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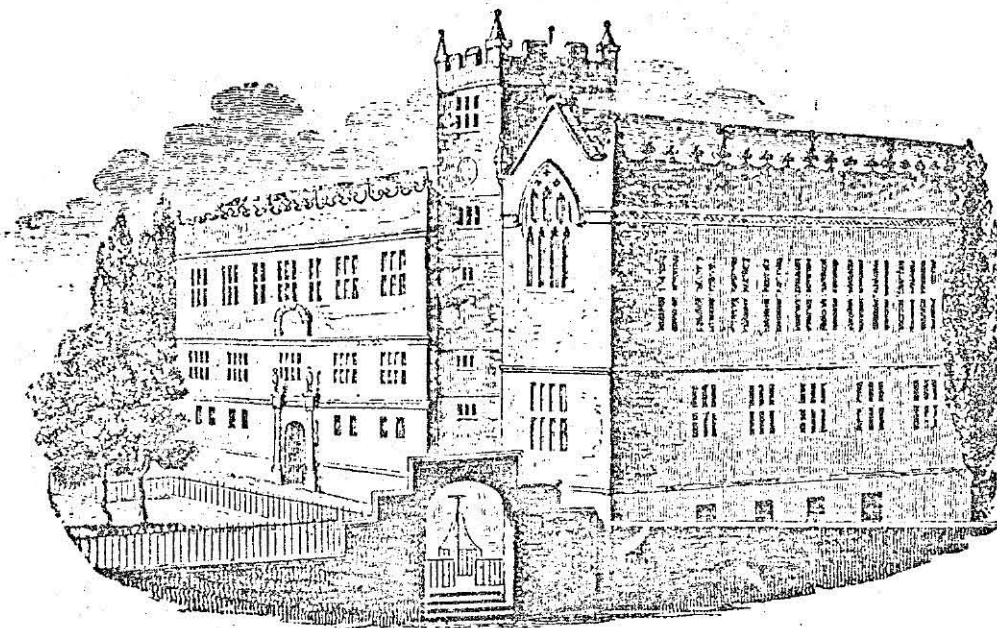
CHAPTER THREE

SCHOOL LIBRARIES IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the early nineteenth century an important survey looked at school libraries in England, almost a century and a half after the grammar school survey conducted by Christopher Wase. This new survey was the work of Nicholas Carlisle, who in 1818 published his two-volume account of 475 endowed grammar schools in England Wales. He used the work of Wase, but he also extended it, particularly asking more detailed questions about foundation deeds, statutes, rules, endowments, and trusts, about current school regulations and books used in the schools. By 1818 some of the schools Carlisle described had ceased to be "grammar" schools, having deteriorated into "writing" or "English" (that is, elementary) schools; others had fallen into disuse; still others had failed to answer the author's letters, so that little information could be given about them.¹

Carlisle listed forty-six schools as having libraries, ranging from Shrewsbury which had in 1815 spent the enormous sum of £1860 rebuilding its library, "with a most elegant Gothic roof and windows"² to house its "very valuable collection of books in every department of Literature", to Bishop Stortford, where lessons were no longer being given in the ruined classroom, and where the library, deposited

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1. Nicholas Carlisle, A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools of England and Wales, (London, 1818).
 2. Ibid., Vol.2, p.379.



An exterior view, dating from the early nineteenth century, of the new library at Shrewsbury School; the library comprised the top section of the wing on the right, with the tall Gothic window. (From Nicholas Carlisle, A Concise Description of the Endowed Grammar Schools of England and Wales, (Vol.2, London, 1818), p.396. The illustration was supplied to Nicholas Carlisle by Dr. Butler, the Head Master of the school.)

at the Vicarage, was reported to be "going to decay".¹ Like Wase's survey, Carlisle's was far from complete; not included in his list are many grammar schools of the time which are known to have had libraries, including the Lord Weymouth School, Warminster,² and Sir John Deane's Grammar School, Northwich.³ In a long description of Rugby School, Carlisle does not mention a library, though a catalogue of the school library there exists from before 1794;⁴ likewise in the accounts of Kendal Grammar School, Abingdon School, Bolton School, Bury Grammar School, Bristol Grammar School, and Appleby Grammar School, libraries known to exist are not mentioned.⁵

A much more complete survey of grammar schools in England - endowed, private, and proprietary schools - was carried out by the Schools Inquiry Commission, the results being published in twenty-one volumes in 1868 in what is generally known as the Taunton Report.⁶ This report, coming exactly half a century after Carlisle's survey, reflected, in its scale and comprehensiveness,

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1. Ibid., Vol.1, p.554.
 2. Robert Hope, A History of the Lord Weymouth School, Warminster, (Bradford, 1961).
 3. Marjorie Cox, A History of Sir John Deane's Grammar School, Northwich, 1557-1908, (Manchester, 1975).
 4. Rugby School, MS paper book catalogue titled "Headmaster's School Library List".
 5. Charles Sayle, Kendal Grammar School Library, ([Kendal, 1902]), p.1; James Townsend, A History of Abingdon, (London, 1910), p.100; W.E. Brown and F.R. Poskitt, The History of Bolton School, (Bolton, 1976), p.63; Alan Hitch, Books in Bury: A History of Libraries in Bury, Lancashire, to 1900, (F.L.A. thesis, 1972); C.P. Hill, The History of Bristol Grammar School, (London, 1951), p.14; Edgar Hinchcliffe, Appleby Grammar School - From Chantry to Comprehensive, (Appleby, 1974).
 6. England. Schools Inquiry Commission, Report of the Commissioners, (21 vols, London, 1868). (Taunton Report).

the growth in the interim of the centralised bureaucracy which is one of the distinctive features of the modern state. The Commissioners reported the results of their investigation into all aspects of education in the endowed, private, and proprietary schools, and into the standard of their facilities, again paying particular attention to endowments and funds. The schools were also asked, in a general questionnaire, whether they had a library, and whether it was open to all, or to boarders only. In the Report of the Commissioners the results were tabled school by school under counties. Within the counties, the schools were classified into three types: "Classical Schools" which still gave a traditional grammar school education in the classics and perhaps mathematics and some science or history, to students who aimed to enter the universities and so the professions; "Semi-classical schools" which taught some classical and some "modern" subjects including modern languages, sciences, English, and perhaps trade courses; and "Non-classical and elementary schools" which had usually begun as traditional grammar schools, sometimes centuries earlier, but had lost that status for lack of local support. The standard of library provision was shown to be very different in each of these types of school. Overall, forty percent of all endowed grammar schools in England had libraries in 1868, though there were wide differences among the three types: two thirds of classical schools had libraries, but only one third of the semi-classical and one quarter of the non-classical and elementary schools.

TABLE I

LIBRARIES IN ENDOWED GRAMMAR SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND, 1868¹

	Number of Schools	Number of Schools with Libraries	% of Schools with Libraries
Classical Schools	219	147	67.1%
Semi-classical Schools	170	59	34.7%
Non-classical and Elementary Schools	317	78	24.6%

It should be noted that the quality of library provision varied widely from school to school: some schools had libraries of several thousand volumes, with a librarian in charge, while other libraries were very small. In non-classical and elementary schools library provision meant in six cases access for some or all of the pupils to the local Sunday school library, in three cases access to a village subscription library, in one access to the parish church library, and in one school pupils could use the headmaster's personal library. In the responses from the classical schools, there are fewer indications of reliance on outside sources for books for use in the schools.

In many schools which had libraries, access was restricted to a particular group of people. Over all three types of schools, much the largest proportion - nearly two thirds - had libraries open to all, but the next largest group in all categories comprised those

1. Figures taken from: England. Schools Inquiry Commission, Report of the Commissioners, (21 vols, London, 1868), passim.

open only to subscribers. In all three categories there were also some open only to a select group of the senior students, or to boarders. The substantial number of "classical schools" which had libraries open only to boarders - more than twenty percent - doubtless reflects the greater importance of boarders in this type of school. There is no indication given in the report of school library use by the general public, though some of these libraries did in fact serve people other than pupils and masters.

TABLE II

GROUPS SERVED BY LIBRARIES IN ENDOWED SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND, 1868¹

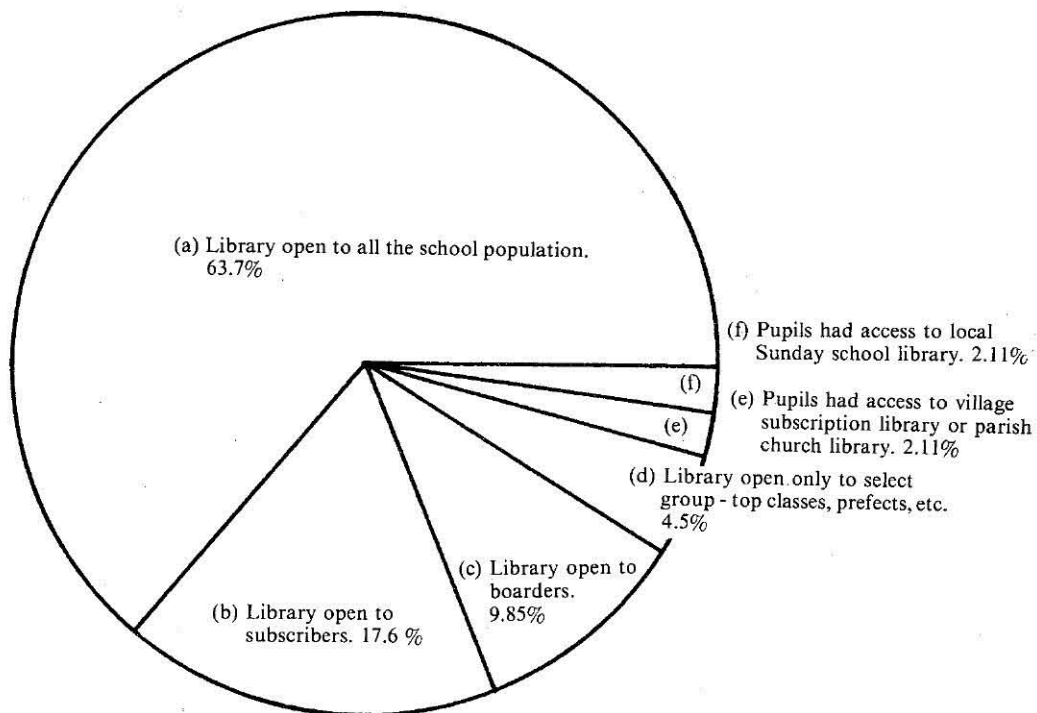
	Classical Schools	Semi- Classical Schools	Non- Classical and Elementary	Total
Library open to all	92	38	57	181
Library open only to top classes, prefects, founda- tioners, etc.	9	2	8	13
Library open only to boarders	20	6	2	28
Library open only to subscribers	26	13	11	50
Total Libraries	147	59	78	284
No library	55	73	79	207
No answer to question	17	38	160	215
Total Schools	219	170	317	706

1. Figures taken from: England. Schools Inquiry Commission, Report of the Commissioners, passim. Note that in the right hand total column, Sunday school and village or parish libraries used by the school children have been excluded.

The pie graph which follows shows the overall picture of groups served by the school libraries of all endowed grammar schools throughout England. Nearly two thirds of schools which had a library service of some sort had libraries for the free use of all the school population, while a further one sixth of the school libraries were subscription libraries.¹

TABLE III

LIBRARY PROVISION IN ENDOWED GRAMMAR SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND, 1868



There were nine important English endowed schools which were not included in the Taunton Report, since these - Eton, Winchester,

1. Detailed tables showing information collated from the Taunton Report on school library provision throughout England in the "classical", "semi-classical", and "non-classical and elementary" endowed grammar schools are included as Appendix A.

Westminster, Charterhouse, St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, Rugby, Shrewsbury - had already been described by the Public Schools Commission in its Clarendon Report of 1864.¹ The Commissioners' survey asked the questions "Has the school a library to which the boys have access? And if so, under what conditions are they permitted to use it?". It is apparent from the answers of the headmasters and trustees that these schools were generally served by two types of library: a general school library open to certain boys only; and house libraries open to all in the boarding house, and usually containing recreational and general reference works.

Until early in the nineteenth century the whole course of study at these schools had consisted of two classical languages with a little history and geography and some religious instruction. By the 1860s the curriculum had been expanded to include arithmetic and mathematics. At every school except Eton it included one modern language; at Rugby both French and German were available, as was the option of natural science. At Merchant Taylors' School the curriculum included Hebrew and drawing. The general school libraries reflect this broadening of the curricula together with the continuing dominance of the classics over the newer subjects. The collections also reflected the fact that "the means by which classical scholarship [was] acquired [were] the study of Latin and Greek grammar, the daily construing and the occasional translation into English of Latin and Greek writers, the repetition of passages, chiefly Latin and

1. England. Department of State. Public Schools Commission, Public Schools and Colleges, Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Revenues and Management of Certain Colleges and Schools, and the studies pursued and Instruction given therein..., (4 vols, London, 1864).

Greek poetry, which had been learnt by heart, the practice of composition in verse and prose":¹ grammars, editions of and commentaries on classical writers, and aids to composition are prominent.

St. Paul's School in its reply to the Commissioners' questionnaire claimed to have "an excellent library" open to the senior class out of school hours, with a collection of "the best standard French writers" and "literary and scientific works".² The Head Master of Charterhouse specified "a school library consisting of philological and classical works".³ Eton had "a very good library, to which the sixth and upper middle divisions of the fifth form" had access, on payment of a subscription;⁴ Winchester had "a good library in the college for the prefects, to which the commoner prefects also" had access, and a smaller library belonging to the commoner prefects only;⁵ while Westminster had "a library containing a large number of old classical and mathematical volumes", though most of them were "of little interest or value now".⁶ The Merchant Taylors' Company claimed that its school had a "valuable" library;⁷ Shrewsbury had a "good classical and standard English library" for the upper forms and a general library for the master and scholars;⁸ while the Trustees of Rugby merely claimed a "tolerable library", a lending library available for all boys,⁹ which nevertheless had a printed

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1. Ibid., Vol.1, p.13.
 2. Ibid., Vol.2, p.241.
 3. Ibid., Vol.2, p.224.
 4. Ibid., Vol.2, p.115.
 5. Ibid., Vol.2, p.187.
 6. Ibid., Vol.2, p.203.
 7. Ibid., Vol.2, p.250.
 8. Ibid., Vol.2, p.322 and p.326.
 9. Ibid., Vol.2, p.309.

catalogue listing several thousand volumes.¹

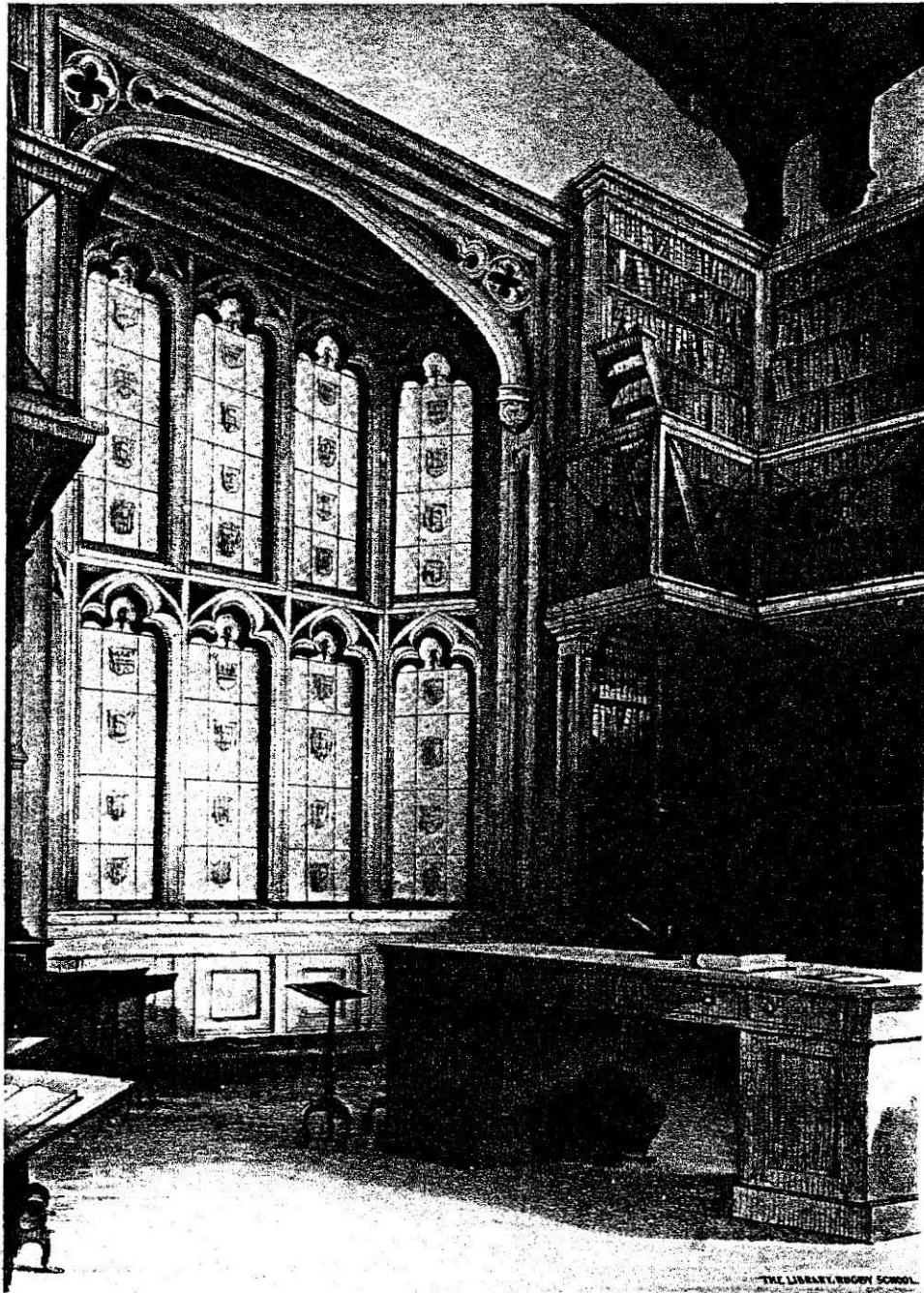
Though many of these school libraries were very substantial, and several, including those of Eton and Winchester, were very old libraries with valuable collections, the use of them was generally extremely restricted. At Harrow, for instance, the use of the library was freely available only to fifteen monitors: "If a boy lower in the school wishes to enter the library, he will ask a monitor to lend him his key; or if he wish to take out a book he will request a monitor to take it out for him." Understandably, "it seldom happens that a boy below the sixth form [would] make this request."² At Westminster the school library was in the principal classroom, used by the sixth form and by drawing classes; though the boys could use it for reading when it was unoccupied, these periods were rare, and the room, furnished with forms and desks, was uncomfortable and ill-adapted for that purpose.³ At St. Paul's, too, the library, in the senior room, could only be used outside school hours.⁴ The boys at Merchant Taylors' School had to ask the Head Master for books from the school library; while he claimed he had "frequent applications",⁵ there was no catalogue from which the boys could request books.⁶ The subscription library at Eton, administered by three King's Scholars and three Oppidans, had a complicated and

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1. Rugby School, Catalogue of the Arnold Library, Rugby School, (Rugby, 1860).
 2. England. Department of State. Public Schools Commission, Public Schools and Colleges, Vol.2, p.279.
 3. Ibid., Vol.2, p.203.
 4. Ibid., Vol.2, p.241.
 5. Ibid., Vol.2, p.267.
 6. Ibid., Vol.4, p.126.

