take down the books, which must be contained in locked tirlisied doors..."<sup>1</sup>

In 1758 the Governors of the Trades Maiden Hospital founded a library for the girls partly financed in a novel way by extracting fines from deacons for non-attendance at meetings.<sup>2</sup> In 1782 the Town Council of Kirkcudbright made a contribution of ten pounds sterling towards books in its school; in 1786 it required that the school-master produce a catalogue for them, which was to be deposited with the Town Clerk.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, chained libraries in schools became less popular, partly because, with greater numbers of books being produced, and produced more cheaply, and with libraries becoming larger, it was impossible to store and make available to readers chained books without using vast amounts of space for cases and desks. If pupils actually needed to use a variety of books in their lessons, instead of, or in conjunction with a textbook, as Hoole and other writers suggest, books had to be more freely available than chaining allowed. Moreover, many of the seventeenth and eighteenth century libraries were mainly lending libraries, in

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1. Quoted by M. Mackintosh, *Education in Lanarkshire: A Historical Survey on the Act of 1872 from Original and Contemporary Sources*, (Ph.D. thesis, University of Glasgow, 1969), p.386.
  2. White, *The Development of School Libraries in Scotland*, p.3.
  3. White, *The Development of School Libraries in Scotland*, p.3. White also lists the library at Dunfermline Grammar School as an eighteenth century foundation begun with a contribution of ten pounds from the Town Council in 1711. This is based on information in D. Corrie, *The High School of Dunfermline: An Essay in Local History*, (Dunfermline, 1902), p.24, but in fact this initiative of the Town Council was never followed up, and nothing came of the proposal to form a library. See Alexander Anderson, *The Old Libraries of Fife*, (roneoed typescript, 1953), p.1.

which chains had no place except perhaps to preserve the most valuable reference books and ensure their availability to all. Many schools de-chained their libraries during this period and there are references in library and school records to sales of "old iron that was in the library".<sup>1</sup>

However at least one school library went against the common practice of the period: Bolton School, now in Greater Manchester, actually chained up its school library in 1735. The books so chained consisted of an earlier library in existence in the school, together with books which had survived from the Bolton Parish Church collection, a chained library dating from 1653-1655. This mixed collection was chained, probably as an antiquarian exercise, by the school governors led by Henry Eskricke, in a case on "almery" given by "James Leaver Citison of London [in] 1694". This library still remains in the school, with the case restored; it appears not to have received much use as a working collection after it had been chained.<sup>2</sup>

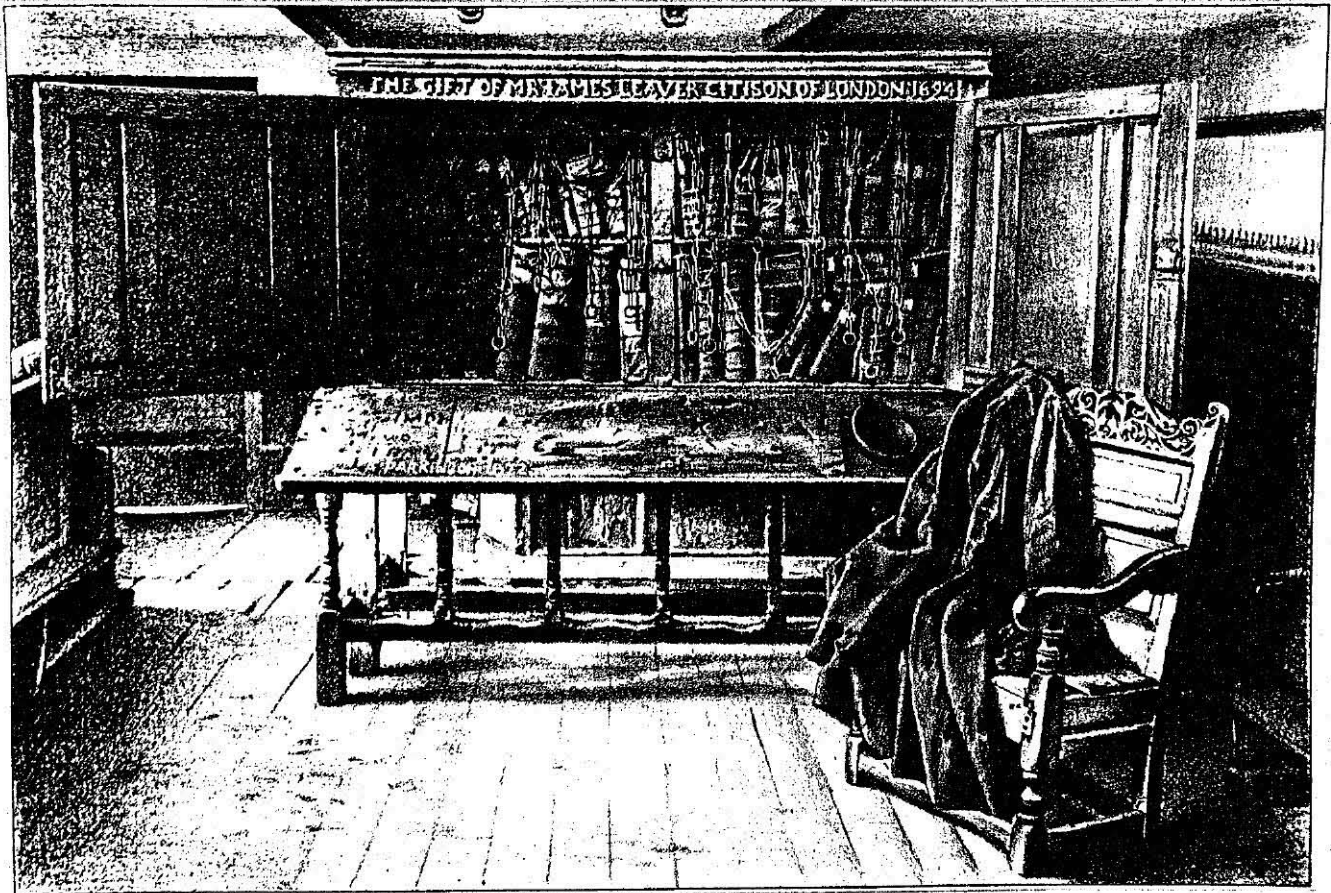
School libraries were in existence in other European countries by this time. Libraries had developed in the late Middle Ages in the Danish cathedral schools, including that of Roskilde. Sorø Academy, now one of Denmark's largest boarding schools, began in 1586 in a

