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PART I

CHAPTER ONE

THE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF SCHOOL LIBRARIES

While the school library is a widely occurring institution which most people readily identify and understand,¹ its history tends to be treated in the literature as a subsidiary part of the history of the public or children's library, or as a minor aspect of educational history. Some information on the history of school libraries can be gleaned from the work of writers in the fields of library history, history of education, and the history of children's literature, while material on individual school libraries can sometimes be found in school histories. There are published histories of some older and well-known school libraries, but none of school libraries generally, though the history of school libraries in particular states or countries, often during a limited period, has been investigated in several theses of varying length by researchers in Great Britain, the United of America, and Australia. No attempt has been made, however, to ascertain from this evidence general trends in school library development over the centuries and in more than one country; to analyse the reasons for the existence of school libraries; to discover the origins of the school library in western education; or to account for similarities and differences in school libraries over time and in different places. It is possible that little attention has been paid to the school library in historical studies because it has traditionally been seen as

1. Jean Key Gates, Introduction to Librarianship, (2nd edn, New York, 1976), p.1.

playing a dependent role in both education and librarianship; its budget, for instance, usually forms only a small part of that of the school or of the public library authority, and its staff, when provided at all, has generally been less well qualified than either the school teaching staff or the public library staff, until well into the present century. So while school libraries then have usually only been seen as a subsidiary and not very important form of librarianship in the general library histories, they have also been seen in general histories of education as playing only a minor role in education, if they are mentioned at all.

With regard to school libraries, Sidney L. Jackson wrote in 1974 in his general history Libraries and Librarianship in the West¹ that "the story of an entire type of library service is so far virtually unknown"; his comment remains substantially true today. Certainly there are few references to school libraries in the general histories of libraries and library services; Jackson's own book includes probably the most comprehensive comments in a general work. Other library historians who do note the early existence of school libraries tend to do so in relation to monastic libraries, as Ernest A. Savage does in his 1911 work Old English Libraries,² or to school library services to the wider public, as in Thomas Kelly's more recent (1966) Early Public Libraries.³ Even in Jackson's work, however, the references to school libraries are few and scattered, particularly for the period before 1815. While he does note that by the early nineteenth century school libraries

1. (New York, 1974), p.210.

2. (London, 1911).

3. (London, 1966).

existed in some numbers, both in England and on the Continent,¹ especially in the Gymnasia and other secondary schools, he queries their effectiveness, since visitors and evaluators like the Frenchman Victor Cousin and the Americans Horace Mann and Henry Barnard scarcely mentioned them. However he concludes that "whether school libraries in early nineteenth-century Germany - and France - were indeed inconsequential, or have been undeservedly neglected by historians, is one more matter for research".² Again and again, in discussing later nineteenth century library history, Jackson remarks that various aspects of the history of school libraries need further research. He notes the absence of any comparative studies of school library development in the various countries of Europe, including England and France, where by the 1860s small town school libraries were making some contribution to local life;³ and the absence of any research into the relationship between compulsory school attendance and library history.⁴ He points out that the provision of school libraries by the local public library service, usually through the school boards, was a developing trend in the United States of America in the 1870s and cites evidence from St. Louis, but comments further that "similar enterprises apparently had their moments contemporaneously in several other large cities, but the aggregate evidence does not seem to have been studied yet".⁵ And again in discussing the development of school libraries in nineteenth century France and their relationship to "bourgeois nation

1. Jackson, Libraries and Librarianship, p.282.

2. Ibid., p.282

3. Ibid., p.345.

4. Ibid., p.345.

5. Ibid., p.247.

building", he notes that "the school library story" is "not readily traceable".¹ One is left with the feeling that while school libraries may have been numerous in the past, too little is known about them, their aims, their collections, and their influence, to assess the role they have played in the history of libraries and librarianship.

American histories of libraries and librarianship have generally tended, as is to be expected, to give great weight to nineteenth and twentieth century American library history, at the expense of earlier European library history. Jean Key Gates, for instance, in her textbook Introduction to Librarianship, covered "the story of libraries" from ancient times to the twentieth century in Europe in forty-three pages, then devoted sixteen pages to nineteenth century American library history, and a further full section of 110 pages to an historical consideration of "Kinds of Libraries and Library Services" in America. A substantial sub-section on "The School Library Media Centre" treated "the development of the school library to 1960", since "a look at its history may shed some light on why it has grown as it has and why its current status is what it is".² Nevertheless the many school libraries in nineteenth and early twentieth century America are dismissed in less than a paragraph, since "the school libraries which first appeared were used little, and their contribution to the teaching-learning process was minimal".³ No evidence is presented to support the first part of this statement; and while these libraries may have been used less than

1. Ibid., p.345.

2. Gates, Introduction to Librarianship, p.166.

3. Ibid., p.166.

school libraries in the 1980s, there is no proof that the school libraries in the 1920s, when Gates' survey really begins, were used substantially more than those of, say, 1900. The second part of the quotation assumes that the purpose of school libraries has always been to support instruction in the school; this ignores the fact that school libraries were often established for other purposes unrelated to school instruction, as, for instance, meeting the recreational reading needs of the children, or the needs of adult members of the community. This does not make them any less school libraries, and to judge them by the standards of one type of school library, that of the school library established to support teaching and learning in the school, is to judge them unfairly.

Elmer D. Johnson is another American library historian who has given great weight to the history of libraries in the United States of America in his general library histories. In the second edition of his History of Libraries in the Western World¹ in a long chapter devoted to "European Public Libraries since 1500", and a subsequent chapter devoted to "Special Libraries in Modern Europe", considered country by country, he made brief reference to school libraries,

1. (Metuchen, N.J., 1970).

including those of England,¹ Poland,² Rumania,³ Italy,⁴ and Sweden.⁵ A later chapter dealt with "School Libraries in the United States"; here he, unlike Gates, considered in some detail nineteenth century school library developments. However in the third edition of History of Libraries in the Western World, written with Michael H. Harris,⁶ this chapter is reduced to a section of a chapter on "Modern American Libraries". The section begins with the statement that "while some feeble beginnings in the area of school library services were made early in the nineteenth century, it was not until after 1900 that school libraries in the modern sense of the term became fairly general".⁷ This view is close to that of Gates in the assumptions that "real" school library development began only sixty to eighty years ago, and that only early school libraries which shared the aims of the modern American "school library media centre" should be seriously considered in a school library history. In another general library history by Johnson, Communication: An Introduction to the History of Writing, Printing, Books, and Libraries,⁸ in a

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1. Though here he says (p.223) that "in the late seventeenth century...the private grammar schools made primitive beginnings toward library collections", and in the third edition of this work (Metuchen, N.J., 1976, p.252) says "many of the private schools [i.e. the public and grammar schools of England] have had libraries since the seventeenth century", some grammar schools in fact had libraries more than a century earlier. The examples he himself gives in the second edition (p.264) of early school libraries are both from the sixteenth century - Shrewsbury, dating from the late 1500s, and Merchant Taylors' School, London, from 1561.
 2. Ibid., p.237.
 3. Ibid., p.239.
 4. Ibid., p.242.
 5. Ibid., p.247.
 6. (Metuchen, N.J.. 1976).
 7. p.282.
 8. (4th edn, Metuchen, N.J., 1973).

chapter on "Modern American Libraries" a section on American school library history begins:

The school library as we know it today in the United States is almost entirely a 20th-century development. The 1800s had seen many academy libraries, school district libraries and Sunday school collections, but at the turn of the century there were few public schools with anything like workable libraries.¹

The nineteenth century school district libraries, the Sunday school libraries, and the academy libraries, are treated in more detail in a chapter on "American Libraries 1775-1850", but no more sympathetically;² the judgements made are based on twentieth century standards of school library service. When judgements are made in this way, the past always loses, and the very real contribution which these libraries made to the life of small communities, and to the development of library services generally, tends to be underestimated.

While American historians were attempting to show the school library as a twentieth century phenomenon, John Hirst in an historical outline in an M.Ed. thesis on New South Wales school libraries written in 1967³ suggested, without supplying evidence, that the history of school libraries could be traced back at least to ancient Rome. This link may exist, but it is not supported at present by the evidence available. Raymond Irwin, in his work The English Library: Sources and History (1966),⁴ looking at the background against which libraries generally have developed from classical and medieval times down to the nineteenth century, despite his aim to "dispel the

1. Ibid., p.249.

2. Ibid., pp.158-159.

3. School Libraries in New South Wales as Instruments of Education, (M.Ed. thesis, University of Sydney, 1967), p.7.

4. (London, 1966).

illusion that the libraries we see around us have nothing to do with Athens, Alexandria and Rome, with Constantinople and Islam...",¹ failed to indicate a direct link between the primary and secondary school libraries of today (as distinct from public and tertiary libraries) and a counterpart in the classical world. While libraries appear to have been established, for instance, in Plato's Academy about 385 B.C., Aristotle's Lyceum in 336 B.C., and the school of Epicurus in 306 B.C.,² these schools of philosophy were more closely related to the universities of today than to our schools.³ Irwin does however present some evidence for school libraries related to monastic schools in the Middle Ages, and for the secular cathedral school and its library at York in the eighth and ninth century,⁴ as does Ernest A. Savage in his Old English

1. Ibid., p.13.

2. Raymond Irwin, The Heritage of the English Library, (London, 1964), Chapter 4, pp.43-53, and Irwin, The English Library: Sources and History; p.24, p.80.

3. Johnson and Harris in the third edition of the History of Libraries in the Western World, p.53, class these as tertiary libraries, quoting Polybius' description of them. But they also indicate, without stating sources, that there are records of one "secondary school", the Ptolemaion in Athens, where the students presented "one hundred books annually to the school library as a graduation gift". (p.53). This school referred to was probably one of the "ephebia"; they had a wide syllabus, and though it was not an academically advanced one, the ephebes were young men who had got beyond secondary school age and who had already finished their secondary schooling. The aim of these schools was to promote intellectual and physical culture, as a basis for a fashionable life. H.I. Marrou in A History of Education in Antiquity, (London, 1956), p.188, quotes evidence from Inscriptiones Graecae, editio minor, that these schools had libraries, as in the Ptolemaion in Athens, and that in the second and first centuries B.C. each annual class was apparently obliged to provide a batch of one hundred volumes. However it would seem impossible to class these as secondary school libraries.