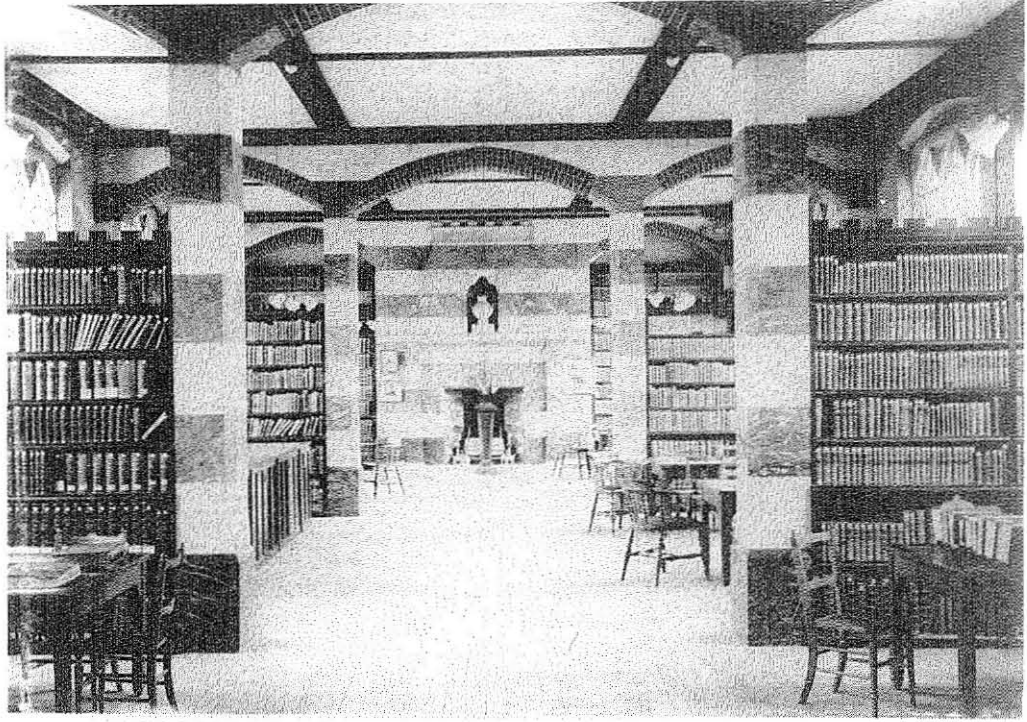
somewhat discouraging admission procedure.¹ Rugby had the only school library generally available to the whole school population: it was open twice a week for an hour, when the writing master was there to help the boys to find the books they wanted.²

In most of these schools, including Westminster, Charterhouse, Harrow, and Rugby, libraries in the boarding houses supplemented the school libraries, catering to the needs of a greater proportion of the school population. In the senior assistant's boarding house at Westminster there was "a library of above 600 volumes, carefully selected, in almost all classes of literature", supported by a payment of ten shillings a year from each boarder, to which access was unrestricted.³ In Mr. Evans' house at Eton a library of over 1400 volumes had been built up from the contributions of "old inmates" and including "excellent works of history and books of reference".⁴ At Charterhouse there was a library in the house of the foundation scholars and in each of the boarders' houses there was "an excellent library of modern literature and works of reference", organised by a monitor, under the supervision of the house master. Every boy paid an entrance subscription plus "a small subscription every term for the maintenance of the library in his own house."⁵ The organisation of the house libraries at Harrow depended on the house master, but in

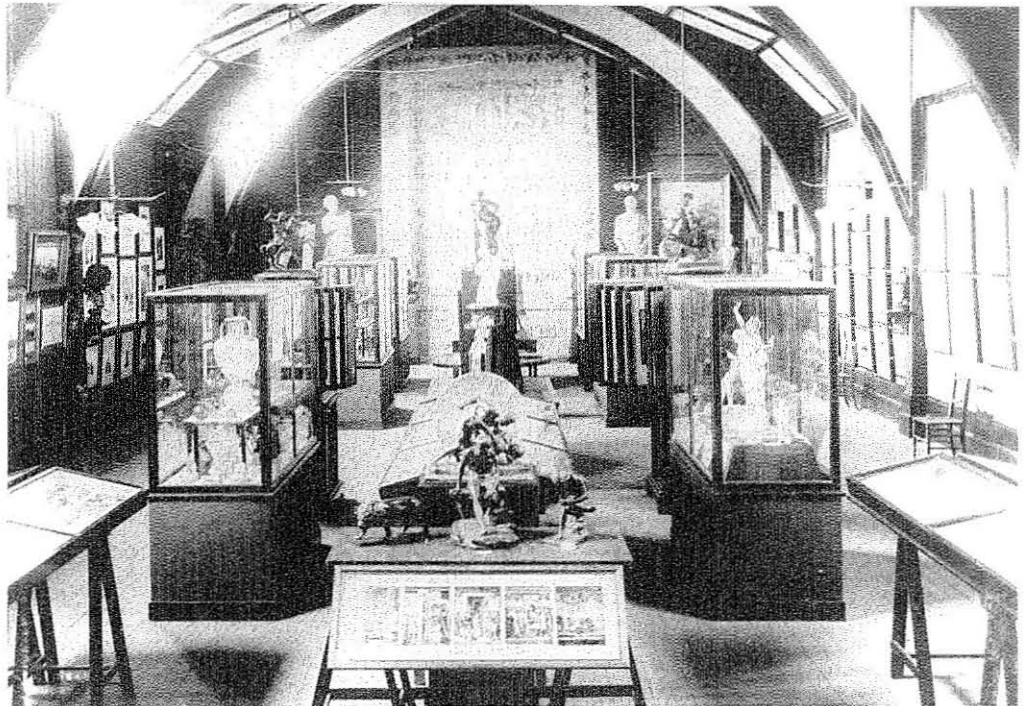
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1. Ibid., Vol.2, p.115. The sixth form and upper and middle divisions of the fifth form paid four shillings per school-time (term) for access. Any boy below these forms who wanted to be admitted to the library had to apply to the three first King's Scholars and the first three Oppidans. If they should refuse his request he was at liberty to appeal to the head master.
 2. Ibid., Vol.2, p.309.
 3. Ibid., Vol.2, p.203.
 4. Ibid., Vol.3, p.264.
 5. Ibid., Vol.2, p.224.



Rugby School: An illustration, dating from 1842, of "Upper Bench", formerly Dr. Arnold's form room, and used for teaching and as a classical library by him; this library, opened around 1820, supplemented the later Temple Reading Room collection. (From C.W. Radclyffe, Memorials of Rugby, (Rugby, 1842)).



Rugby School: A nineteenth century view of the Temple Reading Room, which opened in the 1830s, when it housed the main school library. The room above it, originally designed as a museum, is shown in the second photograph as it was last century; today this room forms the upper reading room of the enlarged school library. (From: Rugby School).



most houses each boy was required to pay a small amount in order to provide new books and bind old ones.¹ The house libraries at Rugby, which the Head Master claimed were used "constantly",² were also subscription libraries, managed by the sixth form boys, but accessible to all.³

Despite the claim that the library at Rugby was heavily used, former pupils of several of these schools, when questioned by the Clarendon Commissioners, admitted that they did little general reading. A former pupil of Rugby felt that there was "not much time for private reading" at the school, and that the boys spent what time there was available in reading novels.⁴ The Classical Master at St. Paul's School, in responding to a question about the lack of interest shown in the French library, also claimed that the boys "had not much spare time. Our great want here is time."⁵ An Old Etonian questioned felt that most of the boys of that school "read nothing at all except novels and books of that sort", particularly cheap novels, often in railway editions.⁶ A disgruntled former master at Eton complained twenty years later that Etonians were "irretrievably unintellectual. They know little, they hate books."⁷ Some people who appeared before the Commissioners spoke of the need for more

1. Ibid., Vol.4, p.183.

2. Ibid., Vol.4, p.266.

3. Ibid., Vol.2, p.309.

4. Ibid., Vol.4, p.302.

5. Ibid., Vol.4, p.85.

6. Ibid., Vol.3, p.249. "Railway editions" were cheap editions of popular novels, often on poor quality paper and with lurid covers, designed to attract the less discerning buyer (particularly the traveller).

7. H.S. Salt, "Confessions of an Eton Master", Nineteenth Century, 17(1885), p.179.

library provision than currently existed as a way of remedying this situation. A former Second Master at Westminster School stated that there was "much needed a library for the boys' own use, to which they might have access at all times, and to be themselves keepers of it, containing books of reference, historical and some scientific works which should thus offer encouragement to the studious boys and fill up spare time profitably."¹ The Head Master there also thought that additional library accommodation was desirable, particularly if it could be "fitted up properly" and did not have to be used for other purposes as well.² Sir John Taylor Coleridge suggested improvements to the College Library at Eton,³ including the appointment of a sub-librarian who would be there constantly; others felt that that library should be more widely accessible, particularly to members of the teaching staff.⁴

Popular late nineteenth century school stories, written by authors who had themselves been at public schools in the mid-nineteenth century, or who had been masters at them, tend to reflect the view of those former pupils who told the Clarendon Commission that libraries played an unimportant role in these schools. Frederick Farrar, who had been a schoolmaster at Harrow in 1855, wrote a boys' school story three years later, Eric, or, Little by Little, which exemplifies this. Eric, in disgrace after a misdemeanour, is allowed to sit with a master in the school library at "Roslyn School";

1. England. Department of State. Public Schools Commission, Public Schools and Colleges, Vol.2, p.78.

2. Ibid., Vol.3, p.436.

3. Ibid., Vol.3, p.197.

4. Ibid., Vol.3, p.205.



Lawless ornamenting Frank's Writing-Desk.

An illustration by George Cruikshank from a mid-nineteenth century school story, showing the careless disregard for books of which some of the witnesses before the Clarendon Commission complained. (From F.E. Smedley, Frank Fairlegh, or Scenes from the Life of a Private Pupil, published in 1850).

otherwise it does not appear to be open to him.¹ And the boys are pictured amusing themselves in the dormitories "by reading novels or making a row".² Rudyard Kipling's well-known school story, Stalky and Co., is set in the school Kipling himself attended, the United Services College, Westward Ho, Devon. While this was not a Clarendon Commission school, the life described in it closely reflects that in the public schools. A young man named Beetle, as editor of the school magazine, is allowed to use the Headmaster's "brown-bound, tobacco-scented library"; there appears to have been no other in the school to which the boys had any access.³ On the other hand, Charlotte M. Yonge, in The Daisy Chain, a novel for children written in the 1860s, described a library at "Stoneborough Grammar School" which had, according to one of the boys, "Everything in it that one wants", and from which the boys were free to borrow books.⁴ While this book is a work of fiction, and the school

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1. Frederick William Farrar, Eric, or, Little by Little, (facsimile edn, New York, 1977), p.119.
 2. Ibid., p.84.
 3. Rudyard Kipling, Stalky and Co., (London, 1899), pp.217-218. The contents of this library are described:
 There were scores and scores of ancient dramatists; there were Hakluyt, his voyages; French translations of Muskovite authors called Pushkin and Lermontoff; little tales of a heady and bewildering nature, interspersed with unusual songs - Peacock was the writer's name; there was Borrow's Lavengro; an odd theme, purporting to be translation of something called a "Rubaiyat", which the Head said was a poem not yet come to its own; there were hundreds of volumes of verse - Crashaw; Dryden; Alexander Smith; L.E.L.; Lydia Sigourney; Fletcher and a purple island; Donne; Marlowe's Faust; and - this made McTurk (to whom Beetle conveyed it) sheer drunk for three days - Ossian; The Earthy Paradise; Atlanta in Calydon; and Rosetti - to name only a few.
 4. Charlotte M. Yonge, The Daisy Chain, (facsimile edn, London, 1977), p.191.

described an imaginary one, the author was familiar with the internal organisation of schools like those about which she wrote. However she does not ever suggest that the library, though it was freely accessible, played an important role in the school, or even in the school life of her heroes, despite the fact that they were generally readers.¹

By the late nineteenth century many of the libraries in the public schools had both grown considerably and been more thoroughly organised. In 1882 when a catalogue of Charterhouse School Library

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1. While boarding establishments for girls were common in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, they were fewer in number than the boys' schools, smaller, lasting for a shorter time, and with fewer resources and facilities. They were also more limited and less ambitious in their aims. "A typical one might be kept by a widowed or maiden gentlewoman, who boarded in her ample house ten or twelve girls of mixed ages, superintended their manners and morals, taught them needlework and housewifery, and engaged, at the cheapest rate, visiting masters to give lessons in French, writing, music and dancing". John Lawson and Harold Silver, A Social History of Education in England, (London, 1973), p.208. Some, like the Abbey School at Reading which Jane Austen attended, gained some repute and lasted two or three decades. Jane Austen used her own school experience in describing Mrs. Goddard's school in Emma, published in 1816. It was "a real, honest, old-fashioned boarding-school, where a reasonable quantity of accomplishments were sold at a reasonable price, and where girls might be sent to be out of the way and to scramble themselves into a little education, without any danger of coming back prodigies. Mrs. Goddard's school was held in high repute...she had an ample house and garden, gave the children plenty of wholesome food...", but educational resources were apparently few. Jane Austen, Emma, (Harmondsworth, 1973), p.52. With the opening of the universities to women in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the foundation of schools like Cheltenham Ladies' College (1853), Queen's College (1848), and the high schools of the Girls' Public Day School Trust (from 1872), a form of secondary education began to be provided for girls which more closely resembled in curriculum, organisation, and library provision, the boys' public schools and grammar schools. D. Beale, "The History of the College", The Cheltenham Ladies' College Magazine, (February 1880), pp.54-62.

was published¹ there were approximately 3752 books in the library. The catalogue was a substantial volume arranged alphabetically with author, title, and subject entries in the one sequence; entries included information about author, title, number of volumes in the work, size, and place and date of publication. Reflecting the school curriculum, much of the collection still² consisted of classical works in the original languages and in translation together with Latin and Greek grammars and lexicons; but there were works in French, a large collection of the classics of English literature in prose and verse, historical works (especially classical history, English history, church history and biography), travel, memoirs, and archaeology. The last three categories particularly represent the general reading interests of the late nineteenth century English gentleman. The library also included a few scientific works and books on applied science and engineering, and some titles related to the new discipline of economics, one of which was J.E.T. Rogers' commentary on Adam Smith's Wealth of Nations, published in 1869. The library was intended also to cater to the recreational reading needs of the boys, not only with non-fiction but also with the works of nineteenth century novelists, particularly Sir Walter Scott, Anthony Trollope, and Charles Kingsley. Published catalogues of other school libraries at about this time also illustrate the widening of the school curriculum to include history, economics, and scientific subjects, and the increasing

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1. Charterhouse School, Catalogue of the School Library, (Godalming, 1882). With "Addenda December 1884".
 2. In the Clarendon Report of 1864 the Head Master had described a library of "philological and classical works". England. Department of State. Public Schools Commission, Public Schools and Colleges, Vol.2, p.224.

trend of school libraries both to supply recreational reading and to actually promote the reading of quality fiction in order to establish a "reading habit" in children.

The endowed schools and grammar schools, including the public schools, with which we have been dealing up to this stage, tended to be free to make their own decisions in library matters at a school level, independently of any outside authority apart from their own trustees or governors. So while there is a general trend evident in the nineteenth century towards larger libraries, with bookstock reflecting the broadening of the grammar school curriculum, open to an increasing proportion of the school's population, and more thoroughly organised, this trend was evident in different institutions at different times, and there is at any one time a wide divergence between otherwise comparable institutions. We now go on to deal with the various kinds of elementary schools which were available in eighteenth century England. While some of these were organised by individuals, most were provided by central organisations. Such organisations, particularly those concerned to provide inexpensive education for the lower classes, had a tendency towards a degree of standardisation and uniformity altogether absent in the grammar and public schools.

Several different types of elementary education were available in England in the eighteenth century, many of which survived well into the nineteenth century. The "dame school", usually kept by an elderly woman who charged a fee of a few pence a week for each pupil, taught small children the basics of reading. Between twelve and thirty children attended each of these schools, generally in the

house of the dame, where books and other resources were few.¹

Some older children received an elementary education in the common day school, or private day school. While not all of these were inefficient, the master was often a man who had failed at other

1. H.C. Barnard, A History of English Education from 1760, (2nd edn, London, 1961), pp.2-3. An attractive dame school is described by Charles Kingsley in the children's book The Water-Babies, (London, 1886), p.61:

...there sat by the empty fire-place, which was filled with a pot of sweet herbs, the nicest old woman that was ever seen, in her red petticoat, and short dimity bedgown, and clean white cap...At her feet sat the grandfather of all the cats; and opposite her sat, on two benches, twelve or fourteen neat, rosy, chubby little children, learning their Chris-cross-row [i.e. the first reading lesson from the hornbook]; and gabble enough they made about it...Such a pleasant cottage it was...

More than a century earlier, in 1765, the author of The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes, a didactic novel for children, had painted a similarly attractive picture of a dame school.

The room was large, and as she [the teacher] knew, that Nature intended that children should be always in Action, she placed her different Letters, or Alphabets, all round the School so that every one was obliged to get up to fetch a Letter, or to spell a Word, when it came to their Turn; which not only kept them in Health, but fixed the Letters and Points firmly in their Minds...Mrs. Margery, you must know, was very humane and compassionate; and her Tenderness extended not only to all Mankind, but even to all Animals...

From [John Newbery], The History of Little Goody Two-Shoes, (Part 2, facsimile edn, New York, 1977), pp.67-68. Another pleasant dame school was described by Charlotte M. Yonge in the 1860s in The Daisy Chain, (facsimile edn, New York, 1977), pp. 350-351. In this work the privately-supported dame school is pictured as being superior to the nearby national school.

A very different picture of the dame school, however, is presented by the poet George Crabbe in The Borough, Letter 24, (1810):

To every class we have a school assign'd,
Rules for all ranks and food for every mind;
Yet one there is, that small regard to rule
Or study pays, and still is deemed a school:
That, where a deaf, poor, patient widow sits,
And awes some thirty infants as she knits;
Infants of humble, busy wives, who pay
Some trifling price for freedom through the day.



Children using simple primers in a dame school of the nineteenth century. While the children look well-cared for, the educational facilities in evidence are few indeed. The illustration, "The Schoolmistress", is by J. Coles after F. Wheatley. (From John Lawson and Harold Silver, A Social History of Education in England, (London, 1973), p.240).



Little Goody Two-Shoes.

THE
HISTORICAL

OF
Little GOODY TWO-SHOES;
Otherwise called,
Mrs. MARGERY TWO-SHOES.

WITH
The Means by which she acquired her
Learning and Wisdom, and in conse-
quence thereof her Estate; set forth
at large for the Benefit of those,

*Who from a State of Rags and Care,
And having Shoes but half a Pair;
Their Fortune and their Fame would fix,
And gallop in a Coach and Six.*

See the Original Manuscript in the *Vaticum*
at *Rome*, and the Cuts by *Michael Angelo*.
Illustrated with the Comments of our
great modern Critics.

L O N D O N :
Printed for J. NEWBURY, at the Bible and
Sun in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1765.
[Price Six-Pence.]

The title page and frontispiece of the eighteenth century children's novel Little Goody Two-Shoes, first published in 1765, showing the young lady who through her own efforts became the successful mistress of her own school.

employment.¹ The dame school and the common day school provided a rudimentary education for the children of those who could afford to pay the fees, and though the weekly charge was a very small one, still the children of a very large proportion of the population were excluded. Some free education for the very poor was provided by the schools of industry; often these schools were open only to workhouse children. While such schools were established by voluntary effort, the goods produced by the boys and girls as they learnt a trade were sold to help pay maintenance costs.² Much of the instruction was in the practical aspects of a trade; apart from being taught to read the children received little instruction from books, which were very scarce in these schools. Another form of elementary education for the poor was provided by the Sunday schools, particularly for children who worked during the week. A great number of children, however, remained unaffected by this educational provision.

The development of education on a national scale was one of the features of the social history of England in the nineteenth century,³ this national provision growing out of the charity schools which had

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1. A.F. Foster, Report...on the State of Popular Education in the Mining District of Durham and Auckland, Weardale, Penrith, and Wigton, in the counties of Durham and Cumberland, 1859, in England. Royal Commission on the State of Popular Education in England, Report, (Vol.2, London, 1861), p.336. See also G.S. Chalmers, Reading Easy 1800-50: A Study of the Teaching of Reading, (London, 1976), p.18.
 2. Rules for the Government of the School of Industry, for Sixty Poor Girls, at Bamburgh Castle, With the Additional Rules for Boarders, and the Forms of Prayer for their use, 1804. Reprinted in G.W. Hogg and J.C. Tyson, Popular Education 1700-1870, (Archives Teaching Units, No.4), (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1969).
 3. G. Baron, Society, Schools and Progress in England, (Oxford, 1965), p.14.