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1. Oldham, "Shrewsbury School Library", p.86.

2. A catalogue of this library was prepared in 1979: Wendy J. Sherrington, *A Catalogue of the Chained Library at Bolton School*, (M.A. thesis, University of Sheffield, 1979). Earlier lists of the contents of the library had been made, including: W.H.D. Sculthorpe, *The Chained Library of Bolton School, Bolton, Lancs.*, (unpublished pamphlet, Bolton, [1948]). And see also a list of "Books belonging to Bolton Schoole, Feby.13th, 1735", in *Historical Gleanings of Bolton and District*, first series, (1881), pp.393-394.





Bolton School's chained library in the late nineteenth century. This illustration formed the frontispiece to Richard Copley Christie's Old Church and School Libraries of Lancashire, (Manchester, 1885). The case is still at the school, though restoration has removed the signs of wear and tear.

medieval Cistercian monastery when the latter was taken over by the King after the Reformation. A library has existed in this school from its very earliest days. The monks had collected manuscripts, and these were added to, but the eighteenth century in particular saw the growth of a considerable collection of books.<sup>1</sup> Polish school libraries began also with collections in the cathedral and convent schools of the Middle Ages.<sup>2</sup> In the eighteenth century, too, there were particularly rich collections in Polish secondary schools. In the late eighteenth century, beginning in 1772, Poland was partitioned among its neighbours in three stages, disappearing altogether as a nation in the last partition of 1795, until revived by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. In that part of Poland which went to Prussia, including Poznan, extensive library collections were developed in the leading secondary schools, the gymnasia, often based on earlier library collections. The eighteenth century library of the Mary Magdalene Secondary School, Poznan, was incorporated into the main library of the Adam Mickiewicz University there (Biblioteka Główna Uniwersytetu im Adama Mickiewicza) at its foundation in 1919. So too was the library from the Kaiser Wilhelm Secondary School (Biblioteka Gimnazjum im Cesarza Wilhelma), much of which had been built up in the eighteenth century.<sup>3</sup> The academic strength of these school collections is shown by the fact that the libraries could form the

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1. L. Balslev, "The Library of Sorø Academy, Denmark", The School Library Review and Educational Record, 5(1951), p.60. Unfortunately all these books were lost in a great fire in 1813, but the collection served as a pattern for the present library, the building up of which was begun soon after the fire.
  2. Information supplied by the Biblioteka Narodowa, the National Library of Poland, 17 December 1979, on "Polish Libraries".
  3. Alfreda Łuczynska and Krystyna Remerowa, Libraries in Poland: Information Guide, (Warsaw, 1961), p.149.

the basis of a university library collection. In Prussia itself, too, by the mid-nineteenth century, the gymnasia owned large and well-organised library collections.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Rudolf Schwarze, Die Alten Drucke and Handschriften der Bibliothek des Königl. Friedrichs-Gymnasiums, (Frankfurt A.O., 1877), pp.1-10.