4. Irwin, The English Library: Sources and History, pp.101-102.

Libraries.¹ These are also discussed in F. Wormald and C.E. Wright's The English Library before 1700.²

Many libraries in schools, especially the grammar schools in England, from the sixteenth century onwards, offered a service to the public, or, at least, to those members of the local community, like clergymen and teachers, who would benefit from access to a library collection. Some of these school libraries, particularly those at Guildford Grammar School (1573), Shrewsbury School (1596), Coventry Grammar School (1602), Bury Grammar School (before 1634), and King's Norton (1665), are discussed very briefly, in relation to public library development, by Thomas Kelly in his Early Public Libraries.³ This book grew out of Kelly's research for his much larger History of Public Libraries in Great Britain; the material was originally intended as a preliminary chapter for the larger work on precursors to the rate-aided public libraries which developed in the mid-nineteenth century. He himself said in his preface to the former that when he began the research he had "no idea how plentiful and how rich in interest the field would prove to be".⁴ He regarded this history nevertheless as "no more than a preliminary survey", in which he "tried to provide an outline of the story, and to reveal the main pattern of development".⁵ There is certainly available a great deal of material on those school libraries which he mentions as providing a service to the public, particularly on the libraries

1. (London, 1911), pp.35-37.

2. (London, 1958).

3. (London, 1966), p.71, p.74, p.76, p.80.

4. Ibid., p.5.

5. Ibid., p.5.

at Shrewsbury,¹ Guildford, and Bury; there are also many other such school libraries which he does not mention, for which documentation is available in the form of charters, catalogues, registers, and even surviving book collections.

In his History of Public Libraries in Great Britain 1845-1975,² Kelly continued the story of British public libraries from the time immediately preceding the Public Libraries Act of 1850, the Act which introduced the rate-aided public library conducted by a local authority. In this work, too, he makes reference to some developments in school library service in relation to public libraries, including the establishment, from the 1880s onwards, of public library branches in schools,³ and extension work among school children, including the organisation of class visits, lantern lectures, and story hours.⁴

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1. In an essay, "Community Readers at Shrewsbury School Library", Paul Kaufman says: "The library of Shrewsbury School is one of a noteworthy class not limiting its service to the school family, but, like Coventry, Guildford, the Bluecoat of Nottingham, Bury in Lancashire, Lewisham, and more recently Chirbury and King's Norton, serving a wider community". Paul Kaufman, Libraries and Their Users, (London, 1969), p.128. He himself in surveying community libraries has done some further work on the "school-town" libraries; but while some individual institutions have a written history, there is at present no adequate general survey of all such libraries. Ibid., p.132. Articles published on the early history of Shrewsbury School Library include two by a former librarian of the School: J.B. Oldham, "Shrewsbury School Library: its earlier history and organization", The Library, fourth series, 16(1935), pp.49-60; and "Shrewsbury School Library", The Library, fifth series, 14(1959), pp.81-99.
 2. (London, 1977).
 3. As at Leeds in 1883, ibid., p.50, p.80, and at Norwich in 1889, ibid., p.197. The Kenyon Report authors noted that by the 1920s 113 library authorities were actively co-operating in the provision of school libraries, ibid., p.245.
 4. Ibid., p.197.

While he mentions that there was some conflict in the early twentieth century as to whether school libraries should be provided by the education authority or the library authority, Kelly does not follow this up; he simply notes that "the variety of financial arrangements was bewildering. Sometimes the education authority met the entire cost, sometimes it contributed part of the cost, but quite often it gave nothing",¹ citing variously systems in operation at Cambridge, Cardiff, Edinburgh, and Hull.² However these are only passing references in a very substantial book. In 1977 Kelly produced an abridged and illustrated version of this work, Books for the People,³ which also incorporated in its first chapter some of the material from his Early Public Libraries. This new work, particularly through its illustrations and their captions, made reference to several early school libraries which offered service to the public, particularly Bury,⁴ Guildford,⁵ and Lewisham,⁶ and to late nineteenth and twentieth century developments in public library service to schools, including services offered at Bootle, Cardiff, Leeds, and Norwich.⁷ But while the illustrations in this work are useful in giving a more accurate impression of the various library services, even less information about them is given than in the two previously discussed works, as is only to be expected in a popular history.

Aspects of public library service to schools were also consid-

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1. Ibid., p.295.
 2. Ibid., pp.296-297.
 3. Thomas Kelly, Books for the People: An Illustrated History of the British Public Library, (London, 1977).
 4. Ibid., p.23.
 5. Ibid., p.26.
 6. Ibid., p.27
 7. Ibid., p.133 and p.134.

ered very briefly by W.A. Munford in his 1951 work on nineteenth and twentieth century public libraries, Penny Rate: Aspects of British Public Library History 1850-1950,¹ again in relation to the alternatives of provision by the public library authority or by the education authority.²

Some reference is made to school libraries in library histories which deal with specialised aspects of librarianship. The first comprehensive study in English of library furniture and fittings, The Care of Books, by John Willis Clark, published in 1901 with a second edition in 1902,³ provided a great deal of background information on library development, important for the historian of early school libraries. This work was in part based on an earlier book by Clark and his uncle, R. Willis, The Architectural History of the University and Colleges of Cambridge, published in 1886, which included an essay on "The Library". While discoveries made since 1901 by historians and archaeologists have caused some of Clark's conclusions to be invalidated,⁴ The Care of Books nevertheless remains the classic work in its field. In it Clark discussed the development of some early school libraries, including those of Eton College,⁵ Worcester,⁶ and Winchester College,⁷ particularly with regard to their architecture, furniture, and organisation. Clark's

1. (London, 1951).

2. Munford, Penny Rate, p.111.

3. (Cambridge, 1902).

4. Burnett Hillman Streeter, The Chained Library, (London, 1921), p.xvi.

5. Clark, The Care of Books, pp.238,263.

6. Ibid., pp.121-123.

7. Ibid., p.102.

work was extended and supplemented by Canon B.H. Streeter, whose book The Chained Library, a survey of the development of the English library, its fittings and equipment, appeared in 1931. Fresh documentary evidence, and personal observation in libraries, enabled him to add to, and to correct, some of the work of Clark, while at the same time he describes libraries which were not even mentioned by Clark. The chained libraries of the Royal Grammar School at Guildford,¹ and of Bolton School in Lancashire,² were described by both of these writers, with Streeter being able to report that as a result of Clark's visit to Guildford in 1893, that library had been restored and some further research carried out on its history.³ In another specialised area, that of the contents of library collections and the provenance of library books, N.R. Ker, the authority on medieval library collections, included some references to the books in the College library collections at Eton and Winchester in his Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a List of surviving books.⁴

In the field of Australian library history there is no standard monograph work; the authors of those historical surveys of Australian libraries which are available, while mentioning school libraries, consider them only as a comparatively recent phenomenon, generally ignoring school library provision made before the early 1930s. The most comprehensive historical account, for instance, written by R. McGreal, Deputy Principal Librarian of the Public

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1. Clark, The Care of Books, pp. 151-152, p.260; Streeter, The Chained Library, p.294.
 2. Clark, The Care of Books, p.261; Streeter, The Chained Library, pp.298-302.
 3. Streeter, The Chained Library, p.294.
 4. (2nd edn, London, 1964).

Library of New South Wales, as an article on "Libraries" for the second edition of The Australian Encyclopaedia, contains a brief comment on the development of school libraries from the 1930s. From that date on, McGreal maintained, there had been "an increasing awareness of the importance of the library in the school",¹ but there is no reference to school libraries in the nineteenth or early twentieth century, despite the fact that the earlier history of other types of Australian libraries, including state, university, public, and children's libraries, is discussed in some detail.² In a chapter on "History and Structure of Library Services" in the second edition of Australian Libraries by John Balnaves and Peter Biskup,³ no information on school libraries is included; and a chapter on "School Libraries" in the same work contains only a very brief section which considers the history of school library provision only as far back as the early 1930s.⁴ In his Presidential Address to the Library Association of Australia in 1973, Harrison Bryan, then Librarian of the University of Sydney, looked at the development of Australian libraries during the previous twenty-five years - the years of his own experience as a professional librarian.⁵ In doing so he remarked that it would have been difficult to say anything substantial about school libraries before the 1939-1945 World War since "it was

1. In Vol.5, (2nd edn, Sydney, 1958), p.307.

2. The article on "Libraries" in the third edition of The Australian Encyclopaedia, Vol.4, (Sydney, 1977), pp.6-15, is based on the article by R. McGreal in the second edition, updated with a new introduction by Harrison Bryan. Its brief section on school libraries is abridged from the earlier article, and no further historical material is included.

3. (Sydney, 1975).

4. Ibid., p.89.

5. "Towards Libraries for the Nation: Twenty-five Years of Australian History, 1948-1973", Australian Library Journal, 22(1973), pp.350-358.

difficult...to comment constructively on what did not exist".¹ Yet even the critical authors of the Munn-Pitt Report of 1935 on Australian libraries² had admitted that school libraries, however inadequate and unworthy of the name, did exist, and there is in fact considerable evidence of school library provision in Australia from the middle of the nineteenth century. Bryan in his brief comments on school libraries in this speech rightly stressed the great advance in school library provision as a result of Federal government funding from the 1960s, but underestimated the importance of what had been achieved to that time.

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While school libraries then have generally been seen merely as a subsidiary and not very important form of library provision in the general library histories, they have also been seen in the general histories of education as playing only a small role in education, if they have been mentioned at all. While many of the textbook-type surveys of the history of education in the western world do make occasional references to public, monastic, or scholarly libraries, a reference in them to primary or secondary school libraries is extremely rare. Adolphe E. Meyer, for instance, in his Educational History of the Western World,³ refers to several libraries, including that at Aristotle's Lyceum,⁴ the Hellenistic library at Alexandria in Egypt,⁵

1. Ibid., p.355

2. Ralph Munn and Ernest R. Pitt, Australian Libraries: A Summary of Conditions and Suggestions for Their Improvement, (Melbourne, 1935), p.105.

3. (New York, 1965).

4. Ibid., p.35.

5. Ibid., p.41.

the public libraries of Rome, including that established by the Emperor Vespasian,¹ the medieval monastic libraries,² the mosque libraries of tenth century Baghdad,³ and the libraries of sixteenth century French humanist scholars. However he makes no reference in his history to school libraries, even when discussing, in his final chapter, modern educational history in the United States of America.