THE
SUNDAY SCHOOL.



SOLD BY HOWARD & EVANS,
 (Printers to the Cheap Repository for Moral and Religious
 Tracts,) No. 41 and 42, LONG-LANE, WEST-SMITHFIELD;
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The title page of one of the Cheap Repository Tracts, showing a benevolent visitor to a nineteenth century Sunday school handing out books to the pupils. The very prim appearance of these girls in their specially provided clothing would have contrasted with that of the new arrivals. (From: Gillian Avery, Childhood's Pattern, (Leicester, 1975), p.60).

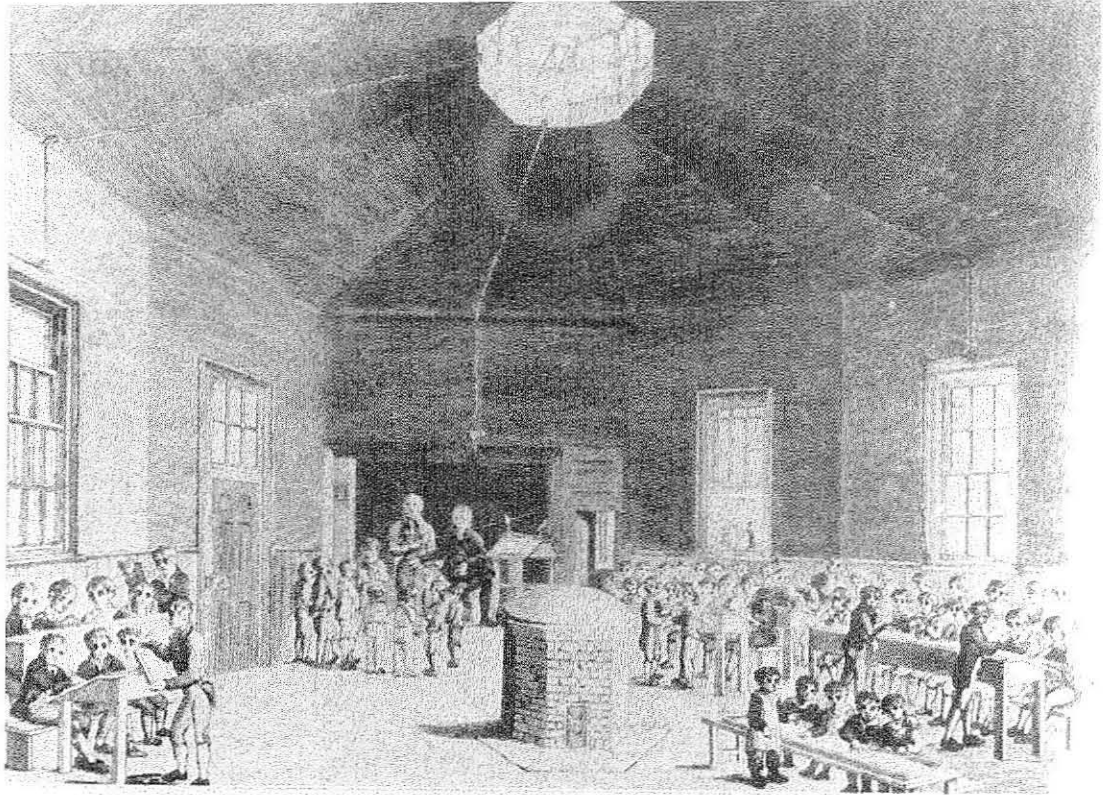
existed from the late seventeenth century.¹ Humanitarianism and religious motives had provided the early impetus for the development of these schools. Having been jolted by the French Revolution, the governing classes in England began to feel that some formal education for the lower classes would prove a safeguard against mob rule, and would combat vice, irreligion, and subversive tendencies among the poor.² These people were to be "taught to live upright and industrious lives in that station of life unto which it should please God to call them".³ However, many problems, including financial and staffing problems, were encountered in the provision of popular education on a large scale. One solution was the monitorial system, well in keeping with the economic and industrial ideas of the time, which was developed to provide instruction for large groups of children under one master. This system was developed by the Rev. Dr. Andrew Ball and by Joseph Lancaster, who advocated schemes which, though similar in conception, differed in detail and particularly in their approach to religious education. Lancaster advocated religious education which was not distinctive of any particular denomination, a concept which alienated the Established Church.⁴ Rivalry developed between the supporters of the two men as a result. In 1811 those who supported Andrew Bell's ideas formed the National Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor in the Principles of the Established Church. The supporters of Lancaster

1. Barnard, English Education from 1760, p.5.

2. Ibid., p.5.

3. Ibid., p.5.

4. Michael Sanderson, "The National and British School Societies in Lancashire 1803-1839: the roots of Anglican supremacy in English Education", in T.G. Cook (ed.), Local Studies and the History of Education, (London, 1972), p.1.



Clapham School, built in 1810, and conducted "on the system... invented by Andrew Bell", with monitors teaching groups of children under the supervision of the master. (From John Lawson and Harold Silver, A Social History of Education in England, (London, 1973), p.276).

had previously formed the Royal Lancasterian Association, which in 1815 became the British and Foreign School Society. Both societies, aiming as they did to encourage and assist the growth of schools, were, with their "national" or elementary schools, "the principal agencies for the provision of popular education for many years to come".¹

In the second half of the nineteenth century the number of books and libraries in elementary schools and in Sunday schools in England increased, as they had in the grammar schools. From 1831 the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (S.P.C.K.) had been forming lending libraries in national and parochial schools, by charging a subscription of sixpence a year for each child and by establishment book grants of £5, paid on the condition that an equal sum was raised by each school.² By 1835 the S.P.C.K. had established 2438 libraries in schools in England, and thirty-three in Wales,³ which it was hoped would be "the means (with God's grace) of checking the circulation of infidel and immoral publications".⁴ In 1832 the Religious Tract Society (R.T.S.) issued an address to the public "on the subject of the formation of libraries for schools, both day and Sunday schools";⁵ in the same year it, too, began a scheme of library grants.⁶ Many of

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1. Hogg and Tyson, Popular Education 1700-1870, p.4.
 2. W.O.B. Allen and Edmund McClure, Two Hundred Years: The History of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, (London, 1898) p.154).
 3. Ibid., p.156.
 4. Dursley Parochial and School Lending Library, Catalogue of the Dursley Parochial and School Lending Library, (Dursley, 1857), p.3.
 5. Great Britain. Select Committee on Public Libraries, Report, (London, 1849), p.168, q.2654.
 6. Alec Ellis, A History of Children's Reading and Literature, (Oxford, 1963), p.39.

the school libraries supported by these two organisations were developed for use in curricular activity in the school, like that at Abbey Street school in Bethnal Green, London, where the books were used for reference in general classroom activity, and integrated into the pattern of instruction.¹ Other libraries were provided chiefly for leisure reading. Though established by religious organisations, these school libraries did not restrict their contents to religious material; in fact the range of subjects covered in the library collections was often extensive. The S.P.C.K. itself supplied a range of general works² sponsored by its Committee of General Literature,³ and while the R.T.S. did not, it had no objection to suitable secular works "of a moral or scientific character" being placed in the libraries it supported.⁴

The figures quoted above for the establishment of school libraries in elementary schools in the early part of the nineteenth century indicate that such libraries were becoming common by 1849. The Bishop of London in 1834 had said that there were "frequently" libraries attached to National Society schools;⁵ in 1832 there were at least 3058 National Society schools in a total of 6730 Church schools.⁶ But to what extent were these libraries serving the needs of the whole school population? The S.P.C.K. in 1835 published a government return showing that the number of children receiving

1. Ibid., p.40.

2. The 1839 "Account of the Society", published in part in Allen and McClure, Two Hundred Years, p.195.

3. Ibid., p.154, p.192, p.195.

4. Ellis, A History of Children's Reading and Literature, p.39.

5. P.P. 1834(572), ix, q.1243.

6. H.J. Burgess, Enterprise in Education, (London, 1958), p.43.

instruction in week-day schools of all sorts was 671,243 in 19,645 schools. This was out of a total population in England and Wales of 13,897,187 (1831 figures).¹

TABLE IV
ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1835²

	Infant and daily schools		Sunday schools		Population in 1831
	Schools	Scholars	Schools	Scholars	
England	18,997	647,034	9687	974,634	13,091,005
Wales	648	24,909	1598	148,763	806,132
Totals	19,645	671,243	11,285	1,123,397	13,897,187

The same return gave the number of week-day schools to which libraries were attached as 2438 in England and thirty-three in Wales.³ These figures therefore indicate that only 12.83% of such schools in England and five percent in Wales had libraries in 1835. Many children, however, were not at school, as the S.P.C.K. figures show,⁴ so that these libraries served a very small proportion of the total school-age population.

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1. Allen and McClure, Two Hundred Years, p.155.
 2. Table from Allen and McClure, Two Hundred Years, p.155.
 3. Ibid., p.156.
 4. James Hole, in an essay on the Present State of Education amongst the Working Classes of Leeds and How it Can Best Be Improved, written in 1860, maintained that one of the reasons for low attendance was the early age at which children were removed from school. In 1859 "nearly nine-tenths of the children of the working classes stay at school only about three years and are then sent out to their work in life". W.A. Munford, Penny Rate, Aspects of British Public Library History, 1850-1950, (London, 1951), p.139.

Both the S.P.C.K. and the R.T.S. continued to assist the formation of libraries in schools after 1835; by 1849 when the Corresponding Secretary gave evidence before the Select Committee on Public Libraries, his Society alone had established a further 3108 libraries.¹ In addition, the R.T.S. had granted, between 1847 and 1849, 182 libraries to schoolmasters in elementary schools. These collections "consisted principally of biblical, historical and scientific works, to assist them in imparting instruction to the children committed to their care."² The influence of these libraries was probably not great, since as late as 1852 sixty per cent of the children of England and Wales between the ages of three and fifteen were not at a school, and of the two million who then received a formal education, forty-two per cent were in attendance for less than one year.³ So while the R.T.S. alone spent about £17,094 on school libraries to 1849,⁴ the vast majority of children were still without access to any books through the schools for home reading, if they did actually learn to read.

School libraries established by the R.T.S. generally began with one hundred to two hundred volumes.⁵ One of the first two Inspectors of schools, Seymour Tremenheere, referred to an elementary school in London which had 195 pupils on the day of his inspection

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1. Great Britain. Select Committee on Public Libraries, Report, p.169, q.2661.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Alec Ellis, Library Services for Young People in England and Wales, 1830-1970, (Oxford, 1971), p.7.
 4. Great Britain. Select Committee on Public Libraries, Report, p.169, q.2661 and q.2667.
 5. Ibid., p.168, q.2656.

in 1842, who had access to a library of only seventy volumes.¹ However school libraries in the Midlands averaged collections of 214 volumes at this time.² There were others even larger. An unidentified English schoolmaster in the columns of Papers for a Schoolmaster in 1852 described his school library collection of "more than six hundred volumes",³ while Dursley Parochial School Library had more than 550 volumes five years later.⁴

The lending library of St. Mary Redcliff, now part of Bristol, had 247 books when its catalogue was published in 1861.⁵ The book collection of this subscription library was kept at the Boys' National School, where it was made available to borrowers for half an hour on Monday mornings. Though the collection contained many works published by the R.T.S. and particularly by the S.P.C.K., on theology, travels, biography, and history, it had apparently always been intended primarily as a library for recreational reading. Of the books in this library, thirty-five percent were fiction. Only nine percent were classified as "Religion", though a few books listed under "Biography" were lives of religious leaders, and some listed under "History" were church histories. The Table below gives an analysis of the collection.

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1. Great Britain. Committee of Council on Education, Minutes 1842-3, (London, 1843), p.477.
 2. Ellis, Library Services for Young People, p.6.
 3. Quoted from the September 1852 issue of Papers for a Schoolmaster by B.C. Bloomfield, "School Libraries in the Nineteenth Century", Library Association Record, 68(1966), p.17.
 4. Dursley Parochial and School Lending Library, Catalogue, p.3.
 5. St. Mary Redcliff, Catalogue of the Lending Library of St. Mary Redcliff, (Bristol, 1861).

TABLE V

THE LIBRARY OF ST. MARY REDCLIFF, 1861¹

Type of book	Number	%
Religion	22	8.9
Miscellaneous information	14	5.66
History	22	8.9
Biography	31	12.55
Travels	25	10.12
Magazines	45	18.21
Tales (i.e. Fiction)	88	35.62
Total	247	

A rather larger school library was the parochial and school lending library at Dursley. This had been established in the early 1830s with 220 volumes; by 1857 it had more than 550 volumes, some of which had been supplied by the S.P.C.K.² Children who attended the parish school, and their parents, received a copy of the published library catalogue on payment of a twopence joining fee; thereafter each family of borrowers paid a one penny subscription monthly. Other people could also use the library, though they had to pay a double rate subscription. Catalogues published in 1857, 1864 with addenda in 1866, and 1871, show the growth of the library to a collection of more than a thousand volumes. They also show the development of the library from one which was primarily religious, with 32.6% of its collection consisting of theological and devotional works in 1857, and only 12.7% of works of fiction, to a more general library even by 1864, when religious works comprised only 18.5% of the collection and fiction 23.7%. The Table which follows will show

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1. Table compiled from: St. Mary Redcliff, Catalogue of the Lending Library of St. Mary Redcliff, (Bristol, 1861).
 2. Dursley Parochial and School Lending Library, Catalogue, passim.

this trend in more detail.

TABLE VI
DURSLEY PAROCHIAL AND SCHOOL LIBRARY¹

Type of Book	Collection in 1857		Collection in 1864	
	Number of books	%	Number of books	%
Religion	207	36.2	149	18.5
Poetry	7	1.22	11	1.4
History and Biography	93	16.29	165	20.6
Natural Science	46	8.05	75	9.35
Travels	65	11.3	84	10.5
Tales (i.e. Fiction)	73	12.7	190	23.7
Miscellaneous	80	14.1	128	15.9
Totals	571		802	

Many of the works listed under "History and Biography", more than at St. Mary Redcliff, were in fact church or mission histories, or the biographies of church leaders or missionaries, and some of those listed under "Travel" were stories of missionary journeys. Nevertheless the trend towards more general reading materials, particularly works on natural science, voyages and travels, and fiction, is apparent in this library.

Considerable attention was given to the organisation of these school libraries, though it was not until 1892 that a standard manual for Sunday school and week-day school libraries was prepared by Thomas Greenwood. Including a list of recommended books, together with "hints on management", it was based on the work of the R.T.S., the

1. Table compiled from: Dursley, Catalogue of the Dursley Parochial and School Lending Library, (Dursley, 1857), and Dursley, Catalogue of the Dursley Parochial and School Lending Library, (Dursley, 1864).

S.P.C.K., and the Sunday School Union.¹ The books in the mid-century libraries were usually given a running number by which they were identified and shelved. A catalogue was prepared, and often printed, as at Dursley and St. Mary Redcliff, so that each subscriber could have a copy. Other catalogues were merely hand-written in registers. A letter to Papers for the Schoolmaster in July 1852² described such a cataloguing system, where books were entered twice, once in number order, as in a shelf list, and once in an alphabetical listing by title. The same anonymous correspondent described an even simpler catalogue in a country school, where the names and numbers of the books were written on a large sheet of paper and pasted to a board.³ Various items of library stationery were prepared and sold by the voluntary societies which supported school libraries: the Church of England Sunday School Institute, of London, for instance, printed and sold a "Library Register Book" which could be used as a borrowing register in week-day schools; another was printed and distributed by the S.P.C.K.⁴ Correspondence in the Papers for the Schoolmaster between March and September 1852 on the subject of the most efficient form of borrowing register showed that many people in charge of libraries had attempted to grapple with the problem of the organisation of borrowing and the control of stock, some even designing their own registers.⁵ Sometimes the libraries were organised and

1. Thomas Greenwood, Sunday-School and Village Libraries, (London, 1892).

2. pp.121-122.

3. Papers for the Schoolmaster, 2(1852), pp.121-122.

4. B.C. Bloomfield, "School Libraries in the Nineteenth Century", Library Association Record, 68(1966), p.16.

5. Ibid., pp.16-18.

controlled by a schoolmaster who acted as librarian;¹ sometimes the responsibility was delegated to pupil teachers.² At Dursley the librarian was the Rector of the parish, assisted by the curate and the Master and the Mistress of the church schools.³ The 1849 Report of the Select Committee on Public Libraries indicates that often in smaller centres the library was simply placed "wherever persons [were] found disposed to superintend them."⁴ The religious societies hoped that those people who took charge of the books would be "sufficiently respectable" men, trustworthy, sympathetic to the aims of the society, and willing to do the work without pay.⁵ It was also hoped that the librarian would be someone knowledgeable about books, who could help the borrowers to select suitable reading matter.⁶

These week-day school libraries appear to have been well used. In sixteen schools in the Midlands, with a total of 2204 pupils, during a six-month period each child was estimated to have borrowed two books.⁷ Mr. William Jones, of the R.T.S., supplied the 1849 Select Committee on Public Libraries with a collection of letters testifying to the "usefulness" of the book collections supplied by that Society, particularly "the narratives...preferred by the children", which were "quite worn out" with use, and "sermons in the

1. Great Britain. Select Committee on Public Libraries, Report, p.171.

2. Papers for the Schoolmaster, 2(1852), pp.170-171.

3. Dursley Parochial and School Lending Library, Catalogue, p.5.

4. Great Britain. Select Committee on Public Libraries, Report, p.168, q.2657.

5. Ibid., p.112, q.1782, 1783.

6. Letter to Papers for the Schoolmaster, 2(1852), pp.121-122, quoted by Bloomfield, "School Libraries in the Nineteenth Century", p.16.

7. Ellis, Library Services for Young People, p.6.

form of tracts".¹ These libraries were used by both adults and children, and Mr. Jones told of "men who have been in the habit of spending the principal part of their Sundays in the public-house" who now "returned their book with the promise, that if the member would continue to supply such reading, they would leave off spending the day in drunkenness and stay at home and read".² He had other touching stories too, including one about a very lame man who often walked two miles to change his books, and who had read all of the books in the library near him.³

Week-day schools, whether associated with the churches or other voluntary organisations, were not the only schools which possessed libraries for the use of children - or adults. Many Sunday schools also contained collections. The early Sunday schools, as well as imparting religious instruction, nearly always had to undertake the task of giving elementary education, particularly when children and young adults had to work during the week. The only education, therefore, that many received was in the Sunday schools.⁴ As it was realised that when people had been taught to read, they needed books, many Sunday schools began acquiring "little collections of books", which they lent out for home reading.⁵ The R.T.S. address to the public on the establishment of libraries in 1832 referred as much to their formation in the Sunday schools as in the week-day schools,⁶

1. Great Britain. Select Committee on Public Libraries, Report, p.171.

2. Ibid.

3. Ibid.

4. Greenwood, Sunday-School and Village Libraries, p.1.

5. Ibid.

6. Great Britain. Select Committee on Public Libraries, Report, p.168, q.2654.

regarding as important the promotion of the cause of education in the former as well as in the latter.¹

As with week-day school libraries, those in Sunday schools varied greatly in size and content. In London nearly every church and chapel had a Sunday school library for the children, most of them containing material of a religious character, though many also included secular books of voyages and travels and other works.² The Wesley-Place Sunday School at Great Horton in 1862 had 333 books including titles like British Fish and Fisheries, Ancient Egypt, Electricity, Julius Caesar, as well as editions of the Bible, commentaries, Early Piety, and James Janeway's A Token for Children; Being an Exact Account of the Conversion, Holy and Exemplary Lives, and Joyful Deaths, of Several Young Children,³ a work typical of those produced from the late seventeenth century onwards by writers in the Puritan tradition who aimed simply to convert children and lead them to Heaven. The Red Hill Sunday School library, founded thirty-five years earlier in 1815, had in 1819 a total of 425 books, which also included general works of history, biography, travel, and fiction, though a much greater proportion of the library's collection was theological or admonitory. It included a large number of Puritan works for children such as Burder's Early Piety, Blair's Advice to Youth, and John Cotton's catechism Spiritual Milk for Boston Babes,

1. Ellis, A History of Children's Reading and Literature, p.43.

2. Ibid., p.43.

3. Great Horton, The Catalogue of Books in the Scholars' Library of Wesley-Place Sunday School, Great Horton, (Bradford, 1862). The Janeway book, A Token for Children..., is listed only by brief title on page 8 of the catalogue. The reference to the full title came from the 1671 London edition of the work, which was reprinted throughout the eighteenth century and nineteenth century.

in Either England, drawn from the Breasts of both Testaments for Their Souls' Nourishment.¹ This book was published first in England in 1646, and like Janeway's, it remained in print for more than two centuries.

Small collections were established in many Sunday schools for the use of teachers, many of whom, while being very enthusiastic, were deficient in Biblical knowledge and sometimes not sufficiently literate to teach children.² A good teachers' collection would include books on particular subjects taught at the school, and a selection of reference books, generally bought through weekly or monthly subscriptions from the teachers, allocations from the school fund, and donations from supporters.³ A library of this kind, consisting of 360 volumes, was formed in 1850 at the Hanover Square Sunday Schools in Newcastle-upon-Tyne.⁴ At Portmahon Baptist Sunday School, which had a library of 362 volumes for the scholars, there was also a teachers' library of 115 titles, including works on

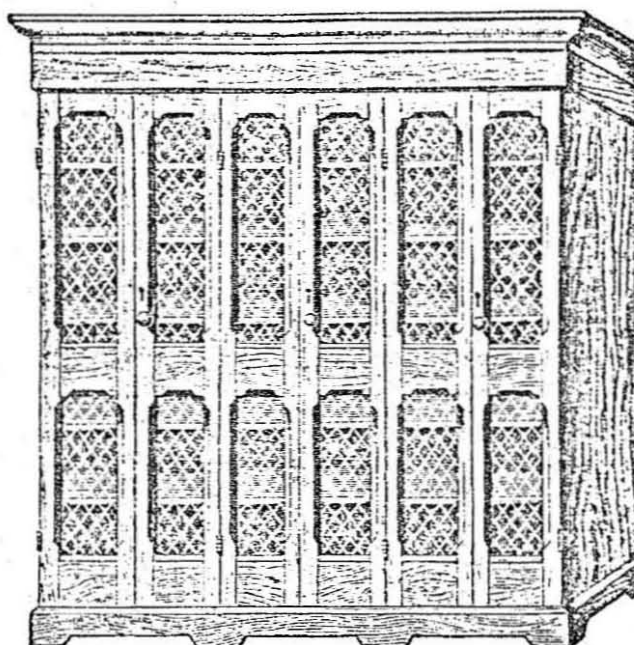
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1. Red Hill, Catalogue of the Books, also the Rules belonging to the Red Hill Sunday School Library, (Sheffield, 1819).
 2. There is some evidence that the teachers themselves learnt a great deal through the Sunday schools. A correspondent to the Papers for the Schoolmaster, 2(1852), pp.121-122, quoted by Bloomfield, "School Libraries in the Nineteenth Century", p.16, commented that "two of the Sunday School Teachers, who were diligent readers of the library books, added thus so much to their little stock of knowledge that they were competent to engage in a larger sphere of labour; one has been trained at one of our excellent Training Institutions, and is now a certificated mistress of a flourishing Infant School. The other, after having conducted a mixed country school for some time, with much satisfaction to the Clergyman and his family, is about to be trained, previous to undertaking a still more important school which awaits her."
 3. Ellis, A History of Children's Reading and Literature, p.43.
 4. Ibid.

theology, religious biography, collections of sermons, and teachers' manuals.¹ The Wesley-Place Sunday School at Great Horton had a teachers' library of 349 volumes in 1862, including works on education and teaching.² A witness to the Select Committee on Public Libraries in 1849, who described the collections of purely religious books at Yarmouth, from which volumes were lent on Sundays to the teachers,³ indicated that such libraries in Sunday schools were, in fact, common.⁴

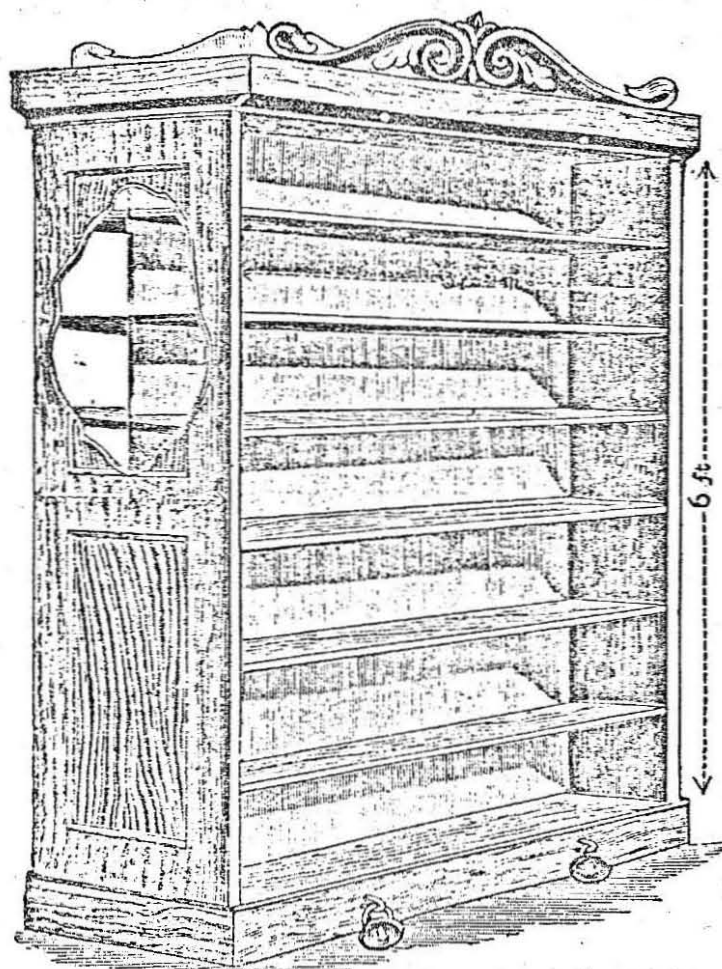
It is probable that by the mid-nineteenth century, Sunday school libraries both for adults and children were indeed plentiful. In 1834 the Secretary of the Sunday School Union stated that "in nearly all the Sunday schools there are circulating libraries" for the use of the children, and often for parents and others as well.⁵ A similar view had already been put forward by the National Society in an Appendix to its Report in 1831. Where Sunday school libraries existed, their influence was potentially great in furthering the education of the three million children in England and Wales who did not attend day school. Alec Ellis has commented that "it would be impossible to determine to what extent Sunday school libraries were provided for the use of children",⁶ noting that the presence of such

-
1. Portmahon, Catalogue of the Portmahon Baptist Sunday School Library, (Sheffield, n.d.).
 2. Great Horton, The Catalogue of Books in the Teachers' Library, Wesley-Place Sunday School, Great Horton, (Bradford, 1862).
 3. Great Britain. Select Committee on Public Libraries, Report, p.136, q.2105.
 4. Ibid., q.2101.
 5. P.P. 1834(572), ix, q.1243.
 6. Ellis, A History of Children's Reading and Literature, p.43.

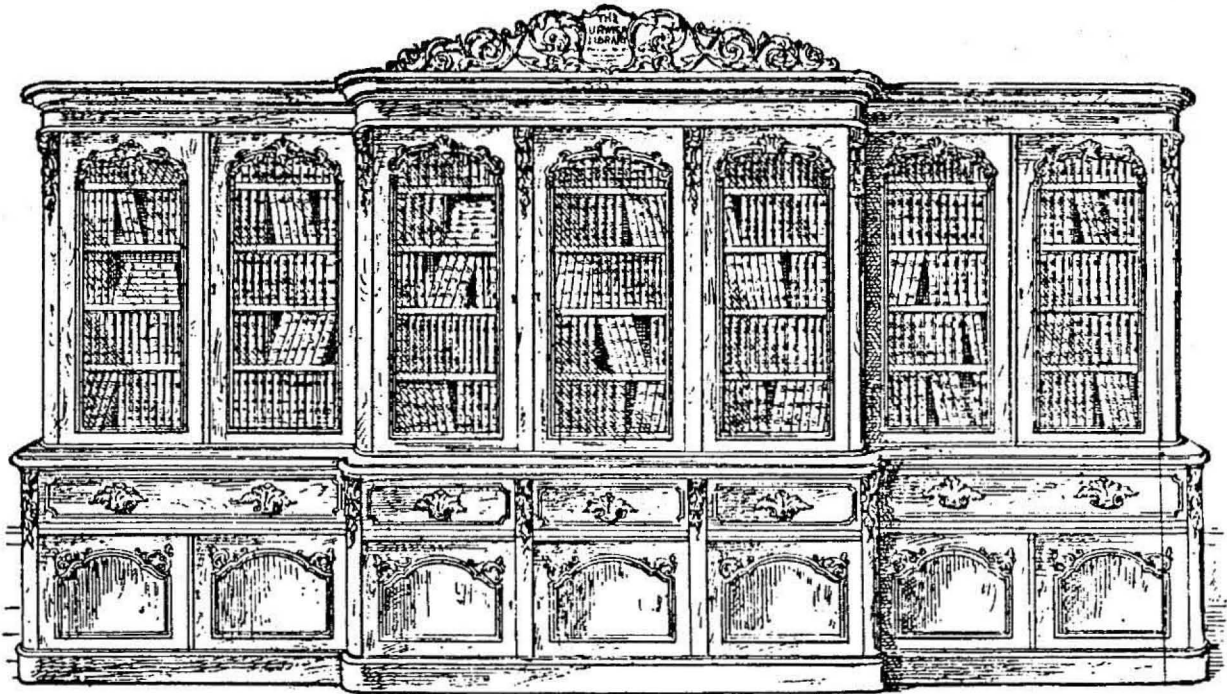
Single- and double-sided bookcases suggested for Sunday School Libraries by Thomas Greenwood in his manual published in 1892. Both cases were six feet high. It was suggested that provision be made on all cases for shutters or mesh which could be locked into place, in order to protect the books. (From: Thomas Greenwood, Sunday-School and Village Libraries, (London, 1892), p.12 and p.14.)



WALL BOOK-CASE.



DOUBLE-SIDED BOOK PRESS.



SUNDAY-SCHOOL MODEL LIBRARY

An illustration, from Thomas Greenwood's 1892 manual, of a model library for a Sunday school. As with the bookshelves shown previously, there is provision for locking the bookcases to prevent casual use of the books in the collection. The library illustrated was that presented to the Congregational Sunday school at Hatherlow, near Stockport, by a grateful former pupil who had prospered in London. It was named the Urwick Library after a former minister of the church. (From: Thomas Greenwood, Sunday-School and Village Libraries, (London, 1892), p.30.)

libraries did not necessarily indicate a high rate of usage among young people.¹ But while it is a truism that it is impossible to measure the effect of Sunday school libraries - or, for that matter, of most libraries - this is no justification for assuming that they had no effect. They certainly provided access to library collections for an enormous number of children not catered for in the ordinary schools. This very large number of Sunday school libraries, when added to the total of ordinary school libraries, indicates that serious attempts were being made to provide school library services for a substantial proportion of the child population.

In the second half of the nineteenth century the character and functions of the Sunday schools altered radically. In 1870 the Elementary Education Act was passed, which brought about the establishment of Board Schools and led to a wider provision of elementary education, with the establishment of a secular or undenominational state system.² After the Free Education Act of 1891 there was no longer any need for the Sunday schools to provide basic education; their function became almost entirely the teaching of religion to children of church members, which usually involved a continuation of suitable library provision. The Sunday school libraries were also to a certain extent influenced by the Public Libraries Acts of 1850 and 1855 which enabled local authorities to provide public libraries

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1. An undated nineteenth century borrowing register which survives for the Attleborough Baptist Sunday School Library shows that in its first year of operation most of the keen readers got through a great many of the 172 books, and then ceased to borrow, while the majority of users took out only one or two books in the twelve months. Attleborough Baptist Sunday School Library book record, MS, Warwickshire County Record Office, CR992/12.
 2. Heulwen M. Ellis, *The Evolution of the School Library, 1860-1970*, (M.Ed. dissertation, University College of North Wales, 1973), p.8.

from rates. Nevertheless for thirty-six years after the passing of these Acts the number of new public libraries was insignificant,¹ so that even by the 1880s a great number of people were still relying on Sunday school and parochial libraries for their reading materials.²

In the last two decades of the century the Education Authorities began to pay some attention to forming day school libraries, particularly since school Inspectors from 1870 onwards had laid great stress on reading ability and the establishment of a library in each school.³ In 1880 the London School Board, after an unsuccessful attempt two years previously to establish a series of rotating libraries in its schools,⁴ sanctioned an average expenditure

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1. By 1859 only twenty-one local authorities had adopted the Public Libraries Act and made the decision to offer a public library service financed by the penny rate. Between 1850 and 1880 only eighty places in England elected to become library authorities. Ellis, Library Services for Young People, p.3, and W.A. Munford, Penny Rate: Aspects of British Public Library History 1850-1950, (London, 1951), pp.32-33.
 2. Greenwood, Sunday-School and Village Libraries, p.3.
 3. Ellis, The Evolution of the School Library, p.8; J.G. Fitch, Lectures on Teaching, (Cambridge, 1887), p.84.
 4. This unsuccessful system was inaugurated by the School Board for London in 1878. All the schools in London were organised into groups, each group consisting of schools whose total enrolment was 10,000 children. For each group of schools, £120 at first, and later £144, was to be spent on books. Each school was allocated a proportion of the books bought for the group of schools, and every six months each school passed its collection on to the next school in the group. This system was supposed to ensure novelty and variety in the reading materials available to each group of pupils; but Greenwood reported that in practice it was difficult to administer. Thomas Greenwood, Public Libraries, (London, 1890), p.385. In 1880 or 1882 it was modified into the scheme described above. See also H.T. Cox, "London School Board Libraries", The Library Chronicle, 4(1887), pp.169-171.

of £12 per school,¹ to provide a permanent lending library in each school for the use of boys and girls of Standard III and upwards. This library was placed under the care of the head master, who forwarded an annual requisition for books and apparatus, the books being selected from the London School Board's catalogue of books for school libraries.² The libraries, each of from one hundred to one hundred and fifty volumes,³ consisted of "works of Tennyson, Longfellow, Shakespeare, Spenser, Macaulay, Smiles, and others; books of fiction by Dickens, Thackeray, and other great novelists; boys' books from the popular pens of Kingston, Ballantyne, and Marryat; and bound volumes of magazines".⁴ Open for one hour a week for the exchange of books these libraries were subject to the Board's requirement that accurate library registers be kept⁵ of stock and of loans. To maintain the collections, one halfpenny per pupil per year up to a maximum of twelve shillings was granted.⁶

Other Education Authorities joined with the local Public Library Authority to provide library services to public elementary schools. Leeds was the first of these. There the Public Library Authority established branch libraries in schools in 1884, a scheme subsequently extended to the voluntary schools in the area.⁷ By 1890 Leeds had

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1. In schools where a separate school department existed for girls, the sum of £10 was provided to establish a library in that department for the exclusive use of the girls.
 2. Greenwood, Public Libraries, p.386.
 3. Cox, "London School Board Libraries", p.170.
 4. Greenwood, Public Libraries, p.386.
 5. Ibid., p.386.
 6. Frank J. Taylor, "Organisation and Administration of School Libraries"; Library Assistant, 9(1912), p.55.
 7. Taylor, "Organisation and Administration of School Libraries", p.55; Greenwood, Public Libraries, pp.384-385.

twelve library branches in Board schools, each open for three hours on three or four evenings each week. They contained books "varying in numbers from 3073 to 1500 volumes according to the size of the district", with six out of the twelve being supplied with copies of the local papers and popular magazines. Greenwood, describing these libraries in 1890, went on to say:

Four Branch Libraries, containing about 1000 volumes each, and consisting wholly of juvenile literature, have, with the co-operation of the Board, been established, the Library Committee purchasing the books, and the Board undertaking the supplying of the bookcases, &c., and the management. These branches are open one hour on a certain day of the week to the scholars attending the schools and the children of the neighbourhood for the issuing and charging of books, this work being done by the teachers. In addition to the four juvenile branches, three branches that had been established some years have been handed over to the Board, and these are also open one hour each week, and are worked by the staff of the schools. This makes the total number of Branch Libraries in Board Schools sixteen.¹

Greenwood also indicated that there were three libraries held in church or other voluntary schools.²

The Borough Library at Plymouth was also providing a service to schools in 1890, with "a small collection of books approved by both library and school authorities" being provided in each of twelve schools.³ The Public Library at Bradford provided branches in Board schools from 1885; Norwich from 1889; followed by Barry, Birmingham, Bootle, Cambridge, Reading, and others.⁴ The work of J.J. Ogle at Bootle in providing a library service to schools in the area with

1. Greenwood, Public Libraries, pp.384-385.

2. Ibid., p.385.

3. Greenwood, Public Libraries, p.383. A total of 1719 volumes was on loan among the twelve Board schools, with an average of 143.25 books in each school.

4. Ellis, Library Services for Young People, pp.22-23.

travelling collections on a handcart, was particularly well known.¹ Other public library authorities provided assistance to schools with special book collections, lectures for visiting groups of pupils, and special loans to teachers.²

The school library situation in nineteenth century Scotland was in many ways similar to that in England. While many grammar schools, public schools, elementary schools, and Sunday schools had libraries, some of them very old, others were without any provision at all. A survey of school libraries was included by Grant in his History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland, published in 1876. Not finding the existing situation altogether satisfactory, he spoke about the aims which a school library could fulfil in terms which would have been completely acceptable to most English educationists:

One of the greatest services which a school could render to the little community under its charge is to establish for their use a Library which should be put under the guardianship of a person of intelligence, active habits, and possessing a natural inclination to oblige and help inquiring young spirits...the school library ought to consist chiefly of books calculated to convey useful instruction and amusement, including works of travel, biography and science properly treated; and the young scholar should be introduced to our grand old masters in poetry and romance, and to such histories as tend to foster the love of one's country and the spirit of freedom and independence.³

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1. E.J. Hunter, An Appreciation of the Career of John J. Ogle, First Librarian and Curator of the Bootle Free Library and Museum, (F.L.A. thesis, 1966), pp.73-94.
 2. There were approximately forty libraries throughout the country in 1891 which possessed special collections of books for children. Ellis, Library Services for Young People, p.14. These included Manchester, Cambridge, Nottingham, Camberwell. Melvyn Barnes, "Children's Libraries in Manchester: A History", Manchester Review, 11(1966/67), pp.80-89; Nottingham Public Libraries, Fifty Years: A Brief History of the Public Library Movement in Nottingham, (Nottingham, 1918); Alec Ellis, "Public Libraries for Children During the Nineteenth Century", Library Association Record, 69(1967), pp.230-235.
 3. James Grant, History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1876), n.p.

Grant complained that in very few schools in the early 1870s did he find a collection of books worthy of the name "library" - that is, that measured up to his criteria above. Two exceptions which he noted were the High School at Edinburgh, and the Dollar "institution", which then had over 5000 volumes,¹ having increased its stock from the 3000 or more volumes it had in 1845.² This library was open free to all pupils. It was also open on a subscription basis to all parishioners on payment of two shillings a quarter.³

Grant's list of secondary schools with poor or little-used libraries included Paisley Grammar School, Arbroath High School, Ayr Academy, Greenock Academy, Bathgate Academy, Burntisland Grammar School, Leith High School, and Tarn Royal Academy.⁴ He also listed twenty-three towns where there were grammar schools, high schools, and academies, which had "not even small or useless collections of books".⁵ However he was certainly inaccurate in this list, since in at least two towns on it - Montrose and Glasgow - libraries had been previously established in schools. At Montrose the Town Council in the seventeenth century had built up a library for public and school use; this library became the Grammar School Library.⁶ Its collection, catalogued in 1841,⁷ contained books in English, Latin, Greek, French, with some Italian and Spanish works, on history,

1. Ibid., n.p.

2. James Scotland, History of Scottish Education, (vol.1, London, 1970), p.293.

3. Ibid.

4. Grant, Burgh Schools of Scotland, n.p.

5. Ibid., n.p.

6. Duncan Fraser, Montrose (before 1700), (Montrose, 1967), p.163.

7. Montrose Academy, Catalogue of the Books in the Old Library of the Montrose Grammar School, May 1841. MS., at the school.

mathematics, poetry, philosophy, and religion; it also included incunabula dating from 1477. A borrowing register, begun in the same year in which the library was catalogued, shows that books continued to be lent from the collection up to 1890,¹ often to members of the general public. At the same time a modern collection of books was also built up for the use of the school. At Glasgow a library had existed in the Grammar School (now the High School) from at least 1682,² but in 1882 Mr. James Ewing, formerly the Town Council's Convenor of the Committee on the School, gave twenty guineas towards the foundation of a new library for the pupils.³ Dorothy White suggests that it is possible that Grant listed some of these schools as having no libraries because, as at Paisley Grammar School,⁴ their old libraries were moribund by the 1870s. Nevertheless the old library at Montrose Academy was still being used as a lending collection, however sporadically, and both Montrose and Glasgow High School appear to have had more modern nineteenth century collections as well. The general picture painted by Grant then of secondary school libraries in Scottish towns in the late nineteenth century is probably too sweepingly pessimistic.