A similar treatment of libraries is apparent in other general histories. In the second edition of his A History of Western Education, H.G. Good⁴ mentioned the Hellenistic library at Alexandria,⁵ a public library contemplated in Rome by Julius Caesar,⁶ the libraries of medieval monasteries,⁷ the library at St. Mark's in Venice,⁸ and the libraries of fifteenth century Italy, including the Vatican library.⁹ Again there is no mention of school libraries, apart from an indirect reference to Alcuin's eighth century library at York.¹⁰ The third edition of this work, A History of Western Education by Harry G. Good and James G. Teller,¹¹ contains even fewer references to libraries. The limited discussion of the ancient libraries has been removed; the only surviving

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1. Ibid., p.51.
 2. Ibid., pp.72-73 (and incorrectly listed in the index as p.73 only).
 3. Ibid., p.96.
 4. (New York, 1900).
 5. Ibid., p.37.
 6. Ibid., p.53.
 7. Ibid., pp.69ff.
 8. Ibid., p.121. This reference is not listed in the index of the work.
 9. Ibid., p.120.
 10. Ibid., p.69.
 11. ([New York], 1969).

mentions of libraries are references to the fifteenth century libraries of the Italian cities¹ and a brief reference to UNESCO's role in library development in the twentieth century.² In the first volume of his History of Western Education, subtitled The Ancient World,³ James Bowen mentions six libraries, none of which was a school library;⁴ in the second volume, subtitled Civilization of Europe, Sixth to Sixteenth Century,⁵ there is no reference to libraries at all. In the History of Western Education by William Boyd and Edmund J. King,⁶ there is only one mention of libraries - the public libraries of the Emperor Augustus;⁷ and in Edward J. Power's Main Currents in the History of Education⁸ there is no reference to libraries at all.

In works covering the history of education in specific periods, there is also a marked lack of concern for school libraries. Like most of the more general histories, the History of Education in Antiquity, by H.I. Marrou,⁹ while containing several allusions to

1. Ibid., p.125.

2. Ibid., p.315

3. (London, 1972).

4. These libraries were: the library of Assurbanipal in Nineveh, p.61; the library of Aristotle, p.128; the library at Alexandria, pp.140ff; the library at Pergamum, p.145, p.192; libraries in Rome, p.182, p.194; and the library at Vivarium, p.329.

5. (London, 1975).

6. (10th edn, London, 1972).

7. Ibid., p,78.

8. (2nd edn, New York, 1970).

9. Translated by George Lamb, (London, 1956).

various types of libraries, does not refer to school libraries;¹ similarly William Barclay, in his Educational Ideals in the Ancient World,² while mentioning the public libraries in Rome, omits reference to school libraries.³ For these writers, however, there is the justification that it is doubtful whether the equivalent of our primary or secondary school libraries existed in the ancient world. Arthur F. Leach, in his Schools of Medieval England,⁴ mentioned briefly Acca's library at Hexham,⁵ the eighth century library associated with Alcuin's school and the Minster at York,⁶ and the later library of Winchester College;⁷ yet in his other works on educational history, and particularly in his histories of individual schools, he frequently included information on school libraries. In his article on "Schools" in the Victoria History of the County of Warwick,⁸ for instance, he described the formation of a library in 1654 at King Edward VI School, Birmingham⁹ and in 1602 at Coventry Grammar School;¹⁰ and in his Early Yorkshire Schools¹¹ he discussed

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1. The libraries of the ephebia of Athens are referred to on pages 187-188; the library at Alexandria on page 189; the third century library of Origen in Caesarea on page 328; the early monastic libraries of the sixth century on page 333; and Pope Agapetus' attempt in 534 A.D. to create a scholars' library in Rome.
 2. (London, 1959).
 3. See p.167, p.182, p.273, for references to Roman public libraries.
 4. (London, 1915).
 5. Ibid., p.48.
 6. Ibid., pp.60-62.
 7. Ibid., p.306.
 8. William Page (ed.), Vol.2, (London, 1908).
 9. Ibid., pp.350-351.
 10. Ibid., p.325.
 11. Arthur Francis Leach, Early Yorkshire Schools, Volume 1, York, Beverley, Ripon, (London, 1899), and Early Yorkshire Schools, Volume 2, Pontefract, Howden, Northallerton, Acaster, Rotherham, Giggleswick, Sedberg, (Leeds, 1903).

the early seventeenth century libraries at Beverley Grammar School,¹ and at Rotherham Grammar School.² Another historian of English grammar school education, Foster Watson, in his English Grammar Schools to 1660,³ while discussing the provision and use of school-books in great detail, as well as the curriculum of the grammar schools, their organisation, and classroom practice, did not mention school libraries, though as the work of Leach and others has shown, many of these schools did have libraries by 1660. However W.A.L. Vincent's history The Grammar Schools: Their Continuing Tradition, 1660-1714,⁴ which follows on from the work of Watson, contains a full chapter on "Grammar School Libraries", giving the most comprehensive account to appear in any general history of education. This vast difference in treatment of school libraries in the work of Watson on the grammar schools to 1660 and of Vincent on the same schools after 1660 can probably be accounted for by the nature of the sources available for information on school libraries. To the middle of the seventeenth century most evidence for the existence of school libraries in these schools is scattered and is often in manuscript form in foundation deeds, in wills, in catalogues, in the provenance of the books themselves. But from around 1650 more easily accessible evidence is available, since there appears to have been an increasing awareness among educators at that time of the value of a properly organised library. In 1650, for instance, John Dury published his

1. Ibid., Vol.1, pp.liv-lv.

2. Ibid., Vol.2, p.lxxii and p.lxxiv. Leach's work has been discussed in some detail by W.E. Tate in his A.F. Leach as a Historian of Yorkshire Education, (York, 1963).

3. The English Grammar Schools to 1660: Their Curriculum and Practice, (London, 1908).

4. (London, 1969).

small treatise on library organisation, The Reformed Librarie-Keeper,¹ and ten years later Charles Hoole, in A New Discovery of the Old Art of Teaching Schools...,² recommended the formation of libraries in schools where they did not exist, and suggested suitable books. In the early 1670s Christopher Wase of Oxford conducted his wide-ranging survey of the endowed grammar schools of England, asking, among other things, about the libraries possessed by the schools. In 1678 Wase published a small book as a result of his research, Considerations Concerning Free-Schools,³ which pointed out the value of a library in a school. Vincent was able to make use of this and other material in his survey of grammar school libraries from 1660 to 1714, whereas no such surveys or manuals of practice exist for the period before 1650.

As with the general histories, histories of education in Australia usually contain few, if any, references to school libraries, despite the fact that school libraries were in existence in some schools from at least the middle of the nineteenth century. In Alan Barcan's recent History of Australian Education,⁴ which covers Australian education, government and independent, at all levels from pre-school to tertiary, and from the pre-1788 educational practices of the Australian Aboriginal tribes to the current educational trends of the late 1970s, there are no index references to school libraries. Such libraries are mentioned twice in the text, though

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1. The Reformed Librarie-Keeper, with a supplement to the Reformed School..., (London, 1650).
 2. (London, 1660).
 3. Considerations Concerning Free-Schools, as settled in England, (Oxford, 1678).
 4. (Melbourne, 1980).

only in passing: in 1874 Lyndhurst, the Sydney Roman Catholic secondary school for boys, had a library (and a museum and drama facilities)¹; almost one hundred years later, a list of facilities generally found in new Australian primary schools in 1972 indicated that libraries, along with "open carpeted spaces, art and craft centres...and graded learning materials", were usually provided in those schools.² No details are given in either case beyond the bare statement that the libraries existed. There is no mention of school libraries in A.G. Austin's Australian Education 1788-1900,³ nor in a companion volume, his Select Documents in Australian Education 1788-1900.⁴ B.K. Hyams and B. Bessant in their Schools for the People? An Introduction to the History of State Education in Australia⁵ do not refer to school libraries in state government schools; nor does Brother Ronald Fogarty in his two volume history of Catholic Education in Australia 1806-1950.⁶

When we come to the published histories of education in the various Australian states, the picture is only a little different: in some, there is material on the development of school libraries; in one or two, the treatment of them is comprehensive; but still others fail to refer to school libraries at all. E.R. Wyeth, in his

1. Ibid., p.123.

2. Ibid., p.367.

3. (2nd edn, Melbourne, 1965).

4. (Melbourne, 1963).

5. (Melbourne, 1972).

6. (Melbourne, 1959). Fogarty does, however, in volume two, p.298, refer to libraries for adults conducted through some of the convents.

Education in Queensland: A History...,¹ in a brief passage on libraries² commented that in Queensland

libraries generally...have never been anything but small and poorly equipped, and this deficiency has been very evident in its schools. Even a room set aside for a library is rare, for a few battered volumes may readily be stored in a convenient cupboard.

He noted that the Department of Education was granting a library subsidy to schools "before 1930",³ but makes no further reference to the library collections which had existed in many Queensland schools before 1937, including the grammar school libraries of the nineteenth century, and the small collections in State primary schools from the 1890s.⁴ In Rupert Goodman's Secondary Education in Queensland, 1860-1960,⁵ however, the only reference to school libraries occurs in relation to war memorials in schools, when the 1924 War Memorial Library of Brisbane Grammar School is cited as an example.⁶ Hector Holthouse's illustrated history of Queensland State schools, written for the Department of Education in 1975,⁷ mentions libraries only in brief captions to two photographs: one shows the Resource Materials Centre at Darling Downs Institute of Advanced

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1. Education in Queensland: A History of Education in Queensland and in the Moreton Bay District of New South Wales, (Melbourne, [1952]).
 2. Ibid., p.192.
 3. Ibid., p.192.
 4. These small collections were initiated and organised from Head Office by the Department of Education from 1910, when a central buying scheme was organised and a system of subsidies introduced. See Chapter Five for further details.
 5. (Canberra, 1968).
 6. Ibid., p.287.
 7. Looking Back: The First 150 Years of Queensland Schools, (Brisbane, 1975).

Education,¹ in a section relating to teacher training and advanced education; the other shows a newer high school exterior, with the caption, "Many state high schools are now equipped with the special resources of science books, libraries, and multi-purpose assembly halls."²

In Alan Barcan's Short History of Education in New South Wales³ there is one reference in the text to school libraries,⁴ in a document, reprinted in an abridged form from Historical Records of Australia, in which Archdeacon Scott, in summing up the developments in education in New South Wales from 1825 to 1829, mentions his request that libraries be established in the primary schools.⁵ No comment is made by Barcan on this statement by Scott; it is, however, the first published reference to school libraries in Australia. This statement of Scott's is also quoted in an earlier history of education in New South Wales, by S.H. Smith and G.T. Spaul;⁶ as

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1. Ibid., p.200.
 2. Ibid., p.194.
 3. (Sydney, 1965).
 4. There is also a reference in a footnote on page 282 to the provision of a library in each state high school in 1959/1960, along with an auditorium, canteen, gymnasium, and so on.
 5. Ibid., p.48. Quoted from Scott's Final Report to Governor Darling, 1 September 1829, Historical Records of Australia, series I, Vol.15, pp.219-221.
 6. History of Education in New South Wales (1788-1925), (Sydney, 1925), p.47. In this case, Smith, who wrote the relevant section of the history, quotes, not from Historical Records of Australia, but from the Report itself: Governor's Dispatch, MSS, (M.L.), 1 September 1829. The book by Smith and Spaul covers both the development of educational institutions and the political framework of education in New South Wales. The first 97 pages comprise Smith's earlier book A Brief History of Education in Australia 1788-1848, (1917). The next 76 pages comprise a pamphlet by Spaul on Sir Henry Parkes and his educational work. The remaining 90 pages, written specially for this volume by Spaul, cover the period 1880 to 1925.

in Barcan's book, this is the only reference to school libraries in the work. Two recent histories of education in Western Australia, W.D. Neal's Education in Western Australia¹ and David Mossenson's State Education in Western Australia 1829-1960,² both omit any reference to school libraries in their main text. However the latter, in an Appendix,³ reprints "Rules for the Government of Public Schools in the Colony of Western Australia" from the Report of the General Board of Education, 7 March 1855, which suggest that school libraries be formed by private donation or subscription to assist adult education.⁴ Like Barcan the author offers no comment. In A History of Tasmanian Education by Clifford Reaves,⁵ there is again no reference to school libraries.