There were also libraries in schools in rural areas of Scotland by the nineteenth century. William Boyd states that by about 1825 there were school libraries in Ochiltree and Maybole. In the same

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1. Montrose Academy, Montrose Grammar School Library Receipt Book. MS., at the school.
 2. Grant, Burgh Schools of Scotland, n.p.
 3. J. Cleland (compiler), Historical Account of the Grammar School of Glasgow, (Glasgow, 1825), p.28.
 4. Dorothy H. White, The Development of School Libraries in Scotland 1658-1970, (M.A. thesis, University of Strathclyde, 1973), p.6.

county of Ayr, school libraries benefitted from the Ferguson Bequest Fund which from the early 1860s provided for building schools, supplementing teachers' salaries, and maintaining libraries. In 1861 there were sixty-two libraries: twenty-seven in Ayrshire (with 3405 readers); twenty in Lanarkshire; and fifteen in other southern counties.¹

The New Statistical Account of Scotland, compiled in the 1840s from information largely collected as early as 1836/7, provides further examples of elementary school libraries in rural areas. One had been founded at Biggar in Lanarkshire in 1828, when £20 had been raised by subscription; a sermon was preached each year in aid of its funds. At Colinton School in Edinburgh books were lent to the advanced children as a reward for success in school work, those who were thus entitled to use the books paying a subscription of one penny per quarter. It was claimed that the parochial school at Ormiston in Haddingtonshire had a library in 1683, with sixty books in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and English. And at Eccles in Berwickshire the schoolmaster had "the merit of having established, at his own expense, a library for the use of his pupils"; he found that they were "much benefited by private reading" as a result.²

The address to the public on the foundation of libraries in both week-day and Sunday schools issued by the Religious Tract Society in 1832, which has already been referred to, was concerned with the

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1. William Boyd, Education in Ayrshire through Seven Centuries, (London, 1961), p.125.
 2. White, The Development of School Libraries in Scotland, p.5, quoting sections from the New Statistical Account of Scotland, (Edinburgh, 1845).

development of libraries throughout Great Britain. It is not known how many grants the Society made in Scotland,¹ but each such library there generally consisted of one hundred or more Biblical, historical, and scientific works, as in England.²

Many Sunday schools throughout Scotland had libraries by 1836 or 1837 when the returns for the 1845 New Statistical Account of Scotland were compiled. Grants had only been available for five years from the Religious Tract Society and for six years from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, yet of the sixty-one parishes in the County of Fife alone, thirteen had Sunday school libraries.³ Two of the Fife parishes, Newburgh and Ceres, each had two "Sabbath schools" with libraries⁴ in each, and in the Wemyss parish, in which there were six villages, there was an unspecified number of libraries in the "Sabbath and evening schools".⁵ The Sabbath school library at Kennaway had about 400 volumes⁶ and that at Burntisland about 300,⁷ indicating that they were similar in size to many Sunday school libraries in England in the same period. Some, such as Kinghorn,⁸ which had relied heavily on works from the R.T.S. in building up their collections, generally showed a greater proportion of "religious publications"⁹ in their stock than those in England. The bookstocks

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1. White, The Development of School Libraries in Scotland, p.5.
 2. Ibid., p.5.
 3. Calculated from information in the New Statistical Account of Scotland, Volume 9, Fife-Kinross, (Edinburgh, 1845), passim.
 4. New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol.9, p.79.
 5. Ibid., Vol.9, p.401.
 6. Ibid., Vol.9, p.388.
 7. Ibid., Vol.9, p.423.
 8. Ibid., Vol.9, p.818.
 9. Ibid., Vol.9, p.982.

at Wemyss, Scoonie, and Burntisland, for instance, were described by the local ministers who provided the responses for the survey as being "chiefly religious".¹ At Kinglassie "the generosity of a benevolently disposed lady" had supplied a parochial library, a collection "of interesting and instructive books", to which the children attending the village school had free access. But since no further information is given about the sort of books in the library,² it too may have been "mainly religious".

While there is, as indicated, evidence for considerable school library provision in Scotland in the nineteenth century, there is also evidence of positive hostility towards school libraries among professional educators for which there is no parallel in England. During the 1880s and 1890s particularly there was some controversy about the value of school libraries amongst Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools, with those who were critical of the value of school libraries receiving considerable support. Dr. Smith, an Inspector of the Western Division, claimed in the Report for 1896-7 that libraries were a distraction from study:

Our best teachers would rather discourage the distraction caused by home-reading, even of an instructive kind, while school lessons are so important and absorbing. Books of travel, histories and biographies may be valuable supplements to a completed education, but while education is going on they are not likely to be read with much profit.³

Dr. Smith went on to point out that while such distraction might possibly be acceptable in country areas "where the material for education outside books is scanty" and there were few other

1. Ibid., Vol.9, p.276, p.401, p.423.

2. Ibid., Vol.9, p.203.

3. Quoted by White, The Development of School Libraries in Scotland, p.7.

distractions, school libraries were hardly acceptable in a town, where their provision would simply add to the influences which drew the young away from serious study. Later, however, in a rather contradictory vein, he went on to suggest that it was pointless to supply libraries in towns anyway, since there were "...entertainments, ...electric light, ...instructive shop windows, and ...iron-working and engineering industries..."¹ to draw the young away from books. At the twenty-sixth Annual Meeting of the Library Association, held in 1903, Samuel H. Murray, Fellow of the Educational Institute of Scotland, also challenged the value of school library provision, though his arguments were rather different. He claimed that to provide school libraries would be making life too easy for children. Life in Scotland was, he felt, more strenuous than in the south of Britain or in America, and children had to be encouraged to bring substantial effort to their work, rather than be "spoon-fed" by the State with books. Failing to see the "educational value of the broader reading which came from the use of the library", he also believed that it was better for children to read a few books thoroughly while they were acquiring the art of reading, rather than "many things superficially". He quoted a "careful investigation" made in 1896 of the number of school libraries in existence in Scotland, and their use, claiming that the results were "such as not to conduce to the extension of the school library movement in Scotland".²

Some other school Inspectors in Scotland, however, did not agree

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1. Dr. Smith, H.M.I., quoted by White, *The Development of School Libraries in Scotland*, p.7.
 2. Samuel H. Murray, *Speech at the Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Library Association*, Library Association Record, 5(15 October 1903), pp.486-488.

with Dr. Smith or Mr. Murray. Mr. Muir, for example, wrote in the 1898-9 report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland that "regular lessons should not take up the great part of a long winter evening, as one hears complaints that they do",¹ but that some time should be spent in free reading. In the 1896-7 report, another H.M.I., Mr. Munro Fraser, who looked approvingly on "the establishment of day school libraries as part of the machinery of every well-equipped school", reported the beginnings of library collections in several places, including Rothesay Academy.²

It is apparent from this overview that the nineteenth century in Great Britain saw an increase in the number of school libraries in existence in schools of all types, an increase in the size of the collections in these libraries, and an increasing sophistication in their organisation and management. The older libraries in the public and grammar schools, investigated by Nicholas Carlisle and by the Taunton and Clarendon Commissions, increased the range of their collections in response to a changing curriculum, while gradually opening their libraries to a wider population within the school. However since these schools operated independently their libraries at

1. White, *The Development of School Libraries in Scotland*, p.17.

2. Scotland. Committee of Council on Education in Scotland, Annual Report, 1896-7, p.394. Dr. Smith however had still other warnings to sound about the future of school libraries:

A hindrance to the success of a school library is based on an objection which affects circulating libraries of every kind, and rests on sanitary ground. Healthy children do not incline to read overmuch, but sick or convalescent children find distraction and companionship in books...that a library book might prove a source of infection is enough to make the more fastidious class of parents object to their children taking out books from a school library. This objection is a comparatively new one, being based on recent extensions of scientific knowledge, but it is one which will have more effect in the future than it has had in the past.

Ibid.

any one time during the century would have differed very greatly in the content and range of the collections, the people served by the collections, and in organisation of the libraries. Libraries were developed in the new girls' secondary schools which came into existence from the middle years of the nineteenth century in imitation of the boys' public and grammar schools; there had been little provision for books in the small privately-run day and boarding schools for girls up to that time. In the various elementary day and Sunday schools library provision increased most markedly during the course of the nineteenth century. From the very early years of the century libraries were provided in many such schools with the help of voluntary religious organisations; after the creation of the Board schools which heralded the state-supported system of elementary education in the later years of the century, library service was frequently supplied through or with the assistance of the local library authority, though the London School Board developed its own school library system. With the creation of Board schools, Sunday schools ceased to play a part in elementary education, becoming instead centres for the religious instruction of the children of church members; for their libraries, too, this meant a change of role. However despite the fact that so many schools in Great Britain can be shown to have had libraries, library provision at any time during the century was patchy, with some schools being well provided for while at the same time and in the same area others had no libraries at all.

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Henry Stevens, formerly Yale College Librarian, described the library situation in the United States of America for the British Select Committee on Public Libraries in 1849. Included in his list of "species of libraries" were "academy libraries, common school libraries, and Sunday school libraries".¹ So in early nineteenth century America, as in Britain, it was already accepted that a library formed a natural part of a school, at the secondary, elementary, and Sunday school level. These school libraries, again as in Britain, often served a community much wider than the teachers and pupils of the school, making a substantial contribution particularly to the intellectual life of small communities. In America, even more than in Britain, libraries were valued for the role they could play in aiding a young man who wanted to educate himself and "rise in the world"; in response to such feelings, State legislatures from the 1820s began to take the initiative in providing funds for, and encouraging the establishment of, local libraries, particularly common school or school district libraries.

The common (primary or elementary) school libraries developed in the 1820s and 1830s usually, but not always, to provide lending

1. Great Britain. Select Committee on Public Libraries; Report, p.97, q.1490.

services to all residents of local communities.¹ They were supported by state taxes and by individual contributions.² It was New York State which passed the first law of its kind in 1835 providing "that the school district library should be supported by taxation of the same principle as the public school",³ though in 1812 Governor Daniel D. Tompkins, in his annual message to the New York Legislature, had "called attention to the importance of a judicious selection of books" for use in each school,⁴ and the formation of school libraries had been recommended in 1827 by Governor De Witt Clinton in a message to the legislature.⁵ This law allowed voters in any school district to levy a tax of \$20 to begin a library, with a tax of \$10 each

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1. Elmer D. Johnson in the second edition of his History of Libraries in the Western World, (Metuchen, N.J., 1970), pp.384-385, has said that "whereas the school district libraries established before 1850 were more for adults than children...those established after that date tended to be more directly for the schools". William R. Eastman quotes General John A. Dix, later Governor of New York then national Secretary of State, as saying in 1839 that "it would be natural to suppose from the name that the libraries were intended solely for the use of the schools, but they were not established with so narrow a design. They were recommended in 1834 for the benefit of those who have finished their common school education as well as for those who have not". William R. Eastman, "The Public Library and the Public School", in Arthur E. Bostwick, The Relationship Between the Public Library and the Public Schools: Reprints of Papers and Addresses, (New York, 1914), pp.95-107. He went on to note, however, (p.100) that while this was true of New York and some other states, "the library laws of Massachusetts in 1837, of Connecticut in 1839 and of Rhode Island in 1840 contain each of them the words 'for the use of the children', and the law of Maine in 1844 says 'for the use of the school'."
 2. Great Britain. Select Committee on Public Libraries, Report, p.102, q.1586-1591.
 3. Frances Clarke Sayers, "The American Origins of Public Library Work with Children", Library Trends, 12(1963), p.7.
 4. Frank Hermann Koos, State Participation in Public School Library Service, (New York, 1927), p.2.
 5. S.R. Warren and S.W. Clark, Public Libraries in the United States, Their History, Condition, and Management, (Washington, 1876), p.39.

succeeding year to provide for its growth.¹ Much apathy was shown, however, and few districts voted the necessary tax. Enthusiasts for libraries succeeded in 1838 in having a new law passed which gave \$55,000 a year to the school districts to buy books for their libraries, on the condition that they raised an equal amount by taxation for the same purpose. This resulted within fifteen years in the placement of over 1,600,000 books on the shelves of the school libraries of New York. However following early years of library activity a "period of decadence" set in - an experience which was repeated in other states where, once the libraries had been built up, insufficient money was made available to maintain them or to buy new bookstock. After 1861 the libraries were reported to have been "crowded into cupboards, thrown into cellars and stowed away in lofts...locked away into darkness unrelieved and silence unbroken" Though in the period 1857 to 1862 \$1,239,798.10 was spent in the rural districts of New York for libraries, the number of volumes decreased by 81,995.² The following Table shows the rise and the beginning of the decline of the common school libraries of New York State:

1. Ibid., p.39.

2. Ibid., p.40.

TABLE VII

COMMON SCHOOL LIBRARIES IN NEW YORK STATE 1841-1861¹

Year	Total volumes in common school libraries in New York State
1841	422,459
1842	630,125
1844	1,145,250
1845	1,203,139
1846	1,310,986
1847	1,338,848
1853	1,604,201
1861	1,286,536

Figures available² for Massachusetts, Indiana, and Ohio, show that there also, after an initial period of attention to common school libraries, expenditure on them declined. In Massachusetts the common school libraries, which had been established from 1837 as a result of the activities and eloquence of Horace Mann,³ grew less

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1. Table compiled from figures given in Warren and Clark, Public Libraries in the United States, p.40, and Edward Edwards, Memoirs of Libraries, (Vol.2, London, 1859), pp.237-241.
 2. Warren and Clark, Public Libraries in the United States, pp.50-51.
 3. Horace Mann, "Books and Libraries", from his Third Annual Report, 1829. In Louis Filler (ed.), Horace Mann On the Crisis in Education, (Yellow Springs, 1965), pp.45-65. In their 1940 book School Library Service in the United States: An Interpretative Survey (New York, 1940), Henry L. Cecil and Willard A. Heaps claimed that

school libraries in Massachusetts owe their origin to Horace Mann, who, in 1837, gave up a promising political and legal career to become the first secretary of the first board of education in the United States, the State Board of Education of Massachusetts. Through his influence an enabling school district library law was enacted in 1837, by the same legislature that created the State Board of Education, allowing school districts to raise and expend \$30 for one year, and \$10 each succeeding year, to begin and support a school library... (p.43).

spectacularly than those of New York; by 1841 there were only 10,000 volumes in all school libraries.¹ In 1842 a resolution was passed in the State Legislature allocating \$15 to each district which could raise an equal sum for library purposes. This provided more encouragement to the school districts than the previous legislation, which had allowed an expenditure of \$30 for one year and \$10 for each succeeding year to begin and support a library;² by the end of 1842 there were estimated to be 35,000 to 40,000 volumes in the State's common school libraries.³ The number of volumes grew in subsequent years to 91,539, but then decreased, and by 1876 the common school libraries in Massachusetts had been superseded by the free town libraries.⁴

In Ohio common school libraries were provided for by the general school law passed in 1853 which contained a clause creating a fund by a tax of one-tenth of a mill on the dollar, yearly, on all taxable property of the State, "for the purpose of furnishing school libraries and apparatus to all the common schools in the State". During the first three years after the enactment of this law, 332,579 volumes were placed in school libraries. A suspension of the operation of the law for two years, however, resulted in a decrease in the number of books, "and therefore of the usefulness of the libraries".⁵ The decrease in the number of volumes reported was over 100,000; almost one-third of the books had disappeared in two years. In 1860 a new

1. Warren and Clark, Public Libraries in the United States, p.42.

2. Ibid., p.41.

3. Ibid., p.42.

4. Ibid., p.42.

5. Ibid., p.50

law authorising a tax levy for the common school libraries was adopted, as a result of which, by 1865, the number of volumes was again reported to be nearly 350,000. A further Act of 1864 recommending consolidation of these libraries into central collections led, however, to another decrease in the use of the books, since access to central collections, where they were formed, was difficult for many users. In districts where consolidation had been resisted, the books, for want of care, became "hopelessly scattered or destroyed".¹ By 1869 the number of volumes had decreased again to 258,371.²

TABLE VIII

COMMON SCHOOL LIBRARIES IN OHIO 1856-1869

Year	Total volumes in common school libraries in Ohio
1856	332,579
1858	c.230,000
1865	350,000
1868	286,684
1869	258,371

For Indiana, too, the figures available show that, after an initial period of rapid growth of common school libraries, with the

1. Ibid., p.51.

2. While the decreases in total bookstock shown by the figures for 1858 and 1869 could be partly the result of inaccurate returns compiled by people who had lost interest in the library as stocks declined in quantity and quality, other states did record similar losses at various times. As late as 1917, for instance, the State Superintendent of Oregon stated that for years books had been added to school libraries but at the time of his writing many schools had no more books than they had had when their library first opened. "Through lack of care, the books had been scattered throughout the community". Koos, State Participation in Public School Library Service, p.5.

total bookstock in the State more than doubling in the six-year period 1855 to 1861, expenditure on libraries declined, and the total number of books decreased.

TABLE IX

COMMON SCHOOL LIBRARIES IN INDIANA 1855-1874

Year	Total volumes in common school libraries in Indiana
1855	135,378
1857	226,213
1861	315,209
1874	253,545

Other American states which elected to make libraries available to both adults and children through the common schools included Michigan (Acts of 1837, 1843, 1859),¹ Connecticut (1840/41), Rhode Island (1840, 1874), Iowa (1840, 1849),² Wisconsin (1848, 1857, 1862), Missouri (1853), California (1866).³ It is apparent from this that common school libraries made a contribution to community life in many areas of America in the mid-nineteenth century, though at any one time the quality of library provision through them varied from state to state, and any ten year period could see a vast change in the quality of that provision within a state.

How large were these libraries? In Connecticut the six school libraries in existence in 1838 had in total "less than 1000 volumes",⁴ though they contained "apparatus" in addition to these books. In

1. Warren and Clark, Public Libraries in the United States, p.42.

2. Ibid., pp.44-46.

3. Ibid., pp.52-53.

4. Ibid., p.44.

1855 the average size of common school libraries in Indiana was 195.91 volumes.¹ In New York in 1843 authority was granted to school districts to use library funds for other purposes when the library reached an adequate size, defined as not less than 125 volumes in school districts where there were more than fifty children between the ages of five and sixteen and not less than one hundred volumes where the school district contained fewer than fifty children.² These figures, then, can be seen as the accepted minimum number of books for a school library. In Michigan after 1843, when a library had acquired 200 volumes the electors could reduce the sum to be raised by taxation.³ One school in California, Marysville, was reported in 1863 to have a library of "about 1000 volumes", a total which was regarded then as being very large.⁴ Henry Stevens in 1849 claimed that the primary and common school libraries contained from one hundred to 2000 volumes,⁵ though there appears to be no surviving evidence for libraries with collections of more than 1000 books. At the other end of the scale, a school law of Kentucky in 1873 provided that when "by contribution, purchase, or otherwise", forty volumes had been collected for the purpose in any school district, the trustee could organise a library, which could include maps and charts as well as books. But by 1876 no libraries were reported in the common schools of the State.⁶ And in Wisconsin in 1858 the

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1. Ibid., p.47. In 1855 there were 691 libraries, containing a total of 135,378 volumes.
 2. Ibid., p.40.
 3. Ibid., p.42.
 4. Ibid., p.53.
 5. Great Britain. Select Committee on Public Libraries, Report, p.102, q.1587.
 6. Warren and Clark, Public Libraries in the United States, p.53.

picture was similarly dreary. The 1375 libraries of the state contained a total of 38,755 volumes, with an average collection size of 28.18 volumes.¹ But the situation was actually even worse than these figures would make it appear, since at that time there were fifty-six counties in the state, twenty of which did not report a single library. Six others reported nine libraries, with a total of 131 volumes - an average of fewer than fifteen volumes each.² We can see from these figures that, in quantitative terms, the range of bookstock provision in common school libraries was very great, from fewer than twenty books in "libraries" in some areas, to collections of more than 1000 volumes in other places. The various figures quoted illustrate the fact that while it is one thing for a legislature to pass enabling legislation, it is quite another to have it made use of by the appropriate local authority. And the variation in bookstock size over the years in each place illustrates, too, the fact that it is much easier to provide by central legislation for the provision of books than for the upkeep and maintenance of the book collections.