The most comprehensive treatment of the history of school libraries in any Australian state appears in the centenary history of the Education Department of Victoria, compiled by a team of writers under the leadership of historian L.J. Blake.⁶ A section on "Library

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1. W.D. Neal (ed.), (Perth, 1979).
 2. (Perth, 1972).
 3. Ibid., p.169.
 4. It was noted that money should be spent "not merely on books, but in good engravings, models, statuettes; chemical, electrical, and other philosophical instruments", since "books alone can convey but an inadequate idea of the progress of science and civilization". Ibid., p.169.
 5. (Melbourne, 1935).
 6. L.J. Blake (ed.), Vision and Realisation: A Centenary History of State Education in Victoria, (3 vols, Melbourne, 1973). This can truly be called a "massive" work, since the first volume alone has more than 1600 pages! In an earlier history of education in Victoria, D.H. Rankin's The History of the Development of Education in Victoria, 1836-1936, The First Centenary of Educational Effort, (Melbourne, 1939), there are three brief references to school libraries: on page 144 a reference to the fact that the establishment of school libraries was encouraged in the very early years of this century; on page 157 a suggestion by Frank Tate in 1904 that libraries be provided in all schools; and on page 197 a reference to teachers' use of circulating libraries.

Services" surveys the development of state school libraries from small, chiefly fiction, collections in the 1870s to the library resource centres of the 1970s.¹ The role of school Inspectors in the late nineteenth century in encouraging the growth of school libraries is discussed, as is the early twentieth century trend for the libraries to be more closely related to the instruction given in the schools. The thoroughness of treatment in this survey, and its discussion of pre-twentieth century school libraries, make it unique in a state history of education.

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The published histories of individual schools are an important source of information on the history of school libraries. However the quality of coverage and the amount of space given to library development varies. In some school histories, a separate chapter is devoted to the history of the school library; in others there are references to the library at appropriate times in a chronological survey; in others there are isolated notes about the library where it is mentioned chiefly in relation to other things - to donations, or to the architecture of the school, for instance; and in still others there is no mention of the library at all, even when a library is known to have existed for many years.

In Edgar Hinchcliffe's history of Appleby Grammar School, Cumbria, England,² an Appendix on "The Bainbrigg Library" discusses

1. Ibid., pp.1033-1040.

2. Appleby Grammar School - From Chantry to Comprehensive, (Appleby, 1974).

the development of the school library from 1606 when it was bequeathed to the school by a former headmaster, Reginald Bainbrigg.¹ In the text there are also substantial references to the library and its catalogues,² and in the bibliography references to manuscript and printed sources for general school library history in the north of England, as well as for the development of the Appleby school library. T.W. Thompson's book Wordsworth's Hawkshead³ also includes an Appendix on the library in the former Hawkshead Grammar School, Lancashire, now a Wordsworth Museum.⁴ While this Appendix gives a brief history of the library, most of it is taken up by the reprinting of the proposals made in 1789 for the establishment of the library,⁵ the library records,⁶ a list of donors and subscribers to the library,⁷ and, in by far the largest section, an alphabetical list of donors to the library with full details of the books they presented.⁸ This emphasis on the books in the collection rather than on the history of the library as a whole reflects the interests of the author in historical bibliography rather than librarianship; it is an emphasis which we shall see later repeated in the histories of individual English school libraries which are available. Another school history which devotes an Appendix to a discussion of the

1. Ibid., p.131.

2. As, for instance, p.35, p.37, p.45, pp.48-49, p.56, pp.58-59, pp.82-83.

3. Edited, with introduction and notes, and appendices, by Robert Woof, (London, 1970).

4. Ibid., pp.342-371.

5. Ibid., pp.345-346.

6. Ibid., pp.346-347.

7. Ibid., pp.368-371.

8. Ibid., pp.347-368.

history of the school library is that of Manchester Grammar School, written by Alfred A. Mumford.¹

While some school histories which give serious consideration to the history of the school library do so with chapters or appendices on the library and its development, others include a coverage of the library history within a chronological history of the school from its foundation to the present. This is perhaps less convenient for the library history specialist, but nevertheless it does mean that the library and its history are discussed within the context of the development of the school as a whole. Examples of this type of treatment in British school histories occur in John Edward Vaughan's The Parish Church and Ancient Grammar School of King's Norton,² in which the foundation of the library in this school around 1662 is set against the background of seventeenth century school library development;³ C.P. Hill's History of Bristol Grammar School⁴ in which are described the establishment of the first library in this school in 1546 through a bequest,⁵ and the development of libraries in the school to the twentieth century;⁶ Marjorie Cox's History of Sir John Deane's Grammar School, Northwich, 1557-1908,⁷ in which information is given on the library owned by this school as early as

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1. The Manchester Grammar School, 1515-1915, (London, 1919), pp. 522-524. In this work an eighteenth century document showing purchases for the school library is also reprinted as Appendix 15, pp.525-526.
 2. (7th edn, Gloucester, 1973).
 3. Ibid., pp.22-24.
 4. (London, 1951).
 5. Ibid., pp.13-14.
 6. Ibid., pp.45-46, pp.196-198.
 7. (Manchester, 1975).

1631;¹ H.F. Morland Simpson's Bon Record,² in which documents produced in 1644 and 1659 relating to the foundation of the library of Aberdeen Grammar School are discussed;³ and James Townsend's History of Abingdon,⁴ in which the borough records and manuscript sources available in the school are used to provide an outline of the development of the school library from 1656 to the nineteenth century.⁵

In some school histories, however, there are merely isolated references to school libraries, usually in relation to other things - to the use of "the old library" for a common room perhaps, or to a donation of books in a list of miscellaneous donations to the school. In Robert Hope's History of Lord Weymouth School, Warminster,⁶ for instance, the library is mentioned in relation to a discussion of the school reading of Dr. Arnold, who was a pupil of the school.

No published Queensland school history contains a full chapter or appendix on the school library. The general work by T. Max Hawkins, The Queensland Great Public Schools,⁷ in which the ten schools are treated each in a separate chapter, omits any reference

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1. Ibid., pp.68-69, p.90, p.222.
 2. H.F. Morland Simpson (ed.), Bon Record: Records and Reminiscences of Aberdeen Grammar School from the earliest times by many writers. In Commemoration of the Thirteenth Jubilee of the School 1256-1906, (Edinburgh, 1906).
 3. Ibid., p.78, p.123.
 4. (London, 1910).
 5. Ibid., pp.100-102.
 6. (Bradford, 1961).
 7. (Brisbane, 1965).

to school libraries at all.¹ However the writers of some of the published histories of individual schools do make some reference to the school library's history in the context of the overall development of the school: for example, Memories of St. Hilda's School, Southport, by Rosemary Hughes;² The History of the Townsville Grammar School, compiled by R.W. Moore;³ and Toowoomba Grammar School 1875-1975, A Centenary History, by Rupert Goodman.⁴

Brochures produced for the jubilee or the centenary of a school, though giving a less comprehensive historical treatment than school histories in book form, often present evidence of the development of their school library over the years. Examples include the Townsville

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1. This is not a new phenomenon, nor one restricted to Australia. In 1904 in an article in the Library Journal, Elizabeth C. Baldwin complained that in a recent work on well-known American secondary schools, "the gymnasium, chapel, dining hall, and dormitory are fully described, while no attention whatever is paid to the library. In the same manner, in the early catalogues [or prospectuses] of these schools the library is either slighted or ignored altogether". Elizabeth C. Baldwin, "Some Old 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.318.
 2. (Brisbane, 1975), p.5, p.11, p.12, p.17.
 3. (Townsville, 1959); p.41, p.53.
 4. (Toowoomba, 1976), p.50, p.105, p.111, pp.123-124.

Examples of such school histories for schools in other states include The Melbourne Church of England Girls' Grammar School Jubilee History, (Melbourne, 1953), pp.80-82; Esther Tuckey's Fifty Years At Frensham, (Sydney, 1965); and Geoffrey Steven's The Hutchins School, Macquarie Street Years 1846-1965, (Hobart, 1979), p.85, p.113, p.115, p.120, p.135, p.175, p.201, p.235, p.237, p.238, p.241, p.256, p.269, p.274, p.282, p.302, p.319, p.323, p.332, p.333. There are passing references to the development of the school library too in Cranbrook: the First Fifty Years, by A.C. Child, (Sydney, 1968), p.67, p.113, p.118, p.144, p.145, p.151, p.171. However in E.S. Lauchland's history of the Maitland Girls' High School, there are only three slight references to the library, as in page 381, "The present Reference Library was a classroom, and the other room (now a staffroom), was called the Science Room". No mention is made of when the library was begun, or by whom, nor is there a description of it. E.S. Lauchland, "The Maitland Girls' High School", Royal Australian Historical Society Journal, 31(1945) pp.376-387.

West State School Jubilee Brochure 1887-1937;¹ a booklet produced by the Warwick Central State School Centenary Committee for the Warwick Central State School Centenary 26 July 1975;² the Helidon State School Parents' and Citizens' Association's booklet Souvenir: Official Opening, Helidon State School, 95th Anniversary, 1969;³ a centenary booklet produced for the Emu Vale State School Centenary 1876-1976;⁴ a booklet produced for the centenary of St. Columba's, Dalby, "Mercy Memories": Through the Golden Years, 1877-1977;⁵ and the souvenir booklet for the Centenary of Education, Highfields, Saturday 14th February 1970.⁶

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The few general works which are available on the history of school libraries, as distinct from general histories of libraries and librarianship, tend to assess such libraries as a more recent phenomenon than they actually are. Early school libraries which did exist are often ignored because they did not conform to the historians' own ideas of what a school library ought to be. Instead of defining early school libraries in terms of the libraries which did exist, historians have tended to accept twentieth century definitions of the school library, and then to omit from consideration earlier libraries which were established for a different purpose, or which were organised in a different way, or which served a different

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1. (Townsville, 1937), p.42.
 2. (Warwick, 1975), p.4.
 3. (Toowoomba, 1969), unpagued.
 4. (Warwick, 1976), p.13.
 5. (Dalby, 1977), p.27, p.37, p.40, p.42.
 6. (Toowoomba, 1970), p.25, p.26.

clientele.