These common school libraries generally contained collections of books designed to cater to the needs of both adults and children, with fiction, general non-fiction, and reference works. Some subscribed to magazines, while many saw as an important part of their function the provision of professional literature for teachers. The character of the libraries is illustrated in the following Table, which shows the total number of books in various classes in the school libraries of Ontario. This example, though Canadian, is quoted by Warren and Clark, the authors of the 1876 report Public Libraries in

1. Ibid., p.52.

2. Ibid., p.52.

the United States, their history, condition and management, published by the United States Government Printing Office, as illustrating the general character of the common school libraries in the United States.

TABLE X

ONTARIO, CANADA, SCHOOL LIBRARIES, 1874¹

Classes of books	Total volumes in all school libraries	% of Total
History	45,664	17.16
Zoology and Physiology	16,013	6.02
Botany	2,931	1.10
Phenomena	6,455	2.43
Physical Science	5,048	1.89
Geology	2,328	0.87
Natural Philosophy and Manufactures	13,722	5.16
Chemistry	2,403	0.90
Practical Agriculture	10,187	3.83
Literature	25,237	9.48
Voyages	23,931	8.99
Biography	30,181	11.34
Tales and Sketches, Practical Life	75,413	28.34
Fiction	2,399	0.90
Teachers' Library	4,134	1.55

It appears that as long as sufficient money was being spent on them, these libraries were generally very well used. In Indiana in 1856 reports from many townships showed that the number of books taken out during the year was from one to twenty times the entire number in the library.² In 1866 when about 29,000 volumes were added to the libraries, the circulation of books was about 85,000

1. Compiled from figures given in Warren and Clark, Public Libraries in the United States, pp.57-58.

2. Ibid., p.47.

volumes;¹ in 1868 circulation reached 140,000 volumes, probably as a result of these additions. However additions after 1866 were small; only 2510 volumes were added in 1874² when only 85,366 were taken out, sixty percent of the 1866 figure. This marked decline in use over six years reflects the decrease in State expenditure on libraries after the initial period of growth of collections. Since the libraries were generally small by our standards, any decrease in funding would have been felt more quickly than in a larger library. It would have been quite possible for a keen user to become completely familiar with the basic bookstock, and when few new books were being added the regular reader would soon cease to have any incentive to return. A small stock, too, with only a few books on each in-demand subject, would soon become obsolete without a constant flow of purchases of up-to-date material, so that prospective borrowers would be discouraged from using the library.

The libraries, as in California, were generally under the control of a board of trustees, though some were directly controlled by the board of education. It was usually the teachers who were appointed to act as librarians. Sometimes state superintendents of public instruction produced lists of books to aid local school boards and others in the selection of books for their school libraries: examples include one produced in California in 1873 and one produced by Dr. Newton Bateman for Illinois in the 1860s. Most states had regulations regarding the selection, care, storage, and use of books in the school libraries.³

1. Ibid., p.47

2. This brought the total stock in the libraries to 253,545 volumes.

3. Ibid., pp.54-55.

One common school library, founded by the Milwaukee School Commissioners in 1851, typifies the approach generally adopted towards book selection and the operation of the library, although it was unusual in the large amount of taxation money appropriated for the establishment expenditure, and for the speed with which the books were bought and the library made operational. The library came into existence largely through the work of Increase A. Lapham, a school commissioner, civic leader, and self-taught scientist and civil engineer, who appreciated the valuable part a good library could play in the lives of young people to whom a formal education was denied.¹ Three days after the passage by the commissioners of his resolution to establish a library, Lapham began canvassing publishers for book and price lists; in March 1852 he ordered 704 books. Several months later 568 of these had arrived and been processed in the library, providing an unusually large basic collection when it is considered that the local authorities in New York felt that they could allow expenditure to taper off after 125 volumes had been bought for a library,² and that in Michigan expenditure could be reduced when a library had 200 volumes.³

Among the 704 titles ordered by Lapham were the complete works of Scott and Burns, and the more frivolous Aunt Kitty's Tales. Also included were the complete works of Milton, Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, the Lives of the Apostles and Martyrs, Moral Philosophy, Sewell's Child's First History of Rome, Darwin's Voyage of a

1. Graham P. Hawks, "A Nineteenth-Century School Library: Early Years in Milwaukee", Journal of Library History, 12(1977), pp. 359-363.

2. Warren and Clark, Public Libraries in the United States, p.40.

3. Ibid., p.42. See above, p.183.

Naturalist, and Wilson on Healthy Skin. This list points to a general selection for adults and children of fiction, literature, general and useful non-fiction, such as might have been in the Ontario libraries. There were also some works of moral purpose, such as were common in the English and Scottish school libraries of the time: Strive and Thrive, Hope On, Hope Ever, Little Coin and Little Care.¹ The library was open free to children over ten years of age, their parents, teachers, and school commissioners, for borrowing. The librarian, who opened and supervised it on Saturdays, was paid fifty dollars a year, and was required to produce a catalogue of the holdings, as well as processing new books by labelling them and covering them with brown paper.² However this library, like those in other states, received less attention after it had been in existence a few years. By 1857 the library had acquired only thirty-seven more books, its librarian had departed, and the public school teachers had assumed his duties.³ In 1878 the collection, much depleted, became part of the Milwaukee Public Library.⁴

The authors of the 1876 United States Bureau of Education report quoted earlier, Public Libraries in the United States..., after a study of the history of the common school library system, attempted to identify the "causes of the dangers and failures that have attended it". Firstly, they saw these as being "defects and frequent changes

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1. Hawks, "A Nineteenth-Century School Library", p.361, quoting from his own Ph.D. work: Graham P. Hawks, Increase A. Lapham: Wisconsin's First Scientist, (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1960), p.114.
 2. Hawks, "A Nineteenth-Century School Library", p.361.
 3. Ibid., p.361.
 4. Ibid., p.363.

in legislation"; and secondly, "incompetence and indifference in the administration of the law". With regard to the defects in legislation, they claimed that

in permitting school districts to raise by tax and expend money for libraries, without providing for state aid or supervision in the selection of books; in granting state aid without supervision of selection; in suspending at intervals the grants of state aid; in limiting the size and usefulness of the libraries by permitting the diversion of funds to other purposes after each had acquired a certain number of volumes, or for any other reason in not requiring that a sum equal to the state grant to any district should be raised by the local taxation as a condition of such a grant...

legislators in different states at different times impeded the development of common school libraries.¹ The decrease in size of the libraries, the loss of interest in their use and maintenance, and the general lack of library organisation, it was claimed, called for "expert knowledge in the care, use and management of libraries",² which had not been taken account of through the legislation or by those administering the law. Another reason which has been given for the decline of the common school library is the lack of detailed attention given to book selection in many of them. Elmer D. Johnson claims that

several publishing firms took advantage of the school district library laws and compiled sets of works, poorly selected, printed and bound, but sold on commission through local representatives. These sets often took up the entire funds available, and their drab appearance and dry contents did little to promote their use.³

Jean Key Gates, citing Oliver Garceau's 1949 report on public libraries, suggests that these common school libraries eventually

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1. Warren and Clark, Public Libraries in the United States.
 2. Koos, State Participation in Public School Library Service, p.6.
 3. Elmer D. Johnson, History of Libraries in the Western World, (2nd edn, Metuchen, N.J., 1970), p.358.

failed because "the school districts were artificially created by state planners and did not follow local patterns of cultural loyalties and intellectual needs; and the libraries served too small an area, were inadequately housed, were poorly supervised by school trustees, and were badly managed by elected librarians".¹ While all these reasons may have had some bearing on the eventual decline of the common school libraries, some would clearly have been more relevant in particular states than others.

The development of common school libraries in the United States had parallels in other countries, including Germany, where strong centralised government and concern for the centralisation of education from the eighteenth century had facilitated the development of school library collections in Prussia.² In France, where soon after the Revolution attention was paid to the development of a centralised school system, small communities began to be equipped with school libraries by 1831; by 1848 the state had spent two million francs on books for them. In 1837 libraries for teachers were established, but in the turmoil of 1848 and 1849 they were proscribed, as were all educational meetings, because of the fear that they would encourage radical behaviour. By 1850 these libraries had disappeared in the chaos of civil unrest. However by 1860 attention was again being paid to school libraries; in 1862, following suggestions put forward by the Minister of Education to the Emperor, "communal libraries" were established for school use, and a plan was implemented which

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1. Jean Key Gates, Introduction to Librarianship, (2nd edn, New York, 1976), p.66, citing Oliver Garceau, The Public Library in the Political Process: A Report of the Public Library Inquiry..., (New York, 1949), pp.19-20, p.21.
 2. Sidney L. Jackson, Libraries and Librarianship in the West: A Brief History, (New York, 1974), p.282.

required each school to maintain its own armoires-bibliothèque or "closet library". The collections in these libraries, supplemented by municipal grants and private gifts, were available, as were the school libraries of New York, not just to pupils but also to local adults. There were 4833 such libraries in France by 1865, with a total of around 300,000 volumes, giving an average book collection of only sixty or so volumes - rather less than the average in many American states at the same time. Within twenty years the situation had improved, so that by 1889 there were 36,326 libraries with well over five and a half million volumes, giving an average collection size of around 150 books. The elimination of fees for tuition in the state schools in 1881 meant less money available for books other than textbooks; the impact of the financial crisis on school libraries was softened, however, by state aid. These libraries continued to offer popular service, of varying quality, after the common school libraries of America had ceased to function effectively.¹

In American communities, as in nineteenth century England and Scotland, Sunday school libraries played an important role in the provision of books, with the emphasis in the United States being on the provision of books for young people. Henry Stevens told the British Select Committee on Public Libraries in 1849 that "every

1. Jackson, Libraries and Librarianship in the West, pp.345-346.

congregation almost has a Sabbath-school Library",¹ though he pointed out that in America these libraries supplied "books for children from five to sixteen years of age"² whereas the British Sunday schools generally served the whole population. Sunday school libraries were first established in the United States about 1825 as an economical alternative to books given to good pupils for excellence in particular fields, even for attendance,³ whereas British Sunday school libraries had grown earlier in response to the needs of the English and Scottish Sunday schools as providers of elementary education, for poor children and sometimes for adults. Libraries were, however, an important part of the American Sunday school, as A.E. Dunning underlined by saying that "next to the choice of a superintendent, there is no graver subject of consideration for a Sunday-school than the selection of its library books".⁴

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1. Great Britain. Select Committee on Public Libraries, Report, p.99, q.1529.
Martha H. Brooks, "Sunday School Libraries", Library Journal, 4(1879), p.338, says, "the Report on Public Libraries of the United States Commissioner of Education dismisses the subject of Sunday school libraries with the remark that they are almost as numerous as the churches of the land. The census of 1870 returns the number of 8,346,153 books in libraries in this grade. They are divided in so many institutions that any study of their character is well-nigh impossible. The figures, large as they are, are undoubtedly less than might be the truth. The very fact that number makes it almost hopeless to attempt to collect accurate statistics concerning them, suggests how wide is their reach...". Miss Brooks, however, as a member of the (Unitarian) Ladies Commission on Sunday School Books, which produced a catalogue used for book selection by many Sunday schools, was not completely disinterested as an observer.
 2. Great Britain. Select Committee on Public Libraries, Report, p.99, q.1530.
 3. F. Allen Briggs, "The Sunday-School Library in the Nineteenth Century", Library Quarterly, 31(1961), pp.166-177.
 4. A.E. Dunning, The Sunday-School Library, (New York, 1884), p.36.

There are two views about what sort of books were actually selected to form the content of these libraries. The first suggests that American Sunday school libraries generally contained recreational as well as improving literature; the second suggests that religious literature of various sorts heavily predominated. F. Allen Briggs, in support of the first view, claims that the aim of the libraries was to combine religious and moral teaching with the cultivation of taste, and to encourage attendance at the schools,¹ so that general works and some approved fiction formed part of the bookstock. Henry Stevens in 1849, addressing the British Select Committee on Public Libraries, described the Sunday school libraries as generally containing works on serious subjects, though he admitted that works "of a miscellaneous character, books of travels, history, biography, etc.", were included.² And Martha Thorne Wheeler, writing in 1888, indicated that ideally a Sunday school library should contain "light science, biography and general helps of many kinds suited to young people".³ She felt that

in a country town where there is no good public library and large private libraries are rare, the Sunday-school library may incalculably increase its good influence by including general literature, science, history, poetry, and whatever is healthful for young and old, or will help to keep the village boys and girls out of those moral and intellectual slums which are perhaps more tempting than those of the city because there are so few offsets.⁴

However some libraries were certainly not as well stocked as these descriptions would indicate, giving substance to the second view of

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1. Briggs, "The Sunday-School Library in the Nineteenth Century", p.167f.
 2. Great Britain. Select Committee on Public Libraries, Report, p.99, q.1531.
 3. Martha Thorne Wheeler, "The Sunday-School Library", Library Notes, 3(1888), p.395.
 4. Ibid., p.395.

the collections of these libraries, which sees them as being related purely to the role of the Sunday school in religious instruction. In 1884 A.E. Dunning wrote that the object of such a library was

the same as that of the school of which it is an instrument - to save souls through the knowledge of truth, and to nurture them in the Christian life. Books that will aid this object, directly or indirectly, have a place there. Books that will not aid it, however interesting, or able, or suited to cultivate a literary taste, are out of place there. The object of the library is the same as that of the sermon.¹

A book selection policy based on these aims would be very likely to produce collections such as Frances Clarke Sayers described:

"limited in scope to religious tracts and books narrowly dedicated to sectarian themes or morbidly dwelling upon sin and the need for salvation".² Extant library catalogues and lists of recommended books for Sunday schools do show, however, that while there was a distinct emphasis in the collections on religious works, including sermons, "true" stories in which the didactic aims and touching deathbed scenes were prominent, question-and-answer "catechism" books, memoirs, and doctrinal works, there was a great deal of variation in the type of bookstock in Sunday school libraries at any one time. During the nineteenth century, too, there appears to have been a gradual change in the emphasis in the collections from doctrinal and expository works to general non-fiction and fiction,³ as there had also been in Britain.

While it has been claimed that book selection for these

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1. Dunning, The Sunday-School Library, p.21.
 2. Frances Clarke Sayers, "The American Origins of Public Library Work with Children", Library Trends, 12(1963), p.6.
 3. Briggs, "The Sunday-School Library in the Nineteenth Century", p.170.

libraries, often simply from Sunday school library bookstores and publishers' catalogues, was generally haphazard and inefficient,¹ in some areas a great deal of attention was paid to the quality of the bookstock. At the Sunday school connected with the Second Congregational (1st Unitarian) Church in Worcester, Massachusetts, it would have been impossible for any book not in keeping with the aims of the Sunday school to creep into the collection. Books were chosen from the catalogue of the Ladies Commission established in the Unitarian Congregational Church to prepare lists of books suitable for Sunday school libraries. A "competent committee" read all the books recommended by the Commission to select only those which adequately met the needs of their own school. Notes were made on the contents, those notes, and the books themselves, being then submitted to the minister.²

Though the Sunday school libraries had done a great deal of work in bringing books to children to whom they would have otherwise been unavailable, there is evidence that by the end of the nineteenth century they were less popular than they had been.³ There was some not entirely unjustified contempt for their rigid book selection policies and what was described as their general "incompetence and laxity of method" in administration.⁴ In 1888 Martha Thorne Wheeler commented that in earlier years when books had been comparatively.

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1. Ibid.
 2. S.S. Green, "The Selection of Books for Sunday-School Libraries and their Introduction to Children"; Library Journal, 7(1882), pp.250-251.
 3. Briggs, "The Sunday-School Library in the Nineteenth Century", pp.176-177.
 4. M.A. Dixon, "Sunday-School Libraries"; Public Libraries, 5(1900), pp.211-213.

rare, the Sunday school library had seemed very attractive, but once books were more freely available within the community through public, school, and subscription libraries, the Sunday school libraries lost their drawing power. She went on to say that

...there are thoughtful people who believe that the Sunday-school library has had its day; that the care and money of the Church might be more judiciously employed in other directions; that the public library might more wisely assume the guidance of readers, and that to maintain separate libraries in connection with each church is a waste of money and energy.¹

As late as 1900 M.A. Dixon told a meeting of the Western Massachusetts Library Club that the Sunday school library still had a vital role to play in the community, complementing the work of the public library, as long as it could give personal attention to readers and supply suitable references for teachers.² This, however, was probably mere wishful thinking, since by 1900 these libraries had already lost the confidence and support of the reading public.³ The work of the public library was being "constantly schematized", its "machinery perfected",⁴ and its resources were being brought under the control of better-trained people. The journal Public Libraries in 1897 reported on the provision of reading rooms for children in public libraries; among those described were the children's room at

1. Wheeler, "The Sunday-School Library", p.391.

2. Dixon, "Sunday-School Libraries", pp.211-213.

3. Exceptions to this were those Sunday school libraries which had their bookstock supplied by the public libraries. In Springfield, Massachusetts, there were four branch libraries of the public library in Sunday schools in 1900, and the Milwaukee public and New York free circulating libraries were doing similar work. The St. Louis public library made a specialty of this kind of work, supplying eleven Sunday schools and four missions with 2000 books, with a circulation in 1899 of 14,000 volumes. Dixon, "Sunday-School Libraries", p.213.

4. Wheeler, "The Sunday-School Library", p.391.

the Boston public library where there were 5000 to 6000 books on attractive open shelves, the Pratt Institute Free Library in Brooklyn, and the public libraries at Buffalo, Cambridge (Massachusetts), Circleville (Ohio), Brookline (Massachusetts), Detroit, Kalamazoo (Michigan), and Pittsburgh.¹ This public library provision resulted in service for children, at least in the larger towns, with which the Sunday school library, with its more limited aims, smaller financial resources, shorter opening hours, and volunteer librarians, could not compete.

Above the common schools in the school system of early nineteenth century America were the academies. The academy development, beginning around the middle of the eighteenth century, had created a type of secondary school that was semi-public in control, offering a broader course of study than the English grammar schools, and open to girls as well as boys. The tradition of library provision in the academies was an old one; it is reported, for instance, that in 1740 Benjamin Franklin included a library in his plan for a school.² While several academies were established during the colonial period, little information is available about their libraries. The Boston Latin School, for example, was apparently founded in 1635, though nothing is known of its library until the nineteenth century. By 1844, however, it definitely had a library, since the Boston Latin

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1. Gertrude P. Sheffield, *et.al.*, "Reading Rooms for Children", *Public Libraries*, 2(1897), pp.125-131.
 2. Koos, *State Participation in Public School Library Service*, p.2. Another early example of library provision in a secondary school was the collection at Penn Charter School in 1744, housed in a room specially designed as a library. *Sister M. Constance Melvin, History of Public School Libraries in Pennsylvania*, (Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1962), p.24.