Paul L. Duncan saw the first purpose of secondary school libraries as being "the traditional one of supplying recreational reading matter" as well as materials for study,¹ yet he saw them as first developing in Western Australia only in the decade from 1948,² despite the fact that Sir Paul Hasluck has described the secondary school library at Perth Modern School in the 1920s in his memoirs,³ and recalled reading fiction books from it as well as using it for school work.

In an article written in 1905 Benjamin Carter⁴ suggested that school libraries are of quite recent growth, and the idea, or, at all events, the first practical application of it, is American. The Americans were the first to realise 'that a collection of books might properly be associated with the work of the common schools of the country, schools designed for and patronised by the children of the average citizen'.⁵

Even if this limited definition of a school library as a library in a school open to the "average citizen" is accepted, it needs to be noted that libraries were in existence in voluntary schools in England, and even in some "ragged" schools serving the poorest children, from the late eighteenth century. But it is ridiculous to

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1. Paul L. Duncan, *The Secondary School Library: A survey of the need for secondary school libraries, and their aims, provision and staffing, especially in relation to State high schools in Western Australia*, (B.Ed. special study, University of Western Australia, 1958), p.9.
 2. *Ibid.*, p.9, p.14.
 3. *Mucking About: An Autobiography*, (Melbourne, 1977), p.68, p.71. Sir Paul in this book described Perth Modern School as it was in the years when he was a pupil there, 1918-1922.
 4. Benjamin Carter, "School Libraries", *Library World*, 8(1905-6), pp.29-34.
 5. *Ibid.*, p.30.

imply that school libraries can only properly be said to have been established when they have been established in a particular type of school. Carter's argument that "in England the first serious attempt to organize school libraries was made at Bootle by the Library Committee, a few other towns following with varying measures of success"¹ is, even in the light of his own definition, placing the beginnings of school library development too late in time. And while James D. Stewart, in another article in 1905/6² also described America as "the home of the school library",³ it would seem that honour is more likely to belong to medieval England.⁴

Mary Alexander noted in 1921 that "little has yet been written of this history of school libraries for indeed the history is still in the making".⁵ But she immediately went on to define school libraries in terms of those which existed in the early decades of the twentieth century, so that few earlier libraries came within the ambit of her survey. "Properly organised systems as we have them today", she wrote, "were few and far between before the present century".⁶ In her brief survey she considered school libraries in France as far back as 1835, in America from 1870, and in England from

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1. Ibid., p.30.
 2. "School Libraries", Library World, 8(1905/6), pp.173-177.
 3. Ibid., p.174
 4. John Hirst, "An Historical Note on Libraries in the Service of Education With Reference to Developments in New South Wales and Great Britain", The Teacher Librarian, August 1967, p.9.
 5. "School Libraries, their History, Organisation, and Management". An essay submitted in connexion with the Professional Examination, Section VI, May 1921. Reprinted in Library Association Record, 24(1922), p.14.
 6. Ibid., p.14.

the inauguration of a service to elementary schools by the Leeds public library in 1884. Another writer, Hannah Logasa, also emphasised that "the growth of the library in the secondary schools is a comparatively recent development".¹ She admitted that a "branch of the public library was installed in the Central High School in Cleveland as early as 1895"² - this is the earliest school library she cites - but stressed that libraries such as this "were organized primarily as branches of the public libraries, to serve the people living near the school"³ whereas she saw school libraries as being "laboratories for the school in which they were located".⁴ Given this narrow definition, then, she noted that secondary school libraries had really only developed from around 1910, following "the inauguration of scientific method in the study of education, the resulting tests, and school surveys...".⁵ In 1930 Lucile F. Fargo also wrote, in her manual The Library in the School,⁶ that the school library could only properly be considered when it conformed to the principles of twentieth century education:

The organised school library is a twentieth century phenomenon, explicable only in the light of the educational development of the last quarter century. To comprehend it is to comprehend the basic principles of the newer education.⁷

This view ignores the fact that early school libraries, though frequently different in aims, methods, and practice, from many of those

1. The High School Library..., (New York, 1928), p.16.

2. Ibid., p.16.

3. Ibid., p.16.

4. Ibid., p.16.

5. Ibid., p.16.

6. (Chicago, 1930).

7. Ibid., p.1.

of the twentieth century, were often as closely related to the educational practice of their time as the newer ones were to the "newer education" of the twentieth century.

Similarly for Mary E. Hall, writing in 1915,¹ only the "reorganised" and "modern" school library was worthy of consideration; this in effect meant "libraries having been established or reorganized since 1905".² The library would have to "fulfil all its proper pedagogical functions as a reference collection for obtaining information, a training school in the best methods of securing that information, a laboratory for special topic work...[and] be a place of inspiration and recreation as well",³ if it was to be considered as "modern" and therefore acceptable. Cecily Brown in her 1970 Australian survey "Libraries and Education"⁴ also imposed modern standards on the past. She felt that "the small collections of books" which many school had possessed in the past could "not be considered as libraries",⁵ though the schools themselves had certainly considered them as such. A library could only properly be called a school library in her view if it was "an active teaching instrument" at "the centre of the school's learning program".⁶ This may be realistic in terms of the requirements of education in the 1970s, but is generally unrelated to many earlier library collections. Restrictive definitions adopted by such writers have in part been

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1. "The Development of the Modern High School Library", Library Journal, 40(1915), pp.627-632.
 2. Ibid., p.628.
 3. Ibid., p.627.
 4. Quarterly Review of Australian Education, 3(1970).
 5. Ibid., p.5.
 6. Ibid., p.5.

responsible for the fact that so many school library historians have ignored the existence of pre-nineteenth century and in some cases even of pre-twentieth century school libraries.

School library development in individual countries, including Great Britain, the United States of America, and Australia, has received some attention from researchers. However in each country considerably more research has been carried out, particularly though not exclusively research for diploma and higher degree theses, on the development of school libraries within the various states, counties, or regions within those countries, than on developments at the national level.

The history of school libraries in Great Britain from the 1830s has been explored by Alec Ellis in two monographs, A History of Children's Reading and Literature, published in 1963,¹ and Library Services for Young People in England and Wales, 1830-1970, published in 1971.² The former book discusses the growth of literacy in England and Wales from the early nineteenth century to the present day, with some emphasis on related educational and literary history. Topics covered include educational provision, particularly for working class children; the use of books in schools; the availability of school and public libraries; and the evolution of recreational literature for children. In Chapter Four of this work, "School Libraries 1830-1850", Ellis noted that there already "were numerous instances of libraries being provided in schools in and after the 1830s, both by enthusiastic managers and teachers, sometimes with the

1. (Oxford, 1963).

2. (Oxford, 1971).

assistance of outside organizations, and sometimes from their own resources",¹ and went on to lay stress on the fact that "the idea of school libraries was by no means new and had been associated with education from the earliest times".² He cited the existence of school libraries at Winchester, York, Jarrow, and Canterbury in the Middle Ages, and later at Shrewsbury in 1578, Cheltenham in 1586, and Birmingham Grammar School in the seventeenth century. Ellis then went on to discuss nineteenth century libraries in elementary and Sunday schools, and developments in school library provision in the twentieth century, in later chapters. In his second monograph, Library Services for Young People in England and Wales, 1830-1970, Ellis looked in more depth at library provision, including school library provision, from 1830 to mid-1970, with the emphasis on the public library service and its association with schools and other groups.

The history of school libraries in England from the mid-nineteenth century was further explored by Heulwen M. Ellis in a thesis for the University College of North Wales, Bangor.³ She traced the "development of the school library and its educational role, from the mid-nineteenth century to the present day", showing how changes in educational thought and consequent developments in educational practice influenced the role of the library in the years 1860 to 1970. Her approach was different from that of Alec Ellis in its emphasis on the library as part of the school rather than as part

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1. Ellis, A History of Children's Reading and Literature, p.38.
 2. Ibid., p.38.
 3. The Evolution of the School Library, 1860-1970, (M.Ed. dissertation, University College of North Wales, 1973).

of a public library service, and in relating school libraries to the developments in public education from the mid-nineteenth century rather than to developments in librarianship.

In a thesis for the University of Strathclyde on the development of school libraries in Scotland, Dorothy H. White¹ sought the origins of Scottish school libraries in the grammar schools of the seventeenth century, as Alec Ellis had in England; she noted, for instance, that the High School in Edinburgh had had a library as early as 1658.² The whole history of school libraries and school librarianship in Scotland to 1939, however, is covered in one chapter, with the greater part of the thesis covering developments from 1953 onwards. This means that even the nineteenth century history of school libraries in Scotland is treated very briefly, whereas both Alec Ellis and Heulwen M. Ellis considered nineteenth century English school libraries in some depth, particularly for the period after 1830.

The influence of the English grammar schools and their libraries on the development of school librarianship from the seventeenth century has been discussed by several writers. A pamphlet published by the Department of Education and Science in 1952, The School Library,³ in a brief chapter on "The Tradition" of school libraries, stressed that "the association of a school with a library is no novelty".⁴ The growth of school libraries, the writers of the pam-

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

2. Ibid., p.1.

3. Great Britain. Department of Education and Science, The School Library, (London, 1952).

4. Ibid., p.10.

phlet claimed,

was inspired by the humanism of the great schoolmasters who disciplined sixteenth century England to the New Learning and who were roundly warned by Sir Thomas Elyot in his Boke named The Governour: 'It is nat inough...to have rad poetes, but all kyndes of writying must also be sought for'.¹

J.E. Vaughan, in an article on "The Grammar School Library in the Late Seventeenth Century",² related the growth of school libraries to the work of the educational reformers of the period, many of whom, like Charles Hoole and Christopher Wase, had fairly clear ideas about what books a school library should contain. However after surveying the contents of some school libraries, including those at King's Norton and the King's School, Gloucester, Vaughan said that it was "most unfortunate" that the surviving catalogues of such libraries remained unpublished, for "until they are and others that may exist have received detailed attention, generalizations about what went on in seventeenth-century grammar schools remain tentative. A major source of educational and cultural history remains inaccessible."³ In another article, "Aspects of Seventeenth-Century Grammar School Librarianship", D.K. Shearing looked at the survey of grammar schools conducted by Christopher Wase from 1673 to 1677, and the evidence it produced to suggest that "a school library in the late seventeenth century was becoming a routine feature" of a school.⁴ "Numerous seventeenth-century grammar schools in all parts of the country possessed libraries...varying from the mean to the magnificent", and Shearing was "convincd that the evidence reflects a

1. Ibid., pp.10-11.

2. The School Librarian, 10(1961), pp.511-517.

3. Ibid., p.517.

4. The School Librarian, 23(1975), pp.305-309.

standard of librarianship far higher than the few pronouncements hitherto have suggested".¹ Cecil Stott, speaking about the history of school libraries in his 1970 Presidential Address to the Annual Conference of the School Library Association,² presented evidence from the libraries of Shrewsbury School and Hawkshead Grammar School which would support Shearing's assertion about the high standard of librarianship. Pioneer articles like these should pave the way for a more comprehensive survey of school libraries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, their collections, their organisation, and the use made of them.