School Association was formed in that year to support it.¹ Further west, in Missouri, the 1818 advertisements for St. Louis Academy indicated that the school had a library, and the Academy of the Sacred Heart also had a library in 1827. In Massachusetts, Abbott Academy in Andover, founded in 1829, had a "well-organized library" by 1842.² Only a few years later, the British Select Committee on Public Libraries was told, in 1849, that each of the 184 academies in the State of New York had a library attached to it.³ These libraries were supported by individual contributions, and they were also, in most states, eligible for state bounty or grants, as the common school libraries were.⁴ These academy libraries, open to all the pupils, and by courtesy to others,⁵ were described as being "very much used".⁶

In the year 1855 the figures for 172 academies in the State of New York, given in the Annual Report of the Regents of the University

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1. Elmer D. Johnson and Michael H. Harris, History of Libraries in the Western World, (3rd edn, Metuchen, N.J., 1976), pp.207-208.
 2. Ibid., pp.207-208.
 3. Great Britain. Select Committee on Public Libraries, Report, p.101, q.1576, 1577. These figures differ slightly from those given in Edward Edwards, Memoirs of Libraries, (Vol.2, London, 1859), p.239, and quoted below. Edwards cites statistics from the Sixty-Eighth Annual Report of the Regents of the University of the State of New York, (1855), pp.173-225, and these figures are more likely to be reliable than those which Henry Stevens gave in verbal testimony before the Select Committee on Public Libraries in London on 8 May 1849. In responding later to a question, q.1852, Stevens himself quoted the figures from the Annual Report of the Regents, and indicated that the discrepancy might have arisen because only 153 of the academies actually reported in 1848, and that there were others not included in the figures.
 4. Great Britain. Select Committee on Public Libraries, Report, p.99, q.1533.
 5. Ibid., p.101, q.1581.
 6. Ibid., p.101, q.1583.

of the State of New York, indicate that their 172 libraries then contained 91,296 volumes, the estimated value of which was \$88,432 (or £17,686 sterling).¹ The average size of these libraries was 530.8 volumes, indicating rather larger collections generally than those in the common school libraries.² The number of academy libraries increased during the nineteenth century, when there was also a gradual increase in the size of the libraries. In New York State, for instance, the number of libraries in academies increased by nineteen between 1848 and 1855, with the average size of the libraries increasing by a little more than twenty-eight percent.³

TABLE XI

LIBRARIES IN ACADEMIES IN NEW YORK STATE 1848-1855⁴

Year	Number of Libraries	Total Number of Volumes	Average Number of Volumes per Library
1848	153	63,365	414.1
1850	154	65,524	425.4
1855	172	91,296	530.8

In academies in New York State in 1849 the book collections

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1. Edwards, Memoirs of Libraries, Vol.2, p.239.
 2. In an article in the Library Journal in 1904, Elizabeth G. Baldwin, from evidence in school prospectuses and from surviving library catalogues, suggested that these early nineteenth century academy libraries ranged in size from 250 to 6000 volumes. Elizabeth G. Baldwin, "Some Old Forgotten School Libraries", in Arthur E. Bostwick, The Relationship Between the Public Library and the Public Schools: Reprints of Papers and Addresses, (New York, 1914), p.321.
 3. Based on the figures given in the Table below, the percentage increase was 28.19.
 4. Table compiled from statistics in the Sixty-Eighth Annual Report of the Regents of the University of State of New York, (1855), pp.173-225, quoted by Edwards, Memoirs of Libraries, Vol.2, p.239.

consisted chiefly of those works recommended by the Regents of the University.¹ Including in their collections scientific works and translations of the classics,² they were arranged in the following classes: "theological and ecclesiastical history; history, biography and antiquities; jurisprudence, politics and commerce; periodical and collective works; arts and sciences, including natural philosophy, natural history, &c.; voyages and travels, geographical and statistical works; poetry; miscellaneous".³

While the common school libraries had contained some children's books, their collections were generally related to the reading interests of the local community, whereas these academy library collections, like those of the Sunday school libraries, were related to the aims and instructional needs of the school. The collections outlined above are closely related to the American secondary school curriculum; there are also close similarities with the collections of some nineteenth century English grammar and public school libraries, particularly those of Charterhouse⁴ and Rugby.⁵

One nineteenth century result of the development of academies was a demand that the cities should establish free high (or post-elementary) schools of a similar nature. A few high schools were established in the early years of the nineteenth century, including Erasmus Hall High School in Brooklyn, New York, whose library pro-

1. Great Britain. Select Committee on Public Libraries, Report, p.101, q.1584.

2. Ibid., p.102, q.1585.

3. Ibid., p.101, q.1584.

4. Charterhouse School, Catalogue, passim.

5. Rugby School, Catalogue of the Arnold Library, passim.

duced a catalogue of its book collection in 1803.¹ In 1827 the Massachusetts legislature enacted a law requiring a high school in every town of five hundred families or over, in which certain specified modern subjects should be taught. During the 1850s and 1860s high school provision became accepted, with the high school provided as an integral part of the common school system and financed by local taxes. It was not until the last two decades of the nineteenth century, however, that libraries in high schools became common.

In 1886 a library was established at Detroit High School, consisting chiefly of reference works and works of literature donated by staff members. Most unusually, it had a librarian: Miss Florence Hopkins, an 1884 graduate of the school who, though apparently with no training for the task,² soon developed a plan of instruction intended to increase the library skills of the students so that they could use the reference resources more efficiently in their school work.³ In 1894 there was a library, also in its own room, at The Village High School, Evanston, Illinois, but it was not until 1924 that a librarian was employed for this school.⁴ And in the Biennial Report of the State Superintendent of Public Education to the Legislature of Mississippi, 1889-1890, there is the first mention of a library at Greenville High School.⁵ This

1. Ruth Marie Edberg, The Dynamic Evolution, A History of Detroit School Libraries, 1886-1962, (Detroit, 1962), p.8.

2. Ibid., p.9.

3. Ibid., p.11.

4. Leora K. Taylor, "A Tradition of Innovation: A History of Evanston Township High School's Library", Illinois Libraries, 50(1968), p.908.

5. Mable Gaston, "G.H.S.: Mississippi's Oldest School Library?", Mississippi Library News, (March, 1973), p.30.



The Library of Greenville High School, Mississippi, in the 1890s. (From: Mable Gaston, "G.H.S.: Mississippi's Oldest School Library?", Mississippi Library News, (March, 1973), p.29).

library was stored in a room designed to be "a study and reading room",¹ which resembled the reading rooms of Schools of Arts and Institute libraries in England with its desks and newspaper reading tables. It too had no librarian until around 1920.

While the photograph of Greenville High School Library in the 1890s² shows an open access library in a reading room decorated with pictures and busts, in which young people are reading and working, most of the libraries in the common schools and the Sunday schools appear to have been closed access collections, generally only available for lending, and open only for a short period during the week. Some also had small reference collections, and therefore some facilities for study and reading, but this was not usual.

The closed access library of the Liberty Street Presbyterian Church, Pittsburgh, described in 1884,³ provided Sunday school scholars with access to a "special library-room", open only for half an hour before and after school and on Wednesdays before prayer-meetings. The scholars selected their books from two written catalogues kept by the librarian: "one a numerical one, by which, if the number is given, he can immediately tell the name of the book; and the other, an alphabetical one, by which, if the name is given, he can tell if there is such a book in the library, and its number". The organisation of this library is discussed in some detail:

1. Ibid., p.30.

2. Photograph from Gaston, "G.H.S.: Mississippi's Oldest School Library?", p.29.

3. Dr. T.D. Davis in Dunning, The Sunday-School Library, pp.72-76.

The room is arranged very much like a common post-office. The books are shown on pidgeon-hole [sic] shelves, through glass cases. The backs of these cases, like the inside of a post-office, are accessible only by the librarians. Above each book, on the shelf over its pidgeon-hole, is its number, both in front and back, next the librarians. Scholars can see the size and general appearance of a book and know if it is in the library - but, of course, are unable to touch it... Having selected a book, they ask for it, giving the number at a little window, like that in any post-office.¹

This library had a sophisticated borrowing system, for which special cards were printed. The card for a similar system, used by another Sunday school library, is illustrated.²

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Jan.	May.	Sept.
Feb.	June.	Oct.
Mar.	July.	Nov.
April.	Aug.	Dec.

A Sunday school library borrower's card, in use in 1884. (From: A.E. Dunning, The Sunday-School Library, (New York, 1884), p.71.)

Each borrower had one of these cards, marked on the reverse side with

1. Ibid., pp.72-73.

2. Ibid., p.71.

his name and personal details. When a book was borrowed, its number would be written on the appropriate date due on the card, and the card would then be hung "from a nail or tack driven in each lintel" of the numbered "cells" or "pidgeon-holes".

The Rev. Frank Russell, of Mansfield, Ohio, also operated a Sunday school library with books in closed access pigeon-holes.¹ He felt that the catalogue which gave access to the library books should be a little more complex than that described by Dr. Davis at the Liberty Street Presbyterian Church. It was ideally to contain an alphabetical list of the titles, with the books being entered, often several times, by all the main words of the title. So to use Russell's own example, Tim, the Scissors-Grinder, would be entered under "Tim", "The Scissors-Grinder", and simply "Scissors-Grinder". Each entry was to include the number of the book, the number of pages in the book, and a letter to indicate the book's suitability for Intermediate (I), Junior (J), or Senior (S) grades.² The Rev. L.T. Chamberlain, D.D., indicated that in his library every scholar had a copy of "the complete descriptive as well as alphabetical catalogue" so that the scholars could choose books before they arrived at school.³

So despite the fact that these libraries generally contained only several hundred books, they, like those of the British week-day and

1. Ibid., pp.76-82.

2. Ibid., pp.79-80. Other libraries, too, attempted in their catalogues to indicate the age level for which a book was most suitable. "Such classification is sometimes attempted in the catalogue, either by using the asterisk and dagger, or, more simply, by assigning the numbers below 500 to the youngest, and those over 1000 to the oldest readers." Martha H. Brooks, "Sunday School Libraries", Library Journal, 4(1879), p.340.

3. Dunning, The Sunday-School Library, p.71.

Sunday schools, were apparently thoroughly organised, with stationery, catalogues, and sophisticated storage and retrieval systems. In a nine months period the library of Dr. Davis's Liberty Street Presbyterian Church Sunday School issued 3460 volumes to scholars without loss from a stock less than a third that size,¹ showing that the library was both very well used, and adequately organised to cope with considerable numbers of users.

As in nineteenth century Scotland, so too in the United States not all educationists were in favour of the development of school libraries. Many in fact ignored the school library; some regarded it as "a school nuisance".² It was claimed that, despite some school library development in most places, there were teachers, principals, and school superintendents who saw little good in libraries. They feared that children would "idle away precious minutes, if privileged to read books during school hours". These people systematically excluded, where possible, all but textbooks from the school, and "as an extra precaution [placed] formidable restrictions upon the use of the reading room, if such there be, requiring special permits for library privileges, all permits being severely dated, and time limited".³ This attitude to school libraries was not quite as harsh as that of those Scottish Inspectors who saw any reading of works not directly studied in class as an undesirable distraction for children, but it did inhibit the growth of school libraries in some areas of the United States in the late nineteenth century.

1. Ibid., p.76.

2. C.C. Certain, "The Status of the Library in Southern High Schools", Library Journal, 40(1915), p.633.

3. Ibid., p.633.

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In nineteenth century Australia school library collections were established in many primary schools in New South Wales, Victoria, and Queensland. These were generally small libraries of two to four hundred books, supplied by donors or by local fund raising. As early as the 1870s such libraries received some support from school Inspectors in their annual reports and in public speeches. Independent secondary schools and those associated with religious denominations - the "non-State schools" - had frequently shown an interest in library development. In addition, there were some libraries formed in the state high schools of New South Wales and Victoria from the 1860s. Libraries in primary and secondary schools in Australia in the nineteenth century were rarely open to the public, though by 1909 in both New South Wales and Queensland, primary school library collections were providing reading matter for adults in their local communities on an informal basis.¹

Sunday school libraries do not appear to have been as numerous in Australia in the nineteenth century as they were in Great Britain and the United States of America, partly because Sunday schools themselves have played a smaller role in the history of Australian education than they did in Great Britain and the United States.

1. Letter from the Under Secretary, Department of Public Instruction, Queensland, 15 October 1911, in Queensland State Archives, Department of Public Instruction, Library Various, No. 1.
 New South Wales; Public Instruction Gazette, 31 May 1909, p.119: "Almost every school now has its library, which very frequently is used by parents as freely as by pupils"; 31 May 1911, p.151: "Many bush school libraries are freely used by the parents...".

Sunday schools were established rather later here than the late eighteenth century Sunday schools of Britain. Like those in the United Kingdom, however, they were originally established to provide a general education for people, of all ages, who had not previously had the opportunity to learn to read. The letter-writer "Amicus", in the columns of the Sydney Gazette in 1815, noted that the aim of the Sunday school, as he saw it, was "the rendering of the sacred writings more generally useful, by enabling many to read them who are now incapable, from a neglected education".¹ To this end, lessons were given in reading and writing in the early Sunday schools, as well as elementary religious instruction.²

It appears that the first Australian Sunday school to be conducted on the English model was opened by William Pascoe Crook in 1813 at Concord in Sydney.³ Later the interdenominational New South Wales Sunday School Institution, established in December 1815, encouraged the formation of Sunday schools to meet the needs of both adults and children in towns and in rural areas.⁴ By March 1816 six Sunday schools had been established through this Institution, at Sydney, Concord, Parramatta, Windsor, Richmond, and Castlereagh.⁵ Within a few years, however, much of the work of this group had

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1. Sydney Gazette, 14 October 1815.
 2. Alan Barcan, A History of Australian Education, (Melbourne, 1980), p.20.
 3. Mitchell Library, Bonwick Transcript, Box 49, p.335. There is some evidence, however, of at least one earlier Sunday school, an infant school apparently operating in 1797 under the charge of Miss Susannah Hunt. S.H. Smith and G.T. Spaul, History of Education in New South Wales (1788-1925), (Sydney, 1925), p.18.
 4. Vernon W.E. Goodin, "Public Education in New South Wales Before 1848", Royal Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings, 36(1950), p.161.
 5. Mitchell Library, Bonwick Transcript, Box 50, p.235.

collapsed through denominational rivalry; by 1820, when Commissioner Bigge wrote his Third Report on conditions in New South Wales, there were only four denominational Sunday schools in the colony.¹ It has been suggested that these early Sunday schools did "good work in the field of education by providing those of maturer years with the opportunity of learning to read and write; but purely religious education appears to have become dominant early"² - in fact, from as early as 1820, when the Sunday School Institution had split up, and when elementary education was increasingly being provided through public funds. By 1839, sixteen Sunday schools were recorded in New South Wales, of which nine were Church of England, four Wesleyan, two Presbyterian, and one Congregational;³ the instruction given in these schools was "entirely religious".⁴ The children attending the Church of England Sunday school at Pitt Town were mostly those who also attended the local "week-school",⁵ while

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1. P.76. Of the four Sunday schools listed by Bigge, three were Wesleyan schools in Sydney, while one was conducted by the Church of England. Goodin, "Public Education in New South Wales Before 1848", p.163.
 2. Goodin, "Public Education in New South Wales Before 1848", p.163.
 3. Collated from information given by William Westbrook Burton, The State of Religion and Education in New South Wales, (London, 1840), pp.157-236.
 4. Ibid., p.157. A report on "Our Sunday Schools" in The Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record, 2 February 1860, pp.26-27, also stressed that Sunday schools had undergone a change in function early in the nineteenth century, from being "intended to supply a means of secular instruction to those who had not the means or opportunity of getting it on the week-day", to the "importation of Scripture knowledge and religious instruction" only. In 1858, William Buckley Haigh, in a pamphlet titled The Juvenile Scripture Pearl Society; or, Observations on the Design of Protestant Sabbath Schools..., published in Sydney, described Sunday schools as the "nurseries of the Church" (p.10) whose aim was "to promote the spiritual interests of mankind" (p.13); he, too, suggested that a general educational role had been abandoned many years earlier.
 5. Burton, The State of Religion and Education in New South Wales, p.196.

many of the teachers in the Sunday schools gave elementary instruction in ordinary schools during the week as well as religious instruction in a Sunday school.¹

The earliest Sunday school library of which any record has survived is that of the Parramatta Sunday School conducted by the New South Wales Sunday School Institution. In 1815 this library was open for borrowing by teachers and by child and adult subscribers.² However Australian Sunday school libraries, from supplying reading materials to support the elementary instruction given in the schools run by the Institution, developed to support the purely religious instruction for children given in the later Sunday schools, and to supply some selected materials for recreational reading.

By 1858 the Wesleyans alone had 227 Sunday schools in the Australian Colonies and Tasmania.³ There is considerable evidence that much emphasis was placed on the use of books in schools conducted by members of this religious denomination, with "immense numbers of publications adapted to the capacities of juvenile minds...published by [the Wesleyan] book establishment in London" finding "their way into...numerous Sabbath schools", where they had "an important part in the Christian training of the rising generation".⁴ In the Sydney South Circuit of Wesleyan Sabbath schools in

1. Ibid., p.202.

2. "Rules for the Parramatta Sunday School", reprinted in Jan Burnswoods and Jim Fletcher, Sydney and the Bush: A Pictorial History of Education in New South Wales, (Sydney, 1980), p.21.

3. The Christian Advocate and Wesleyan Record, 21 July 1858, p.15.

4. Ibid., 21 June 1858, p.2. See also the 6 June 1861 issue of this journal, pp.446-447, for an article on the value of reading, including the reading of secular works.

1859 the South Sydney Sunday School had a library of about 400 volumes (respectable by the standards of similar libraries in Great Britain and the United States at the same time), for the use of the 174 children who regularly attended, and of their twenty-five teachers. In the same circuit, the Hay Street School had 440 volumes for its seventy-two regular pupils and their eighteen teachers; the Glebe School had 260 volumes for around one hundred children and nineteen teachers; and the Mount Lachlan School had 138 volumes for 116 children and thirteen teachers.¹ This indicates a range in the size of the libraries in this area, and in provision of books per pupil: at Hay Street 6.1 books were provided for each pupil, while there were only 1.1 books per pupil at Mount Lachlan. In the Newtown Wesleyan Sunday School Circuit, six of the eleven Sunday schools had libraries in 1859, with a total of 1020 volumes. However the Newtown school owned 420 of this total number of volumes, so that some other libraries in the circuit must have been very small. The Newtown library appears also to have been better organised than the others, with a rudimentary catalogue of the books, and a system of keeping loan statistics.² In the North Sydney Circuit in 1860 the size of the libraries ranged from 700 volumes at the York Street School to 140 at the Balmain School.³ During the early 1860s libraries were also in existence in Wesleyan Sunday schools in other Sydney districts, including Surrey Hills,⁴ Woolloomooloo,⁵ Paddington,⁶ and in country

1. Ibid., 9 June 1859, pp.229-230.

2. Ibid., 21 July 1859, p.264.

3. Ibid., 26 April 1860, pp.103-104.

4. Ibid., 2 August 1860, p.191.

5. Ibid., 16 August 1860, p.201.

6. Ibid., 29 August 1861, p.32.

districts as far away as Goulburn.¹ None of these libraries had more than 500 volumes, while some had fewer than one hundred; none appears to have been as well organised as that at Newtown.

In the later years of the nineteenth century, small lending collections were sometimes assembled in local churches, particularly the Wesleyan churches, for the use of the Sunday school children. These libraries, comparable in size with, but organised in a much less thorough way than, the Sunday school libraries of Britain and America in the same period, appear to have consisted chiefly of "reward" type moral and religious stories. The few descriptions which survive are from the early twentieth century, when books in most of these libraries were already too old and out-of-date to be interesting. Ivan Southall has briefly described one in a small Victorian rural town in the 1920s; it was housed in a bench in the church porch, and he remembers it as consisting largely of multiple copies of books written by Arthur Mee, of the sort designed to improve.² Despite being almost totally deprived of reading matter as a child, he does not recall ever being sufficiently interested in the books in this collection to read them.³ Sir Paul Hasluck had rather better memories of the Methodist Sunday School library in Perth from which he borrowed two books a week around 1917. This collection consisted of "good boys' book of adventure and school

1. Ibid., 11 April 1861, p.407.

2. Ivan Southall, A Journey of Discovery: On Writing for Children, (Harmondsworth, 1968), p.71.

3. Ibid., p.71. Another Australian writer for children, Nance Donkin, mentions that she "read through the Sunday-school library - Edgar Wallace and Sydney Horler" at about the same time as Ivan Southall was looking for books to read. Nance Donkin, "Tales from a Cedar Bookcase", The Educational Magazine, 35, 3(1978), p.41.

life or stories of missionaries in Africa";¹ much of this could, however, be classed as reading material "designed to improve", especially since many adventure stories were seen in this light by nineteenth and early twentieth century educators.