More recent developments in school libraries in England have been discussed in articles such as that by B.C. Bloomfield on "School Libraries in the Nineteenth Century",³ in which he looked at some of the variety of borrowing systems in use; by Cecil Stott on "The School Library Movement in England and Wales"⁴ from the nineteenth century; and by Mark A. Bloomfield in an article titled "Between the Acts: Library Services to Schools from 1919 to 1944",⁵ which mainly looked at public library service to schools. Each of these articles adds significantly to the material available on nineteenth and twentieth century English school librarianship in the published histories of Alec Ellis and the thesis of Heulwen M. Ellis, but they

1. Ibid., p.309.

2. Published as: Cecil Stott, "Schools and School Libraries Over Two Centuries": The Presidential Address at the Annual Conference of the School Library Association on 30th December 1970, The School Librarian, 19(1971), pp.15-23, and 19(1971), pp.101-107.

3. Library Association Record, 68(1966), pp.16-18.

4. Library Trends, 1(1953), pp.402-422.

5. Library Review, 22(1970), pp.359-362.

all illustrate too the amount of research which needs to be done on so many aspects of school library history, since none pretends to be exhaustive even within its limited field.

The history of grammar school libraries in the English northern country of Lancashire has, rather unusually, been the subject of some detailed research. Grammar school education was particularly strongly developed in Lancashire by the seventeenth century, and many of the schools had libraries; it was the existence of several ancient libraries close to Manchester in the nineteenth century that inspired the first survey for the Chetham Society in 1885.¹ In it William Copley Christie presented all the information he had been able to collect "respecting the...School Libraries of Lancashire which were in existence before the year 1750",² twelve in number, though he noted that a more "thorough examination of the books" and the library records associated with them would yield much more information about these libraries.³ Those which he described were the grammar school libraries at Bolton, Burnley, Bury, Hawkshead, Heskin, Kirkham, Lancaster, Leigh, Manchester, Rivington and Blackrod, Wigan, and Great Crosby. Some information is given about their establishment, organisation, clientele served, and particularly the books in the collections. In a 1977 thesis, Joan M. Potter attempted to discover what had become of these school libraries in the ninety years following the publication of Christie's study.⁴ She discussed

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1. William Copley Christie, Old Church and School Libraries of Lancashire, (Manchester, 1885).
 2. Ibid., p.iii.
 3. Ibid., p.iv.
 4. Old School Libraries of Lancashire: A Continued History 1885-1978, (M.A. thesis, Loughborough University of Technology, 1979).

the school libraries one by one in the same manner in which Christie had considered them, but while Christie's concern was chiefly with bibliographical work on the old collections of these libraries, Joan Potter has covered in detail aspects of accommodation, stock, administration, and use of the libraries, particularly in relation to the educational programmes of the schools. Unfortunately no comparable survey exists for school libraries, old or modern, in any other county, or in any region of the United States of America or Australia, so it cannot at present be used as a basis for a comparative study.

No general history of school libraries in the United States of America is available for comparison with the work of Alec Ellis and Heulwen M. Ellis on English school libraries from the nineteenth century or of Dorothy H. White on Scottish school libraries. However more histories of school librarianship at the state level, particularly higher degree theses, are available, and theses and journal articles have also been written on various aspects of school librarianship and school library provision in America from the nineteenth century, including the common school libraries, the state and federal funding of school libraries, and standards for school libraries.

While monographs on the history of school libraries in the United States are relatively scarce, some material is available on school libraries and school library systems in the individual states in the form of periodical articles, official reports, and unpublished theses. Books include a history of school libraries in Detroit from 1886 to 1962 by Ruth Marie Edberg,¹ in which some early nineteenth

1. The Dynamic Evolution: A History of Detroit School Libraries 1886-1962, (Detroit, 1962).

century libraries are briefly discussed, though most of the book is devoted to twentieth century developments; a history of public high school libraries in Kentucky from 1908 to 1950¹ by Louise Galloway, in which the emphasis is again on more recent developments; and History of School Libraries in the South by Margaret Rufsvold.² An article on "Pennsylvania School Libraries 1864-1964" by John A. Rowell,³ though apparently promising much, nevertheless only notifies readers of the "centennial of the legal existence" of school libraries in that state, it being one hundred years since the Common School Laws of 1864 made provision for the establishment of a school library in a school building or in a school district. A more substantial article by Margaret Briggs in 1948 traced "The Development of Public School Libraries in Minnesota 1861-1938",⁴ from the recognition of the need for school libraries in the state system of public schools by the first Superintendent of Public Instruction in his first report in 1861, through the first state aid law for school libraries in 1887 to developments in the twentieth century, including professional training for school librarians, and library instruction in schools.

Much of the work on the history of American school libraries at the state level, however, is in the form of theses. Ann Elizabeth Hall, for instance, in a doctoral thesis on Public Elementary and Secondary

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1. The Historical Development and Present Status of Public High School Libraries in Kentucky, 1908-1950, (Frankfort, 1952).
 2. (Nashville, 1934).
 3. Pennsylvania Library Association Bulletin, (August 1934), p.31.
 4. Minnesota Libraries, 15(1948), pp.372-375. This article was based on a Masters paper on the Development of Public School Libraries in Minnesota, 1861-1938, written at the University of Chicago.

School Library Development in California, 1850-1966,¹ looked at developments and conditions in California that facilitated and hampered the growth of public elementary and secondary school libraries from the mid-nineteenth century when district school libraries were established in the state, to 1966. She discussed the influence of state legislation, the Californian Department of Education and the Office of the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the State Library, professional organisations, and the work of educators and librarians, all of whom contributed to the evolution of the various means by which public school children were provided with books and other materials.

These have included district school library collections, public library service to schools, service from central school district depositories, collections loaned from county school libraries, and libraries maintained in individual schools.²

Two other doctoral theses have been completed on school libraries at the state level: Sister M. Constance Melvin's History of Public School Libraries in Pennsylvania;³ and Frances E. Hammitt's School Library Legislation in Indiana, Illinois and Wisconsin: a historical study;⁴ both of these, however, are more restricted in scope than Hall's thesis on Californian public school libraries.

In addition to these doctoral theses, many master's degree theses have been written on school libraries at the state level. These, however, are usually much shorter than the doctoral theses, the normal length being between one hundred and one hundred and fifty

1. (D.L.S. thesis, Columbia University, 1974).

2. Ibid., abstract.

3. (Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1962).

4. (Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1948).

pages; consequently treatment in them is generally less detailed. Theses which discuss nineteenth century developments at the state level in some depth include Dorothy Bell's History of School Libraries in Connecticut, 1839-1860;¹ Alice C. Dodge's Origins of the School District Library Movement in New York State;² John J. O'Connell's Horace Mann's Influence on School Libraries in Massachusetts;³ and Anita R. Singer's History of School Libraries in Connecticut, 1861-1916.⁴ Other writers treat in depth developments during shorter periods in the twentieth century. These include A.T. Rukus on the History of School Libraries in Connecticut, 1917-1947;⁵ R.T. Adams on the History of School Libraries in Connecticut, 1948-1967;⁶ and Doris K. Tinklepaugh on School Libraries in New York State: their history from 1890 to 1930.⁷ More general theses covering wide periods in the history and development of school libraries in their state include The Growth and Development of Libraries in the Elementary Schools of Texas by Myrtle Hembree;⁸ The Development of Library Service to Public Schools in New Jersey by Margaret Lane;⁹ Public School Libraries in Wisconsin, a historical study, by Martha O. Skaar;¹⁰ and Development of the

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1. (M.S. thesis, Southern Connecticut State College, 1964).
 2. (M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1944).
 3. (M.A. thesis, Massachusetts State College, 1934).
 4. (M.S. thesis, Southern Connecticut State College, 1966).
 5. (M.S. thesis, Southern Connecticut State College, 1969).
 6. (M.S. thesis, Southern Connecticut State College, 1968).
 7. (M.S. thesis, Columbia University, 1937).
 8. (M.A. thesis, Southern Methodist University, 1937).
 9. (M.S. thesis, Columbia University, 1938).
 10. (M.S. thesis, Columbia University, 1938).

Public School Libraries in Georgia, 1890-1950, by Florence H. Songer.¹

It can be seen from this list that there is more material available for comparative studies of school library development over several states in the United States than there is for counties or regions in Great Britain. However these American theses vary considerably in length, scope, range, and depth of treatment, so that it is not always possible to make comparisons; Hall's thesis on public school libraries in California, for instance, includes the early school district libraries and services to schools from public libraries, while other state surveys omit these types of school library service. It should also be noted that for no state is the total picture of school library service complete, though coverage comes closest to being complete for Connecticut. Some theses cover only the elementary school libraries of their state; others only cover secondary schools: none of those listed deals with school libraries in private, independent schools, or the nineteenth century libraries in Sunday schools.

Some articles have been written and special studies made of various aspects of school librarianship and school library provision in America from the nineteenth century. The common school or school district libraries of the nineteenth century were first investigated for a United States Government report first published in 1876.² This

1. (M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1955).

2. As a chapter on "Common School Libraries" in S.R. Warren and S.W. Clark, Public Libraries in the United States, Their History, Condition and Management, (Washington, 1876).

included an historical sketch of common school libraries in twenty-one states, with emphasis on the legislation which enabled the libraries to be established and through which they were provided with financial support; and an analysis of the reasons for their initial popularity and their subsequent decline. In an article on "The District-School Library, 1835-55", Sidney Ditzion¹ analysed the beginning of the movement which led to the widespread establishment of these common school libraries serving the general public as well as the school children, looking in particular at the work of some of the early pioneers of the movement. He also attempted to examine the reasons for the success and subsequent failure of these libraries, seeking the causes of failure particularly in the economic and social conditions of the time, rather than, as the government report of 1876 tended to do, seeing their failure as a result of difficulties in the controlling legislation. In another article, Ray E. Held in 1959 looked at "The Early School District [or the district-school as it was often known] Library in California";² his concluding words provide probably the best assessment of these libraries:

Since the district library seems to have had no vital part in the evolution of the present-day public libraries in California, in the total picture of public library development it may be regarded as a failure. Still it was a noteworthy attempt to make books available throughout the State. However poorly administered, however unsuccessful it appears in retrospect, by bringing reading materials to even the most remote areas of the State it may well have exercised influence that cannot now be measured.

This assessment contrasts with those of so many of the authors of the general library history textbooks who have tended to dismiss these common school libraries both as public libraries and as school

1. Library Quarterly, 10(1940), pp.545-577.

2. Library Quarterly, 29(1959), pp.79-93.

libraries.

Other special aspects of school library history in America to receive some attention are the state and federal funding of school libraries, in a monograph by Frank Hermann Koos, State Participation in Public School Library Service,¹ and in an article by John O. Hempstead, "Funds for School Libraries: State and Federal Assistance 1848-1974", in the Wisconsin Library Bulletin,² and standards for school libraries, in a 1964 report by Richard L. Darling, Survey of School Library Standards,³ in a chapter on "School Library Developments and Standards" in the 1931 edition of Martha Wilson's manual School Library Management,⁴ and in an article, "Standards for School Media Programs, 1920: A Lesson From History", by Budd L. Gambee.⁵

In Australia, as in the United States of America, there is no published monograph history of school libraries at the national level. The most comprehensive survey of Australian school library history was published in 1971 as an Appendix to the proceedings of an Australian UNESCO Seminar, held at the University of New South Wales in 1970; it was originally prepared by Lawrence H. McGrath as a background paper for the conference.⁶ But while recent developments in Australian school library history are noted in some detail by McGrath,

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1. (New York, 1927). This work was originally compiled as a Ph.D. thesis for Columbia University.
 2. September/October 1974, pp.218-220 and p.198.
 3. (Washington, 1964).
 4. (5th edn, New York, 1931), pp.185-189.
 5. American Libraries, 1(1970), pp.483-485.
 6. Lawrence H. McGrath, "School Libraries in Australia: A Review of Past Developments and Present Trends". In Australian UNESCO Seminar. The Role of Libraries in Secondary Education, (Canberra, 1971), pp.75-103.

this survey, like the general Australian library histories, only begins with the Munn-Pitt Report of 1935, ignoring nineteenth and early twentieth century developments. McGrath was the author of another paper in 1970 which also summarised Australian school library history; subsequently published as a chapter in Jean Lowrie's School Libraries,¹ this survey began even later than his first one, with events of the 1960s. In a thesis on libraries in government correspondence schools in Australia, Hilda Wilde in 1972 surveyed "significant events in Australian secondary school library development"² generally; her survey, however, only began with the 1955 report of visiting American Fulbright Scholar and specialist in comparative education, Professor R. Freeman Butts. The only substantial work available on any particular aspect of the history of Australian school libraries, Donald Smart's Ph.D. thesis for the Australian National University on Federal Aid to Australian Schools: Origins and Aspects of the Implementation of the Commonwealth Science Laboratories and Libraries Schemes, (1975), also discusses relatively recent events - the background to and the implementation of the Commonwealth Government's Secondary School Libraries scheme in the

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1. Lawrence H. McGrath, "School Libraries in Australia". In Jean E. Lowrie (ed.), School Libraries: International Developments, (New York, 1972), pp.137-155. This paper was originally presented at the annual WCOTP conference in Sydney in August 1970, as part of the programme on international school library development.
 2. A descriptive survey of government secondary correspondence school libraries in Australia, (Diploma in Librarianship thesis, Tasmanian College of Advanced Education, 1972).

1960s.¹

Some of the few histories available of school libraries in individual Australian states, however, incorporate earlier material; Blake's general history of education in Victoria, Vision and Realisation, for instance, indicated the nineteenth century origins of school libraries in Victoria. Even so, the period of time in which school libraries have been in existence in Australia is generally under-estimated.

John Hirst in an "Historical Outline" which appears as Chapter Two of his 1967 M.Ed. thesis for the University of Sydney, The School Libraries of New South Wales as Instruments of Education, looked at the relationship between libraries and education from ancient times through the English grammar schools of the Renaissance to the present day. But his earliest reference to school libraries in the state about which he was actually writing was related to the study submitted by H.S. Wyndham to the University of Melbourne in 1930 in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Master of Education degree, The Library in the School, its Administration and Use.² Alan Shearman, however, in a Postgraduate Diploma in Librarianship thesis for the University of New South Wales in 1963, traced the origins of New South Wales high school libraries back much further.³ Looking

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1. Much of the material on the School Libraries Scheme which Smart used in his thesis he also used in a chapter on the "Origins of the Secondary Schools Libraries Scheme (States Grants [Secondary School Libraries] Act, 1968)". In D.A. Jecks (ed.), Influences in Australian Education, (Perth, 1974, pp.105-127.
 2. This study was later published as H.S. Wyndham, "The Library in the School: Its Administration and Use", Schooling, 13(1931), pp.145-165.
 3. 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).

at the history of libraries in three of the older high schools, he found that Fort Street Boys' High School had had a library at least by 1899,¹ Sydney Girls' High School in 1883,² and North Sydney Boys' High School from at least the 1930s.³ Nevertheless in discussing New South Wales Department of Education library policy he only goes back to the early 1920s, even though references in the New South Wales Educational Gazette, sometimes quite extensive, date back to the 1890s. And while he did trace the history of individual school libraries back further than Hirst, for instance, the evidence indicates that he still did not go back far enough; the library at the "national school" at "Fort-street" was certainly in existence in 1857, as were libraries at Cleveland Street School in Sydney, at Mudgee, and at East Maitland.⁴ The Library at Fort Street was evidently reformed in 1892,⁵ which may account for a later date being given for it; but certainly the Board of National Education in its 1858 report encouraged the establishment of school libraries and cited Fort Street, Cleveland Street, and William Street, among other schools, as examples of schools with libraries.

The history of Victorian school libraries is discussed very briefly in relation particularly to central services to school libraries in a thesis by Victorian school librarian Areta McCulloch

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1. Ibid., p.4.
 2. Ibid., p.15. Shearman refers to an article by Alatheia Wallace, "Fifty Years of 'Higher Education', Sydney Girls' High - Now and in the Past", Sunday Sun and Guardian, 26 March 1933, which said that there was "quite a good library" in 1883, without giving a date for its establishment.
 3. Ibid., p.26
 4. New South Wales, Educational Gazette, 5(1 July 1895), p.27.
 5. Ibid., p.27.

for the University of Oregon.¹ Most of her historical information came from Blake's official history of education in Victoria, Vision and Realisation,² tracing school libraries back to the 1870s and 1880s, with some further material from the annual reports of the Department of Education.³ An anonymous article in the Australian Library Journal in 1961 on "School Libraries in Victoria", however, which included a brief outline of school library history in the state, merely noted in its opening paragraph that

there were, of course, school libraries in Victoria before 1946, but a review of school library development in the State may well take that year as a starting point [since] it was towards the end of 1946 that the Education Department appointed its first Libraries Service Officer and formulated its policy of establishment of a central library staffed by a trained teacher-librarian in every school.⁴

In other words, school libraries were only to be studied once they were centrally organised within the Education Department; those in departmental schools before 1946, and those in independent schools both before and after 1946, were ignored.

In the few articles available on the other states, there is the same emphasis on recent developments, the same tendency to ignore libraries in non-state schools. Lawrence H. McGrath in an article in the Australian Library Journal in 1973 claimed that "school library

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1. Areta Rix McCulloch, Central Services to School Librarians: A Study based on the Perceptions of School Librarians in the State Education Department of Victoria, Australia, (M.Ed. thesis, University of Oregon, 1973).
 2. See pp.25-26 above.
 3. McCulloch, Central Services, pp.4-9.
 4. Anonymous, "School Libraries in Victoria", Australian Library Journal, 10(1961), pp.149-152.

service in Western Australia had its origins in secondary schools; in that small group of government and independent schools, which in the late nineteen-forties and early fifties recognised the potential of a library in a school".¹ Yet we have already seen that school libraries were in existence much earlier in Western Australia. In an article on "Developments and Problems in School Libraries in South Australia" in 1971, Joan Brewer reflected on developments only from 1964;² and in an article on "School Libraries in Queensland Government Schools" in 1973 Brian Bahnisch gave an account of library development in state primary and secondary schools from 1958.³

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The published histories of individual school libraries which are available tend to be of very old libraries; particularly in England, they provide considerable evidence for fairly sophisticated school library provision at an earlier date than most general historians of education, librarianship, or school librarianship. More histories of individual school libraries in England are available than for any other country, probably because there is in England today a larger number of older school libraries. While there are exceptions, most of the histories of older school libraries tend to be the work of bibliographers interested specifically in the book collections, rather than of librarians interested in the aims, purposes, organisation, and user of the libraries.

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1. "School Library Development in Western Australia", Australian Library Journal, 22(1973), pp.257-262.
 2. Australian Library Journal, 20(November 1971), p.8.
 3. Australian Library Journal, 22(1973), pp.294-299.

One of the most substantial histories of a library associated with a school is that written by Sir Robert Birley for Eton College,¹ based on a paper read to the Bibliographical Society sixteen years earlier and subsequently published in The Library.² It dealt with the establishment and growth of the library from 1440, including its rules, basic organisation, catalogues, accommodation, in some detail, but it was principally a history of the book collection, with considerable bibliographical information about the books, particularly the incunabula and those interesting because of their printing history, their bindings, their rarity, or because of the person who presented them to Eton College.