From the evidence available, it is apparent that Australian Sunday school libraries, like those of the United States, had played some part in bringing books to children, particularly, from the 1830s, the children of church members, to whom they would have otherwise been unavailable. There is also evidence that, again like Sunday school libraries in the United States, they were less popular by the end of the nineteenth century than they had been earlier. Nevertheless Australian Sunday school libraries were never as well organised, or as popular, as the better Sunday school libraries in Great Britain and the United States.

It was in the parochial schools established by the government of the Colony of New South Wales to meet the need for "plain and practical" primary education that ordinary school libraries in Australia were first developed. Archdeacon Scott in 1829 reported that thirty-six such schools had been established, including infant schools, in Sydney, Parramatta, and Windsor. Writing to Governor Darling, Scott said that in order "to give more effect to these primary schools" he had requested that each chaplain "establish a lending library for the use of children, lending such books as were calculated for their capacities, selected from the catalogue of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and other useful

1. Sir Paul Hasluck, Mucking About: An Autobiography, (Melbourne, 1977), p.63.

publications",¹ which would seem to indicate that he had in mind libraries combining general and religious and moral works in their collections in the manner of the English week-day schools. He commented that the reports he had received of these new school libraries were "very favourable", and given "proper care and attention", he believed that "much good [would] be effected" through them.²

Libraries in independent schools, which provided most of the post-primary education offered in Australia in the early and mid-nineteenth century, were the earliest secondary school libraries in this country. One of the first was a book collection built up in the 1840s at the Queen's School, Hobart. In 1842 the Principal reported to the Governor that he had "procured a few books with a view to the formation of a library", though there were not enough to warrant housing in a separate room. He went on to say that he had it "in view to apply any surplus which may arise from the fees of tuition to the accumulation of a sum sufficient to purchase a library in England, of a character suited to the Institution", and the sixteen pupils then enrolled in it.³ He apparently wanted to develop a substantial library along the lines of the English public school general collections in the early nineteenth century. At Ipswich Grammar School, Queensland, which opened in 1863, there was a "library" from the end of that year or early in 1864. The Headmaster

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1. Archdeacon Scott's Final Report to Governor Darling, 1 September 1829. Historical Records of Australia, (Vol.15, Sydney, 1922), pp.219-220.
 2. Ibid., p.220.
 3. John Philip Gell, Report of the Queen's School, Hobart, Legislative Council of Van Dieman's Land, 1842, pp.1-5. Report dated 24 August 1842.

of the school wrote in 1864, "we must give [the more studious boys] a library, furnished with suitable books to assist them in their studies...as soon as we have a room for the purpose".¹ In December 1868 he produced for the Trustees "a Catalogue of the library books"² which showed that the school library possessed nineteen volumes, three of them donated, eleven of the nineteen constituting Grote's History of Greece.³ After this the library grew reasonably quickly, for in 1869 there are accounts for the purchase of sixty-seven books for the library, chiefly English literature and some fiction,⁴ suggesting a change in the function of the library, from a place for bright boys to work, to providing a collection of recreational reading for all.

Many independent schools established school libraries in the 1880s and 1890s, often in their foundation year. At St. Ignatius' College, Riverview, Sydney, boys' libraries have been available for recreation and reference since the foundation of the College in 1880.⁵ Townsville Grammar School had a library of "two or three dozen books" in the year it was founded, 1888; by 1897 there were 250 books on shelves in the Dining Hall. This was a recreational

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1. Letter, Stuart Hawthorne, Headmaster, to the Chairman of Trustees, Henry Challinor, 1 April 1864, Ipswich Grammar School Archives.
 2. Letter, Stuart Hawthorne to the Chairman of Trustees, Henry Challinor, 8 January 1869, in the Ipswich Grammar School Archives.
 3. "Ipswich Grammar School Library", MS, attached to a letter from Stuart Hawthorne to the Trustees, 28 December 1868, in the Ipswich Grammar School Archives.
 4. "Library Books - Books Supplied to the Grammar School, Ipswich, 8 May 1869", MS, in the Ipswich Grammar School Archives.
 5. Rev. John W. Doyle, "Saint Ignatius' College Library, Riverview", Australian Library Journal, 13(1964), p.156.

library, chiefly of popular fiction, including the works of Henty, Marryat, Haggard, Ainsworth, and R.M. Ballantyne.¹ In May 1898 when its first school magazine was produced, Brisbane Grammar School already had a library of about 400 volumes, including "a nicely selected collection of English works of fiction".² At Somerville House (The Brisbane High School for Girls), founded in 1899 as a private school, and now under the control of the Uniting Church, planning for a school library began within a few months of the opening of the school. "Many gifts of books were made by generous parents and friends as well as by the girls themselves - while each pupil paid a subscription of one penny a week to the Library Fund". The library began in a specially built cupboard in one of the classrooms,³ as did so many others. These school library collections seldom occupied their own room set aside for a library. Some were intended to be academic libraries, as at Ipswich Grammar School in its first years; others were purely recreational, as at Townsville Grammar School; still others attempted to provide both curriculum related materials and fiction/general reading materials. Most were heavily dependent on donations and so acquired very mixed collections of popular works, general reference works, and English literature, which parents, teachers, and pupils felt they could spare.

Libraries in government schools providing some post-primary education were being established by the 1850s. In 1858 there were libraries in New South Wales schools conducted by the Board of

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1. Townsville Grammar School Magazine, (1897), pp.4-5.
 2. Brisbane Grammar School Magazine, (1898), p.15.
 3. Phyllis G. Freeman, History of Somerville House (The Brisbane High School for Girls) 1899-1949, (Brisbane, 1949), p.8.

National Education at Fort-Street, Cleveland-Street, William-Street, and Paddington, in Sydney, and at Mudgee and East Maitland.¹ One was also established at Balmain shortly afterwards. The Board of National Education in its 1858 Annual Report stated that "much benefit would result from the establishment of school libraries consisting of books of travel, voyages, biographies, and others of an interesting and instructive character".² At the conference of Inspectors held on 25 March 1867, just after the abolition of the National and Denominational Boards of Education and the appointment of the Council of Education, it was recommended "that in schools under the Council's supervision the establishment of libraries for the use of the pupils would, in the judgement of the conference, prove very beneficial".³ The Council of Education was requested by the Inspectors to contribute a portion of the cost of the books and of the cases in which they were to be kept, while the remaining portion was to be raised in the neighbourhood of the school by parents and friends. The Council of Education does not appear to have acceded to the request of the Inspectors and the small libraries which had been established were allowed gradually to fall into disuse. The library at the Model School at Fort-Street was re-established in 1892,⁴ and in 1899 at Fort Street Boys' High School there was a library⁵ consisting mainly of fiction and English literature. These small

1. The New South Wales Educational Gazette, 5,2(1895), p.27.

2. Ibid., p.27.

3. Ibid., p.27.

4. Ibid., p.27.

5. The Fortian, 1,1(1899), (no pagination until 1912), quoted by Alan George Shearman, The Development of Departmental High School Libraries in New South Wales, (Post-graduate Diploma in Librarianship thesis, University of New South Wales, 1963), p.4.

government school libraries, administered by teachers, and stored in any convenient place, were very similar to those being established in many of the independent secondary schools, with collections of a few hundred books mainly for recreational reading, relying on the support of parents, local benefactors, and the children.

In the primary schools the Inspectors played an important role in promoting the growth of school libraries from the 1870s. In their reports they complained about the early lack of library provision, and they endeavoured to stimulate local efforts to provide books. In 1875 Victorian Inspector Elkington commented that a school library was a great rarity and that "except an interesting little collection at Bairnsdale, I doubt whether there is one in the district".¹ A few years later his colleague, Inspector Brodribb, wrote that he would like to see "a small library attached to every school...to imbue our scholars with a taste for reading", providing "them with resources of profit and pleasure, and with safeguards against idleness of mischief".² While located in the Beechworth District, Inspector Henry Finch Rix was particularly active in support of school libraries, writing in 1885 that "primary schools, especially those in the country, will never fulfil their mission thoroughly, unless in them there be established lending libraries".³ He sought to raise money through donations in the district to buy

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1. Victoria, Report of the Minister of Public Instruction, (1874-1875), p.165, quoted by L.J. Blake (ed.), Vision and Realisation, Vol.1, (Melbourne, 1973), p.1034.
 2. Victoria, Report of the Minister..., (1881-1882), p.192, quoted by Blake, Vision and Realisation, p.1034.
 3. Victoria, Report of the Minister..., (1886-1887), p.160, quoted by Blake, Vision and Realisation, p.1034.

books for schools because he felt that

the majority of children, especially in the country, grow up in ignorance of the rich stores of profitable pleasure to be found in books. Knowing no books but their class readers, they read only when they must, and they come to look on reading as merely a school task, not as a key which will admit them to the temple of knowledge.¹

As an example of what could be done, A.E. Watson wrote an account² of a library established in 1876 at Bell Street School, Fitzroy, Melbourne. This library, for Class Six pupils, was carried on by Joseph Wright, first assistant at the school, and supported by a subscription of a penny per month from each pupil, an amount sufficient to buy one new volume each month. The books, covered and catalogued, could be borrowed every Friday afternoon for a weekly period. In 1900, when it was moved to the nearby Napier Street School, the library consisted of about 200 volumes of fiction.

There were libraries in some New South Wales primary schools, too, in the late nineteenth century. In the New South Wales Educational Gazette there is a reference to school libraries in 1891 being supported by annual concerts and voluntary subscriptions, with the note that "ten pounds, judiciously spent, will buy sufficient books to make a very fair nucleus".³ In 1895 Mr John Nicholas, of the Public School at Oberon, wrote to the Educational Gazette to draw attention to the fact that in 1878 he had established a library at his own expense in a small school at Blue Gum Flat, now Ourimbah.⁴

1. Victoria, Report of the Minister..., (1889-1890), p.233, quoted by Blake, Vision and Realisation, p.1034.

2. Education Gazette, October 1900, p.62.

3. New South Wales Educational Gazette, 1(1891), n.p.

4. New South Wales Educational Gazette, 5,4(1895), pp.69-70.

Further north, in Queensland, there were other primary school libraries. The Report of the Board of General Education for 1866 mentions a library in the vested school at Warwick, maintained "at the voluntary expense of the children themselves...".¹

Despite some local initiatives in school library provision in New South Wales in the late nineteenth century, most primary school libraries there, as in Victoria, were established through the encouragement of school Inspectors.² In the 1890s many were begun as a result of the work of one man, Mr. Inspector J. Kevin,³ who was active in promoting the idea of school libraries, and who himself organised committees to raise funds for books in his inspectorial districts, first Lithgow, and later Dungog.⁴ Much of the money came from annual concerts and voluntary subscriptions;⁵ at this stage there was no government subsidy or support for the movement.⁶

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1. Warwick Central State School Centenary Committee, Warwick Central State School Centenary, 26 July 1975, (Warwick, 1975), p.4.
 2. Australia was not the only country in the late nineteenth century in which the development of school libraries was encouraged by school Inspectors. In England, from the time of Matthew Arnold, many of Her Majesty's Inspectors had encouraged the provision of materials for reading in schools. In South Africa in the 1890s, Sir Thomas Muir, Superintendent-General of Education at the Cape, gained the "title" of "Father of school libraries" for his work in encouraging their development. During his term of office, 1892 to 1915, school libraries, from being extremely unusual (with only twenty-two in the province in 1892), became accepted as part of the normal facilities of a school (with 2257 schools having libraries in 1915). See D.M. Turner, "The Development of School and Children's Libraries in South Africa", South African Libraries, 12(1952), p.134; and Kathy A. Beukes, The History and Development of School Libraries in The Cape Province of South Africa, from Settlement to 1788, (Graduate Diploma in Teacher Librarianship major study project, Kelvin Grove College of Advanced Education, 1978), pp.14-16.
 3. Anonymous, "New South Wales School Libraries...", The Bulletin, 23 July 1898, the red page.
 4. Ibid.
 5. New South Wales Educational Gazette, 1(1891), n.p.
 6. Anonymous, "New South Wales School Libraries...", the red page.

curate figures for the number of school libraries actually established in the 1890s are impossible to obtain, but the Table gives an idea of the number and size of the libraries established in the Lithgow and Dungog Districts.¹

The figures from the New South Wales Educational Gazette, 3,9(1894), p.173, are incorporated in a report of a speech by John Kevin. The second figures come directly from the text of a speech by Kevin, "State School Libraries", in Library Association of Australasia, Conference Proceedings, 1898, (Adelaide, 1969), pp.63-69. The third figures are taken from an anonymous report in 1898 describing the work of Kevin: "New South Wales School Libraries...", The Bulletin, 23 July 1898, the red page.

From the references in the speeches and in the Bulletin account it is difficult to date the figures given with any accuracy. In his speech to the Library Association of Australasia, for instance, Kevin made statements like: "about six years since I moved in the matter of School Libraries..." (p.66), and "...it was not long, however, since we could count these institutions [school libraries] by the dozen..." (p.66). This means that only approximate dates can be ascertained from his speeches, and from reports which rely on them.

Kevin also gave statistics only in round numbers, and his totals of libraries and books, given in speeches in various places and at various times, did not always agree. He said in his speech to the Library Association of Australasia Conference in 1898 (Proceedings, p.66): "Subsequently, on my removal to Dungog (my present district), I took up the movement again, with the gratifying result that in a little over two years, we had one hundred libraries, with ten thousand books, if not more". The library movement in the Dungog District would appear to have begun in 1895. The report of the school libraries in The Bulletin of 23 July 1898, the red page, gives the total books for the Dungog libraries as being between 8000 and 9000 in 1898, with the libraries numbering between ninety and one hundred.

It should also be noted that since the figures given in this table are collated from different sources, they present an unreliable chronological picture of library development.

TABLE XII

NEW SOUTH WALES SCHOOL LIBRARIES, LITHGOW AND DUNGOG DISTRICTS

Source of Statistics	Date	District	Number of Libraries	Total number of volumes in libraries	Average number of volumes in each library
NSW Educational Gazette	1894	Lithgow	30-40	c.4000	c.100
do	1894	Dungog	c.70	c.5000	c.71.4
LAA Conference Proceedings	c.1895	Lithgow	94	c.9000	c.90
do	c.1898	Dungog	100	c.10,000	c.100
The Bulletin	1898	Lithgow	90-100	c.7000	c.70
do	1898	Dungog	90-100	c.8000-9000	c.80-90

John Kevin himself said that he did "not consider a school fully equipped till it can boast of its century of tomes",¹ and that "in less than six years", in Dungog, Lithgow, and other districts, there was a total of three hundred libraries, most of which had a hundred books.² These libraries were invariably housed in "the school library press", purchased with funds raised through concerts, picnics, and other entertainments.³ Administered by the schoolteacher in his free time, they contained, on the whole, "not goody-goodies, but literature of a strong masculine stamp - biography, voyage and travel, discovery,

1. John W. Kevin, "State School Libraries", in Library Association of Australasia, Conference Proceedings, 1898, (Adelaide, 1969), p.66.

2. Ibid., p.66.

3. Ibid., p.67.

moral stories, novels, poetry, and elementary science".¹ The collections in fact sound remarkably like those in comparable primary and secondary schools in England and America in the same period.

In a speech made in declaring officially open the library at Eskbank Superior Public School in 1893,² Kevin discussed his reasons for starting these libraries. Firstly, he was horrified at "the deplorable absence of any kind of literature in the bush".³ Secondly, he wanted to get the town children, if possible, "to stay home and read, instead of walking about at night".⁴ And thirdly, he wanted to "cultivate a taste for reading in the minds of the young",⁵ which would be to the benefit of all now, and "for the better life and nobler existence of the next generation".⁶ He did not see libraries as central to the process of instruction in the school, but rather as "adjuncts" or "accompaniments" to elementary education, which would have "far-reaching influence for good".⁷ "Until a good library is attached as a matter of course to every one of our elementary schools", he said in 1898, "a great opportunity of refining the taste and enlarging the knowledge of the young will continue to be wasted and the full usefulness of these institutions will remain

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1. Anonymous, "New South Wales School Libraries...", the red page.
 2. New South Wales Educational Gazette, 3,9(1894), p.173.
 3. Ibid., p.173. He said later, in 1898, that it struck him when he first moved to the country districts as Inspector, "how dreadful, how appalling, how cheerless, and how sunless was the mind-life of bush children - their homes, so semi-barbarian, their daily existence so cruel, their minds so blank, their lives so animal and so full of temptation to wrong". Kevin, "State School Libraries", p.64.
 4. New South Wales Educational Gazette, 3,9(1894), p.173.
 5. Ibid., p.173.
 6. Kevin, "State School Libraries", p.64.
 7. Ibid., p.68.

unattained".¹ He hoped teachers would see in the library a "moral and social purification and a potent factor in the building up of their country's greatness".²

It would be difficult to measure the extent to which the school libraries begun in the 1890s in New South Wales primary schools achieved these high-minded aims, which are related more to the aims of the founders of Sunday school libraries in England and America than to the aims of the other early libraries in New South Wales schools. These libraries were often the only source of reading materials in the small bush towns they served. In them many pupils would have encountered the only books, apart from readers, that they were likely to see.³ Much community effort and activity went into their support. Their stock of one hundred or so books may seem small, but few country primary schools had more than one teacher or more than thirty children. And many of these libraries were still operating in the twentieth century, when the Education Department began to take an interest in libraries in primary schools.

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By the end of the nineteenth century in Australia and in the United States of America, as in Great Britain, libraries had been developed in many primary or elementary schools, as well as in both independent and government-controlled secondary schools. The largest

1. Ibid., p.67.

2. Ibid., p.68.

3. New South Wales, The Public Instruction Gazette, 31 May 1912, p.142.

and best organised of the school libraries were generally in the older independent secondary schools - in the public and grammar schools of Great Britain, some of which had had libraries for more than three hundred years, in the academies and independent schools of the United States, and in the various non-state schools of Australia. Nevertheless in all three countries libraries were also being developed in the government secondary schools, and in many of the elementary schools. In Britain the development of these libraries had been given an initial impetus and ongoing support by the work of voluntary and religious societies from the beginning of the century; from the 1870s the local public library authorities, created as a result of the mid-century Public Libraries Acts, had been active in many areas in providing school library collections and other forms of library service to schools. In the United States support had been given to the development of elementary school libraries through state legislation and grants, and also through local public libraries in many areas. In Australia, however, while school Inspectors had encouraged the establishment of libraries in state primary schools, particularly in New South Wales and Victoria, little financial help from any government source was provided for them; there was also, in contrast to the situation in Great Britain and in the United States by the late 1890s, little public library service to schools, probably because public library services were fewer and less well organised here in the nineteenth century. In Great Britain by 1900 the Sunday schools had ceased to have any role in general education, and in that country and in the United States the Sunday school libraries had declined greatly in importance; by the end of the century they had largely ceased to have any public support, except in some cities where the public libraries had taken

over responsibility for them. In Australia, where they were established later than in Great Britain and the United States, Sunday schools played only a very minor role in general education. By the middle of the nineteenth century they were providing only for the religious instruction of the children of church members. While some of these schools had small libraries, they seem to have been little used in the later years of the century, even in small communities where there were few other sources of books.

The organisation and management of school libraries at all levels was generally more sophisticated in Great Britain and the United States than in Australia; here, for instance, few school libraries produced printed catalogues, and the books were more likely to be stored in cupboards (and occasionally benches!) than in, for example, the elaborate closed access library rooms of some of the United States schools. While some schools here did have library rooms, none could approach the beautiful and spacious rooms in use at schools like Shrewsbury, Rugby, or Cheltenham Ladies' College. In Australia too at the end of the nineteenth century few school libraries provided a service to members of the local community, except on an informal basis in small rural settlements, whereas a library service to all members of a community through the schools was important in many areas of Britain; in the United States it had been an important part of the common school library concept in some states earlier in the nineteenth century, and was still occasionally important in the 1890s.