The history of the chained library at the Royal Grammar School, Guildford, dating from the sixteenth century, has been discussed by R.A. Christophers in an article in The Book Collector;³ much of this material had appeared previously in a published catalogue of the library which he compiled with Gwendolen Woodward in 1972.⁴ The catalogue naturally contains detailed notes on the books in the collection; the article, for more general readers, has much less detail about them, merely being a reprint of the comments about the contents of the library which appeared in the historical introduction to the catalogue. The volume on Westminster School Library, published in 1933 to commemorate the foundation of the Scott Library,⁵

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1. The History of Eton College Library, (Eton, 1970).
 2. "The History of Eton College Library", The Library, fifth series, 11(1956), pp.231-261.
 3. "Unfamiliar Libraries, XVIII, The Chained Library of the Royal Grammar School, Guildford", The Book Collector, 22(1973), pp.17-34.
 4. Gwendolen Woodward and R.A. Christophers, The Chained Library of the Royal Grammar School, Guildford, Catalogue, (Guildford, 1972).
 5. Westminster School, Westminster School Library, (London, 1933).

has a general introductory history of the Scott Library, with some information on the Busby Library, on the School Library Committee, on the fitting out of the Scott Library, and on the librarians, but, in contrast to Christophers' history of the chained library at Guildford, more than half of the volume is devoted to a detailed bibliographical description of the contents of the libraries in the school, including the incunabula in the Busby Library. The same approach can be seen in the histories of some other old school libraries. In John E. Bailey's history of Leigh, Lancashire, Grammar School and its library, written in 1879,¹ after a general introduction on the history of the library, wrongly described as "the only relic of its kind in Lancashire",² the books remaining were then described in some detail; the histories of Kendal Grammar School Library, by Charles Sayle,³ The Burnley Grammar School Library by J. Longfield Ward,⁴ and The Library at King Edward VI School, Bury St. Edmunds, by A.T. Bartholomew and Cosmo Gordon,⁵ all written between 1880 and 1910, follow a similar pattern. Even in a booklet on Cheltenham Ladies' College Library, published in 1914 and unusual in describing the library of a girls' school which was also a comparatively recent foundation, dating from the 1860s, much of the text is devoted to a description of some of the more rare or

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1. The Grammar School of Leigh, Co. Lancaster, and its Library: A lecture delivered to the members of the Leigh Literary Society, 10th February 1879, [reprinted from the Leigh Chronicle], (Leigh, 1879).
 2. Ibid., p.5.
 3. ([Kendal, 1902]). [A reprint of an extract from The Kendalian, 2(October 1902).]
 4. The Burnley Grammar School Library: A paper read before the Burnley Literary and Scientific Club, February 22nd, 1881, (Burnley, 1881).
 5. [Reprinted from The Library, January 1910]. (London, 1910).

more attractive volumes in the library.¹

The sixteenth century library at Shrewsbury School, however, has received rather different treatment from its more recent historians, partly because of the extensive library records, other than catalogues, available to those historians at the library. Paul Kaufman has studied the borrowers' registers available for the period 1737 to 1826 for an article "Community Readers at the Shrewsbury School Library" in his volume Libraries and their Users.² An article on the general history of the library, by a former Librarian, J.B. Oldham, "Shrewsbury School Library: Its Earlier History and Organisation",³ based on the surviving seventeenth century catalogues of the library and other documents, including foundation deeds, also deals generally with the library in its earlier years, its management, organisation, finances, accommodation, and its relationship to the school of which it was a part. However in another article on the history of this library, in The Library, titled "Shrewsbury School Library",⁴ Oldham, too, discussed the contents of the library in some detail, paying some attention to the manuscripts and incunabula, as well as other uncommon and valuable books.

The published catalogues of old school libraries generally have an historical introduction giving some details about the establishment of the library. Not surprisingly, however, the emphasis in these

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1. Cheltenham Ladies' College, Cheltenham Ladies' College Library, (London, [1914]).
 2. (London, 1969), pp.128-133. This article also appeared as "The Loan Records of Shrewsbury School Library" in The Library, fifth series, 22(1967), pp.252-256.
 3. The Library, fourth series, 16(1935), pp.49-60.
 4. Fifth series, 14(1959), pp.81-99.

introductions tends to be on a discussion of the nature of the book collections themselves, often providing considerable detail important to the bibliographer but of less relevance for the library historian. Examples of such catalogues include P.J. Lee's 1965 catalogue of the Foundation Library at Gresham's School,¹ Paul Yeats-Edwards' 1967 catalogue of the Select Library at King Edward VI School, Southampton,² and Wendy J. Sherrington's unpublished thesis catalogue of the chained library at Bolton school.³

Far fewer published histories or catalogues of American school libraries are available than for the English school libraries; what are available are generally in the form of short journal articles. Examples include a discussion of a nineteenth century common school library in Milwaukee in a short article by Graham P. Hawks;⁴ a two-page article in a local journal on the library at Greenville High School, Mississippi, from the 1880s;⁵ and an article on the history from the late nineteenth century of Evanston Township High School's library in a special "History of School Libraries" issue of Illinois Libraries in 1968.⁶ The early foundation dates of these three libraries go some way towards contradicting

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1. A Catalogue of the Foundation Library with notes and an Historical Introduction, (Holt, Norfolk, 1965).
 2. Catalogue of the Select Library, King Edward VI School, Southampton, (Southampton, 1967).
 3. A Catalogue of the Chained Library at Bolton School, (M.A. thesis, University of Sheffield, 1979).
 4. "A Nineteenth Century School Library: Early Years in Milwaukee", Journal of Library History, 12(1977), pp.359-363.
 5. Mable Gaston, "GHS: Mississippi's Oldest School Library?", Mississippi Library News, (March 1973), pp.29-30.
 6. Leora Kathryn Taylor, "A Tradition of Innovation; A History of Evanston Township High School's Library", Illinois Libraries, 50(1968), pp.907-924.

the idea that the school library in the United States of America is a twentieth century development.

There are also, as in America, very few published histories available of individual Australian school libraries. Probably the most comprehensive is an article on the "Methodist Ladies' College Library 1882-1967" by J. Cook in the Australian School Librarian;¹ but while many techniques of school librarianship new to Australia were pioneered in this library, there are older school libraries here whose histories have not been written. This library is also discussed, along with the library of Presbyterian Ladies' College in East Melbourne, in Fairlie Taylor's monograph Pioneering School Library Service 1933.² Short articles on individual Australian school libraries which provide an historical account, however brief, of the development of the library include "The Stow Memorial Library in the Collegiate School of St. Peter, Adelaide, South Australia" by M.A. Ketley in 1951;³ "A School Library in Tasmania" (Hobart High School); by Margaret Higgins, also in 1951;⁴ "Saint Ignatius' College Library, Riverview", by the Rev. John W. Doyle in 1964;⁵ and "The Carlisle Francis Longmore Library, Scotch College", by Keith Darling in 1966.⁶ In none of these articles is library development before the present century discussed.

1. (June 1967), pp.17-21.

2. (Melbourne, 1972).

3. The School Library Review and Educational Record, new series, 5(1951), p.80 and p.110.

4. The School Library Review and Educational Record, new series, 5(1951), p.125 and p.157.

5. Australian Library Journal, 13(1964), pp.156-158.

6. Australian Library Journal, 15(1966), pp.52-58..

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Published biographies of school librarians or people associated with school libraries are particularly rare, a situation which reflects the low priority generally given to school libraries in the past both by educationists and by professional librarians. No major critical biography, such as W.A. Munford's Edward Edwards 1812-1886¹ on the eminent British public library pioneer, has been produced on a person associated with school libraries. Occasional long obituary notices in the professional journals may give an outline of a prominent school librarian's career and perhaps an assessment of his work, though this, of course, is usually highly personal, and seldom objective.² There are few biographical articles in the journals. The most substantial is an article by M.A. Bloomfield in Library History on Sir John Ballinger, whose pioneering work on school library provision in Cardiff in the late nineteenth century through the Cardiff Free Library was well-known because of his speeches and journal articles. He was better known later, however, as the first National Librarian of Wales.³ Another British public librarian whose nineteenth century pioneering work in school library provision was well known, J.J. Ogle of Bootle Free Library, has been the subject of a biographical study by E.J.

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1. (London, 1963).
 2. Examples include: Anonymous, "The Late Elizabeth Hill", Australian Library Journal, 7(1958), pp.81-82; and E.W. Morris, "Cecil Ainsworth Stott: An Appreciation", The School Librarian, 27(1979), pp.315-318. Elizabeth Hill was the first Officer in Charge of the New South Wales Department of Education's School Library Service; Cecil Stott was school librarian at Aldenham School, Elstree, a foundation member and office bearer of the School Library Association, and author of a much-used manual of school library practice.
 3. 3(1973), pp.1-27.

Hunter. However Hunter's work, produced as a thesis for the Fellowship of the Library Association, is an "appreciation" of Ogle's career, providing a detailed description of the work of Bootle Library in adult education, museum organisation, and book provision, rather than a critical biography of Ogle himself.¹

The only published monograph which was brought to light after a literature search for biographical material on school librarians was the second volume of the autobiography of the Australian school librarian Fairlie Taylor, Time Recalled.² In the 1930s Fairlie Taylor was Victoria's first full-time teacher-librarian, initially at Presbyterian Ladies' College, and later at Methodist Ladies' College; she was also a foundation member of the Library Association of Australia. Those few biographies of school librarians which are accessible, then, are all of people who were prominent as public librarians, within the library profession generally, or as educators, as well as being notable pioneers of school library service.

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The writing of school library history has not been taken as seriously as writing on the history of other aspects of education, or other types of librarianship. The school library has generally been seen as a subsidiary part of the educational process or a minor part

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1. The Appreciation of the Career of John J. Ogle, First Librarian and Curator of the Bootle Free Library and Museum, (F.L.A. Thesis, 1966).
 2. (Sydney, 1978).

of the public library. This has also influenced the way in which the school library has been treated in the general histories of education and of libraries and librarianship. Since promotion opportunities within the field of school librarianship are few, and since the position of school librarian has often been seen as requiring less professional expertise than that of either a teacher or a public librarian, few outstanding people have been able to make a lifetime career as a school librarian, and there is little biographical material on people noted only as school librarians.

The writing of the history of school libraries has also been limited by the restrictive definitions of school library service which school library historians have themselves adopted. These definitions, which have tended to describe only the one type of school library service with which the particular writer was familiar, have caused these writers to ignore much of the earlier school library development and to see school libraries as a more recent phenomenon than they really are. Those who were accustomed to school libraries as curriculum materials "laboratories" failed to see even earlier curriculum-related school collections as "libraries", and they tended to ignore completely school-housed libraries serving the public, or libraries designed solely to meet the recreational reading needs of the pupils. School "libraries" past and contemporary which did not relate to their ideal they did not acknowledge as school libraries; instead of enlarging their concept or definition of the school library to cope with the different varieties of service, they simply excluded many types of school library service from consideration. This has meant that school library historians generally have failed to seek in the school libraries of medieval England, in those of the grammar schools of the sixteenth and seven-

teenth century, in those of the voluntary schools, the public elementary and Sunday schools of the nineteenth century, the origins of the present-day school libraries which have become such an accepted part of educational provision. Where the early history of an old school library has been written, it has tended to be done by a bibliographer interested in the old and rare books in the collection, rather than by those interested in educational or library history.

This survey of the historiography of school libraries has shown that no general history of school libraries in the western world has been written; nor has a comprehensive history of school libraries been written for even a single country. What brief treatment is given to school libraries in histories of education, of individual schools, and of library services, is usually perfunctory in its coverage. Where the history of school libraries is discussed, the emphasis tends to be placed on coverage of recent developments - sometimes very recent indeed. Nevertheless the total quantity of historical material available is formidable; patchy in coverage, uneven in standard, and varying in its emphasis though it is, it does constitute a considerable mass of material usable by writers on the history of school libraries, and it is unquestionably enough to demonstrate the inadequacy of the treatment of the subject in general studies so far published.